

# WILLERSLEY CASTLE, CROMFORD



A research paper produced by Barry Joyce and Doreen Buxton with the assistance of David Hool for the Derwent Valley Mills World Heritage Partnership August 2011

## SUMMARY

Willersley Castle was built as a mansion house for Sir Richard Arkwright. He commissioned it in 1786, the year he was knighted, to provide a suitably prestigious 'seat', to which he intended to move from Rock House, the substantial but less prestigious house in Cromford he had lived in since 1776. The knight died in 1792, before it was completed.

Sir Richard gave the commission to William Thomas, a London architect. Thomas was much influenced by the work of Robert Adam. It would seem from undated drawings that Arkwright also invited designs from a local architect, Thomas Gardner of Uttoxeter. Gardner's design is in the Adam neo-classical style but the chosen design of William Thomas is in what has come to be called 'the Robert Adam castle style'. Thomas's Willersley Castle design owes much to Adam's designs for Culzean Castle, which is roughly contemporary.

The site is a spectacular one, on a rocky eminence, looking out southwards down the Derwent Valley across picturesque rocky outcrops, avoiding sight of the two nearby Arkwright cotton mills.

Following a serious fire in 1791 and after Sir Richard's death in 1792, the Castle was completed in a modified form under the supervision of Thomas Gardner.

Pleasure grounds were laid out for Sir Richard and his successor, Richard Arkwright II, by John Webb, who took the meadows sloping down to the River Derwent and turned them into an Arcadian park. A private chapel was built within the park, near to its entrance, providing an 'eye catcher' in the picturesque landscape. A gatehouse in the gothic style provided another. Nearby buildings were modified to become picturesque adjuncts to the park, namely a medieval bridge chapel, a little fishing pavilion and a warehouse on the recently created Cromford Canal, which was given a crenellated tower to better fit into the contrived scene.

A large coach-house and stables complex was built north-east of the house and a farm and walled kitchen garden to the north-east of the park.

On completion of Gardner's work, Sir Richard's son Richard Arkwright II (1755-1843) and his family took up residence.

The house was further modified during the occupancy of Richard Arkwright II's third son Peter Arkwright (1784-1866), who employed the architect

Edward Blore to increase residential accommodation by converting one of the original service wings for residential use and providing new service accommodation in association with the west service wing.

The Castle remained a residence used by the Arkwright family until the First World War, when most of it was made over for use as an auxiliary hospital. The family did not return and the estate was offered for lease and later, in 1927, was sold to Sir Albert Ball. He immediately broke up the estate and sold Willersley Castle to a consortium of Methodist businessmen, for use as a 'Methodist Guild Holiday Centre' in which use it remains.

## DOCUMENTARY REFERENCES

1759 Acquisition of the Willersley Farm Estate by Edwin Lascelles (created Lord Harewood in 1790). In the late 16<sup>th</sup> century the manor belonged to a younger son of George Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, from whom it passed to the Earl of Kingston. Several generations later Lascelles acquired it by marriage into a branch of the family.

1761 Lease to Edmund Hodgkinson of Matlock from Edwin Lascelles. Four mills (two smelting mills with each an ore hearth and slag hearth) were to be repaired and converted into a mill or mills for grinding calamine or for some other use. In the same year John Turner of Birmingham took a 40 year lease on the mills from Hodgkinson, for use as a "calamy mill". The 1761 lease required Hodgkinson to "lay out £300" on "one good and sufficient dwelling".

1778 Lascelles sold the Willersley Estate to Edmund Hodgkinson The transaction included Hodgkinson's "recently erected house". This almost certainly refers to Derwent House,<sup>1</sup> which stands near to the entrance to Willersley Castle Park. In the same year Hodgkinson sold the estate to Thomas Hallet Hodges.

1782 Richard Arkwright purchased the Willersley Farm Estate from Thomas Hallett Hodges and his wife Dorothy, of Wirksworth.

1786 Richard Arkwright was knighted and purchased a coat of arms from the College of Heralds. William Thomas was commissioned to design and build Willersley Castle.

1787 William Thomas produces drawings for a design, dated 27<sup>th</sup> March. These show the Castle essentially as built, except for a double height music

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<sup>1</sup> Derwent House is shown on some maps as Home Farm, but should not to be confused with Willersley Farm House to the north of Derwent House, which is approached from Willersley Lane

room interconnecting with the central oval gallery annotated “orchestra”. One can only assume that Arkwright rejected this particular internal arrangement as being too fanciful and pretentious. Presumably a set of undated plans for an unexecuted classical scheme by Thomas Gardner of Uttoxeter are roughly contemporary with William Thomas’s drawings.

1788 William Thomas produces further plans and cross sections, dated 19 March.

1788 The costly exercise of quarrying away stone to provide a platform for the house to be built on had probably been completed by March of 1788 when Thomas was directing that “Great care must be taken with the foundation of the House there is at present a great quantity of rough Stones thrown promiscuously in the foundations and in many places there are large Cavities concealed, that when the weight of the Piers of the Building comes to press on these cavities I am apprehensive the foundations will give way therefore it is my order that these loose stones be removed untill (sic) you come to the form ROCK & then work a foundation up in a workmanlike..(word missing)”.<sup>2</sup> This rather contradicts the claim made in a local guide book published in 1811 that the Castle was in that year at the stage of being ‘covered’,<sup>3</sup> i.e. roofed.

1788 Arkwright purchases 8 Adam Street, Adelphi,<sup>4</sup> one of 24 unified neoclassical terraced houses between The Strand and the River Thames built between 1768–72, by John, Robert, James and William Adam to a design by Robert Adam.

1789 William Thomas produces designs for plasterwork ceilings and fireplaces.

1789 14<sup>th</sup> June The Hon. John Byng, later fifth Viscount Torrington, entered the following observation in his diary. “...went to where Sr. R:A is building for himself a grand house (Wensley(sic) Castle) in the same castellated stile as one sees at Clapham; and *really* he has made a *happy* choice of ground, for by sticking it up on an unsafe bank, he contrives to overlook, not see, the beauties of the river, and the surrounding scenery....”<sup>5</sup>

1790 19<sup>th</sup> June Byng visits again and enters in his diary. “...I took a short walk to look...at Sr Rd A’s new house, (of which I spoke last year.) The inside is now finishing; and it is really, within, and without, an effort of inconvenient

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<sup>2</sup> D.Buxton and C.Charlton. Unpublished MSS.

<sup>3</sup> Davies 1811.

<sup>4</sup> Fitton. 1989.

<sup>5</sup> Torrington.

ill taste; ...the ceilings are of gew-gaw fretwork..." Byng was clearly determined not to like the mansion of a parvenu and yet, paradoxically, he betrays his own ignorance of the latest architectural fashion in decorated ceilings introduced by Robert Adam.

By 1790 Sir Richard was ordering furnishings from Edward Wilson, cabinet makers and upholsterers of 376 Strand, London, some for Cromford and some for 8 Adam Street.<sup>6</sup>

c 1790 Joseph Wright paints the Castle in its landscape setting.<sup>7</sup> At the same time (1790-91) the artist was employed by Richard Arkwright II to paint portraits of the family to be hung at Willersley, although this did not happen until he inherited.<sup>8</sup>

1791 On the afternoon of August 8<sup>th</sup> the virtually completed house was badly damaged by fire.<sup>9</sup>

1791 The date of a set of drawings for the decoration of the principal rooms, signed RW. Were these drawings produced before the fire, which would not tally with Byng's observation of June 1790 "the inside is now finished", or after the fire, which would have had to be between August and December, which seems very speedy? It is simply not known if any of the RW designs were used at all or were used, destroyed by fire and not reinstated.

It is possible that RW<sup>10</sup> was a member of the Wilson firm of cabinet makers and upholsterers from whom Sir Richard Arkwright had ordered furnishings. Walter Wilson was one of the craftsmen employed in the refurbishments of apartments at Chatsworth in the 1770s and 80s. The Wilson business in the Strand later became well known.<sup>11</sup>

C1791/2 The period during which it is assumed Thomas Gardner is appointed to deal with the fire damage at the Castle and to oversee its refurbishment. He was also at some point commissioned to design the entrance lodge, gates and stables.<sup>12</sup>

1792 Joseph Wright paints the children of Richard Arkwright II

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<sup>6</sup> Fitton. 1989

<sup>7</sup> Benedict Nicholson. DATE?

<sup>8</sup> Richard Arkwright II's house, near his Lumford Mill in Bakewell, was of modest dimensions and probably could not accommodate these large portraits.

<sup>9</sup> Davies 1811.

<sup>10</sup> Possibly Robert or Richard Wilson. The Wilson's may have had Derbyshire connexions. D. Hool.

<sup>11</sup> D.Buxton and C.Charlton. Unpublished MSS.

<sup>12</sup> DRO 978/E8 and Colvin.

1792 August 3<sup>rd</sup> Sir Richard Arkwright dies at Rock House. His will includes an “express Will and direction” that his son should “with all convenient speed ...complete in a proper manner the Mansion house I have lately erected”

1792 28<sup>th</sup> Dec A bill reveals that Richard Arkwright II had arranged for “large glasses (mirrors) and other sundry furniture” from London to be transported to Cromford by a wagon and four horses. A substantial further quantity of furnishing did not get delivered to the Castle until the summer of 1794,<sup>13</sup> by which time the newly created Cromford Canal had opened to traffic.

1793 The date of a set of drawings by Thomas Gardner. “Plan of Alterations at Willersley”. The principal alteration shown on Gardner’s plans, the creation of a new grand staircase rising within the space designed by Thomas as a study, was not implemented.

1794 -1795 Thomas Gardner completes the interior of the Castle. He also is engaged during this period on the design and construction of the lodge, lodge gates and piers, stables and overseeing completion of the chapel.<sup>14</sup>

1796 Richard Arkwright II and family move from Rock House into Willersley Castle.

1797 The chapel completed and dedicated to St Mary, the same dedication as that for the medieval bridge chapel, the remains of which stand nearby.

1802 Visitors are shown Willersley’s grounds by a guide two days a week.<sup>15</sup>

1843 April Richard Arkwright II dies and his son Peter moves into Willersley (together with his wife and presumably some if not all of his six children listed in 1841 census).

1843 June Derby born architect Edward Blore travelled to Willersley " to inspect House with reference to proposed improvement." See appendix 1.

1883 Frederic Charles Arkwright married Rebecca Alleyne. He was obliged to reduce expenses for the running of Willersley as the result of shrinking income stemming from falling land values and rentals. The income from the

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<sup>13</sup> DRO 978M/3-7, 10-11 and Fitton.

