

THE FREEMANS OF FAWLEY AND THEIR BUILDINGS

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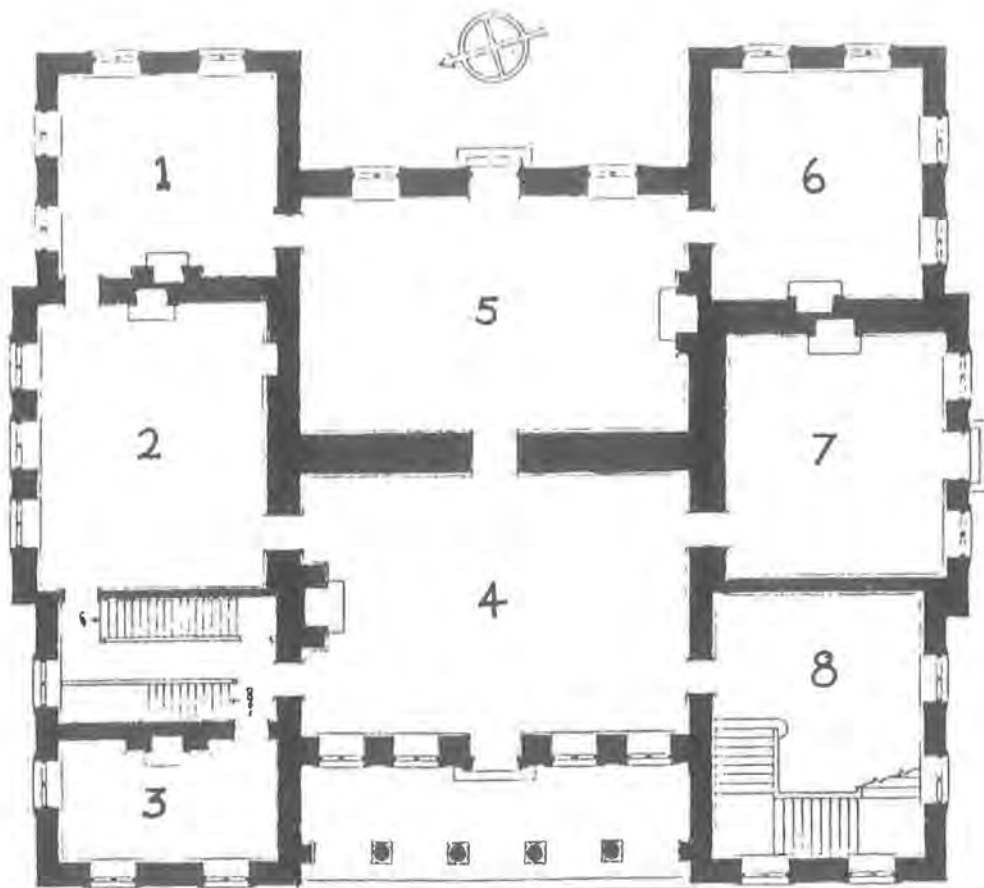
Four generations of Freemans lived at Fawley Court, and each of them left a mark on the house and its surroundings, as they built, rebuilt, decorated and landscaped according to the social needs and aesthetic sensibilities of their time. Much of their work is still to be seen, and much more has been rescued from oblivion by Mr. Tyack. His paper shows how the developing taste of the eighteenth century worked itself out in the lives of a family of cultivated country gentlemen with lively minds and active interests.

Fawley is a small Thames-side parish at the south-western tip of Buckinghamshire. The manor house, Fawley Court, stands by the river, well away from the church. It was built in 1684 by William Freeman,¹ and the subsequent history of the house, church and estate under successive generations of Freemans is an important part of the history of Buckinghamshire architecture, as well as being a virtual microcosm of 18th-century taste.

William Freeman was perhaps the first of the many colonial merchants who broke into the landed society of the middle Thames valley in the late 17th and 18th centuries.² His father, Colonel William Freeman, was described by a descendant as 'a soldier of fortune and an adventurer, partly military, partly mercantile'.³ He had come from 'a humble sphere of life' in Bury St. Edmunds, and had gone as a young man to Ireland, and from there to the West Indian island of St. Kitts, arriving in 1629, six years after the first settlement by the English.⁴ He acquired a colonel's commission and a 270-acre estate, but lost possession when the French invaded in 1666, and failed to regain it when English rule was restored. In the 1670s he became one of the Leeward Islands agents of the Royal Africa Company, the body responsible for introducing negro slaves to work the expanding sugar plantations. He seems to have died in England in the early 1680s, leaving his West Indian property, or what remained of it, to his children, the eldest of whom, William,

was the purchaser of Fawley.⁵ The younger William Freeman was a London merchant involved in the West Indies trade, and acted from 1678 to 1684 as agent in London for Sir William Stapleton, governor of the Leeward Islands. He owned a plantation on the island of Montserrat, and acquired property in London, including the former 15th-century merchant's house called Crosby Hall in Bishopsgate.⁶ He acquired a captain's commission under James II, and was apparently '... a hot-tempered person, ambitious and enterprising, but kind and liberal to several of his relations'.⁷

The Freemans' connection with Fawley dates from 1679, when Col. William or his son took over a mortgage on the estate entered into by the then owner, James Whitelocke, son of the celebrated lawyer and Cromwellian politician Sir Bulstrode Whitelocke.⁸ Whitelocke failed to pay the interest, with the result that the Freemans took possession.⁹ The younger William, in the words of a descendant, '... soon established himself as a great man in the county, and converting into offices the antient mansion of the Whitelockes built, within a very short distance, the present Fawley Court'.¹⁰ The new house was fit, according to tradition, to receive William III on his progress from Torbay to London in 1688,¹¹ but the fitting out of the interior continued into the 1690s, and the splendid plaster ceiling in the saloon carries the date 1690.



GROUND FLOOR PLAN

Plan 1. Fawley Court, from *Wren Society* Vol. XVII. The names of the rooms are those in use in the 1770s. (1) Billiard Room. (2) Breakfast Parlour. (3) Library. (4) Hall. (5) Saloon. (6) Drawing Room. (7) Eating Room. (8) Main Staircase. (*Reproduced by kind permission of J. Brandon-Jones, A.R.I.B.A.*)

Fawley Court was one of the first country houses of south Buckinghamshire to display the classical style in all its purity. Renaissance ideas began to influence English country house architecture early in the 16th century, but it was not until the reign of James I that Inigo Jones introduced a manner of building which, in its strict symmetry, meticulous proportion, and correct use of the classical Orders, showed that the lessons of the Italian theorists and architects had been fully absorbed. For some time Jones' influence was confined to the Court, but from

the middle of the century, country gentlemen began to follow his lead. Hall Barn, near Beaconsfield, built for the poet Edmund Waller, has the vertical windows and hipped roof which are found in some of Jones' and his followers' designs, and the same features appear at Bradenham Manor, which has been dated at around 1670.¹² Both of these houses, however, contain decorative features which would have offended Jones, and which betray the influence of the London builders who designed so many of the houses in south-east England in the

17th century. Fawley Court, by contrast, seems to have been designed by someone who had fully absorbed the lessons of the Renaissance. The house was planned in the form of an H, with two large rooms (the hall and saloon) in the centre on the ground floor, and staircases and smaller rooms, which were doubtless originally suites of rooms or 'apartments' containing bedrooms, in the wings. Upstairs, the large room over the saloon may well, following contemporary usage, have served as the main dining room. Houses like Fawley Court were designed to achieve the maximum comfort and privacy for their owners and guests by segregating them from the servants, who worked in the basement and slept in the attic rooms. There was a strict attention to symmetry, both internally and externally; to quote Sir Roger Pratt, who designed some of the most influential post-Restoration houses:

'Beautiful it will be if all the great rooms be placed just in the middle, and afterwards that those on each hand have alike positions and also dimensions . . . all the windows on the one side of the house, etc., to exactly range with those on the other, and the doors likewise . . . but especially that there should be a clear vista through the very middle of the building, where the principal entrance ought always to be placed'.¹²

The designer of Fawley Court was well aware of these rules. The rooms are symmetrically disposed, and planned according to mathematical principles (the hall and saloon each measure 40 ft. x 20 ft.). There is a 'clear vista' through the house, and there are no awkward solecisms in the placing of doorways and windows. Each facade is arranged so as to form a satisfactory composition in itself; the west or entrance front, and the east front, which faces the River Thames, each have the five central bays recessed, while in the south front, facing towards Henley, and its counterpart to the north, the three central bays are brought forward and crowned by a pediment.

