

ASHDOWN HOUSE:

SUSSEX, THE FULLER FAMILY AND

THE WORK OF BENJAMIN HENRY LATROBE

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My thanks to Mr Brandon-Jones of the University of East Anglia for converting many poor quality colour photographs into clearer back and white copies. Also to David Pinnegar for supplying me with plates nine and ten and to the Queen Victoria Hospital for developing them when this was in its final stages.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My thanks to Roger Davey and Christopher Whittick of the East Sussex Record office for their advice and help over several weeks when I was working in Lewes. I am greatly indebted to Christopher Richmond, Don Probyn, Diana and Ian Train and particularly Clive and Rowena Williams of Ashdown House for giving me access to the building, and allowing me to spend much time there over the summer and Christmas vacations measuring the inside of the building. For helping me to site the original staircase of the house I owe my thanks to David Pinnegar and Eric Byford, both of whom were able to put me in touch with Jeffrey Cohen and Patrick Snadon, in late December, both are presently researching the work of Latrobe for two American publications. Thanks are also due to Dr Desmond Martin, Mr Roy Fairbrother and the staff of Frimley Park, in particular Colonel Farrell for allowing me to look around the building.

INTRODUCTION

Since the beginnings of the restoration to Hammerwood House in the early nineteen eighties a great interest has developed in the architect Benjamin Henry Latrobe. Though the work of Latrobe in England is small few people have chosen to study it. Recently some American scholars have started a project solely dedicated to the subject "Latrobe in England", but inevitably they have been restricted by a limited access to the East Sussex Record Office. The context of the house is important, it was built for a member of a prominent Sussex family who were at a later time renowned for their building operations. The dimension and the decoration of the house are telling of how the patron wished to be seen. It is these three elements, Latrobe, the Patron, decoration and dimension, that I have brought together with Ashdown House. Regrettably word restriction has made me unable to view the house in context with many other contemporary buildings.

PART I

A BRIEF HISTORY OF SUSSEX, IN THE

SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

During the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the main source of income for Sussex came from the iron industry. This started to decline in the early seventeenth century when both coal and iron were discovered in close proximity to each other, in Staffordshire for example. This meant that the smelting of iron ore could be undertaken at far lesser expense: and the economy fell in Sussex.¹ As the Brighton Guardian reported one hundred years later, the result in the south-north shift of the iron industry was severe, causing mass poverty in the working classes and peasantry.² It did not take long for people to develop other sources of income: for example in 1788 Miss Kezia Collins discovered that a large profit could be made by fattening chickens in the countryside and then taking them up to London for sale at a higher price.³ More stone quarries opened, such as at Heathfield where many houses still stand testimony to this. Despite the stone here being of poor quality, it was discovered that a coating of lime cement would cure its flaking, even the cement was made from local lime that was burnt in the north east corner of the county.⁴

Despite the fall in the iron industry in Sussex, there was one parish that was still showing remarkable activity in the fourth decade of the eighteenth century. This was at the furnaces of Heathfield which had supplied guns for the Office of Ordnance, the King of Naples and also the railings around St Paul's cathedral in London.⁵ At the time this was the only major industrial concern for the parish, and was an unquestionably large source of revenue.⁶ Work here decreased greatly in 1755 with the death of the third head of the foundry: John Fuller III, and in 1777 all activity ceased.⁷ The loss of the Heathfield foundry was felt more by the villagers than the owners: the wealth of the Fullers had only just begun. Though their initial wealth was from the iron industry, it was not long before they established a large monopoly on land: in 1790 they owned most of the land around Brightling.⁸ The final head of the Heathfield foundry was the uncle of John Trayton Fuller who was responsible, as a result of his family's accumulated wealth, for the substantial alterations to the manor of Lavertye that became Fuller's Ashdown House.⁹

PART II

THE FULLER FAMILY

Chapter One: Social Advances, from Cloth Cleaners and Nail Hawkers, to Baronets

The Fuller's name is derived from the Saxon, fuller or fullian. This translates to "to make perfect" or "whiten": originating from Britain's early wool trade when every village had its hemp pots, spinsters and fullers.¹ It follows that the name is not uncommon, but seventeenth century Sussex only witnessed one Fuller family rise to the upper class. Most of the family's social advance took place during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. During this time they were regarded among the county's principal Iron Masters.² At some point during the sixteenth century, the exact date of which is unknown, the Fullers settled in Waldron where they remained for four generations. It was here that their first furnace was situated, the lease of which was aquired in fifteen seventy five and bought in fifteen ninety seven. Their house here, Tanners, was aquired at roughly the same time.³ After the family settled at Waldron, it took eighty seven years before the king recognized them: the Fullers being on the gentry list of sixteen sixty two. However they were given their coat of arms in the fifteenth century by Edward IV.⁴ The family's social progress, and financial no doubt, was rapid; especially when it is borne in mind that they first made their money in Sussex by means of hawking nails.⁵ The family's genealogy⁶ starts in the early seventeenth century, and by their fourth generation they appear to have been in the ownership of a large quantity of land.⁷ At this time John Fuller I (1652-1722) owned the Heathfield foundry that was to remain active until seventeen seventy seven. In his lifetime, Fuller kept over one half of the Heathfield parish employed at the furnaces. The status of these iron works has already been mentioned, indeed Fuller was most surprised when he saw "Heathfield" embossed upon the guns when he was active as Major of the Trained Bands in India.⁸ Furthermore, the repute of the furnaces may still be seen at the Tower of London, where the guns are stamped with the initials JF.⁹ The wealth of John I was shared with his brother, Thomas, who in sixteen ninety eight purchased Brightling Place. On the death of both John I and Thomas, Brightling and Tanners passed to John's first son, John II.¹⁰ John Fuller II renamed his uncle's gift -Brightling Place- Rosehill on account of his wife: Elizabeth Rose.¹¹ This was the least he could do, as in marrying the daughter of Fulke Rose the family aquired a large wealth from the Rose family's sugar plantations in Jamaica.¹² John II marks another increase in the Fuller status: as he was the first Member of Parliament the family produced. Between seventeen thirteen and seventeen fifteen he was represented the Sussex Tory party,¹³ his threatening position as a justice of the peace won him many votes.¹⁴ On the death of John Fuller II everything was left to his son, known as John III of the Heathfield foundry.¹⁵ The works changed little during John III's time in charge as he died ten years after his father. It then passed on to John III's son, Rose, under who it was to finish production in seventeen seventy seven. Rose failed to take up his inheritance for over a year as he was in Jamaica on his great grandfather's estate.¹⁶

Over the years seventeen fifty six to seventeen seventy four Rose represented New Romney, Maidstone and Rye as a Tory Member of Parliament. An interesting aspect of Rose is his political standing, a speech of his for the Commons survives (in note form) that was made at some point during seventeen seventy three.¹⁷ The angle of the speech is clear: Rose warns the house of the political dangers of ballad singers, especially in view of the developing War of Independence in America. This was said only twenty years before John Trayton Fuller, Rose's nephew, was to employ Latrobe for work on Ashdown House. If John Trayton shared the same view as Rose on the Independence we may wonder how Latrobe, an admirer of Charles James Fox and a strong liberalist, viewed the Fullers. The death of Rose Fuller paved the way for the most creative generation, artistically speaking, of the Fullers. The entire estates of Waldron, Heathfield, and Brightling were left to yet another John Fuller (often dubbed Jolly, Mad, or Honest Jack to distinguish him). This, along with an inheritance from his grandparents created a watershed of several generations of wealth leaving Jolly Jack richer by far than any of his ancestors.