<sup>14</sup> Fitton.

<sup>15</sup> Lipscomb. ‘A Description of Matlock Bath’ 1802. “ The company at Matlock were formally indulged in participation of the beauties of these delightful grounds at all times; but some irregularities having unfortunately taken place, and some injury having been done to the shrubberies in consequence of this indiscriminate admission visitors are now shown the place by a guide two days a week.”

Masson Mill was much reduced. By this date Cromford Mill was virtually valueless.

1911 Frederic Charles Arkwright considers selling Willersley.

1912 John Stanhope Arkwright is obliged to sell Hampton Court, Herefordshire, his home, bought by Richard Arkwright II for his son John, who moved there in 1819.

1914-18 During the First World War the Castle was used as an auxiliary hospital.

1920 William (Willie) Arkwright decides, for financial reasons, to sell his home Sutton Scarsdale.

1923 Frederic Charles Arkwright dies and Willersley passes to his son - the last Arkwright to own the Castle - Captain Richard Alleyne Arkwright.

1927 Richard Alleyne Arkwright, who had by then moved to Worcestershire, sells the Willersley Estate to Sir Albert Ball.

1927 On the 7th June a sale was held of contents, including: " Examples of Adam, Chippendale, Sheraton, and Hepplewhite, suites, chairs, tables and a Sheraton bookcase...pictures and drawings...(by) Joseph Wright of Derby, Houdecoeter, J M W Turner, David Cox, and others."<sup>16</sup>

1927 Sir Albert Ball immediately split up the estate and sold Willersley Castle to The Wesleyan Guild Connexion, who converted it to a Wesley Guild Holiday Home.

1928-1937 Sometime between these dates a single storey extension was added to the room on the east side of the Castle, described in the 1927 sale catalogue as the School Room, to create a large new room, which came to be known as the 'Music Room'. It had an external entrance at its chamfered south east corner.

1940-1946 The Castle was used as a maternity hospital during the Second World War, run by the Salvation Army, who relocated there from Clapton in east London. It then returns to use as a Methodist 'Holiday Centre', run by the predecessors of 'Christian Guild Holidays', today's management body.

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<sup>16</sup> The Times. 30 March 1927, p9.

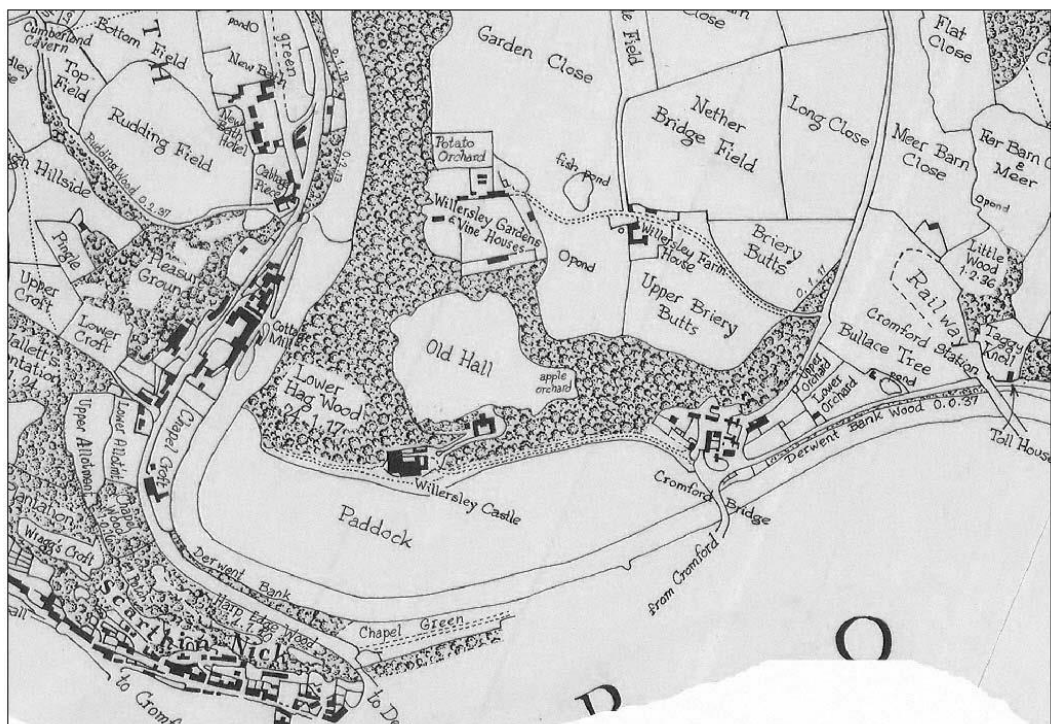
1950s The Music Room was further extended, assuming its present form, when the external entrance was lost.



## MAP REFERENCES

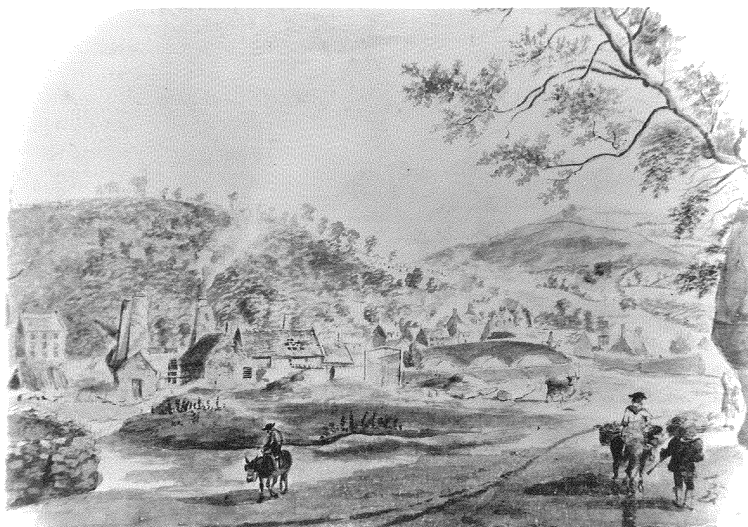


The earliest map reference known is a plan of the Willersley Estate made for Edwin Lascelles when he acquired it in 1759. Intriguingly the map shows two plots side by side, within which is the wording "Up(pe)r Old Hall" and Net(he)r Old Hall".





## OTHER VISUAL REFERENCES



The area around Cromford Bridge is depicted in an untitled watercolour dated 1786 and signed EE.<sup>18</sup> It shows the old smelting mills, then in use as a calamine mill, which was part of the Willersley Farm Estate purchased by Richard Arkwright in 1782 from Thomas Hallett Hodges and his wife Dorothy of Wirksworth. To the far left of the view may be made out Derwent House. Behind the bridge can be seen farm buildings. This farm complex incorporated the remains of the medieval bridge chapel and it included the little building which was later remodelled to become a picturesque fishing pavilion.



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<sup>18</sup> Possibly Elizabeth Evans, great aunt of Florence Nightingale. D. Hool.

Benedict Nicholson ascribes Joseph Wright's painting of Willersley Castle to about 1790, but if it is it must be a very idealised depiction, as the landscaping must still have been in progress in the early 1790s. It certainly cannot be later than 1797, when Wright died. It is likely to date from about 1795/6 as the view shows, in the middle distance, Woodend, the house built by Peter Nightingale for himself, when he decided Lea Hall was in a too exposed location to be a comfortable home. In March 1795 he wrote he was expecting to move there soon. He moved in spring 1796.

The chapel is shown as being fully built. Sir Richard Arkwright's will of 1792 directs his son "to compleat and finish the Chappel I have lately built", which suggests the shell was complete by then. Its internal kitting out was not completed until 1797.

Unfortunately ,no good quality image of the painting is available and its present ownership and location is unknown.



This engraving by J Walker published in 1799 and based upon a drawing by A Noel is the earliest dated view of Willersley. The large outbuilding with a wide pitched roof is presumably meant to depict the stables.



*Designed by H. Moore, and engraved by the House.*

*For the Beauties of England and Wales.*

WILLERSLEY CASTLE,  
*and its Environs*  
Derbyshire.

*London: Published by John Murray, Pall Mall.*

A better engraving, 'Willersley Castle. Seat of Richard Arkwright Esq. Derbyshire' was published in 1804 by W & G Croke from a drawing by H. Moore, for 'The Beauties of England and Wales'.

## THE DESIGN AND CONSTRUCTION OF THE CASTLE

It was commonly supposed that Richard Arkwright had simply chosen William Thomas, as a reasonably well-established London based architect, to design a mansion house for him and that the Uttoxeter based architect Thomas Gardner had only been called in after the fire of 1791. However, the coming to light of a signed but undated set of presentation drawings by Thomas Gardner for a radically different design suggests that Arkwright approached both architects for design proposals.

Gardner was based in Uttoxeter. By trade he was a carpenter, but he became clerk to the Derby architect Joseph Pickford and after that set himself up as an architect. By the time he acted for the Arkwrights, he had designed and built Doveridge Hall, Derbyshire, Appleby Hall, Leicestershire and Strelley Hall, Nottinghamshire. His designs for Richard Arkwright's mansion house are in the Adam neo-classical style. The principal rooms are within a piano nobile over ground floor service rooms.

Thomas was from Pembroke but practised in London. He was heavily influenced by Robert Adam and had some kind of association with him, as Adam was one of the subscribers to Thomas's publication 'Original Designs in Architecture'. Thomas' design for Willersley clearly owes a lot to Adam and, it would seem, particularly Culzean Castle in Ayrshire (built in stages between 1777 and 1792).



What is beyond dispute is that William Thomas was commissioned by Arkwright to design and supervise the building of a mansion house in the Adam castle style and that it came to be called Willersley Castle.

It may simply be a coincidence but in 1788, two years after commissioning Thomas, Arkwright bought 8 Adam Street, Adelphi, part of Robert Adam's ambitious London development, to be his town house.<sup>19</sup>

Thomas must have considered Willersley to have been one of his most prestigious commissions as he chose to hold a drawing of Willersley in a portrait<sup>20</sup> of c 1790.