It is uncertain who designed this accomplished building. It is clearly too sophisticated to have been the work of a local builder. Indeed, no less an architect than Sir Christopher Wren has been credited with the design, the attribution resting on a reference (perhaps re-

peating a family tradition) in Langley's *History of Desborough Hundred*, which was published in 1797.¹³ While Wren's involvement at Fawley cannot be disproved, it seems most unlikely that he acted as architect in the sense in which we understand the term today. In the 1680s he was Surveyor of the King's Works and fully engaged in the maintenance of the royal palaces, and in the design of important public buildings, not least of them St. Paul's Cathedral. He is known, it is true, to have provided designs for certain individuals, and at one major Buckinghamshire house, Winslow Hall, built for Sir William Lowndes, a fellow civil servant, in 1699-1700, his name appears in the account book preserved in the house. There are, however, no such references among the Freeman papers, and Wren is not known to have had any personal connection with William Freeman. Assuming that Wren was not the architect, one would expect the house to have been designed either by a gentleman amateur or by one of the small but increasing number of builder-contractors who by the 1680s were capable of designing classical country houses without the 'incorrect' features of earlier buildings. One such builder, the statuary William Stanton of Holborn, was the probable designer of a slightly later Buckinghamshire house, Denham Place, begun in 1688,¹⁴ and another, Richard Jennings, one of Sir Christopher Wren's contractors at St. Paul's in the 1690s, bought the Badgemore estate less than two miles from Fawley, and is buried in Henley churchyard. In the absence of documentary evidence, the identity of the designer of Fawley Court must remain a mystery; what is certain is that such a distinguished design must have set a standard for other houses built in the area in subsequent years.

Little of the internal decoration survived the 18th century. Of the original features the most important are the main staircase, with its turned wooden balusters, and the saloon ceiling, one of the finest pieces of contemporary plasterwork in the county. It seems almost certain that a London plasterer was responsible for the design and execution, perhaps William Parker, who was working at Denham Place in 1693,¹⁵ or James Pettifer, who worked on some

of Wren's churches, as well as on the ceilings at Sudbury Hall (Derbyshire). Once again, though, the absence of documents makes it impossible to make a firm attribution.

William Freeman died in 1707, leaving his estate to his 18-year-old nephew John Cook, an East India merchant, who was required to take the name Freeman on inheriting the property. He was the son of a London merchant who had married William Freeman's sister, Catherine, and was in Madras when his uncle died.¹⁶ Along with the Fawley estate he inherited lands in the West Indies from his uncle, but there were large debts to pay, and he eventually sold them off. He married well, writing on 3rd December 1717 to his brother Thomas at Fort St. George (Madras):

'Now I am to inform you yt having met with a Lady who in my own opinion and likewise of all my Friends and relations has the qualitys necessary to make me extremely happy in a wife. [In] the latter end of May last I was married to the eldest daughter of the late Sr Jeremy Sambrooke. Her Fortune between £12 and 13,000 and Family and Relations such as would be courted by men of the best Circumstances in England. I have a great deal of reason to be better satisfied since I am married, her good humour being answerable to all her other endowments.'¹⁷

He maintained his Indian trading interests after taking over the Fawley estate, and two of his brothers spent the bulk of their lives in the East. A book containing copies of his letters throws a great deal of light on East India Company affairs, as well as on his own and his family's activities and interests.¹⁸ On 10 December 1719, for instance, he advised his brother Thomas against returning prematurely to England; a man with a fortune of £20,000 in India (more than he would expect to have even after several years' residence there) would find it difficult to give his daughters adequate marriage-portions; a note to the effect that he was 'sensible of this misfortune' himself suggests that, despite his wife's handsome fortune, he felt under financial pressure.¹⁹ The hardship must have increased in 1721, when he lost much of his 'principal stock' in the South

Sea Bubble. He nevertheless maintained a direct interest in trade with the sub-continent throughout the 1720s and early 1730s, importing diamonds which were paid for in silver, and sold in London. The diamond trade was depressed during the 1730s, and on 6 February 1732 he instructed his brother not to send him any more because the market was flooded with imports from South America. By 1735 he had transferred his Indian investments from Madras to Bengal, by which time he was taking a less direct interest in India, and devoting himself increasingly to his estate at Fawley.

John Freeman had spent relatively little time at Fawley during the first quarter of the 18th century, preferring to live in London.²⁰ He was already writing to his brother in 1719, though, that 'a quiet life agrees with me more than a bustling one', and two years later, in 1721, he bought the estate of Bosmore, about a mile north of Fawley church.²¹ He also owned a 44-acre farm at Assenden, just over the Oxfordshire border.²² A depression in agricultural prices forced him to take some of his farms into his own hands in the early 1730s,²³ and by the 1740s he was spending nearly all the year in the country.

He soon developed an interest in architecture and gardening, purchasing numerous books on architecture and classical antiquities for his library.²⁴ More importantly, he purchased some classical works of art for himself. Unlike many *virtuosi*, he did not have the opportunity of travelling to Italy, but in or around 1717, together with his friend Edmund Waller of Hall Barn, Beaconsfield, he bought some of the celebrated Arundel Marbles for £75. These important sculptures had been collected by Thomas Howard, earl of Arundel, in the early 17th century and dispersed by his descendants, some of them finding refuge in a London pleasure garden known as Cuper's (or Cupid's) Garden near the south side of the present Waterloo Bridge.²⁵ Freeman and Waller split the marbles between themselves, Freeman taking, *inter alia*, a draped female figure and two portrait-heads which are still in the house,²⁶ a male statue presented to the British Museum in 1845, and four pieces — a circular

altar, the torso of the 'Arundel Homerus', another portrait-head and a fragment of the frieze from the Great Altar of Pergamon in Asia Minor — which have been loaned by the present owners of Fawley Court to the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

The purchase of the Arundel Marbles must have inspired Freeman to provide an appropriate setting for their display, but there is no evidence that he carried out any work on the house or grounds until the late 1720s. In 1728 he wrote to his friend George Morton Pitt, soon to become governor of Fort St. George, that he was finding gardening and building 'most pleasing amusements in private life', mentioning 'diversions in the Country', and hoping that on his return to England Pitt would 'share the delights they afford me, but they are not by any means worth committing to paper'. Two years later he told Pitt that

'... you compliment my taste in Building & Gardening much more than it deserves and I fear when I have the pleasure to see you at Fawley you will have nothing to entertain you there but a hearty wellcome'.²⁷

In 1732, however, he wrote to his brother implying that he was planting some of the beech woods in the nearby hills:

'I am at present turned Farmer and have taken a long lease of Henley Park which contains the hills against my house where I am planting trees making theatres & building castles in the air'.²⁸

This interest in landscaping was shared by some of his neighbours in south Buckinghamshire. Edmund Waller, the co-purchaser of the Arundel Marbles, was involved at the same time in the completion of the landscape at Hall Barn, begun by his grandfather, the poet, and now one of the finest surviving gardens of the period. In the planning of Hall Barn, Waller was assisted by his stepfather John Aislabie, Chancellor of the Exchequer at the time of the South Sea Bubble in 1721, who went on to make the even more magnificent gardens at Studley Royal in Yorkshire.²⁹ Freeman may well have consulted Waller, and perhaps even Aislabie, in at least the initial stages of his projects. He must also have known the gardens at Cliveden, a few miles away, which were then

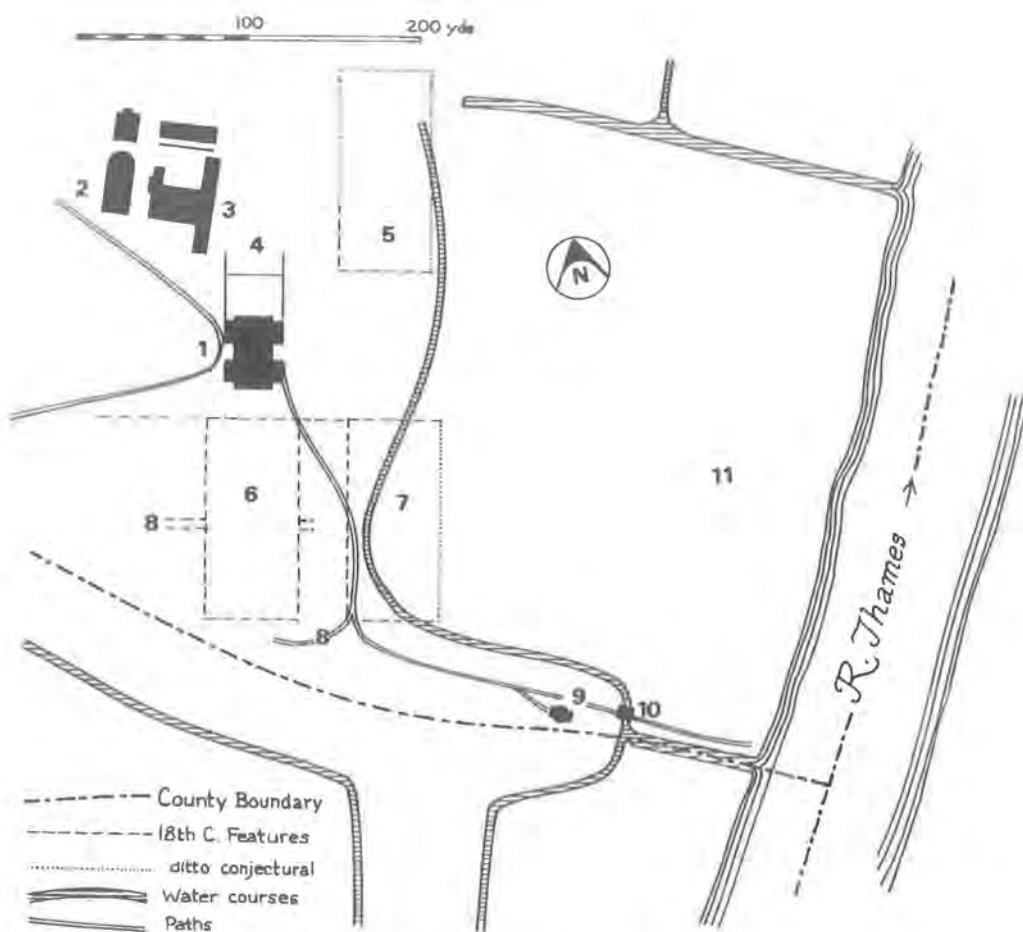
being extended by the great garden designer Charles Bridgeman at the same time. His letters make it clear that he was sympathetic to the architectural doctrines of the Kent and Burlington circle, and this sympathy extended to their ideas on gardening. Attempts to break up the rigidity of 17th-century formal gardening by bringing in the landscape as a backdrop, 'following nature' by sensitive planting, and evoking different moods by placing buildings at intervals throughout the grounds — all found at Fawley — are discussed in the writings of this group, and reached their most perfect expression in gardens like those of a better-known Buckinghamshire house, Stowe.

The gardens of Fawley Court have been greatly altered in the last two hundred years, but a recently-discovered plan dated 1763 enables us to picture them as they were during John Freeman's later life.³⁰ The house was surrounded by terraces, which may explain a surviving inscription in the basement:

'Ut pauperes adhiberet negotio John Freeman armiger de Fawley aggeravit hanc molem AD 1731.'

[In order to give employment to the poor, John Freeman Esquire of Fawley reared this mass of masonry AD 1731.]

To the east, there were two rectangular 'canals' on either side of the house near the Thames, and at the south end of the southern canal there was a classical temple. A rectangular bowling green 250 ft. long was aligned on the south front of the house and flanked by densely-planted trees. The house was entered from the west, the drive passing under a bridge, and to the north there was a stable block and a kitchen garden on the site of the present outbuildings. The canals and bowling green may well have survived from the original late-17th-century gardens, but Freeman seems to have been responsible for planting a more densely wooded part of the grounds to the south-east of the area shown on the 1763 plan. This area still preserves something of the sensibility of the early Georgian period, and Freeman's preliminary drawings for the flint-built covered bridge and the Gothic 'temple' or folly which still stand in the woods have recently come to light.³¹ The



Plan 2. The grounds of Fawley Court in the 19th century, showing paths and watercourses (based on O.S. map 25 ins. to mile, 1879). (1) The House. (2) Riding House. (3) Dairy. (4) Site of Kitchen garden shown on plan of 1763. (5) Site of North Canal, 1763. (6) Site of Bowling Green, 1763. (7) Site of South Canal, 1763. (8) Plantation. (9) Gothic Temple. (10) Covered Bridge. (11) Meadow.

heavily rusticated gateway leading to the bridge is made up of an opening with a plain lintel, flanked by Tuscan pilasters and surmounted by a pediment. The Gothic temple, an altogether more curious building, consists of a circular domed room with a facade surmounted by a ruined wall with a Perpendicular window, the accuracy of whose details suggest that it may have been brought by Freeman from Fawley church when it was rebuilt in about 1748 (see below). The temple was built to house some of the Arundel marbles, one of which, the Per-

gamon altar fragment, was housed in a roundel surrounded by an egg-and-dart moulding over the Gothic arched entrance.³² Two other figures stood on plinths on either side of the window, and another occupied a niche inside the dome. The juxtaposition of Gothic architecture and classical statuary may seem perverse to us, and it would certainly have offended those later purists who believed that the monuments of antiquity should be housed in classical and preferably Grecian buildings. John Freeman, however, was not a purist, and he may

well have felt, with some of his contemporaries, that both Gothic and classical architecture shared some of the qualities of primitive strength and purity which the age was striving to recapture.