While Jolly Jack gained wealth, his cousin gained considerable status. This was John Trayton Fuller, the patron of Ashdown House. John Trayton was the son of Thomas Fuller, the seventh child of John II. On Thomas's death a large sum of money was left to Trayton,¹⁸ but he gained a greater wealth through marriage. He married twice, the first time to a cousin Elizabeth Fuller in seventeen seventy one.¹⁹ The second marriage was in seventeen seventy six to the Honourable Ann Eliott, the first Baron of Heathfield's daughter.²⁰ This must be seen as the final rung of the Fuller's social climb, as on the death of Trayton's brother in law, the second Baron of Heathfield, Thomas Trayton (John Trayton's second son) succeeded to the family's Devonshire estates and in eighteen twenty one he was created a Baronet. Trayton's first son was also well provided for, as on the death of his father and Jolly Jack he fell heir to Rosehill, Heathfield Place, Bodiam Castle and Ashdown House.

Thus John Trayton Fuller, through his marriage to the honourable Ann Eliott topped the family's achievements of over two hundred years since they started as nail hawkers²¹ and finished as substantial landowners and aristocracy. The Fuller's behaviour in patronage, like their class, escalated alongside their wealth. This is the subject of the next chapter.

PART II

THE FULLER FAMILY

Chapter Two: Patrons of Art and Architecture

The Fullers had a concern for the buildings in which they lived from their early years in Waldron. Tanners was acquired during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and it was not long before Captain Samuel Fuller (1589–1653) rebuilt it in the early part of the seventeenth century.¹ The house still stands, and its design is both fashionable and similar to other Iron Master's houses of the period, such as Broadhurst Manor at Horsted Keynes. In sixteen ninety eight Thomas Fuller (died 1720) bought and rebuilt Brightling Place, again showing an interest for building.² It is possible that John Fuller II commissioned William Kent (1645–1748) for the elaborate plasterwork there,³ thus providing an interesting link between the generation of John II and John Trayton's generation. This is in the idea of the English landscape garden that Kent pioneered and was certainly in Latrobe's mind when he planned Ashdown house, though the site was somewhat dictated to him by the area of the previous building. Both Tanners and Brightling show a concern with the tastes of their time, but the greatest generation of patronage was yet to come.

Jolly Jack Fuller (died 1834) was unquestionably the biggest patron of the arts and sciences the family produced. This could be due to the wealth he had, as mentioned in the previous chapter. Jack was a patron of building, to a certain extent a connoisseur, and after the Third Earl of Egremont he was the biggest patron of J.M.W. Turner.⁴ During his lifetime he filled Rosehill with sculpture and art and had a taste for architectural follies: such as the Brightling Needle,⁵ the Brightling Churchyard pyramid,⁶ and the Observatory.⁷ No doubt his building operations were encouraged by his wealth. However, though he is frequently cited as an eccentric, his sincerity towards the arts is summed up in the last years of his life. In eighteen twenty eight Jack showed himself to be a man concerned not only with the building of buildings, but also in their welfare. He bought Bodiam Castle from Sir Godfrey Vassall Bart., and had plans for its entire restoration.⁸ In the final year of his life, eighteen thirty four, he was made a member of the Society of the Dilettanti.⁹ The Society had graduated beyond the upper class drinking club as it had started, and it was now a group of people that had a genuine interest and concern for architecture and taste. This was evolved in part through the ideas of James (dubbed Athenian) Stuart and Nicholas Revett.¹⁰ The aspect of Jack's various Brightling follies that is of greatest interest to us is his observatory: not only did he employ Robert Smirke to design it but he also built it entirely out of Mrs Coade's extremely fashionable stone.¹¹ This stone also appears in the earlier building of Ashdown House, and may provide some loose evidence of a link between the two cousins' architectural tastes.

John Trayton Fuller and Jolly Jack were probably close friends as well as being cousins. Trayton and Jack would have spent time together at Rosehill and Heathfield as children and young men. A bond between the two men is certainly shown in Jack's will, when he left his entire estate to Trayton's first son, there were other relations of his who could have been included, but were not.

Jack died a bachelor, he was refused marriage twice by Miss Susan Thrale, who was none other than the daughter of Dr Johnson's famous friend.¹² The diaries of Fanny Burney mention the Thrale sisters being in Tunbridge Wells during 1779 and 1782. Apparently it was on of these occasions that Jack made a trip to the Wells to see Susan.¹³ The relevance of Jack and Susan could well be important in establishing a connection between the Latrobe and Fuller families. Benjamin Henry Latrobe knew the Thrale and Burney families; he wrote to Charlotte Ann Burney frequently, from Norwich in seventeen eighty eight for example.¹⁴ The above may also explain an apparent mistake on a Latrobe plan, where he has drawn a house plan most similar to that of Ashdown. However he firstly calls it "houses" (evidently unintentional) and secondly he places the plan at Tunbridge Wells.

Though Jack was an eccentric, his intellectual character must not be forgotten: inventories of Rosehill show the observatory to be well stocked with astronomical and mathematical instruments.¹⁵ The library catalogues also give us an insight into the interests of the man. Among the books listed are: Rollin's History of Rome, Arts and Sciences, Ancient History and Method of Study. Cicero's Life, Johnson's Boswell, Aristotle's Works, Plutarch's Lives, Voltaire, Rousseau, Cowper, various volumes on the antiquities of Greece, and most importantly Curdews Architect, Evelyn's Architecture, Palladio's Architecture and Vitruvius' Architecture. Art and Science journals are also mentioned. These books show a far more serious side to Jolly Jack, as a man of learning with an interest in literature and evidently a fascination with architecture. The life of Ashdown's patron, John Trayton, is a void in contrast to Jack and evidence of equal learning is absent.

PART II

THE FULLER FAMILY

Chapter Three: John Trayton Fuller, the Patron of Ashdown House

After his marriage to the honourable Ann Elliott in seventeen seventy six they lived at Bayley Park, the Heathfield's family home. In seventeen eighty, on the death of his father, John Trayton received a large sum of money.¹ This probably prompted his decision to move to Kidbrook and the date of this must have been some time before seventeen ninety one.² In his lifetime John Trayton continued the family tradition of being a local magistrate³ and he was also a member of the Sussex County Volunteers, rising to captain.⁴ John Trayton's life is absent of any particular distinctions, unlike his cousin Jolly Jack. Trayton belonged to a local book society⁵ and his library at Ashdown contained various books: among the various volumes of Chaucer, Johnson, and English Histories are works that give us a clue of the possible antiquarian interests of Fuller including Plutarch, Antiquities Of Rome and Vitruvius's Architecture which also appeared at Rosehill.⁶ However his interest in art, architecture and literature is evidently less than his cousin. Indeed, it is not impossible that the books at Ashdown were taken there by Fuller's son when he inherited both Rosehill and Ashdown. However Fuller was man of taste, the "Trayton Fuller Bills Volume"⁷ contain endless receipts for high quality crystal, silver and Spode china –a recent but fashionable arrival on the ceramics market.