A set of over 30 sheets of signed presentation drawings by Thomas are held in the Bodleian Library. The set begins with a pen and wash perspective of the Castle in Thomas's own hand, followed by an engraving of the same view, 'worked up', by J. Cartwright. It has the inscription "*Perspective View of Sir Richard Arkwrights House, at Cromford in Derbyshire. Designed by Wm., Thomas Architect, & Executed in the Years 1789 & 1790. Published as the Act directs 1792*"

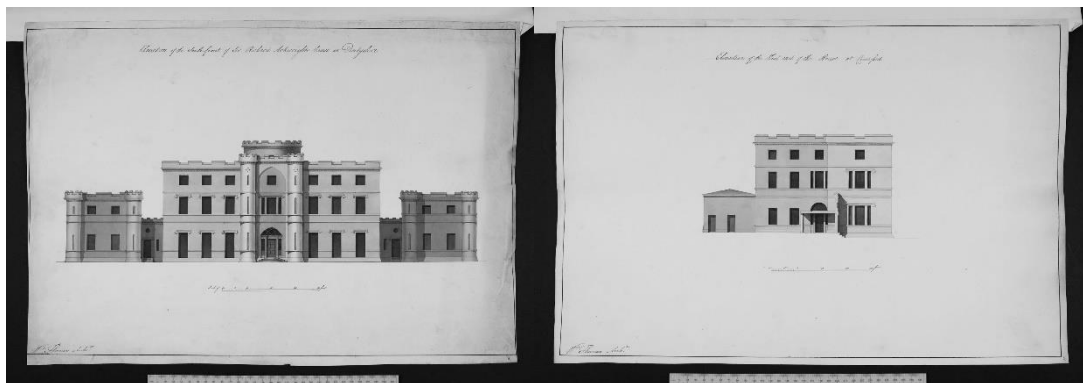
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<sup>19</sup> Sir Richard Arkwright was rated for No. 8, Adam Street, from 1788 until his death in 1792. Survey of London: volume 18: 'Adam Street'

<sup>20</sup> RIBA Library 13464. Portrait of circa 1790 of William Thomas, School of George Romney (1734-1802). A second portrait of Thomas, also in the RIBA collection, is attributed to Mather Brown, who also painted a portrait of Sir Richard Arkwright.



Following on from this rather fantastic 'design concept' drawing are a set of elevation drawings, a set of cross sections, then a set of plans, finishing with a set of internal elevations, fireplace and ceiling drawings, showing the scheme of internal decorative finishes.

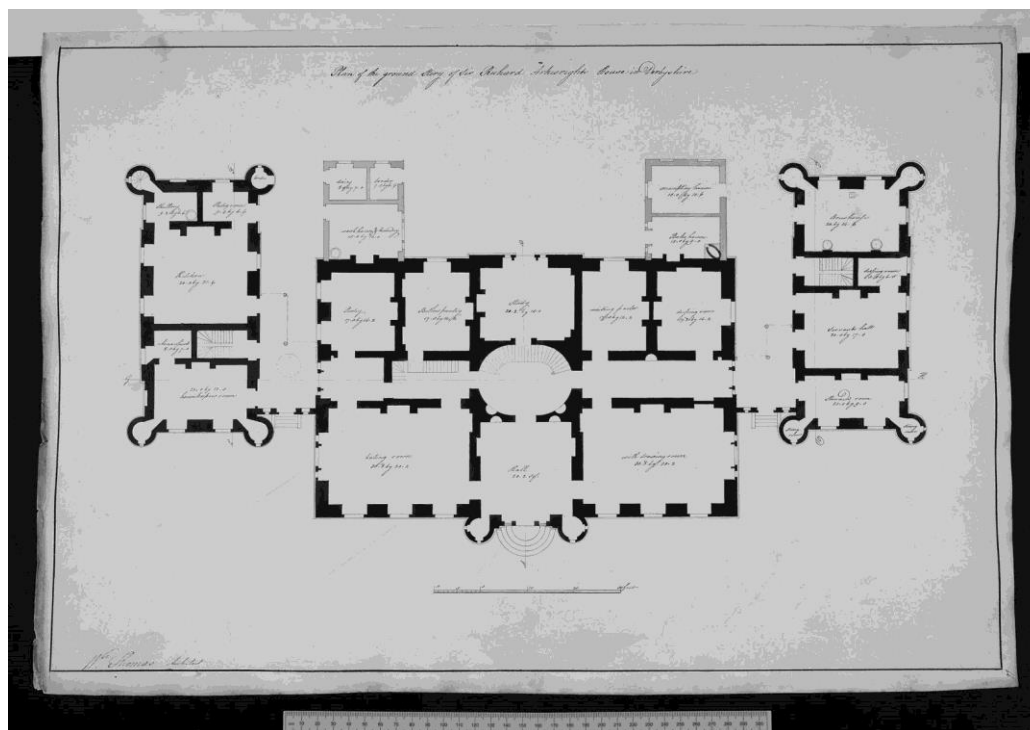


Thomas used purely decorative bartisans or turrets to give a baronial flavour to his composition, much as Adam had done at Culzean Castle in the 1770s. He also gave the parapet walls widely spaced crenellations to reinforce the castellated look. Study of Willersley today reveals that the Castle was built largely to Thomas's drawings.

Thomas's design is, in essence, a simple arrangement of a compact and symmetrical rectangular three storey house, centred around an oval light



well,<sup>21</sup> with service accommodation in lower, two storey, flanking wings, connected to the house only by single storey open arcades, with crenellated front screen walls. Further service accommodation is provided by two single storey wings coming off the rear of the house.



Thomas gives the whole ensemble a deep plinth with a pronounced batter, providing a further allusion to castle construction. The stone is buff coloured local millstone grit sandstone.<sup>22</sup>

The choice of location for the house was clearly of crucial importance and significance, the elevated position chosen being intended to provide drama and majesty. Davies in his 'Historical and Descriptive View of Derbyshire' of 1811, states that Arkwright spent about three thousand pounds remodelling the eminence on which the house sits. It may be observed from the vertical stone face behind it that 50 feet or so of hard carboniferous limestone had to be quarried away to provide a platform on which the house could sit, or at least partly sit, as it would seem that the front part of the 'platform' is made up ground, presumably made up of the quarried limestone.

<sup>21</sup> It is interesting that the lantern over the oval light well is called an "observatory" on some of Thomas's drawings as this term was used by Adam for the lantern over the oval stair case well at Culzean Castle, within which the more competent architect had produced a very elegant cantilevered staircase serving all the principal floors.

<sup>22</sup> Identified probably as Chatsworth Grit from (Derbyshire) Oakes Quarry, Blakelow Hill, Tansley by . M. Stanley. The Derbyshire Country House. However Doreen Buxton has identified an advertisement of 1865 for the White Tor Stone Quarry near Cromford (near to Lea) which boasts of its stone having been used for the Castle.

This contrived eminence did not secure universal praise. As has already been noted the aristocratic critic John Byng sarcastically observed in 1789 "by sticking it up on an unsafe bank, he contrives to overlook, not see, the beauties of the river, and the surrounding scenery."

Certainly there is a slightly uncomfortable feel about the steepness of the grass bank which falls away from the terrace in front of the house. The eminence of the house also means that the central crenellated oval raised drum, atop the central light well, which is crucial to the elevational composition, can only be appreciated to full advantage by mountain climbers willing to ascend the limestone crags on the south edge of the park.<sup>23</sup>

It seems that Thomas's structure as depicted in the presentation design drawings was implemented in full apart from omission of the eastern one of the pair of single storey service wing coming off the rear of the house. The extent to which his decorative proposals was implemented is much less clear. Setting aside later alterations there would seem to be some details from Thomas's designs that were certainly not executed. Instead of the hood moulds or labels shown over the ground and first floor windows of the front of the house on the elevation drawings, more straightforward voussoirs were employed and the cruciform dummy loopholes within the bartizans were omitted. There are no clues visible today to indicate that the pointed 'gothic' fanlight with intersecting gothic glazing bars, to the Adamesque front door ever existed, although the feature is depicted on engravings dating between 1799 and 1804, which suggests it probably was built to the original design and done away with later, perhaps when the new entrance was created. The extent to which his decorative scheme for the interior was implemented is unknown.

By 1791 the Castle was close to completion but catastrophically on 8<sup>th</sup> August 1791 it suffered a major fire. Accounts of the extent of the fire differ. Twenty years after the event Davies<sup>24</sup> says "...all that was combustible in it was consumed" but four days after the fire, on 11<sup>th</sup> August, the Derby Mercury reported that the mansion was "greatly damaged" but was "happy to hear that most of the elegant furniture was preserved".<sup>25</sup> Wolley<sup>26</sup> helpfully provides more detail. He explains that the fire was "occasioned by a flue's (sic) being overheated and communicating with some timber over which it was improperly carried, which consumed the Roof and the inside Body of the House, except the Stair Cases and the Ground floors; the principal part of the

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<sup>23</sup> The viewpoint used by the photographer for the Hotel's promotional picture post card.

<sup>24</sup> A New Historical & Descriptive View of Derbyshire. The Revd D.P.Davies 1811.

<sup>25</sup> D.Buxton and C.Charlton. Unpublished MSS

<sup>26</sup> Adam Wolley Manuscripts. Pre 1827.

Windows and Doors were saved, as were likewise the two wings... As the House was scarcely finished, so there was little or no furniture in it, except some indiffert Pictures which were saved."

Despite having this more detailed account, even if one assumes Wolley's account is dependable, the precise extent of fire damage cannot be determined, nor can the extent to which William Thomas's interior was modified following the fire. We do know that Thomas was not called upon to oversee the remedial works, although not why. Thomas Gardner was employed for this. It may have been a result of William Thomas's design errors having come to light by then. The design for the staircase within the central oval would clearly have been seen to be a clumsy failure. The cantilevered stairs would have been extremely steep and the study door located centrally under them would have been inelegantly low. (See page 5). Perhaps it was dissatisfaction with this that prompted the appointment of a new architect.