Freeman's stylistic tastes, like those of most of his contemporaries, were catholic. Some designs survive for Chinese buildings,³³ but his main love, as one would expect, was for classical architecture, and his letters to George Morton Pitt demonstrate his enthusiasm for the neo-Palladianism of the Burlington circle. He told him on 8 February 1728 about William Kent's recently published *Designs of Inigo Jones* (1727), and in November 1730 he wrote that 'Lord Burlington's [Chiswick House] is the prettiest Bauble that ever was built. [The] finishing of the ornaments are extreemly well done & the whole very antique & a fitt model for a larger thing as I don't doubt yours will be'.³⁴ He was already beginning to design or at least advise on buildings for his friends, writing in 1731:

'I have lately been with [George Stanley] in Hampshire scheeming gardens & Buildings. [He] is plac'd in a pretty spot in a very bad Country. [He] has the Vertu very Strong and as my Lord Burlington is his great adviser I suppose he will make some bold strokes'.³⁵

It is not certain whether these 'schemes' came to anything, or whether Freeman had anything to do with a project of Pitt's mentioned on 3 November 1733:

'I am glad to find that you have leisure for building, the colonnade of 40 Pillars must have a firm effect but I don't understand the order unless you mean the Tuscan for a Stone entablature'.

His one securely documented design outside Fawley is the attractive octagonal saloon added on in 1751 to Honington Hall (War.) by Joseph Townshend, M.P. for Wallingford, the designs for which survive among the family papers at Gloucester. There are drafts of his letters to Townshend complaining about the alterations made to his design by William Jones, a London architect brought in to help execute the new room. These letters make it clear that he remained faithful to the Palladian taste, disapproving of the new Rococo fashion seen at

Honington in, for instance, '... the looking glasses in the 8gon [octagon] with dolphins Rocks & bitts of glass I don't very well understand'.³⁶

Towards the end of his life Freeman transferred his attention from the gardens of Fawley Court to the parish church. His uncle had acquired the advowson, and John presented John Stevens to the living in 1738.³⁷ Ten years later, in 1748, Freeman bought pews and other furnishings, including a fine late-17th-century carved wooden reredos and pulpit, sometimes attributed to Grinling Gibbons, from the Duke of Chandos' magnificent chapel at Cannons (Middx).³⁸ These fittings had been purchased by George Shakespear, a master carpenter, in the previous year, and a plan of the chapel, presumably drawn up by Freeman or Shakespear, with calculations of the weight of the fittings, survives in the family papers.³⁹ Freeman extensively remodelled the mediaeval church at Fawley to accommodate these fittings, probably employing Shakespear as builder. The chancel was completely rebuilt with large round-headed windows, the nave re-fenestrated and given a new plaster ceiling above a classical cornice, and the existing furnishings displaced. After rebuilding, the church was said to have 'the appearance of a college chapel', and it was 'much admired for its elegant simplicity'.⁴⁰ A photograph taken before 1883 and now hanging in the vestry shows dark-stained oak pews in the nave facing inwards in collegiate fashion; lower pews facing forward occupy the inner aisle, and the pulpit (without its sounding-board mentioned in early accounts of the church) and reading-desk are placed on either side of the tall round-headed chancel arch.⁴¹ Externally the changes were less drastic.⁴² Much of this interesting internal ensemble was swept away in an insensitive restoration of 1883; inappropriate Gothic windows were introduced into the nave and the inward-facing pews replaced by new ones facing forwards in the conventional manner. The chancel, however, despite a rather startling colour-scheme, still remains much as Freeman left it, and the pulpit and reading-desk survive.

A more immediate reminder of John Free-

man's architectural activities survives in the form of a free-standing mausoleum in the north-west corner of the churchyard. This large and gloomy monument was built to his designs in 1750. Some preliminary drawings survive in the Gloucester Record Office, together with notes and memoranda about construction, including a draft contract 'for building the Monument of Portland Stone according to the Dimensions markt in the plan'. This states that the contractor (whose name is not recorded) was to 'find good sound Stone & deliver it in Fawley Court mead', while Freeman was to 'find Brick & Mortar & Iron Cramps & carridg from the Mead to the Church; Scaffold poles, Carts, Centres for the graves, & to have nothing to do or be at any other expense whatever'.⁴³ The building of mausolea fascinated many 18th-century builders, providing a sombre counterpoint to the frivolity of Gothic ruins and Rococo plasterwork. Besides its obvious function as a family memorial and a *memento mori*, a mausoleum could be a piece of pure architecture. In the climate of the 18th century, with its reverence for the classical world, it gave an excellent opportunity for an architect to imitate or paraphrase some of the great monuments of antiquity. Freeman's mausoleum is not as spectacular as, say, Nicholas Hawksmoor's famous monument to the earls of Carlisle in the grounds of Castle Howard (Yorkshire), but it is nevertheless an interesting and comparatively little-known example of the *genre*. A domed cylindrical structure, it is clearly modelled on Roman prototypes, most notably the tomb of Caecilia Metella on the Appian Way, dating from about 20 B.C. Freeman, as far as is known, had not seen this monument himself, but his son Sambrooke drew it on his Grand Tour in 1746.⁴⁴ The Freeman mausoleum differs in several important respects from its antique prototype. The base, in which the coffins are placed, is octagonal and not square, and the superstructure is smaller in relation to the base, rising above an open space in the centre from which the shelves for the coffins radiate. There is no entablature, and there is a shallow dome, modelled on that of the Pantheon. Freeman's drawings show that the monument's present form was only reached

after repeated trial and error. One pencil drawing shows a circular building with a Corinthian portico, another a much taller circular structure surrounded by two levels of colonnades, and flanked by two buildings rather like the present one. While these buildings might have been more spectacular, the present sombre mausoleum is a fitting monument both to a little-known amateur architect, and to the burgeoning of interest in serious neo-classical design which was to transform English architecture in the second half of the 18th century.

John Freeman died and was buried in his own mausoleum in 1752. He had taken care to imbue his eldest son, Sambrooke, who succeeded him, with his own artistic interests. Sambrooke travelled on the Continent from 1744 to 1747, visiting Holland, Germany and Italy, and again in 1749-50. He recorded his observations and drawings in a small notebook which still survives.⁴⁵ Other notebooks and some geometrical drawings, presumably made by Sambrooke, survive among the family papers, and there are also drawings of Renaissance-style fortifications which might be by him or his father.⁴⁶ John Freeman sent his son a list of the pictures in Sir Robert Walpole's famous collection at Houghton (Norfolk) in 1744, and he also seems to have interested him in his architectural ventures, writing to Joseph Townshend of Honington in about 1751 about '... a Hunting match that is to be in your frize [*sic*], that may divert your neighbouring sportsmen, but I question whether the Connoisseurs will like it so well as that fine foliage of [Inigo?] Jones in the freaze Sammy sent you'.⁴⁷ With this background it is not surprising that Sambrooke continued to take an interest in architectural and antiquarian matters after succeeding to the estate, adding several books on antiquities to his father's library which he had bound in Rome in the 1760s.⁴⁸ He was a member of the Society of Dilettanti, through whose convivial meetings he must have come into frequent contact with his near-neighbour Sir Francis Dashwood of West Wycombe, currently engaged in transforming his own house and grounds. He seems to have taken a close interest in the excavations at Herculaneum, judging by a long letter of 2 May

1750 from a 'Mr. Freeman' which was printed in the Royal Society's *Philosophical Transactions* in 1751.⁴⁹ Like other 18th-century *virtuosi*, he was interested in scientific questions, and especially in their application to estate-management. There are drawings dating from the 1760s of, among other devices, a fruit-carrying machine, a chaff cutter and 'Mr. Dashwood's pine stove in Norfolk',⁵⁰ and a letter survives from Humphry Gainsborough, brother of the painter, and minister of the Independent chapel in Henley, giving a detailed description of a pendulum.⁵¹ Sambrooke Freeman was also involved in politics, at least to the extent of being elected as M.P. for Pontefract in 1754 through the interest of his father's friend George Morton Pitt, and again, after seven years out of Parliament, for Bridport in 1768, although he said in his one recorded speech that he was 'unused to speak in this House'.⁵²