Though Fuller evidently lived well, his funeral shows a modest man's wishes at work. He stipulated that he be "...buried at the least possible expense....".⁸ The will of Fuller does present us with one slight anomaly, for though it is signed "John Fuller, a late of Ashdown House" the seal places him at Bayley Park. I would doubt that he was living at Bayley in the eighteen hundreds, as Ashdown was both complete and new. The most likely reason for this might be that the will was drawn up at Ann Elliott's ancestral home. Trayton appears to be a man of taste like his first cousin, Jolly Jack, and therefore he must therefore have had the means with which to maintain this appearance. Firstly he married into one of the wealthier families of Sussex and secondly was also left a large quantity of capital and land by his father and grandparents.⁹ In seventeen eighty five it appears that he owned a fair amount of land, using it more for direct revenue through rental rather than for agricultural purposes. His annual incomes for lands in this year was two hundred and ninety pounds. This is comparatively high for the time.¹⁰ Trayton's attitude towards land changed on his arrival at Ashdown in seventeen ninety two, his crop books¹¹ from this date to eighteen ten show a concern for crop rotation and good husbandry.¹² The other surviving information of Trayton Fuller's wealth is given in the Death Duty registers. The probate total came to three and a half thousand pounds, this was exclusive of all real estate. Inevitably the figures would be much higher if we could take into account his real estate and other unlisted assets, but this would be an impossible calculation to undertake.¹³

John Trayton and Ann must have been living at Bayley¹⁴ for ten years when they decided to move to the manor of Lavertye that was to become Ashdown House. The reasons for this are not definitely known, but his various inheritances and a general accumulation of wealth from his land must have played a large part. Lavertye was acquired in the thirty third year of George III's reign:¹⁵ seventeen ninety three, and the purchase in full was completed in seventeen ninety four.¹⁶ The tenants before the Fullers were the Newnham family, who rented it from the Montacute family. Lavertye had been in the possession of the Montacutes since twelve eighty five, at which point it was a subsidiary part to the larger estate: that of Brambletye some four miles away from it.

PART III

BENJAMIN HENRY LATROBE

Chapter One: Background and Education

Benjamin Henry Latrobe was born at Fulneck, near Leeds on the first of May seventeen sixty four.¹ His father was a Moravian minister and his mother was the daughter of a wealthy Pennsylvania Moravian landowner.²

In seventeen sixty five the Latrobe family moved from Leeds to London. Benjamin's father was a skilled preacher, linguist, musician, and scholar which resulted in his making friends in all parts of society. His closest friends included Dr Samuel Johnson, Dr Charles Burney (the famous musicologist) and Sir Charles Middleton.³ The contrast between English society in the eighteenth century and that of the Moravian communities is a great one, best summed up by Talbot Hamlin as follows:

".....at a time when education concentrated upon breaking the child's will, the Moravians attitude was certainly advanced. The individualism of the child was viewed as the engine for God's work and not as the instrument of the devil."⁴

This rift in the two Societies was a major factor to Latrobe's departure for America in seventeen ninety six.

The travels of Benjamin started in the Moravian tradition, when he was young. At the age of twelve years Latrobe left Fulneck school and went to study in Germany.⁵ While Latrobe was being educated at the Niesky Paedagogium he was looked after by Baron Karl von Schachmann. As intended by his parents, and the Moravian organisation, Schachmann was Latrobe's guardian and a special bond between the two was doubtless formed: they both enjoyed drawing, and Latrobe must have admired the Baron's collection of antique coins and medals. Schachmann lived close to the school in his castle, Königshain, which was apparently filled with paintings and other works of art and this too must have served as an introduction for Latrobe into connoisseurs and connoisseurship. As Talbot Hamlin has written, extreme care should be taken when we look at the influences upon Latrobe in Germany, and though the influence was great, it was by no means definitive.⁶

In seventeen eighty three Latrobe was well educated and was able to spend his last year travelling, before returning to England in seventeen eighty four. The exact route that Latrobe took is unknown. Hamlin places him in Paris at some point as he later used the anatomy theatre design for the Pennsylvania medical school.⁷ Latrobe's arrival coincided with the confusion of politics that was to continue for some time. The gin craze was as rife as ever, and radicalism was filling the air. The difference between his old home at Fulneck and the new one his parents owned in London was dramatic

PART III

BENJAMIN HENRY LATROBE

Chapter Two: Early Work and Inspiration

It is not known exactly when Latrobe decided to become an architect. On his return to England he was qualified to pursue this profession being well acquainted with mathematics, geometry, trigonometry, and he had been a skilled draftsman for some time.

It is thought that he worked under the engineer John Smeaton for some time, and it is definite that he did work in the office of Samuel Pepys Cockerell; this is confirmed by a letter from Latrobe to Sir Charles Middleton, which mentions that he is engaged in work on the Admiralty Building at Whitehall (1787-1788).¹ Perhaps it was via Cockerell that Latrobe gained his inspiration of the French fashion, as opposed to direct observation of the Boullée-Ledoux school as Hamlin suggests. He is also placed alongside Sir John Soane and George Dance stylistically by Talbot Hamlin, who defines the style as follows:

".....characterized by simplicity, geometric power and rationalism.....this movement was definitely Whig, even radical in tone and may be seen as parallel to the revolutionary work of Ledoux....."²

Architectural historians have classed Latrobe's early work as somewhat radical, indeed Hammerwood Lodge (the first of his two Sussex commissions) shows his desire for going against many conventions. An apparently large edifice is contrived well, using a series of cunning illusions that were to be perfected at Ashdown House. One of the devices for this are the columns on either side of the Hammerwood's main block.[Plate 1]. These are tapered sharply, and as a result, the wings look larger when the house is viewed from a distance: by exaggerating the house's natural perspective Latrobe creates a building that looks bigger than it actually is. However the illusion fails when one gets within fifty yards of the house, as then the columns appear in their true exaggerated form.[Plate 2]. The onlooker may then question the architect, as the columns look far from conventional. No doubt this achieves the idea of Latrobe and the patron, John Sperling, as the columns are not only important visually but they also have an antique precedent at the Doric temple in Paestum, their use here would show how learned both men were. Thus Latrobe has used the fashionable antiquarian ideas of the time, and put it to a specific effect. The architect must have seen the drawings of Soufflot and Dumont's Greek Doric temples, published in seventeen sixty four.³ The drawings of the James Stuart and Nicholas Revett were certainly an influence at Ashdown, where both the Erectheum and the Tower Of Winds' columns, are a dominant feature. Latrobe no doubt saw these books when he was working with Smeaton or possibly when he was doing some work for Sir Charles Middleton at his house. Both

and is summed up by Hamlin:

"[to an] individual with the unselfish background of the Moravian ideal, the chasm in eighteenth century society between mob and aristocracy must have been shockingly apparent."⁸

Indeed Latrobe must have felt uneasy in England, disagreeing with the procolonist factions in Parliament: the difference between Latrobe's desire for liberty, and Rose Fuller's fear of public speech has already been mentioned.⁹ The young Latrobe was by no means a passive supporter of English liberty, he has been described at this point of his life as being a "passionate supporter of Charles James Fox and a great believer in English liberty and anti-oppression".¹⁰ He was a confused young man, not only questioning politics and society in England, but also his future. Latrobe had been groomed to fit the mould of a Moravian minister but he delayed this by briefly contemplating a career in music or literature. At some point Latrobe must have decided not to follow his father into the ministry, though when exactly it is impossible to say.¹¹

Latrobe's literary career was short lived and seventeen eighty eight and eighty nine saw the publishing of two Latrobe translations:

"Characteristic Anecdotes....To Illustrate The Character Of Frederick The Great"

and

"An Authentic Elucidation Of The History Of Counts Stuensee and Brandt and Of The Revolution in Denmark In The Year Seventeen Seventy Two"

Both of these works, though pretentious, have been considered important as they show Latrobe's concern for popular welfare.¹² The introduction to the second book contains some material of direct relevance and interest to us: Latrobe discusses his various scepticisms, and his belief that his following translation has "a degree of authenticity to which few similar works can lay claim". This concern for accuracy and authenticity must be considered the birth of a preoccupation that was to be dominant in Latrobe's mind when designing both Ashdown House and Hammerwood Lodge.¹³ Both houses have a core of accuracy and, most importantly, antiquarianism, –a factor that would have made both houses all the more "chic" to the patrons and their friends.