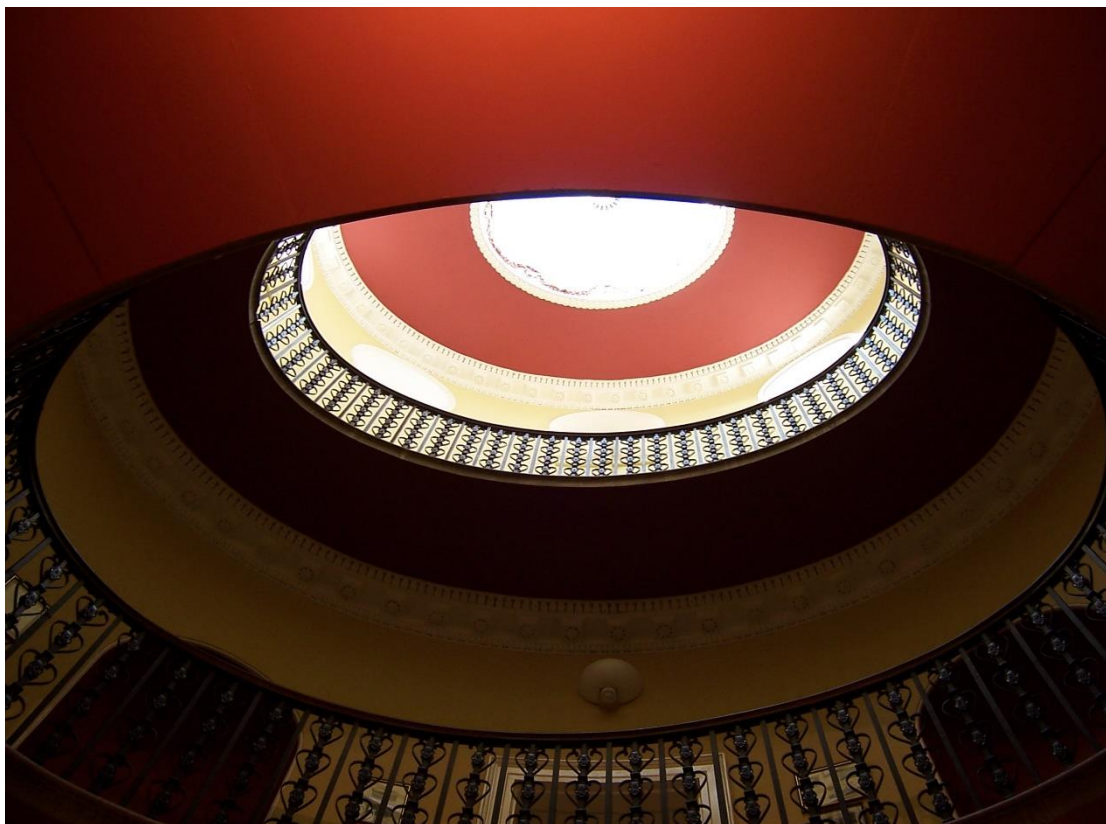
The extent to which Gardner followed Thomas's designs is unclear but a ground floor plan signed by Gardner and dated 1793 on the reverse<sup>27</sup> shows proposed alterations to Thomas's building, or at least to what had been built before the fire. One particularly significant change was the relocation of the staircase from the central oval to the room behind, designated as a study or library by Thomas. This proposal was not adopted. Instead Richard Arkwright II made do with the much more modest sandstone flight of stairs to the west of the oval hall.



<sup>27</sup> D.Buxton and C.Charlton. Unpublished MSS.

If, as seems likely, Gardner removed Thomas's ground floor staircase he would have had to also carry out work to the cantilevered Hopton Wood stone first floor landing or 'gallery'. However Gardner's building accounts suggest his remodelling may have been more extensive than simply removing the ground floor staircase and closing the gap in the first floor landing, as they include construction of the "Geometry Hopton Stone Steps, Quarter Spans, Landings, Rebates and Toggle Joints." These entries must logically relate to the staircase to the second floor. The ironwork of the balustrade to the galleries is to a different pattern than that shown in Thomas's drawing, but is not radically different in style.<sup>28</sup> The oval light well as seen today is missing several decorative features shown in Thomas's drawing, namely; urns and statues in semi-circular headed niches, decorative roundels over the ground floor doors, a tripartite decorative panel at the head of the staircase, and elaborate doorcases to the first and second floors, with decorative friezes.

The existing bucranium frieze at the head of the central oval light well matches that in Thomas's internal elevation drawing, so it would seem it survived the fire and this is supported by Wolley's account that the staircases survived. There is a smaller scale bucranium frieze in the original entrance hall, so perhaps this is a survival of the Thomas scheme too.



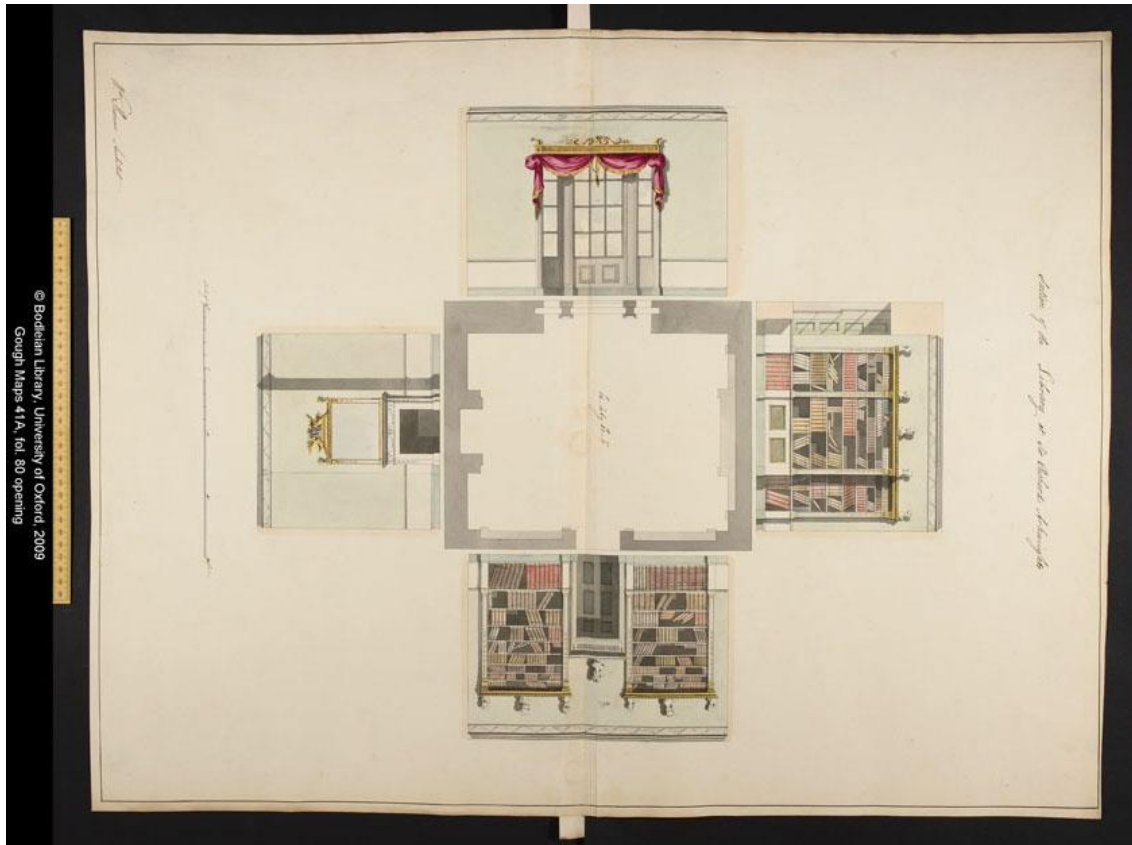
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<sup>28</sup> Gardner's building accounts (DRO 978/E8) include payments for the creation of holes for balusters.

Wolley's statement that the "ground floors" survived the fire would seem to be contradicted by the absence today of Thomas's elaborate 'Adamesque' plaster ceilings for the "Withdrawing room", "Eating room" and "Music room", the drawings for which are dated July 1789 and which were presumably the ceilings viewed by John Byng in 1790 and caustically described by him as being of "gew-gaw fret work".



Another major loss, if implemented as drawn, would have been the elaborate decorative scheme for the Library (or Study as it is denoted on the ground floor plan).



None of the fireplaces depicted in Thomas's drawings are evident in the house today. Are the present ones perhaps from Gardner's period as supervising architect?<sup>29</sup>



<sup>29</sup> Excluding the ones in the School Room / Music Room which was of course still to be created from the service range, and the one in the former Billiard Room; both of which were presumably secured by Blore.

Gardner appointed John Hewitt to be resident supervisor (who received an allowance for boarding) and nine, presumably local, workmen, as no provision was made for boarding costs. Gardner was also engaged to design and build the lodge, lodge gates, piers and the stables. He also supervised completion of the chapel.

Gardner's accounts rather ambiguously refer to "Plans of old architraves and other mouldings" as well as to the hanging of "old doors". Only doorways in the Drawing Room have anything more than simple undecorated architraves.



Gardner's accounts include reference to "Making the Design for the plasterer and all other designs necessary for the finishing of the Buildings..." He presumably collaborated with those who provided fittings and furnishings.

Following Sir Richard Arkwright's death on 3<sup>rd</sup> August 1792 Richard Arkwright II took over the project. The installation of furniture and fittings procured from London had begun before the fire but carried on without much of a break it would seem, as documented by a remarkable collection of bills dating from 1792 to 1794.<sup>30</sup>

Three elaborate pelmets and two very large pier-glasses<sup>31</sup> survive in the Drawing Room but sadly the two "superb pier tables with fine marble tops

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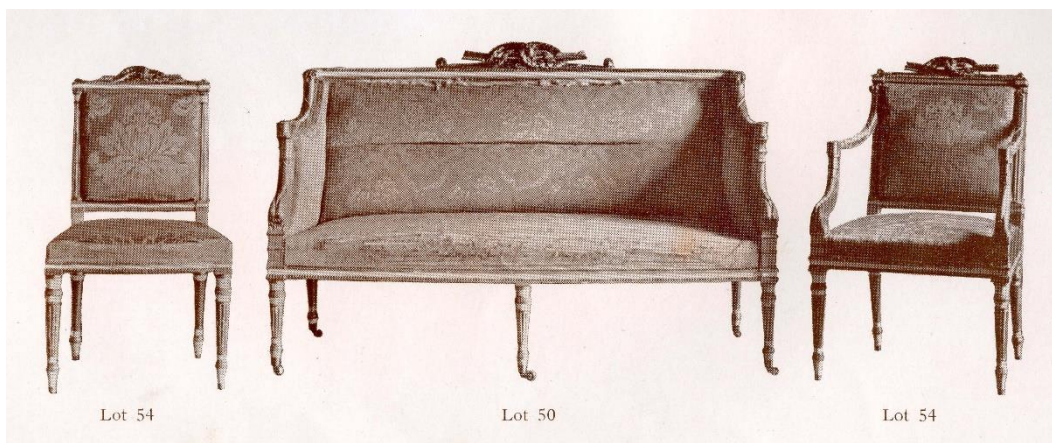
<sup>30</sup> Accounts of Messrs Wilson, Cabinet Makers and Upholsterers of 376 Strand, London. DRO 978/E 3-7, 10-11. These provide a very detailed record of the furnishings for the Castle.