Like his father, he enlarged the Fawley estate, no doubt employing some of the fortune inherited from his younger brother Jeremiah, a merchant, who died in 1759.⁵³ The most notable purchases were those of the manors of Remenham, on the opposite side of the Thames, and, in 1768, the manors of Henley and Phyllis Court together with Henley Park.⁵⁴ The acquisition of these estates, which included the old gabled manor-house of the Whitelocke family at Phyllis Court,⁵⁵ brought the Freeman holdings to the very edge of Henley town, and gave the family, as lords of the manor, an important role in the life of the town. Sambrooke Freeman and his nephew Strickland Freeman were among the commissioners appointed for rebuilding Henley Bridge in 1787,⁵⁶ but Strickland fell foul of Henley Corporation in 1793, when he attempted to enforce his manorial rights over fishing in the Thames.⁵⁷

Sambrooke Freeman seems to have done nothing to Fawley Court until shortly before his mother's death in 1770. In 1767 and 1768 he made several important purchases of books, furniture and statues from Rome, the most important of which was a cast of the Farnese Venus bought for him by the well-known dealer Thomas Jenkins on 29 May 1767;⁵⁸ this must be

one of the 'two casts brought from Rome' mentioned in a later account of the house.⁵⁹ These classical figures were placed in the saloon which was also adorned with old masters, including works by, or attributed to, Rembrandt, Poussin, Cuyp, Salvator Rosa, Rubens, Veronese and Hobbema. This selection, so characteristic of the taste of the time, made the room virtually an art gallery in its own right, like that which still survives at Corsham Court (Wilts). Some sheets of paper showing the placing of the pictures survive among the Freeman papers. On the west side of the saloon, for instance, there were large pictures of the Four Seasons attributed to Luca Giordano, and below, on either side of the door leading in from the entrance hall, paintings by Rubens, Cuyp, Veronese and Freeman's contemporary Joseph Wright of Derby.⁶⁰

Sambrooke Freeman's decision to remodel the interior of the house after his mother's death in 1770 was no doubt influenced by his wish to provide an appropriate setting for his art collection. There were also more practical reasons. Late-17th-century houses, with their heavy furniture and ground-floor 'apartments' were not well suited to the style of entertainment which was becoming fashionable in the second half of the 18th century, when large numbers of people visited country houses for balls, 'assemblies' and supper parties. New houses in the Thames valley, like Sir William Clayton's Harleyford Manor a few miles downstream, built by the fashionable London architect Sir Robert Taylor in 1755, were designed to provide a circuit of reception rooms on the main floor, with all the bedroom accommodation upstairs. Freeman must have been familiar with Harleyford, and even more so with his brother John Freeman's Chute Lodge (Wilts), which was also designed by Taylor.⁶¹ While Fawley Court could not be turned into a villa after the fashion of Harleyford, its rooms could be redecorated and transformed so as to create more space for the reception of visitors, like the 92 people who were entertained to supper there on Wednesday, 7 January 1777. The guests included Mrs. Lybbe Powys, mother of the rector of Fawley:

'So great a crowd, or so fine a house to dis-



Fawley Court near Henley.

Plate V

Fawley Court from the south-west, by J. Buckler, 1826, Bodleian Libr. MS Top Oxon a.67, f.306. Reproduced by kind permission of the Bodleian Library.



Plate VI a The Gothic Folly, Fawley Court (photograph: the author)



Plate VI b The Dairy, Fawley Court (photograph: the author)



Plate VII a
The Mausoleum, Fawley Church (photograph: the author)

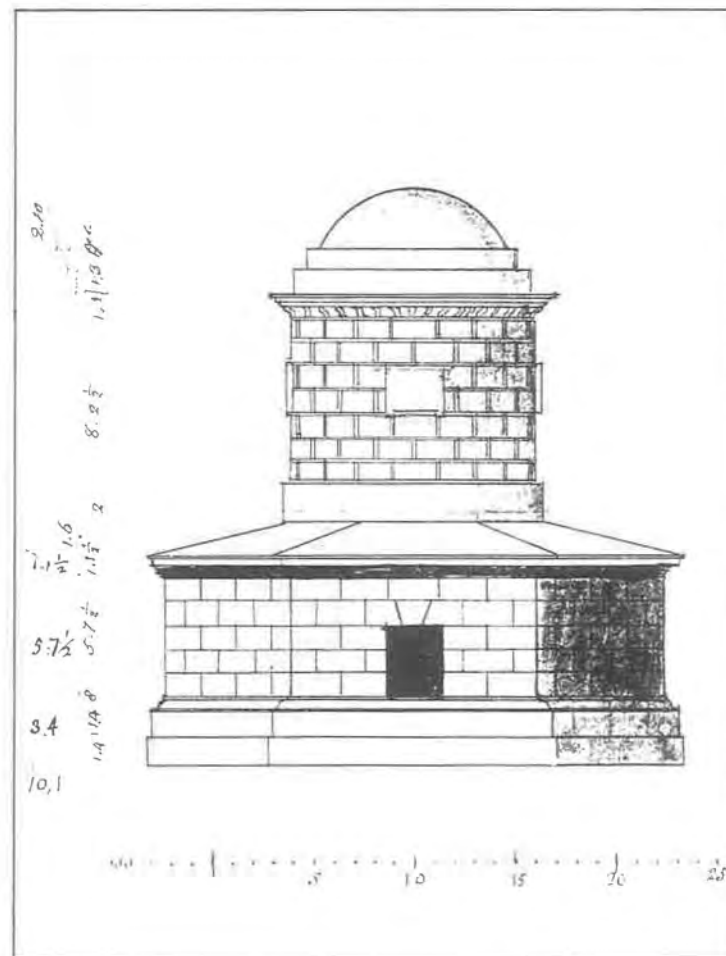


Plate VII b
John Freeman's drawing of the Mausoleum, Gloucester County Records Office
D 1245/FF 38/A 6, reproduced by kind permission of the owner.

pose them in, you don't often see in the country . . . Their usual eating-room not being large enough, the supper was in the hall, so that we did not come in thro' that, but a window was taken out of the library, and a temporary flight of steps made into that . . . They danc'd in the saloon. No minuets that night; would have been difficult without a master of the ceremonies among so many people of rank. Two card-rooms, the drawing-room and eating-room . . . The orgeat, lemonade, capillaire, and red and white negus, with cakes, were carried round the whole evening. At half an hour after twelve the supper was announced, and the hall doors thrown open, on entering which nothing could be more striking . . . The house had before been amazingly admir'd, but now there was a general exclamation of wonder'.⁶²

The alterations involved the creation of a billiard room, breakfast parlour and library on the north or more private side of the house, and two large new reception rooms, a drawing room and 'eating room' to the south. The first floor was given over entirely to bedrooms. Although no major alterations were made to the structure of the house, the existing panelling, ceilings and chimneypieces were removed from all the major rooms, except for the fine stucco ceiling in the saloon 'which Mr. Freeman thought too good to be destroy'd'.⁶³ Work had begun by 1767, when the statuary John Francis Moore designed the marble chimneypiece in the saloon 'in Mr. Stuart's style'.⁶⁴ When Mrs. Lybbe Powys visited the house just after the alterations were completed, at a cost of £8000, in 1771, she remarked how each room was decorated in a different and contrasting manner, following the fashion developed with great sensitivity by the Adam brothers in the preceding decade. The hall was covered with grey plaster, the saloon hung 'with light blue and gold cord', the drawing room hung with striped crimson damask, and the adjacent eating-room stuccoed, while on the other side of the house the breakfast-parlour was of green stucco and the adjoining billiard room papered with prints,