men appear on the list of subscribers to Volume One of "The Antiquities of Athens".⁴ The Society of the Dilettanti also sheds some light on the circle of Latrobe. The Dilettanti started in the first half of the eighteenth century as a drinking club, but by the middle of the century the ideas were dramatically different. After much persuasion the society funded Stuart and Revett's travels around Greece and, in particular, Athens. These two were the first to accurately measure the buildings at Athens, bringing a new and more precise interest into the accuracy of Antiquarianism in England.⁵ Members of the Society included Sir Charles Middleton (elected 1743), Charles James Fox (elected 1769), and the name Burney and Smeaton also appear in the early eighteen hundreds.⁶ All of these people were known to Latrobe, and were also close friends of the architect's family. Three other names of interest also appear on the society's list: Viscount Gage (elected 1743), The Duke Of Devonshire (elected 1741) and John Fuller⁶ (Jolly Jack) who has already been mentioned.⁷ The Gages were a prominent Sussex family, and the Devonshires were certainly known to the Fullers; John Trayton married into their family.⁸ This provides a link for a major part of the decor at Ashdown House with both Fuller and Latrobe.

Sir Charles Middleton gained the young architect a place in the office of S.P.Cockerell and possibly Smeaton. Latrobe must have received a brief introduction into architecture from the former, after this Middleton engaged Latrobe on some alterations to his own house, – he obviously had faith in the young architect. In seventeen ninety one Latrobe married Lydia Sellon and also opened his first office in London. The revolution in France must have affected business, but this is not apparent when we look at the number of commissions that Latrobe received. Before Hammerwood and Ashdown, the young architect executed various alterations. These included Frimley Park, in Frimley, Surrey.[**Plate 3**]. This is mentioned by Pevsner in his "Buildings of England" and states that the work of Latrobe is hard to decipher. He attributes the porch with a broken triangular pediment to Latrobe.[**Plate 4**]. The cellars are also similar to those at Hammerwood, which may provide evidence for more work by Latrobe than historians have expected. The house of Middleton (Teston Hall) has already been mentioned. Regrettably the house (later to become Barham Hall, when Middleton was created Lord Barham) is now unknown and therefore we cannot gauge anything of Latrobe's activity there. The final alterations Latrobe performed were in Sussex and these, like the preceding ones, are also hard to find. They took place at Sheffield Park on Ashdown Forest, and are only known through a letter from Lady Stanley who was living there at the time.⁹ At the same time as this Latrobe was also surveyor to the Police offices in London, no doubt another job secured for him by Middleton who worked in Whitehall.¹⁰ Again little of his activity is known here.

Latrobe's final commissions before his departure to America were Hammerwood Lodge and Ashdown House. The former was designed for Mr Sperling, who came from Essex. Due to Latrobe refusing one job, he later wrote that from then on he found "...obstacles to all....[he]....attempted....".¹¹

The combination of this, the death of his wife (that also resulted in the loss of his children) and his radical political sympathies with France, and probably America, culminated in his setting sail for America in seventeen ninety five.

The two years preceding his departure, Latrobe had designed a connection between the river Chelmer and the Blackwater canal. Despite the ideas being entirely successful in conception, Parliament refused them. Canals were considered a luxury due to the increasing concern of the French War.¹¹ The debate on luxury that dominated much of the eighteenth century is an aspect that must have been fundamental in Latrobe's generation of designs for Hammerwood and Ashdown. Though they appear grand in scale at times, particularly Hammerwood, both are based around a core of illusionistic architecture.

PART IV

ASHDOWN HOUSE

Chapter One: Lavertye's Early History and The Commission

Lavertye's Early History

Ashdown House was given its name by John Trayton Fuller after he purchased it in seventeen ninety three. Prior to this it was called Lavertye.¹ From twelve eighty five to seventeen ninety three the Manor of Lavertye was in the possession of the Montacutes, –it is often mentioned in conjunction with the estate of Brambletye and was probably a small subsidiary part of it.² The Manor is mentioned in fifteen ninety seven as a part of the Buckhurst estate, being made of brick covered in Horsham stone and shingles. It had ".....several courtyards, gardens, orchards, closes, rooms, two old dwelling houses, and a great barn....".³ The old manor partly survives attached to the building of Latrobe, [Plate 5], the barn also remains in part next to the house. At this time the land with it amounted to over eight hundred acres, though regrettably no map of this period survives. John Trayton Fuller bought the house in seventeen ninety three for ten thousand pounds, the full sum being divided between a John Newnham and his son. The sale also included over sixteen acres of land that surrounded the house. The rest of the land that was originally with Lavertye was sold to other people.⁴

The Commission: A Hypothesis on how Latrobe and Fuller Made Each Other's Acquaintance

John Trayton's cousin, Jolly Jack, has already been mentioned as knowing some of the Latrobe family's friends, most notably the Thrale sisters. Jack visited London on occasion (he was a Member of Parliament) the probability of his meeting with Latrobe through the Thrales must be considered high. We have plenty of evidence that Jack was a connoisseur and very much a man of taste. The only evidence that Trayton was anything like his cousin lies in the later catalogue of his library. Thus it might seem logical that the young Jack Fuller met Latrobe, and persuaded Trayton to use him for the building at Ashdown. This is given greater support by various materials at Ashdown House, the stone of the main structure being identical to that on Jack's later Pyramid. Perhaps Jack saw the fashionable Coade stone capitals at Ashdown and was so impressed that he employed Robert Smirke to build him a Summerhouse, entirely of Coade stone, at Brightling in the early part of the next century.

There are inevitably other possibilities. It is not known if Trayton knew John Sperling, the patron of Hammerwood. This would provide firm evidence as Fuller could at least have seen the work of Latrobe there. The alterations at Sheffield must be dismissed, however minor, as the letter from Lady Spencer tells us that her father knew Latrobe through Mr Fuller, for whom he was working at that time.

Thus how the meeting between Latrobe and Fuller came about may never be known, as there is no recorded evidence of this. It is definite that Latrobe did come to Sussex: several of the bills preserved in the John Trayton Fuller bills volume⁵ are signed by him, such as that for the stair railing where the workman that constructed it were local to Sussex.

PART IV

ASHDOWN HOUSE

Chapter Two: Dating the Building and the Building of Latrobe

Dating The Building

Ashdown was finally finished on March the eighteenth, seventeen ninety five. The last part of the house to be dealt with were the various interior fittings: stair-case rails, balcony-rails, window grates for the cellars, and window guards for other parts of the house. In the same year fourteen thousand bricks, twelve hundred paving bricks, five thousand tiles and twenty five lip tiles were bought by John Trayton. No location is given, and there is nowhere at Ashdown that would fit this description: the bricks could have been for the cellars but this is not possible as the rest of the house had already been built above it.¹

After purchasing Lavertye from John Newnham, it was not long before Fuller started work on the new building. In the latter part of the same year, seventeen ninety three, a vast quantity of timber was delivered to the house. The bill was paid the following year, and states that Mr Latrobe was in charge of the full.² This timber was for the house frame and the attics: the house is built around a frame of timber that is sixteen inches in square section and runs horizontally through the floor as well as vertically upwards.³ Another bill survives for superintending work at Ashdown, from the twenty sixth of September, seventeen ninety three to the nineteenth of May, seventeen ninety four.⁴ This appears puzzling at first as a further bill tells us that in the same year that the superintendant left, seventy two wagon loads of stone were taken to Ashdown between April and June.⁵ We must therefore assume that the superintending was for site clearance and preparation. One may rightly wonder who superintended the actual building of the house, perhaps it was Latrobe.