<sup>31</sup> Each of the pier glasses are actually in two parts, the upper sections being 90"x50" and the lower 24"x 50". The size of the larger 'glasses' is about the limit of what was possible at that time. Wilson's accounts include an entry dated 28 Dec 1792 for payment to a carrier with a wagon and four horses to carry glasses and furniture 141 miles to Cromford. Curiously they are not mentioned in the 1927 sale catalogue.

and richly carved burnished gold frames” listed in a 1792 bill have been replaced with simple painted shelves.



An illustrated Knight Frank and Rutley catalogue of the sale of the contents held in June 1927 reveals how the Castle was furnished at the end of the Arkwright family’s ownership. The finest pieces are likely to date from the occupation of Richard Arkwright II. The catalogue reveals that the Drawing Room was furnished with an impressive suite of carved, gilded and painted Adam style furniture decorated “with trophies of wreaths entwined with bows and arrows, the arms supported with birds’ wings and medallions.”

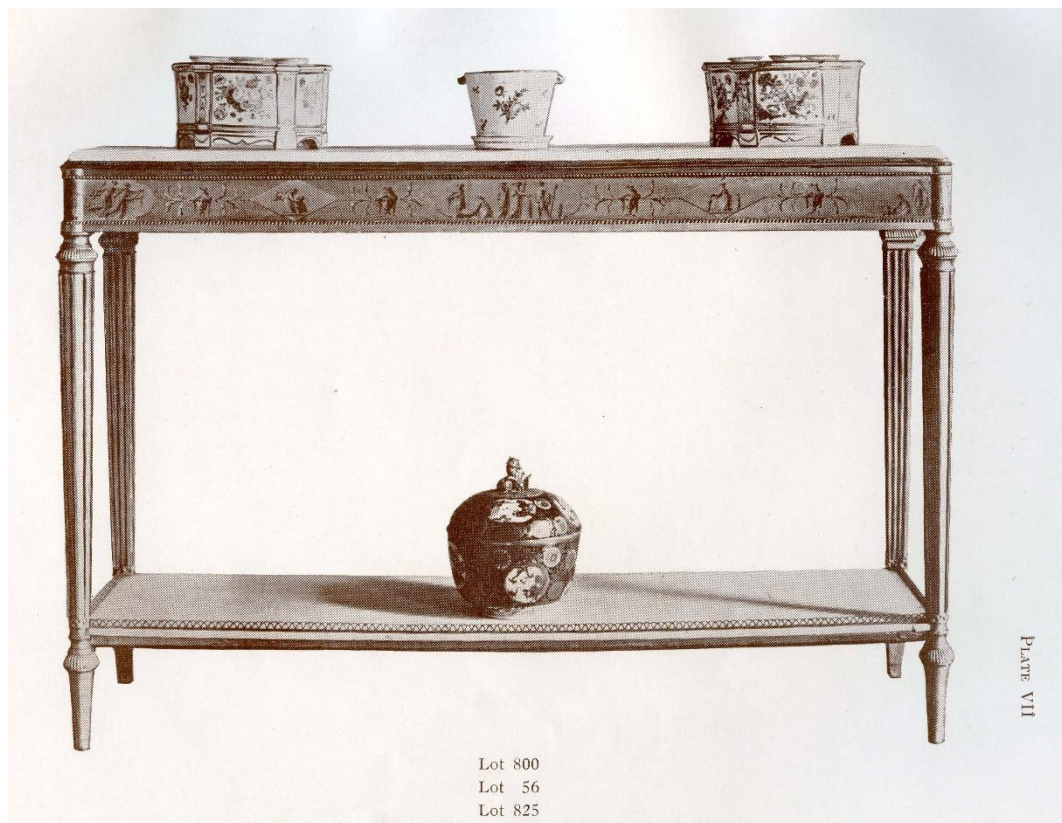


It is reasonable to presume that the carved pelmets in place today are part of that scheme of furnishing, as are the pier glasses, the white marble mantelpiece and “the mantel mirror, painted and gilt with inner border of



carved continuous oak foliage, and beading, and frames of carton Pierre, designed in entwined foliated scrolls.”

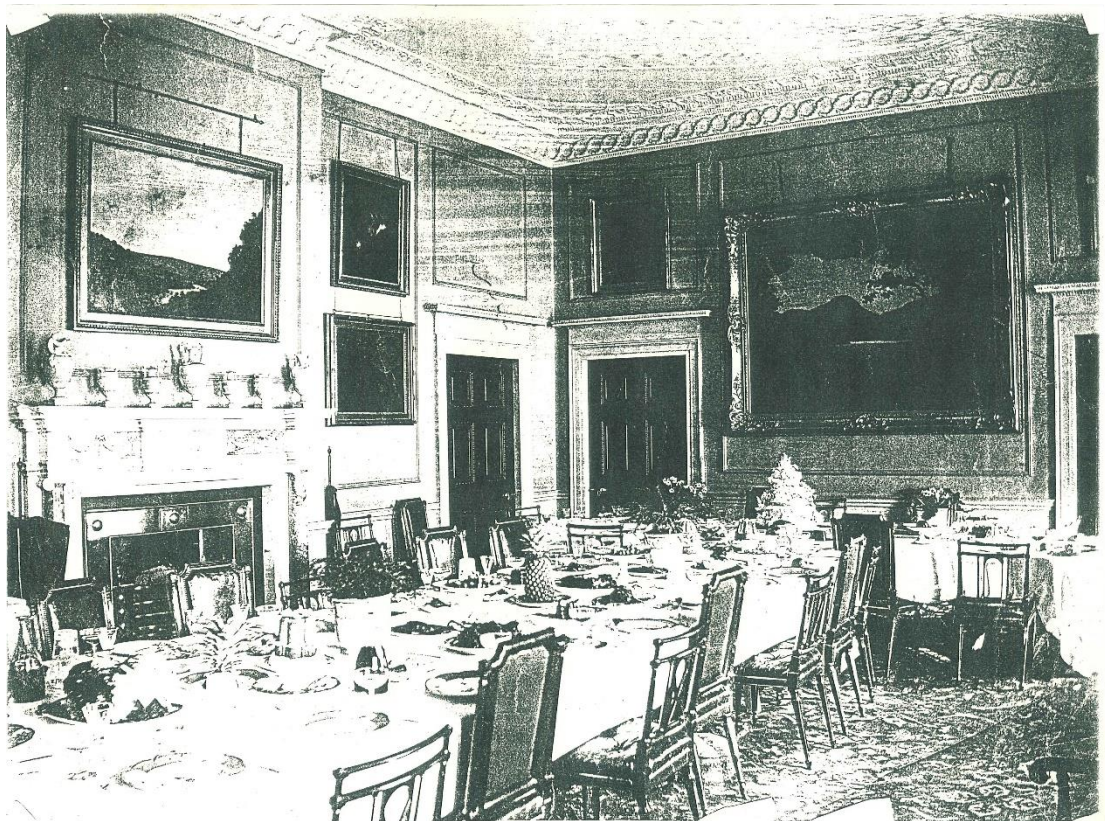
It would seem that the “superb pier tables with fine marble tops and richly carved burnished gold frames” described in the 1792 bill may well be the “Pair of Adam Gilt and Painted Console Tables en suite, with marble tops and undertiers.” illustrated in the 1927 catalogue.



The Dining Room had a set of twelve Hepplewhite mahogany dining chairs with rail backs and a set of seven Chippendale mahogany dining chairs with interlaced backs, on square legs. The catalogue reveals that Joseph Wright’s ‘View of Ullswater’ was hanging in the Dining Room. It is shown in an early photograph hanging on the east wall.

We have knowledge of some of the paintings which hung in the Castle from guide books. Davies in his ‘Historical and Descriptive View of Derbyshire’ of 1811 records “It contains several excellent family portraits by Wright of Derby, particularly a whole length of Sir Richard Arkwright; and also smaller pieces by the same ingenious artist, as well as the sublime view of Ullswater-Lake... purchased by Mr Arkwright for 300 guineas.” Benedict Nicholson, in his biography of Joseph Wright, points out that in fact it was RA II rather than Sir Richard who bought this painting and that it was he rather

than Sir Richard who was the artist's patron.<sup>32</sup> It seems unlikely, however, that the Wright paintings could ever have hung in Richard Arkwright II's house in Bakewell (which survives) as it is of very modest proportions. Glover's 'The Peak Guide' of 1830 records that the Wright portrait of Sir Richard Arkwright hung in the Dining Room, as did the portrait of RA II, his wife and children. The Wright portraits presumably hung in the other (west) side of the Dining Room.



The sale catalogue reveals that the relatively small Library contained a considerable amount of furniture including a sixteen foot wide, twelve foot high Georgian mahogany bookcase (the upper part of which had glazed doors), a pair of Chippendale six tier open bookcases, a further pair of six tier open bookcases, an "old" oak bureau and two Queen Anne elm elbow chairs. The mantelpiece is not mentioned but a five foot high chimney glass is.

The principal bedrooms have dressing rooms attached and are lavishly furnished. A number of bedrooms have four poster beds. Two particularly grand Regency period canopied beds are illustrated.

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<sup>32</sup> Portrait of Sir Richard Arkwright, Portrait of Richard Arkwright (II), his wife and child, Three Children of Richard Arkwright with a Kite Boy blowing the Bladder, + ?????? DATE??

Interestingly, amongst all the fashionable Regency furnishings, one Jacobean oak elbow chair is also listed, in the Billiard Room. Might this have been kept by Richard Arkwright II for sentimental reasons, if it had perhaps been his father's chair from Rock House?

Richard Arkwright II lived at the Castle as the squire of Cromford, without making any significant changes to the building, until his death in April 1843. Very soon after his son Peter Arkwright moved into Willersley and by June the London based but Derby born architect Edward Blore<sup>33</sup> had been commissioned to undertake alterations.

Blore had attained a national reputation as a result of his employment in 1832 by the government to complete Buckingham Palace after Nash's extravagance had led to his dismissal. Blore was considered 'a safe pair of hands' and economical. Blore's involvement is known only from an 1843 entry in his accounts book which records that he designed and supervised the implementation of "alterations". His fee was £52-10; a relatively modest sum. (see Appendix 1).