' . . . the borders cut out and the ornaments put in with great taste by Broomwich, and the pink colour, besides being uncommon,

has a fine aspect under prints'.⁶⁵

Upstairs there was a bedroom decorated in the Chinese taste and a dressing room with 'the most curious India paper of birds, flowers, &c.'. Some of the fine marble chimneypieces and wooden doorcases which caught Mrs. Lybbe Powys' attention still survive, but the splendid furniture, some of it embroidered by Mrs. Freeman, not to mention the cases of 'curiosities . . . of fossils, shells, ores &c. in which Mr. Freeman is curious', have all vanished. Happily, though, the stuccoed ceilings of the two main rooms in the south range, the drawing room and the eating room, still survive, the former coved, with a delicate linear pattern, the latter flat and adorned with a vine motif in a wreath, befitting the room's original function. These ceilings were designed by James Wyatt, one of the most successful late-18th-century architects, and it has usually been assumed that he was responsible for the whole scheme of interior decoration. In 1770, when work began, Wyatt was aged 24, had recently returned from Italy, and had just gained widespread renown for his 'Pantheon' (since demolished) in Oxford Street, London. He was certainly capable of carrying out a major scheme of internal decoration like that at Fawley on his own, but in view of Sambrooke Freeman's aesthetic interests and knowledge it would seem probable that he worked out the overall scheme of decoration himself, calling in Wyatt, along with other designers like Moore and Bromwich, for specific features.⁶⁶

Sambrooke Freeman also carried out major alterations to the grounds, placing them in the hands of the ubiquitous 'Capability' Brown, who, Mrs. Lybbe Powys tells us, planned the grounds 'with his usual taste'.⁶⁷ By the end of the 18th century the bowling green and canals had gone, and the house was standing at the centre of an extensive lawn.⁶⁸ Buckler's drawing of the house from the south-west, dated 1826, shows broad vistas from the Thames and the clumps of trees which are hallmarks of Brown's style.⁶⁹ Mrs. Lybbe Powys mentioned 'a pretty menagerie and most elegant dairy in the garden, ornamented with a profusion of fine old china', but the most striking feature of the new arrangement was the way in which the

Thames was brought in as part of the landscape visible from the house. As part of this project an ornamental building consisting of one room, 'ornamented in a very expensive manner' in the 'Etruscan' style and surmounted by a circular *tempietto*, was built to Wyatt's designs on an island in mid-stream.⁷⁰ This building now marks the beginning of the Henley Royal Regatta course. Insensitive planting in the late 19th century has unfortunately destroyed the relationship between house and river, and it is now impossible to see the temple from the house, and *vice-versa*.

Sambrooke Freeman died childless in 1782, and his widow took up residence at Henley Park, now the dower house to Fawley Court.⁷¹ The estate went to his nephew Strickland, son of his brother John Freeman, who had married Elizabeth, the sister of Sir George Strickland, a Yorkshire baronet.⁷² Strickland Freeman was an 'improving landlord'. By the beginning of the 19th century his estate had expanded to include virtually all of Fawley parish, including Bosmore, Upper and Lower Woodend, Crockmore, Fawley Bottom and Round House farms, all still identifiable, as well as the Oxfordshire and Berkshire estates purchased by his uncle.⁷³ No less an authority than Arthur Young approved of his use of a threshing machine and a seed-drill on his 805-acre home farm at Fawley Court, and mentioned that he had let one of his farms to a Northumberland man, who had brought in labourers from his native county and had introduced a four-course rotation of crops.⁷⁴ When Young wrote, the Napoleonic Wars, combined with a great rise in the population, were forcing prices up, and enterprising landlords were able to reap the benefit. Freeman nevertheless seems to have taken his responsibilities as a landlord seriously, building new cottages on the estate, repairing houses in Henley, and holding annual tenants' feasts, at one of which, on 6 January 1789, '... very clever songs were sung by the gentlemen as well as the farmers, and droll toasts given after dinner'.⁷⁵

Strickland Freeman, like his uncle and great-uncle, carried out extensive building projects, both in the house and on the estate. The latter

included the construction of a flint-and-brick wall around Henley Park, built at considerable cost over a period from 1805 to 1820, and still forming a prominent feature of the approach to Henley along the Fair Mile from the north. Meanwhile two lodges were built between 1814 and 1821 at a cost of £986.⁷⁶ Freeman was evidently considering building lodges as early as 1799, and sent a design to the eminent Yorkshire architect, John Carr, who had designed Boynton Hall (Yorks) for his father-in-law in 1765.⁷⁷ On 28 April 1799, Carr returned 'your Gateway correctly drawn' and sent an alternative design 'somewhat more elegant than the other', thanking Freeman effusively for his kindness.⁷⁸ It is not at all clear where this gateway was intended to stand. The grounds are now entered through iron gates built later in the 19th century, and the lodges on the road to Fawley leading out of Henley by the entrance to Phyllis Court (presumably those begun in 1814) are square, not octagonal like those mentioned in Carr's letter.⁷⁹ They are striking buildings, one-storied and stuccoed, with Venetian windows set in relieving arches, and may well have been built in connection with a realignment of the Reading and Hatfield turnpike road which went past Fawley Court.⁸⁰ There is no proof that these lodges are the same as those contemplated in 1799, but it would seem quite possible, to say the least, that in building them Freeman made use of his design of that year, perhaps incorporating some of Carr's suggestions.⁸¹

Freeman's intensive farming activities encouraged him to plan a new range of farm buildings to the north of the house. A drawing of a field-barn from Holkham Hall (Norfolk) dated 1804 survives amongst his papers,⁸² and he may have studied such well-known examples of improved farm buildings as a preliminary to designing others at Fawley himself. There is a design for a riding-house with semicircular windows among the Freeman papers; the building still survives and is known to have existed in 1794.⁸³ Another plan shows barns, cart-houses, a coach-house, a dairy, a laundry, and a brewhouse arranged with the riding-house around a courtyard. References to a hothouse appear in Freeman's account

books from 1807 to 1812, and to a cowhouse from 1813 to 1816.⁸⁴ They were built of brick, which was made on the estate in a 'cross kiln'.⁸⁵ The most interesting of the outbuildings, though, is the former dairy, a flint building of indeterminate date, which incorporates a Norman doorway said to have been brought by Freeman in about 1800 from a house in Hart Street, Henley.⁸⁶ This addition shows that Strickland Freeman, for all his zeal for improvement, was not altogether immune to the Picturesque appeal of the past.