It would therefore appear that the entire building went according to plan, less the stairs that were completed in March of seventeen ninety five. This must have been an unexpected delay as in October of the previous year a large wagon load of lime was delivered to the house, no doubt for the plastering of the walls and ceilings.⁶ One would imagine the plastering of the house to be the final part of its building, or at least followed rapidly by the end of all work there.

The evidence that has been presented is given still further support in John Trayton's book of crop plans,⁷ where sketches of the house, simply for the viewers orientation have been drawn. The plans of seventeen ninety two and three reveal nothing, ninety four presents us with an innaccurate drawing of the house, and in the following year a square building appears, with a vast semicircular protrusion –the portico must have been an aspect of the house that Trayton was particularly fond of.

When the house was entirely finished in ninety-six, the most accurate drawing of the house appears. Each sketch, probably made by Trayton's clerk, also show what must have been a part of the old building's gardens, that are now sadly lost.

The capitals on the portico and much of the interior decoration are made of Eleanor Coad's famous stone. Both Ashdown and Hammerwood are mentioned in Coad's list of seventeen ninety nine. Alison Kelly, in her monograph on Coad⁸ writes that when Latrobe needed the stone in seventeen ninety five, Stuart and Revett's second volume of *Antiquities* had been published and he was therefore able to have the new capitals from the factory. The capitals were now closer to those on the Erectheum than previous ones from the Coad factory. However the date given by Kelly must be questioned, as on the thirty first of October seventeen ninety four a bill signed by Latrobe was settled, for the laying down of marble on top of the portico and landing. It therefore follows that the capitals must have been in place if marble was being laid on top. Furthermore, on the thirteenth of August seventeen ninety four another bill was settled for three Wagon loads of stone and slate carried from London. Though the destination was not mentioned the materials would fit Ashdown perfectly. At least two of the wagons must have been slate for the roof, and the third could well have been Coad stone picked up from the kilns at Lambeth. Latrobe's use of Soufflot and Dumont has also been mentioned, as opposed to the idea that Latrobe actually went to Paestum on his travels as historians have suggested. This questions the sources that Coad consulted.

The Building Of Latrobe

Ashdown House is now a maze of corridors and passages parts of which are very much earlier, and very much later, than Latrobe's building. The main facade of the house faces roughly South and the building is dominated by a large box of stone. This is shown on Fuller's crop plan as being the new building. However, where it starts and finishes must be identified. The structure to the west, left of the Latrobe part, are the remains of the earlier building. As the description I have already cited states it is indeed made of Horsham stone. The various other parts of the building that are attached to this and the Latrobe wing are later additions. The plan that follows gives an illustrative break down of the building's various dates.[**Illustration One**]

The wall marked 'A' is of some curiosity. Though it is made of the same stone as the main facade the laying of the blocks is entirely different. No doubt the grain of the stone is not properly aligned which has resulted in its cracking off, this has not happened on other facades. This part of the building has been loosely attributed to Latrobe,⁹ however, on the grounds stated above, this must be disputed as the laying of the stone on the rest of his building is an essential element that he could not have abandoned at any point.

The other possibility is that Latrobe planned this part, but it was after he left and therefore without his guidance that it was executed.

The stone that has been used on the main building is local Sussex sandstone. Identical stone was used for the earlier Brightling church porch¹⁰ and for Jolly Jacks later pyramid. The difference between the Brightling stone and that at Ashdown is only in its surface treatment.¹¹ The Fullers had their own quarries in Heathfield,¹² and this stone was evidently used by Trayton at Ashdown. This may be confirmed by the price that he paid for it: one pound and sixteen shillings, surely a carriage charge and nothing else, as the price for the Coadestone and slate was seven times the price. Coadestone and slate might both be expensive commodities but surely seventy two cartloads of this local stone would not cost one pound, unless he was only paying for the transport.

Thus the building of Latrobe is the central block of the house, and it is made from the Fuller family's own supply of stone. The adjoining parts are a mixture of earlier buildings and later additions.

PART IV

ASHDOWN HOUSE

Chapter Three: Exterior; Alterations, Additions and Illusions

At Ashdown, Latrobe's attitude to the building is more rational and ordered than the earlier building of Hammerwood Lodge. The latter shows a young architect, eager to experiment with form as shown in his tapering of the landing and the off-setting of stairs so that the house appears to be bigger than it is. However these effects only last for the beginning of the viewer's first visit. At Ashdown he has abandoned these obvious tricks,¹ and he retained one feature that must be considered unique for the time. The blocks of the house decrease in length and height as they approach the roof: at the bottom their average length is two feet and seven inches, and their height is one foot and three inches; at the balcony the dimensions are two feet and five inches in length and ten and a half inches in height, and at the top of the house the blocks measure one foot seven inches in length and nine inches in height. As a result of these ever decreasing dimensions Latrobe has created an exaggerated perspective: when one looks at a building the blocks or bricks appear to diminish in dimension as the height increases, thus by reducing the size of the blocks a greater sense of height and width is created: therefore Fuller got an apparently bigger house.[Plate 6]. The reason for this must have been not so much to deceive Fuller, but to deceive his visitors. When the concept was explained people would have been unquestionably impressed: lavish building at this time was considered a key offender in the debate of luxury.

Each of the facades are divided into three vertical bays. All the windows line up on the vertical and create a sense of order. The windows on either side of the portico, and also one window on the West facade (on the old Lavertye site side) are now French windows with steps down. These steps are later additions, the cellar windows would have had iron grates above them as the other windows do. This is also confirmed by a blacksmiths bill that includes "five circular framed grates for the arca windows ", only two of which remain visible.² Alterations to other windows have also taken place. Local historians have observed that the windows drop below the level of the shutters, and therefore they must have been dropped at some stage. This is clearer in the blockwork, which has been cut half through at some point in order to lower the windows.[Plate 7]. The other later addition is the puzzling cube that is attached to the east side of the house. Though it has been made of a similar stone it is not bonded into the rest of the building. Indeed a search showed that this was nothing to do with Latrobe at all, and it was a twentieth century extension.³(See D on illustration one).

Each facade appears to be the same size, simply because they have the same number of

windows. However, on measuring the exterior it appeared that the front of the house was far longer than it went back,⁴ thus creating another illusion to the onlooker who may naturally have assumed that the building has taken the shape of a cube, and therefore they might mentally gauge the whole building from the first facade that they came to.

At Ashdown Latrobe has departed from the impressive but crude devices he adopted at Hammerwood. Even if the columns on the wings of Hammerwood are taken from an antique source, the viewer may be unaware and when one is within fifty yards of the house the whole conception loses its drive, as mentioned before, and one may naturally question the maturity (or even competence) of the architect. Furthermore, at Ashdown Latrobe has shaken off the austerity of his earlier building. This is shown in the smooth strip of sandstone that runs between the first and second floors of both houses. At Hammerwood this is supported by giant Doric pilasters and within the smooth section are further Doric, but rather squat, pilasters that support a large seemingly clumsy entablature.[Plate 8]. At Ashdown the smooth section is more narrow, and the pilasters within it have been abandoned. It is only supported in one place, from the delicate pilasters that spring from the balcony.[Plate 6]. These reinforce the modest centre piece of the facade, forming a subtle hierarchy within it: the porch and balcony being important as the former is the entrance and the latter accessed via Fuller's study. The balcony pilasters are topped by a more delicate entablature than at Hammerwood, thus producing a visually more satisfying foundation to the top of the house. Latrobe has departed from his young experiments of Hammerwood and has met Fuller with a more mature outlook at Ashdown.