Blore's work almost certainly included consolidation of the east service wing complex into residential use and the introduction within the wing of a new 'front' staircase. The creation of the, now much extended, 'Music Room', with its pretty painted fireplace, is presumably also his work. This room is described in the 1927 catalogue as the School Room and the decorative painted panels to the carved painted and gilt mantelpiece within it is described as depicting "Venus and Cupid, amorini and dolphins, harps, and festoons, the columns with urns, entwined foliage and ribbon bows."



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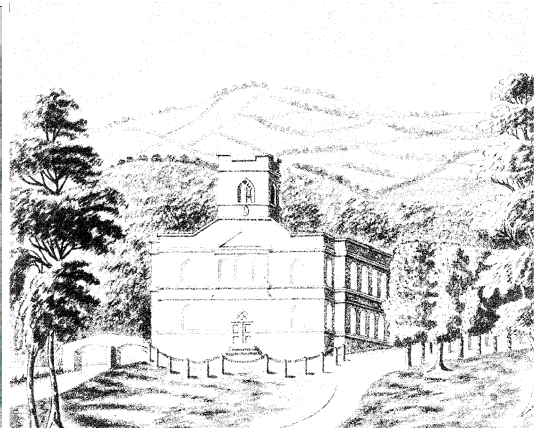
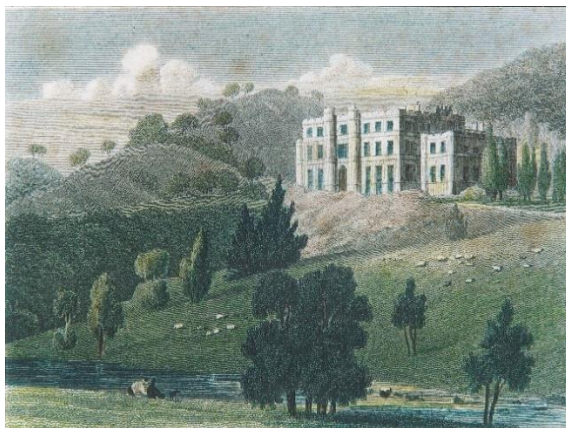
<sup>33</sup> Howard Colvin. Dictionary of British Architects ???

Blore may have been responsible for the addition of the room inserted in the rear yard on the east side, used as a billiards room. His work may also have included the 'consolidation' of the service buildings at the west end. Both developments are indicated on the Tithe Award Map of 1848.

Access to the western service range is via a grand Adam style doorway, presumably a William Thomas detail, and presumably originally one of a pair, with the other being at the opposite (eastern) end of the spine corridor, of which only part survives.



All the early drawings and engravings of Willersley show its principal entrance, in the central bay, having a gothic pointed fanlight over it.



The latest dated image showing this detail is an illustration used in *The Mirror* of October 22nd 1836. A similar fanlight was given to the west entrance doorway to the Arkwright chapel, as originally built.<sup>34</sup>

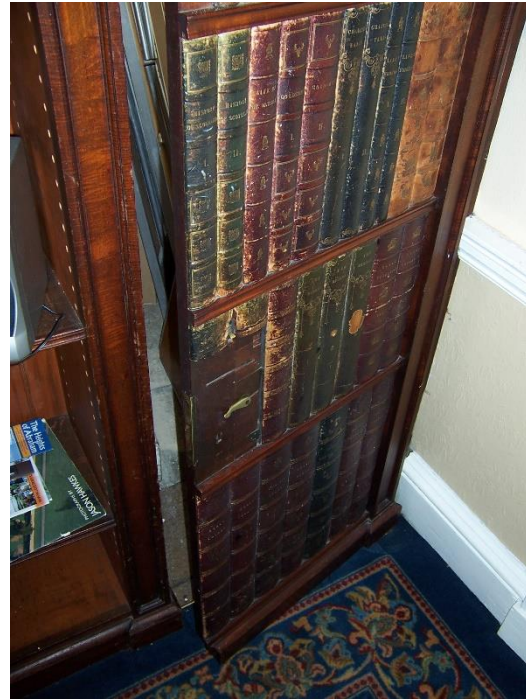
At sometime the gothic fanlight to Willersley's original entrance was removed, probably when the new entrance porch was added. It is tempting to ascribe relocation of the principal entrance and the building of an entrance porch to Blore, because it relates to his new staircase, but this is uncertain as it would seem his involvement at Willersley ended in 1846 and the Tithe Award Map of 1848 does not show the new entrance porch. We do not however know when the surveys for the Tithe Award were undertaken and it may have been prior to the creation of the new entrance porch if this was Blore's. There is no doubt as to its existence by 1880 as it is shown on the first edition of the Ordnance Survey, and in a picture post card of 1928.



With the relocation of the principal entrance Thomas's entrance hall became another reception room. The bookcases which flank the former entrance doors were probably installed then. Within the bookcases are jib doors, opening onto cupboards at the base of the bartizan towers. The jib doors are disguised with the spines of dummy books. The titles of the books are an interesting reflection of contemporary taste and give some clue as to the date of the bookcases, with the latest datable volumes being *Flora Conspicua I & II* first published in 1826. (See Appendix 2)

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<sup>34</sup> Drawing of Cromford Chapel by the Revd Guy Brian 1818.



The single storey extension to the former eastern service wing was built in two stages following the sale of the property by the Arkwrights. The first had a garden entrance in a chamfered corner. The extension appears in a picture post card with a postmark of 1937.

It seems likely that the room now called the Music Room and described in the 1927 sale catalogue as the School Room was first extended by the Methodist Guild soon after their purchase of the property, although a photograph to be found on the Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire 'Picture the Past' web site with an attributed date of 1928 reveals it was not built by then.

The chamfered entrance was done away with in the 1950s when the extension was lengthened to span all four bays of the former service wing.

One rather nice survival from earlier times is the door to the cupboard in the base of the bartizan tower in what is now the Music Room, this end of which is shown in Thomas's ground floor plan as being where the Stewards Room was and the cupboard is titled Strong Room. In the centre of the door is a brass, apparently purely decorative, oval device which opens, by means of a hidden catch, to reveal a keyhole. Its appearance is Regency in style.

## THE DESIGN AND CREATION OF THE PARK AND ANCILLARY BUILDINGS

The architect and landscape architect, John Webb (1754-1828), was employed to design and create a park setting.<sup>35</sup> We do not know when he was given the commission but logic would suggest he was retained by Sir Richard Arkwright to work collaboratively with William Thomas, as the picturesque setting of the Castle was such a critical aspect of the whole project.

John Webb lived at Lea Hall, Armitage, near Lichfield. He was a pupil and later partner of William Emes, the landscape architect based at Mackworth, near Derby. Emes had earlier helped implement Robert Adam's designs for the park at Kedleston and had worked on the adjacent Lover's Walks.<sup>36</sup>



This important early pen and ink with wash depiction of the Castle set in its landscaped park by George Robertson is undated but was most probably produced in the late 1790s, when Robertson worked for William Duesbury at the Derby China Manufactory.

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<sup>35</sup> Gardener's Chronicle 1886

<sup>36</sup> D.Buxton and C.Charlton. Unpublished MSS.

It gives some idea of how the Castle looked soon after its completion,<sup>37</sup> but equally importantly it shows how John Webb's landscape designs had been implemented. Field divisions have been swept away to create grassland sweeping down to the River Derwent<sup>38</sup>. Some trees line the western bank but on the east bank trees have only been allowed to remain up to the fence closing off the road which had once been a public route between Matlock Bath and Cromford. Beyond this line the river meadow in which the chapel sits, is open to the opposite bank.

In the middle distance, on the right hand side, may be seen a warehouse on the recently created Cromford Canal wharf. Sir Richard had to agree to the loss of part of his garden at Rock House to allow the canal wharf to be created.

The Castle sits on an artificially levelled platform cut into the south-facing rocky hillside rising high above the river. Behind and beside the Castle mature trees have been allowed to remain close up to its walls but east of this only a couple of mature trees break the line of the steep grass slope. The open lawns provide a stark contrast to the grandeur of the craggy rocks which hide the cotton mill complex from view. The medieval bridge, which had been widened on this side probably some twenty five or so years earlier, neatly defines the eastern limit of the park and makes a pleasing contribution to the landscape.

The chapel (originally intended to be private) had clearly been conceived of as an 'eye catcher' in the new landscape. Its designer is not known but it must have been begun while Thomas was acting as architect for the castle and he must be the prime candidate. Its external appearance is consistent with the application of the Adam Castle Style formula to a standard Georgian church plan.<sup>39</sup> Its appearance is also consistent with it being designed to be seen from a distance, in a stage set way. Its outline is boldly simplistic, with raised corners to the roof parapets giving the suggestion of battlements, with similar raised battlemented corners to the tower. An attached pediment to the west end provides a classical touch. It is possible that Thomas was acting jointly with John Webb. Webb was an architect as well as a landscapist and it is conceivable that he was involved with the design of the chapel under the direction of Thomas<sup>40</sup>. Gardner's accounts record that he

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<sup>37</sup> The Castle composition is rather confused by the stable block, which sits on much higher land. In this view it appears as if it lies to the rear of the house.

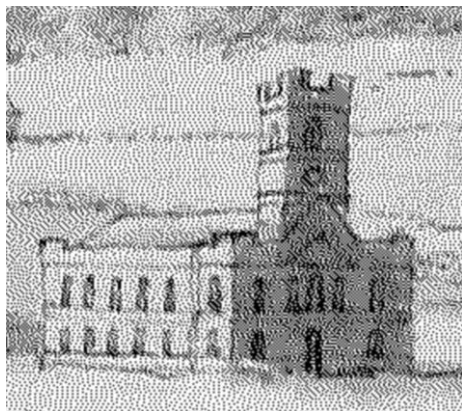
<sup>38</sup> It seems that by 1818 the clean line of the sweeping lawn was beginning to get lost with the unchecked growth of trees. Henry Moore in his 'Picturesque Excursions from Derby ...' observes "In front the ground forms a fine extent of lawn, but it is too much spotted with trees, which gives it the appearance of an orchard; and thus spoils a fine appendage to an elegant mansion."

<sup>39</sup> An opinion provided by James Simpson.