Freeman's total expenditure on the alterations in and around Fawley Court amounted to £17,525 between 1796 and his death in 1821.⁸⁷ Much of this was spent on the fabric of the house, where he began by stuccoing over the existing red-brick walls in 1787.⁸⁸ This alteration can hardly have improved the appearance of the building, and in the long run it proved disastrous, since a later owner, Edward Mackenzie, removing the stucco, found the underlying brickwork so decayed that he had to reface the whole building, choosing bricks of a harsh virulent red. Work continued into the 1790s. A letter from Carr to Freeman dated 18th January 1797 refers to the 'dispatch of four casks of sand to Fawley', and mentions the manufacture of stucco and also 'American boards'.⁸⁹ The most important external alteration was the addition of an Ionic colonnade joining the two wings on the entrance front. This may, like the lodges, have been designed by Freeman himself, with Carr's help. An undated drawing of a Doric column survives among the family papers, with copious annotations including instructions on how to make an inverted ogee for the capital 'according to Mr. Carr', but Freeman must have decided at some stage to change the order from Doric to Ionic, and Carr's letter of 1799, already quoted, refers to Freeman's drawing of Ionic volutes which he considered 'very neatly done'. References to the purchase of lead and slates in 1802 suggest that Freeman completed the alteration of the exterior by renewing the roof.⁹⁰

Freeman was meanwhile turning his attention to the interior. There are several references to the purchase of furniture over the years 1785 to 1796,⁹¹ and in November 1803 Mrs. Lybbe

Powys mentioned a fire in the carpenter's shop 'erected for the repairs now doing there [at Fawley Court]'.⁹² The internal alterations included the remodelling of Sambrooke Freeman's 'eating room' in the south range (now the library), and in 1804 Joseph Alcott, manufacturer of scagliola (imitation marble) was paid 'for Schioli Columns'.⁹³ These columns still survive at the west end of the room. There are payments for furniture and paper in the library and billiard room over the years from 1806 to 1814, and on 13 November 1811 a Mr. Thomas Ward, presumably an upholsterer, wrote that the silk for the library curtains had been cut and that the lamps there were about to be fitted.⁹⁴ The frieze in the library, as well as the inlaid work in the doors and bookcases, were designed and executed by Anne Seymour Damer, the celebrated sculptress and friend of Horace Walpole.⁹⁵ Mrs. Damer, who was brought up at Park Place, the seat of her father, General Conway, on the Berkshire side of the Thames, was a close friend of the Freemans, and is said to have immortalised one of the Strickland Freeman's sisters by using her as the model for her carving of the head of 'Isis' on the keystone of the central arch of Henley Bridge in 1785.⁹⁶

The interiors of Fawley Court must have been very sumptuous at the time of Strickland Freeman's death in 1821. An inventory taken on 26 February of 1822 reveals a profusion of recent furniture, with a new Wilton carpet, sofas, a 6-foot Grecian couch and bronzed Grecian lamps in the library, couches and ottomans in the saloon, and eight japanned Grecian chairs in the drawing room. Perhaps the most elaborate of the recently-decorated rooms was the state bedroom upstairs, with an 'elegant dome top couch bedstead . . . finished in the Persian style' and furnishings to match.⁹⁷ The estate passed to a distant cousin in 1822, and much of the furniture left the house when it was sold to Edward Mackenzie, a banker, in 1853. His son William carried out major alterations to both house and grounds at the end of the 19th century. Fawley Court now belongs to the Polish Congregation of the Marian Fathers, and in recent years has greatly benefited from their careful and sympathetic attention.

REFERENCES

1. Inscription on mausoleum in churchyard, transcribed in T. Langley, *History and Antiquities of the Hundred of Desborough* (1797) 203.
2. For example Sir William Stapleton at Greys Court (Oxon) and Sir Francis Sykes at Basildon (Berks).
3. Gloucester County Record Office, Strickland papers, D 1245/FF 30. The main branch of the Freeman family died out in 1822; some of their papers passed to cousins, the Stricklands of Apperley (Glos), whose papers are now deposited at Gloucester.
4. *ibid.* D 1245/FF 33, letter of 4 March 1731; V.L. Oliver, *History of the Island of Antigua* 1 (1894) xvii.
5. Oliver, *op. cit.*, 271; C.S.S. Higham, *The Development of the Leeward Islands under the Restoration* (1921) 148-155.
6. Higham, *op. cit.*, 237; Oliver, *op. cit.*, 271, where there is a transcript of his will, proved in 1707. The hall of the house has since been removed to Chelsea Embankment.
7. Gloucester R.O., D 1245/FF 30. He injured a namesake in a duel at Epsom in 1686; Oliver, *op. cit.*, 271.
8. *V.C.H. Bucks* III, 40; R. Spalding, *The Improbable Puritan* (1975) 131.
9. Gloucester R.O., D 1245/FF 30. The actual sale was to Richard Stevens, who may have been acting as an agent for the family: *V.C.H. Bucks* III, 40.
10. Gloucester R.O., D 1245/FF 30. The old house was damaged in the Civil War, but subsequently repaired: Spalding, *op. cit.*, 199; R.H. Whitelocke, *Memoirs of Bulstrode Whitelocke* (1860) 447. No trace survives above ground today, but within the basement of the present Fawley Court there are two vaulted rooms which may well represent a survival of the old manorial complex.
11. *V.C.H. Bucks* III, 38. One of Freeman's close neighbours, John, Lord Lovelace, of Lady Place, Hurley (Berks), was a zealous advocate of William's cause: Macaulay, *History of England* (Everyman edn. 1906) II, 86-7.
12. R. Gunther (ed.), *The Architecture of Sir Roger Pratt* (1928) 28.
13. Langley, *op. cit.*, 193. The attribution was repeated in *Wren Society* XVII, 51-3, where ground-plans and cross-sections of the building are reproduced.
14. J. Harris, 'The Building of Denham Place', *Recs. Bucks* 16, 193-4.
15. G. Beard, *Decorative Plasterwork in Great Britain* (1975) 51-2.
16. Gloucester R.O., D 1245/FF 30.
17. *ibid.* D 1245/FF 33. Sir Jeremy Sambrook of Bush Hill, Edmonton (Middx), was a Madras merchant and a director of the East India Company: G.E.C., *Complete Baronetage* IV, 185; R. Sedgwick, *The House of Commons 1715-1754*, 405.
18. Gloucester R.O., D 1245/FF 33.
19. Thomas Freeman did return to England, but overspent and was forced to return to India.
20. In 1729 he had a house in Brook Street, Mayfair.
21. *V.C.H. Bucks* III, 41.
22. A contemporary plan survives among the family papers, Gloucester R.O., D 1245/FF 34.
23. *ibid.* FF 33, letters of Dec. 1732 and 4 Feb. 1733.
24. *ibid.* FF 39.
25. J. Aubrey, *Natural History and Antiquities of Surrey* V (1719) 282-4. The history of the Marbles from their collection by Thomas Howard, earl of Arundel, in the early 17th century, to their dispersal by his great-grandson is told in D.E.L. Haynes, *The Arundel Marbles* (1975) 12-17.
26. The female figure may well be the 'vestal virgin' which appears from early 19th century accounts to have been placed, together with a 'Roman Senator', in the entrance hall.
27. Gloucester R.O., D 1245/FF 33, letters of 8 Feb. 1728 and November 1730.
28. *ibid.*, letter of 5 Dec. 1731.
29. C. Hussey, *English Gardens and Landscapes* (1967) 23-6 and 133.
30. Sold by Auction at Christies, 30 Nov. 1983, cat. no. 172. The catalogue entries were compiled by Mrs. Eileen Harris, for whose assistance I am very grateful.
31. *ibid.*, cat. nos. 170-1. There are also designs for a classical temple which may be by Freeman, and may refer to the temple at the end of the south canal: *ibid.* no. 180. A design for an octagonal garden building in the William Kent or Batty Langley manner may represent a discarded design for the Gothic temple: Gloucester R.O., D 1245/FF 38/A9.
32. D.E.L. Haynes, 'The Fawley Court Reliefs', *Apollo* (July 1972) 6-10. The fragment is now in the Ashmolean Museum.
33. Gloucester R.O., D 1245/FF 38/A9; Christies sale cat. no. 187.
34. Gloucester R.O., D 1245/FF 33.
35. *ibid.*, letter of 5 Dec. 1731. George Stanley's house was Paultons, near Romsey (Hants), now demolished: H.M. Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary of British Architects* (1978) 489, 810. Designs for a menagerie for a Mrs. Compton were sold in the Christies sale, cat. no. 191.
36. Gloucester R.O., D 1245/FF 38/C2. Jones was surveyor to the East India Company.
37. G. Lipscomb, *History and Antiquities of the County of Buckingham* III (1847) 562. The Stevens family of Henley was connected with the East India trade.
38. *V.C.H. Middx* V, 116. The chapel had only been dedicated in 1720. Paintings and stucco-work were incorporated in Lord Foley's magnificent Baroque church at Great Witley (Worcs.).
39. Gloucester R.O., D 1245/FF 38/A5. I am indebted to Mr. Howard Colvin for the reference to Shakespear.
40. Langley, *op. cit.*, 196.
41. This photograph is reproduced in the guide-book, *Fawley Church and Parish*, 9.
42. cf. John Buckler's drawing of 1805 in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Top Bucks a.1., f.34.
43. Gloucester R.O., D 1245/FF 38/A6. Some earlier designs, e.g. for two monuments which would have