PART IV

ASHDOWN HOUSE

Chapter Four: Internal Arrangement and Distribution [see Illustrations two to five]

Unlike Hammerwood, where Coadestone Plaques on the outside inform us of the rooms' functions,¹ there are no clues at Ashdown as to the purpose of each room. An inventory of eighteen fifty seven helps identify a few of the rooms but we must take into account that it is also listing areas in the older part of the building. It is logical to assume that Fuller and his family would have used their new building. Confusion shrouds the incompleteness of both Hammerwood and Ashdown,² it would appear the latter is definitely unfinished, as the Latrobe building simply joins on to the older part. A rough plan for two houses to be built near Tunbridge Wells by Latrobe survives.³ The "two houses" and the "Tunbridge Wells" in the caption must be a mistake when we see the similarity between the plan and Ashdown, –the obvious identifying feature is the portico, and after this the room distribution is similar but not to scale with the plan.[**Illustration six**] An interesting element of it is the passage that runs along the North of the house. This was not built all in one time as there are later and earlier pieces of brickwork at this point. However, on the West facade there remains a concrete looking porch, with a square tower above. This must be the beginnings of the Latrobe passageway and the route of the corridor that it leads into is both the same width (and straight in the first section) as it is in the plan. The question that arises here is the material that has been used for the porch, it looks similar to twentieth century cement. However, we must not be too hasty with this judgement as there was a technique that was all too well known to the Fuller family, –covering shoddy blockwork with a coating of lime cement.⁴[**Plate 7**].

The cellars at Ashdown are identical in vault construction to those at Frimley and Hammerwood, where one cellar has a barrel vault and the other is groined. It would appear that there is no reason for this for structurally the parts above each cellar are the same. The only possible reason for this could be that the East side of the building is on a slope. This does not explain the difference at Hammerwood or Frimley; it would be peculiar if the cellars had been designed for their strength, as the walls on the succeeding floors contradict this: they comprise of a main frame of timber, sixteen inches in square section, and this is filled in with very low quality and irregular stones that are covered in lath and plaster on the inside, and only a thin layer of stone on the outside.⁵ The cellars at Ashdown cover two thirds of the house's width whilst the remaining third is earth, above which there are brick footings which have been put directly onto the ground. The West groin vaulted cellar could have been for coal and wood storage; and the East cellar with the barrel vault was probably for wine storage at the far end: this is sectioned off by a wall and also has shelves. The other end of this cellar was probably for beer storage.

The ground floor of the house is perplexing. The the room distribution is well organized: the Hall is large with the two principal rooms off it. The problem that dominates here is the staircase, this cuts one of the Dining room doors off at two thirds of its height. The stairs have been an enigma for some time, however Patrick Snadon from the University of Cincinnati has recently shed some light on how they could have been originally.⁶ At Latrobe's (later) Pennock House in Virginia there is a similar staircase to that of Ashdown. In this instance though, the stairs start in the middle of the room as opposed to the right hand side. The first flight is supported by by a daringly shallow arch which is cantilevered off the wall and this was no doubt the case at Ashdown. Michael Trinder has also worked on the hypothesis of Snadon and has observed that the stonework in the middle of the floor has been cut away.[Plates 9-12] These ideas were sealed as definite when I investigated the precise measurements of the house. The stair rail that is now in place has been cut in various places and this might have been to fit the later alteration. When the two corner pieces at the top of the first flight and the bottom of the second flight are placed together they line up as if to form a rail that would have gone centrally down the hall. This is perfectly in line with the cut apart flagstone; thus the staircase was definitely in the centre of the hall at some point. This creates a completely new image of the ground floor, the doors at the back of the hall would have been less obvious and also the fireplace was probably a later addition or perhaps, it was under the staircase. The final test on the staircase hypothesis must be a substitution of the numbers and figures that presented a problem when they were first met in the Trayton Fuller bills volume. Latrobe initially bought one hundred and twenty seven bars (balusters) and sixty four feet of railing. Now there are ninety two balusters and only forty five feet of railing. When the length of the assumed site of the staircase was measured and from this the amount of railing and balusters calculated, a figure appeared that met with those in the Trayton Fuller bills volume. The stairs would have been in the centre for the first flight, with a curved rail at the top and then around to the first floor on the second flight as they are now.[Illustration Seven]. It is important to realise that there was not a third flight of stairs mirroring the second flight as some historians have suspected: this hypothesis would total more balusters and rail than Fuller bought by a substantial amount.

There is no clear reason why this alteration took place, possibly because the first system looked too fragile, which as David Pinnegar has observed, explains the very thick first flight that is in place now. The lower region of the pillar on the right hand side of the hall is partly false. Again this reinforces the theory of there having been a move of the lower flight of stairs as opposed to their being built differently to the plan.

The two principal rooms on the ground floor are the Dining room and the Drawing room. The former is on the East side of the house, and the kitchens must have been in the building that is to the North of it, -accessed across the corridor. The latter is on the West side and slightly smaller than the Dining room. The room that is directly behind this must have been the housekeeper or butlers room.

It would seem that Latrobe kept the number of rooms on the ground floor low, so that they could be larger and retain the impressive appearance of the house.

The first floor has now been substantially altered with twentieth century plasterboard. These new walls have been removed from the plans. All the rooms here are immediately off the landing through three Grand Portals. The central doorway leads to what was probably Fuller's private study with a balcony. Next to this, on the east side, are Fuller's bedroom and dressing room. The space next to this must have been his wife's room, thus creating an apartment within the house for the patron and his wife. The arrangement of rooms on the opposite side is similar, and these were most likely to have been the principal guest chambers.

After this the arrangement appears to break down, the second and final floor is reached by a narrow set of stairs that also stretch down to the first floor. Though these would have been the servants back stairs, they must also have been used to access what was the nursery on the top floor. The second floor itself provides us with further confusion, the ceilings in many of the rooms are domed. Though it is hard to imagine that they were designed like this, it is harder still to conceive their being altered at any point. Surely this is an extravagance that Latrobe and Fuller would not waste on the staff and children?

The internal arrangement is at its greatest on the ground and first floors, the qualities of this are simple, it provides a hierarchy between the floors and the visitor is immediately informed of which floor is the most important: the ground floor with its bold decoration, unlike the first floor where the decoration is more restrained, –reflecting the private air in this part of the house. These two floors are not only the clearest in spatial conception, but also in decorative coherence, and this theme is the subject of the next chapter.

PART IV

ASHDOWN HOUSE

Chapter Five: The Continuity of Latrobe's Decoration at Ashdown [See Plates 13–22]

Throughout Ashdown there is a theme which one first meets on the portico. This consists of the four freestanding columns: the capitals and bases of which are identical to those on the North face of the Erectheum at Athens, but at Ashdown the shafts are not fluted. The capitals and bases are made from Coade's artificial stone, and the source must have Stuart and Revett's *Antiquities of Athens*. The capitals are repeated on the pilasters on the outside and inside of the porch, and are repeated again in the hall on all the pilasters there. The middle section of the capital is the key to the main decoration of the ground floor: the Anthemion and Palmette.