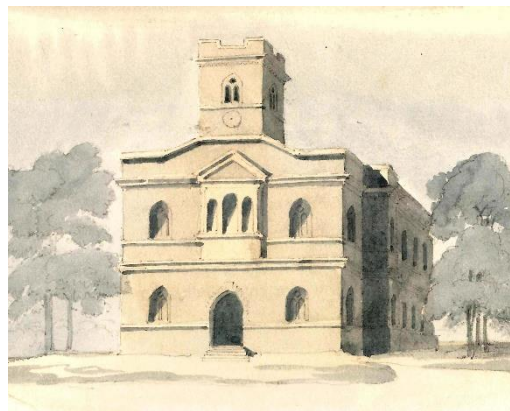
<sup>40</sup> The chapel was remodelled in 1858, when it lost many of the distinctive features mentioned above.



oversaw completion of the chapel. The date on both the chapel bell and the chapel clock dial setting is 1796.



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It may well be that Webb was responsible for the canal warehouse of 1794<sup>43</sup> being given a battlemented tower, instead of a normal gable end, disguising its utilitarian function and giving it a picturesque flavour. As in the case of the chapel, the scale of the battlemented tower is large and bold, designed to be seen from a distance.<sup>44</sup>



The park is larger than might be realised at first, as much of it is out of sight from public viewpoints, lying to the rear of the Castle and screened from view by it. This part is also screened from view by the promontory 'Cat Tor', which itself plays the role of a dramatic and romantic element in the designed landscape. It also screens from view Sir Richard Arkwright's Masson Mill,

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<sup>41</sup> Detail from Robertson's pen, ink and wash sketch of the late 1790's

<sup>42</sup> Detail from watercolour by Philip Browne of c 1827. DRO D1496 Volume 1 page 20.

<sup>43</sup> Minutes of the Canal Company reveal that the Clerk was instructed to get a warehouse built with a weighing machine within it and by May 1794 its construction had begun.

<sup>44</sup> At some point the battlemented tower was replaced with a simple battlemented gable end wall, perhaps when the original weighing machine was replaced with the present (external) one?

just around the bend of the river. Cat Tor and the other rocky ground immediately around the Castle is scattered with groups of ornamental trees. Advantage is taken of the eminence into which the castle is built, by having steep wooded walks very close to the house.



This engraving by E Byrne from a drawing by J P Neale was published in 1818, but the date of the original drawing is not known. It seems it must pre-date the Robertson view as it shows the man-made bank of ground in front of the Castle before it was re-profiled to blend in with the meadow land. This view suggests that much advantage was taken of existing trees.

Joseph Wright's oil painting of Willersley Castle is a not hugely different composition to George Robertson's although the viewpoint is slightly further south. Benedict Nicholson in his two volume work on Joseph Wright gives Wright's painting the date c1790 but this may be rather too early. Nicholson explains this painting is a companion piece to Wright's painting of 'Arkwright's Cotton Mills by day.' It is less informative than Robertson's sketch, but unfortunately no good reproduction of it is available for study.<sup>45</sup> It does however seem to depict as Robertson's does, in the mid distance to the left of the chapel, Woodend, the house built by Peter Nightingale to which he moved, from Lea Hall, in 1796.

The general impression the Wright painting gives is, unsurprisingly, similar to Robertson's i.e. that of a grand country house in an elevated position fronted by lawns sweeping down to the River Derwent with a chapel providing a decorative element within the parkland setting, all set within a hilly and craggy 'sublime' landscape.

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<sup>45</sup> The painting together with its companion piece came up for sale at Christies in November 2003 but neither sold. The vendor is not known.

The fact that the design of the park at Willersley followed principles of the 'picturesque' is not surprising, as the sublime and "awful" scenery of Matlock Bath had a national reputation amongst the cognoscenti and was sought out by followers of the picturesque movement. Even the severely practical and utilitarian Richard Arkwright must have been aware of this enthusiasm, possibly coming across travellers in search of the picturesque at either the Old Bath Hotel or the New Bath Hotel, which he used on occasion for meetings with business associates. A contemporary account of Sir Richard's funeral procession passing through the Matlock gorge summons up most vividly the way this dramatic landscape was perceived.

By 1802 some 350,000 trees had been planted by Richard Arkwright II within the Willersley Estate and throughout the Matlock Bath gorge. Richard Arkwright II seems to have been very interested in his grounds and was probably more sympathetic to the 'gardenesque' as opposed to the 'picturesque' style but there is no evidence to suggest he was intent on significantly changing Webb's design for the park.<sup>46</sup>

The tradition of visitors to The Matlocks viewing the landscape via various paths walkways and vantage points was well established and from their beginning Willersley's grounds were opened to the public from sunrise to sunset, at first every day. These were soon reduced to Mondays and Thursdays only, with tours around the walks and through the hothouses conducted by the head gardener.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> Fitton. The Mirror of 22 October 1836 has an article on Cromford in which it is stated "The number of trees planted by Mr Arkwright averaging for seven years together, 50,000 annually"

<sup>47</sup> Fitton

# THE PRINCIPAL ENTRANCE TO WILLERSLEY

The principle entrance to The Castle is beside the medieval river bridge, which had been widened sometime in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, possibly before the enactment of a 1786 Act of Parliament for the widening of the Road from Cromford Bridge to Langley Mill<sup>48</sup> as it appears in its widened form in a watercolour of 1786.<sup>49</sup>

It seems clear that there was an intention to make the most of the picturesque riverside location and it cannot be a coincidence that farm buildings on the other side of the bridge were refashioned by Richard Arkwright II at the same time as the creation of the entrance gates and gatehouse.

## FISHING LODGE

The 1786 watercolour (see page 11) shows a cluster of vernacular farm buildings beside the river bridge which includes a pyramidal roofed building.<sup>50</sup> In 1796 this vernacular building was refashioned to become a dwelling for the Arkwright water bailiff.<sup>51</sup> It must have been a considerable re-fashioning, requiring the insertion of a moulded eaves cornice as well as sash windows and a door, all with elegantly moulded surrounds. The door has inscribed over it "piscatoribus sacrum", this being an allusion to the 17<sup>th</sup> century Fishing Temple in Beresford Dale, made famous by Izaak Walton, which also has a pyramidal stone slate roof crowned by a ball finial.

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<sup>48</sup> DRO D369G/Zpe/58

<sup>49</sup> Untitled watercolour dated 1786 and signed EE

<sup>50</sup> D.Buxton and C.Charlton. Unpublished MSS.

<sup>51</sup> It remained a dwelling until at least 1862, although by then it had become the home of a labourer/artisan. D. Hool.



At the same time Arkwright took down the remaining farm buildings, which had largely enveloped the medieval bridge chapel,<sup>52</sup> to reveal the surviving parts as a romantic ruin. It seems likely that John Webb, the landscape architect who designed the park, had a hand in all this.

## ENTRANCE LODGE AND GATE PIERS

Thomas Gardner was the designer of the attractive Gatehouse and gate piers. The Gatehouse pays due regard to William Thomas's Adam castle style with the use of raised turret-like corners to the roof parapet (c.f. the chapel) and the doorway set within a flamboyant two storey gothic arched recess flanked by blind quatrefoils.

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<sup>52</sup> J. C. Cox. Notes on the Churches of Derbyshire. Vol II



The Gatehouse stands just inside the gateway. The rusticated gate piers have moulded cornice caps and fluted friezes.<sup>53</sup> Beside them is another pier and a wrought iron gate which provides a pedestrian entrance. The gates to the carriage opening are missing.

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<sup>53</sup> The gate piers to Alderwasley Hall and to the former Wirksworth Hall Coach-house yard in Coldwell Street bear a marked resemblance to these gate piers. Both properties belonged to the Hurt family. Wirksworth Hall was the home of Charles Hurt and his wife Susanna, the only daughter of Richard Arkwright. They married in June 1780. The Hall was rebuilt about this time. Was Thomas Gardner perhaps employed by Charles Hurt?



## DERWENT HOUSE

This house predates Willersley Castle by at least ten years. The building of Derwent House was generated by the condition in a 1761 lease of the Willersley Farm Estate. The lease from Edwin Lascelles to Edmund Hodgkinson of Matlock required Hodgkinson to “lay out £300” on “one good and sufficient dwelling”.

In 1778 Lascelles sold the Willersley Estate to Edmund Hodgkinson. The transaction included Hodgkinson's "recently erected house". This almost certainly refers to Derwent House<sup>54</sup>. In the same year Hodgkinson sold the estate to Thomas Hallet Hodges. The area concerned is depicted in a watercolour of 1786 and shows, as well as the old smelting mills, Derwent House.

It has a handsome façade made distinctive by the fanciful 'gothic revival' central first floor window and the elaborate architrave to the doorway below.



In 1852 The minister of St Mary's (the former Arkwright chapel), the Revd Robert Morgan Jones, in a letter to Arkwright's solicitor, James Newbold, stated that a house near the lower Willersley Lodge Gate "now used as a dairy for Willersley.... is said to have been built as the residence for the Cromford clergyman but was never occupied by him".<sup>55</sup> However the house predates the opening of the Arkwright chapel by at least ten years and probably nearer twenty. At some time the house seems to have been called Home Farm and have been used in association with the former farm buildings (now converted to private houses) which lie close to the lodge at

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<sup>54</sup> Derwent House is shown on some maps as Home Farm, a name it acquired at some point, but it should not to be confused with Willersley Farm House to the north of Derwent House, which is approached from Willersley Lane

<sup>55</sup> D.Buxton and C.Charlton. Unpublished MSS.



the foot of the carriage drive and which are referred to as The Home Farm Buildings in the Estate sale catalogue of 1927. The sale particulars of the house in the catalogue describe it as “A Pleasantly Situated Private Residence” with “Dairy with tiled floor and white tiled walls, Separating Room with sink (h. and c.)”