- stood to the south of the church, in the form of pyramids, were sold in the Christies sale, cat. no. 169.
44. Gloucester R.O., D 1245/FF 38/D9; FF 39.
 45. *ibid.* /FF 38/D9.
 46. *ibid.* /FF 38/A9, /D11-12.
 47. *ibid.* /FF 38/C2, /D7.
 48. *ibid.* /FF 39.
 49. B. Kemp, *Sir Francis Dashwood* (1959) 95; W. Fraser (ed.), *Members of the Society of Dilettanti*, 10.
 50. Gloucester R.O., D 1245/FF 38/B1-11.
 51. *ibid.* /FF 38/C3.
 52. L. Namier and J. Brooke, *The Commons, 1754-1790* II (1964) 474.
 53. *Gentleman's Magazine* XXIX (1759) 293.
 54. V.C.H. Berks III, 160; J. Burn, *History of Henley on Thames* (1861) 253.
 55. An illustration survives in the Gloucester R.O., D 1245/FF 76. The house was largely demolished in about 1786, and rebuilt by Strickland Freeman in the early 1800s.
 56. 21 Geo III c.33.
 57. Oxfordshire County Record Office, Henley Borough Records, A.5.
 58. Gloucester R.O., D 1245/FF 39. Freeman is described in the receipt as 'Illustrissimo Sig. Freeman Cav: Inglese'. For Jenkins, see F. Haskell and N. Penny, *Taste and the Antique* (1981) 67.
 59. Langley, *op. cit.*, 194.
 60. Gloucester R.O., D 1245/FF 39.
 61. Colvin, *op. cit.* (n. 35), 817. The recent discovery of some of Taylor's drawings for Chute have confirmed the attribution: Christies sale cat. nos. 182-5.
 62. E.J. Climençon (ed.), *Passages from the Diaries of Mrs. Philip Lybbe Powys* (1899) 185-7. Thomas Powys became rector in 1762.
 63. *ibid.*, 146.
 64. Christies sale cat. no. 173. For Moore, see R. Gunnis, *Dictionary of British Sculptors*, 263-4. James 'Athenian' Stuart brought out the first volume of his pioneering *Antiquities of Athens* in 1762 in collaboration with Nicholas Revett, who was employed by Sir Francis Dashwood in his alterations at West Wycombe Park.
 65. Climençon, *op. cit.*, 145-8. Thomas Bromwich was a well-known maker of wallpaper: J. Fowler and J. Cornforth, *English Decoration in the 18th Century*, 26.
 66. Wyatt's design for the drawing room ceiling has recently come to light: Christies sale cat., no. 174. A number of drawings by Sambrooke Freeman, e.g. for a Chinese pagoda for Prior Park, Bath, for urns and ceilings, and for furniture at Fawley Court, were sold in the same sale (cat. nos. 162, 178-9).
 67. Climençon, *op. cit.*, 145, 148.
 68. Langley, *op. cit.*, 194.
 69. Bodleian Library, MS. Top. Oxon. a.67, f.306.
 70. Wyatt's drawing for the decoration of the room was sold at the Christies sale, cat. no. 175. Mrs. Eileen Harris points out that it may be the first Etruscan scheme in the country, antedating Adam's better-known Etruscan room at Osterley. The building was originally used for fishing parties: Climençon, *op. cit.*, 286.
 71. The architecturally unpretentious house, now stuccoed, was remodelled in the later 18th century and again in the 19th century.
 72. Burn, *op. cit.* (n. 54), 254.
 73. Gloucester R.O., D 1245/FF 48.
 74. *General View of the Agriculture of Oxfordshire* (1813) 84, 119-122. Some schemes for crop rotation are preserved in Gloucester R.O., D 1245/FF 49.
 75. *ibid.*, D 1245/FF 48; Climençon, *op. cit.*, 237 (among the toasts were: 'May the rich be charitable and the poor happy', and 'Short toes and long corns to all the enemies of Great Britain').
 76. Gloucester R.O., D 1245/FF 48.
 77. Colvin, *op. cit.*, 194. Freeman's membership of the Society of Dilettanti is an indication of his artistic interests.
 78. Gloucester R.O., D 1245/FF 38/C4.
 79. Carr had built a pair of octagonal lodges at Basildon Park (Berks), another Thames-side house, in 1776. The lodges in the alternative design had one elevation towards the town and another to the house, and so could have been square.
 80. John Rocque, *Map of Berkshire* (1761) shows a road passing much closer to Fawley Court than the present road.
 81. The architect died in 1807. A design for a conservatory or greenhouse with an Ionic portico 'measured and delineated by Robert Shannon' in 1790 survives in the Gloucester R.O., D 1245/FF 38/A2, and may also be by Carr, or Freeman. It does not seem that it was ever built.
 82. *ibid.* /FF 38/A3.
 83. *ibid.* /FF 38/A4; Boydell, *History of the Thames I* (1794) 257-8.
 84. Gloucester R.O., D 1245/FF 48.
 85. *ibid.* /FF 47. A plan of the kiln at Boynton (Yorkshire) was sent to Strickland Freeman in about 1791; *ibid.* /FF 38/D8.
 86. *Guide to Henley upon Thames* (c. 1827) 2; V.C.H. Bucks III, 38. Thornbury and Walford, *Old and New London II*, 158, mention 'a fine oriel . . . removed to Buckinghamshire' from Crosby Hall, Bishopsgate.
 87. Gloucester R.O., D 1245/FF 47.
 88. Climençon, *op. cit.*, 229.
 89. Gloucester R.O., D 1245/FF 38/C4.
 90. *ibid.* /FF 47.
 91. *ibid.* /FF 39.
 92. Climençon, *op. cit.*, 355.
 93. Gloucester R.O., D 1245/FF 47. For Alcott, see G. Beard, *Georgian Craftsmen* (1966) 172.
 94. Gloucester R.O., D 1245/FF 43.
 95. P. Noble, *Anne Seymour Damer* (1908) 90-1.
 96. Climençon, *op. cit.*, 388; P. Toynbee (ed.), *Letters of Horace Walpole VI* (1904) 262.
 97. Gloucester R.O., D 1245/FF 50. There is a tradition that the Persian-style wallpaper in this room was originally intended for the Brighton Pavilion: V.C.H. Bucks III, 38. The order in which the rooms are listed in the inventory suggests that Strickland Freeman's library was created out of the former Breakfast Parlour on the north side of the house, and turned into the main Dining Room at some later date when the library was moved to its present position.