Inside the hall the mouldings that run around the hall ceiling include a scaled down version of this. The Anthemion and Palmette is made most obvious in the room that must have been the drawing room, where there is a frieze over one foot in height that consists of the same decoration. This room and the hall also provide us with an example of the architect's sense of humour, which is far more subtle than at Hammerwood. At the Erectheum the order of decoration is the capital above which there is further Anthemion and Palmette, which is then topped with ovolo, and finally at the top of the frieze is a simple layer of dart. In the hall of Ashdown this is followed fairly closely, but there is a large frieze that has been left blank, below which there is the ovolo and above it there is a scaled down version of the Anthemion and Palmette, above this there is further ovolo that is finally surmounted by dart. The difference between this and the illustration of the Greek building by Stuart, is firstly the scale of each component, and secondly the inclusion of an extra layer of ovolo. In the drawing room some of this is corrected, with the large frieze filled with the Anthemion and Palmette and the other components seem to follow the original order. This time it seems so close but Latrobe's trick continues to leave the original order and places the dart directly above the frieze and the ovolo above this. The scheme here is complicated further by the introduction of completely different pilasters. These are a near identical version of those on the celebrated "Tower of Winds" at Athens, one of the most fashionable capitals that Stuart and Revett illustrated. Again Latrobe chooses not to flute them. These introduce the viewer to the second theme that exists in the house: the Tower of Winds. This is repeated in a stylised form on the stair balusters, the acanthus leaves are made from brass and the same balusters exist on the balcony. Acanthus leaves have also been adopted, along with fret to run around the landing floor and also the stair sides. The design reaches its climax on the landing, where Latrobe has reworked the Tower of Winds design into three smart entrances that were to the principal bedrooms and John Travton's study. The architect has shortened the columns, removed the fluting and added bases. Above them he has exchanged the original triangular pediments at Athens for a lintel and a semicircular opening. These echo the semicircular landing, balcony and the porch. A hierarchy is

created in these portals, by having plain capitals next to the door, and the Greek capitals next to the entrance –the most important part. The lintels above the pillars have been painted to look like marble. This could have been included to inform visitors to the house that Fuller could have used marble (as he did on the landing and balcony) but this would have been an excessive display of wealth. Latrobe must be praised for keeping decoration for the rooms where it was most important. Hence the upstairs bedrooms have grand entrances, but beyond this there is nothing. Likewise the dining room is only decorated with a modest band running around the ceiling, unlike the drawing room and hall where there is plentiful, but restrained embellishment. However, the decoration in the dining room was probably not designed by Latrobe, it is completely unrelated to anything else in the house and therefore fails to meet with what must have been one of his primary intentions: continuity.

The question of the patron's knowledge of decoration may arise. Latrobe undoubtedly knew the correct ordering of both the Tower of Winds and the Erectheum, and may have seen fit to alter the designs for this occasion. –whether this would have been viewed by the patron and his friends as an educated joke we might consider unlikely. Latrobe may have included it for his own amusement, or because he preferred his own emulation of the design. The inclusion of the Tower of Winds' columns may have been included at John Trayton's request. A trip to Heathfield place revealed a column in the garden that was of the same design and maybe he wished to recall this.

Above all the decoration throughout the house was intended to show that John Trayton was a man of taste, after all some of the most "chic" designs of the period have been employed.

PART V

CONCLUSION

Ashdown House forms a part of the Fuller family's final building operations. In the years after the erection of Ashdown, John Trayton's cousin was to build his endless follies around Brightling that made the family more widely known than before. Unlike Jack Fuller who built in order to display his eccentricity, John Trayton's building reflects the wealth that came to him via his family's long gone legacy in the iron trade and land revenue. His financial status is by no means boasted at Ashdown. Though the building is small we must bear in mind that it is probably unfinished, its size increases when we remember that the older building of Lavertye is attached to it at the back.

The layout of the decoration is both coherent and ordered, the greatest display being on the ground floor, starting at the fashionable Coade stone porch (the floral dome of which is made entirely from Coade's artificial stone) and then the elaborate hall. A satisfactory end is met on the landing with the impressive "Tower Of Winds" design on the three doorways.

At no point does the interior or exterior show a great display of opulence: Latrobe and Fuller must be given due credit for this. They achieved their ambition, a modest building that is impressive (created in part through illusion) but not an exhibition of excessive wealth.

NOTES

ABBREVIATIONS

- ESRO: East Sussex Record Office. At The Maltings, The Castle Precincts, Lewes, East Sussex.
- SAC: Sussex Archaeological Collections, available at the East Sussex Record Office.
- SCM: Sussex County Magazine, available at the East Sussex Record Office.
- PRO: Public Record Office, Chancery Lane, London.

PART I

- 1 Percival Lucas: "Heathfield Memorials." see p89.
- 2 Brighton Guardian 26 May 1830, in Heathfield Memorials p90.
- 3 Lucas: op. cit. pp96-101.
- 4 ibid. p103.
- 5 Herbert Blackman: "Gun Founding in Heathfield in the Eighteenth Century." in SAC vol. 67, 1926 p25.
- 6 ibid. p53.
- 7 ibid. p25.
- 8 Admiral Chambers: "A Footnote to the Henkell Hare's Letters." in SCM vol. 7, 1933 p329.
- 9 The Fuller family's genealogy, in ESRO/SAS/RF/15/13.

PART II

Chapter 1

- 1 from "The Surnames Of Sussex" English Surnames Series vol. V Leopards Head Press 1988.
- 2 William Durant Cooper: "Mayfield." in SAC vol. 21, 1869 p15.
- 3 Chambers: op. cit. p329 and Edward Shoesmith: "The Brightling Fullers." in SCM vol. 7, 1933 p479.
- 4 W.Smith Ellis: "On the Origins of the Arms of Some Sussex Families." in SAC vol. 37, 1889 p26.
- 5 Mark Anthony Lower: "Bodiam and its Lords." in SAC vol. 9, 1857 p219.
- 6 See PART I, note 9.
- 7 Chambers: op. cit. pp329-330.
- 8 Mark Anthony Lower: "Sites of the Sussex Iron Works, with Brief Notes on Their Proprietors." in SAC vol.2, 1844 p210.
- 9 Blackman: op. cit. p25.
- 10 Lucas op. cit. p79 and Shoesmith op. cit. p479.
- 11 Shoesmith op. cit.
- 12 Lucas op. cit. p81.
- 13 ibid. p121. John II was also Borough of Plympton Earl 1733-1777.
- 14 ibid. p79 and Blackman op. cit. p25.

- 15 Lucas op. cit. pp82-86.
- 16 Rose Fuller's speech notes, dated 1773 see ESRO/SAS/RF/16/VII/4.
- 17 Thomas Fuller's will, dated March 1 1780 see ESRO/SAS/RF/11/27.
- 18 Marriage certificate of John Trayton Fuller and Elizabeth Fuller, dated May 7 1771 see ESRO/SAS/RF/11/10.
- 19 Lucas op. cit.p55.
- 20 ibid.