## COACH HOUSE/MEWS

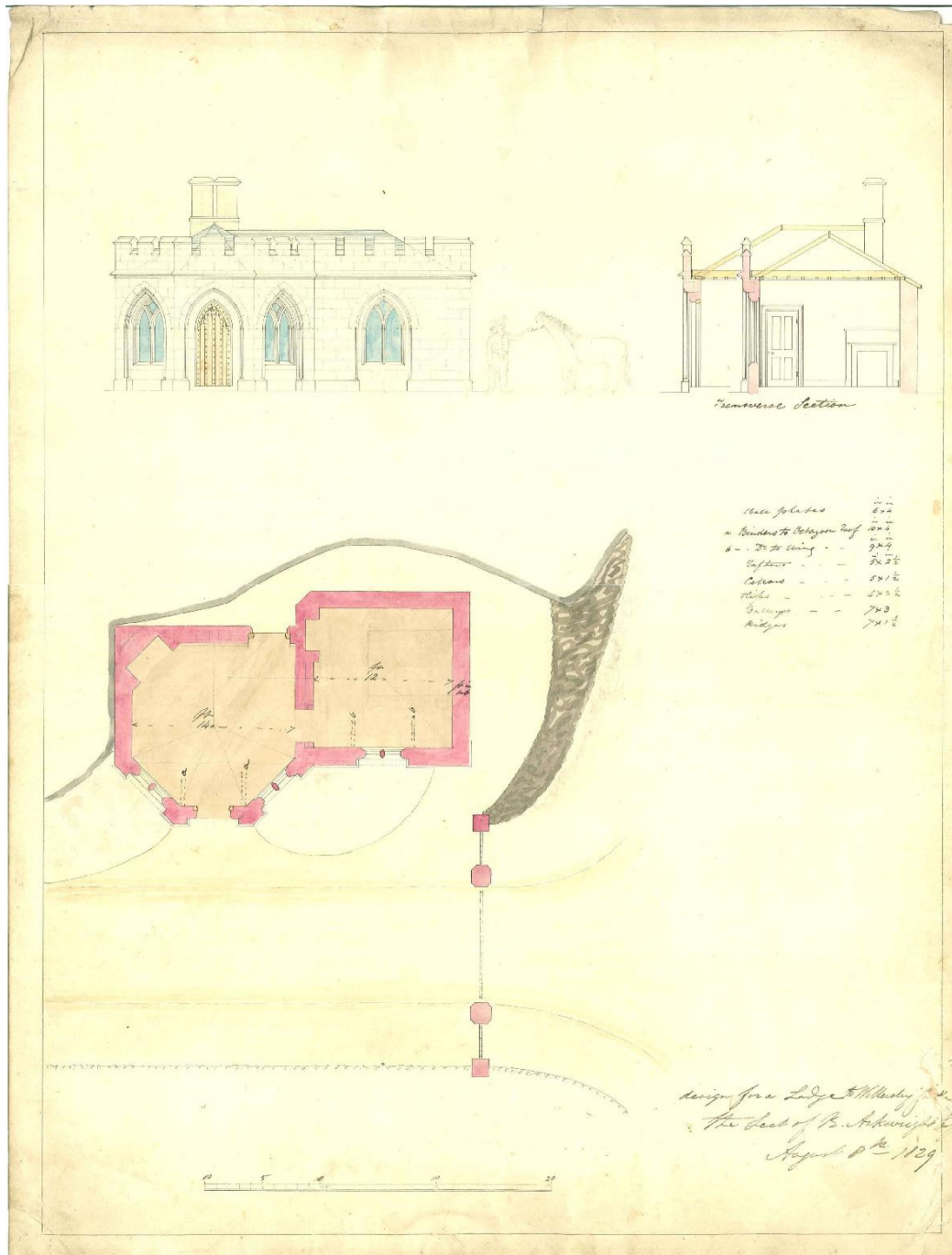
Thomas Gardner was the designer of the coach house/stables/mews building. It stands considerably higher than the castle and is approached up a gradient which must have been challenging for both horses and coachmen.

Unlike the Castle, Gatehouse and Gate Piers it is not built of fine buff sandstone but of the more common and cheaper local ‘pink’ gritstone. It is E shaped in plan, with the central block being monumental in scale and character.



## CHURCH WALK AND GATEHOUSE

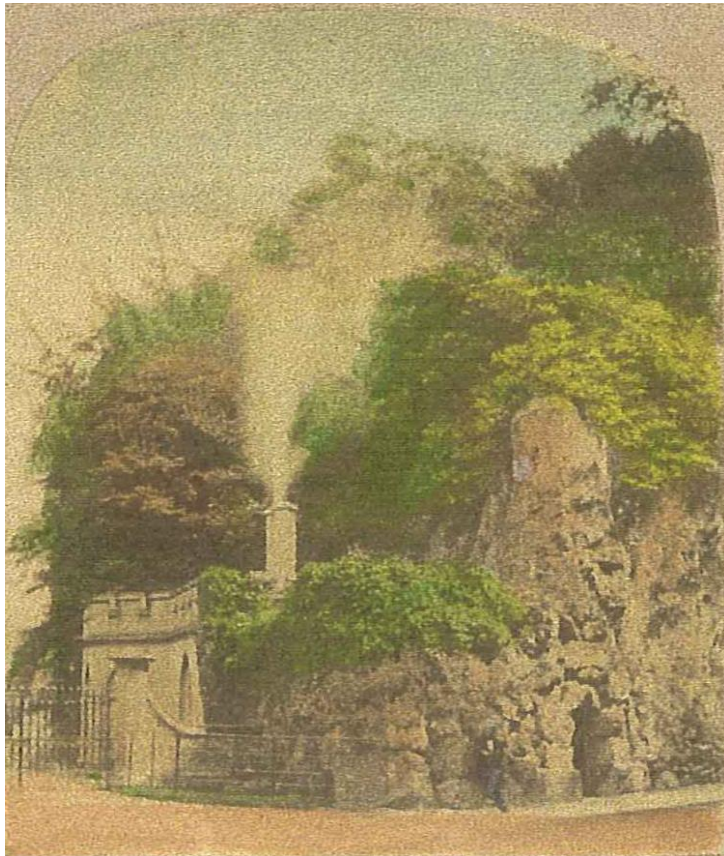
Richard Arkwright II received several proposals for the design of a Lodge at the entrance to Church Walk in 1828-9. The one chosen was in the picturesque gothic style. The designer is not known.



The crenellated lodge was, in plan, in the form of two squares, off-set. The eastern one was canted out and contained the doorway.

The recess in the rocky wall, to the west, was a gateway giving access to the lodge.

Sadly the lodge was demolished in the 1960s, as was the rocky wall with its little gateway, when the A6 was widened. Only the gate piers remain.





## GLOSSARY

**BARTIZAN** A turret, generally projecting from the angle or corner of a tower.

**BATTLEMENT** A parapet that is notched or indented, consisting of raised parts separated by spaces.

**BUCHRANIUM FREIZE** A frieze decorated with garlanded ox-skulls.

**CASTELLATED** With battlements or ornamented with crenellations.

**CRENNELATION** Repeated indentations in a parapet.

**GEW GAW** Vulgar, toy like.

**HOOD MOULD (or Label)** Projecting moulding over an aperture.

**JIB or GIB DOOR** A concealed door, disguised by décor or fittings matching adjacent surfaces. In libraries disguised as bookshelves.

**LABEL (or Hood Mould)** Projecting moulding over an aperture.

**LOOP HOLE** A narrow slit used in fortified structures through which arrows and missiles could be discharged.

**PIER GLASSES** Decorative mirrors located between, generally regularly spaced, windows.

## APPENDIX 1

Invoice

Peter Arkwright Esq

1843 June 4<sup>th</sup>

Journey from Derby to Willersley with Mr Armstrong to inspect works with reference to proposed improvements.

(1843) Nov 29

To Willersley Castle to inspect works

Armstrong another journey

Making plan for alterations giving

directions for the execution of the works and

other professional services.

52. 10. ``

Sent May 10 1846 PAID

Cambridge University Library. Add. MS. 3955, f.43.

## APPENDIX 2

Titles of dummy volumes which face up the jib doors in the former entrance hall.

Everyday Book I&II	Ancient Ballads
Historical Sketches	Botanic Garden(S?) I & II (1791)
Gems	Book of Nature I, II, III
Dramas	Life of Burns
The Minstrel	The Critic
Essays	Akensides Works I & II
Milton I & II	Cowper (1731-1800)
Sydney's Arcadia	Dryden
Musical Library I – IV	Shakespeare I & II
Rational Recreations	The Gleaner
Josephus	History of Scotland
Junius	Life of B R Wilson
Baronial Remains	Goldsmith
Pepys Memoirs	Chaucer's Tales I & II
Life of Columbus	Life of Fendon (?)
Fragments	Flora Conspicua I & II (1826)*
Mission to Ashantia	Racine
Whittaker's Richmondshire	The Mirror I, II, III
Camdens Britannica	Noval Chronicles I, II
Hall's Chronicles I & II	State Trials I, II
Songs	English Flora I, II

The Idler (1756-60)  
Dante

Ireland and the Irish  
Border Antiquities I, II

*\*As well as being the latest datable publication this is an interesting inclusion. The author, Richard Morris, was secretary of the Medico-Botanical Society of London. In 1825, in his Essays on Landscape Gardening, he distinguished between the beautiful and the picturesque and gave practical instructions for creating a rural estate including planting, water features, ornament and the effect of distant scenery.*

### APPENDIX 3

“These new form’d towers in prospect as I view,  
With mind intent, their progress I pursue,  
Which well our fix’d attention may command,  
Displaying on each stage a master’s hand,  
Dispos’d to captivate the gazer’s sight,  
As ancient Strength with modern Grace unite;  
Where uniformity its charm displays,  
To bend each arch, each swelling column raise;  
While relative proportion rules the whole,  
Of every part the animating soul;  
As the vast pile, still growing on our eyes,  
Shall still, with happy auspices arise.  
Such, Architecture, are thy traits confest,  
From times remote, in various modes exprest;  
That art renown’d, which elder ages taught,  
And Rome succeeding, to perfection brought,  
Ere Europe’s modern sons put in their claim,  
In later ages emulous of fame.  
Hail, Art sublime! preserv’d with constant care,  
Offspring of Symmetry and Order fair,  
O may we see thy votaries increase,  
And mark thy beauties in the days of Peace.  
And thou, whose useful taleuts here are shown,  
Thy skill by many a pleasing structure known,  
Well do thy precepts and designs impart  
The elements of thy beloved Art;  
Nor thus content, yet emulous, we find  
Thy fair example leave those rules behind.  
THOMAS, proceed, thy power’s at full display,  
Where genius kindly points the destin’d way;  
Boldly advance; the path before thee lies,

By genuine merit to fair fame to rise.  
While still, thy fix'd attention to engage,  
For thee fair Science opes her ample page,  
Form'd, as thou wast, beneath the fostering care  
Of those whose fame their various works declare;  
What may'st thou not attempt, as mellowing time,  
Shall raise thy genius and thy powers sublime?  
Call forth thy vigour, bid thy views extend,  
The *fair* and *useful* in each work to blend.  
Meanwhile, this varied scene enchants our eyes,  
Where Art and Nature's choicest beauties rise,  
By taste united, which can best combine  
The fair ideas of each just design,  
Such as with proper elegance displays  
The Edifice, that speaks the Artist's praise."