PART II

Chapter 2

- 1 Anthony Dale:"Brightling Park." in SCM vol. 29, 1955 pp463-9.
- 2 ibid. p479.
- 3 ibid. p464.
- 4 Lucas: op. cit. pp50. Jack Fuller had some learnings in the antique, wrote a history of Sussex and also gave two Fullerian Scholarships to the Royal Institute of Great Britain as well as ten thousand pounds towards its founding.
- 5 Brightling Needle for more on Jack Fuller's building operations see: Arthur Beckett: "Mad Jack, the Honest Sussex Squire." in SCM vol. 2, 1928 pp24-6, Frederick John: "A Village's Queer Buildings." in SCM vol. 2, 1928 pp442-443 and Shoesmith op. cit. and Dale op. cit. This was built as the result of a bet, Jack believed that the Church spire of the next village was visible from his house. On his return to Brightling he discovered that this was not the case and therefore built the needle in order to trick his friend.
- 6 Brightling Churchyard Pyramid: ibid. Apparently this was initially built at Jacks request, to be inhabited by a hermit. If the hermit occupied the pyramid for an entire year, without washing, shaving or communication with the outside world they would be made a full and proper gentleman. There is no record of the pyramid ever being inhabited.
- 7 Brightling Observatory: see note 7.
- 8 See PART II, Chapter 1, note 6.
- 9 William Fraser (editor): "Members Of The Society Of The Dilettanti." 1736-1874.
- 10 David Watkin: "Athenian Stuart." 1982.
- 11 Dale op. cit. p464.
- 12 Chambers op. cit. p329.
- 13 ibid.
- 14 Letter from Latrobe to Charlotte Ann Burney, dated August 4 1788, in "The Papers Of Benjamin Henry Latrobe." vol. 1 1784-1804.

- 15 Catalogue of books in the library at Rosehill dated 1784–1815 see ESRO/RAF/F/12/1.
 Inventory of Ashdown and Rosehill dated 1857 see ESRO/RAF/F/13/17.
 Joint Inventory of Ashdown and Brightling [ie Rosehill] dated 1858 see ESRO/RAF/F/13/19.

PART II

Chapter 3

- 1 See PART II, Chapter 1, note 19.
- 2 The evidence for this appears in the John Trayton Fuller Bills volume, ESRO/RF/F/13/11.
- 3 Shoesmith: op. cit. p480.
- 4 For John Trayton's work with the Sussex volunteers see ESRO/SAS/RF/14/13.
- 5 For John Trayton Fuller's bills 1794–1806 see ESRO/RAF/F/13/11.
- 6 For the Rosehill book catalogue, 1784–1815 see ESRO/RAF/F/12/1.
 For a joint inventory of Rosehill and Ashdown, in 1857 see ESRO/RAF/F/13/19.
 For a joint inventory of Brightling [Rosehill] and Ashdown, in 1858 see ESRO/RAF/F/13/17.
- 7 For John Trayton Fuller's Bills 1794–1806 see ESRO/RAF/F/13/11.
 also John Trayton Fuller's Bills 1806–1811 see ESRO/SAS/RF/15/24.
- 8 For John Trayton Fuller's will, dated 1.2.1808 see ESRO/SAS/RF/11/29.
- 9 For Thomas Fuller's will, John Trayton's father, dated 1.3.1773 see PART II, Chapter 1, note 8
- 10 See Roger Davey: "The East Sussex Land Tax of 1785." Sussex Record Society 1991. This figure is low when compared with the second Viscount Hampden and the third Viscount Gage who earned one thousand five hundred pounds and two thousand three hundred pounds respectively. However these totals are for the principal landowners of each family. Thus the figures should be compared to those of Jack Fuller who was contemporary with them and in the same year earned over two and a half thousand pounds. This places him as one of the largest landowners in Sussex at that time. Furthermore it must be remembered that these figures are purely from land and therefore we cannot be certain of how many shares and other assets Trayton Fuller had.
- 11 For John Trayton Fuller's book of crop maps at Ashdown, 1792–1810 see ESRO/SAS/RF/15/21.
- 12 The estate of Ashdown was built greatly built up after the death of John Trayton: for the particulars of the Ashdown estate, 1865–1866 see ESRO/SAS/RF/12/121.

¹³ For John Trayton Fuller's probate see the Death Duty Registers of the Perogative Court of Canterbury in 1811. Available at the PRO. ref. IR/26/16. Microfihe index for this volume: IR/27/16. At this time no other prominent figures in the county died, therefore, unlike the Land Tax of 1785 (see note 10 above) we are unable to guage more precisely the wealth of Fuller. Apparently probate was not always registered if an estate passed directly on, as it might well have done in the case of the Gages and Hampdens.

¹⁴ J.C.Stenning: "Notes on East Grinstead; Manorial History." in SAC vol. 20, 1868 p139.

¹⁵ For the inheritance John Trayton recieved from his father see ESRO/SAS/RF/11/12.

¹⁶ For the deeds of Lavertye in 1794 see ESRO/SAS/RF/12/125.

PART III

Chapter 1

¹ Talbot Hamlin: "Benjamin Henry Latrobe." p2.

² ibid. p7.

³ ibid.

⁴ ibid. pp8-12

⁵ For a timetable of Latrobe's education whilst at Niesky see figure 1: "BHL's course of studv whilst at the Moravian Paedagogium at Niesky" reproduced in "The Papers Of Benjamin Henry Latrobe." vol. I 1784-1804. See also Appendix 3.

⁶ Hamlin: op. cit. p15.

⁷ ibid. p16.

⁸ ibid. p22.

⁹ For Rose Fuller's speech see PART II, Chapter 1, note 17.

¹⁰ Hamlin: op. cit. p24.

¹¹ ibid. p22.

¹² ibid.

¹³ Most noticeable are the Paestum Temple Columns on the wings at Hammerwood Park. probably taken from Soufflot and Dumont's treatise. Also the exceptional accuracy of the Erectheum columns and the Anthemion and Palmette at Ashdown House.

PART III

Chapter 2

- 1 Hamlin: op.cit. p28.
- 2 ibid. p39.
- 3 Watkin: op. cit. p15.
- 4 See the list of subscribers in: James Stuart and Nicholas Revett: "The Antiquities of Athens."
- 5 Watkin: op. cit.
- 6 Fraser: op. cit.
- 7 ibid.
- 8 See Lucas: op. cit. John Trayton's brother in law was the fifth Baronet of the Devonshires: Sir Francis Henry Drake.
- 9 Hamlin: op. cit. p44.
- 10 ibid. pp46-7.
- 11 ibid. p49.

PART IV

Chapter 1

- 1 William Durant Cooper: "Notes and Queries: Brambletye Manor and Chapel." in SAC vol. 9 p371.
- 2 Stenning: op. cit.
- 3 Edward Straker: "The Buckhurst Terrier 1597-1598." Sussex Record Society 1933. esp. p44-45.
- 4 See Part II Chapter 3, notes 9 and 15.
- 5 For John Travton Fuller's bills, 1794-1806 see ESRO/RAF/F/13/11. Relevent bills are listed in Appendix 2

PART IV

Chapter 2

- 1 See Part IV, Chapter 1, note 5.
- 2 ibid.
- 3 My thanks to Roy Fairbrother, who was partly responsible for the restoration work on Ashdown during the 1970's, for pointing this out to me.

- ⁴ See note 5.
- ⁵ *ibid.*
- ⁶ *ibid.*
- ⁷ See Part II, Chapter 3, note 11.
- ⁸ Alison Kelly: "Mrs Coade's Stone." London 1987, also "Coade Stone in Georgian Architecture." in *Architectural History* volume 28, 1985 by the same author.
- ⁹ Some American scholars are researching the work of Latrobe in England. I have yet to hear from them, but I was informed that they believed this wall to be part of a later Latrobe project.
- ¹⁰ The extension to Brightling church has an inscription over the doorway dating it at 1749.
- ¹¹ The pyramid could have received the same treatment as the extension so that it would weather and look the same. It might also be a tenuous reference that both are patronized by the Fullers, as are the walls around Rosehill and Heathfield Place have similar stone working. The stone surfaces at Brightling are rendered with chisel marks one inch in length that point towards the centre. The treatment at Ashdown is similar but the marks point diagonally from the left hand bottom corner to the top right hand corner.
- ¹² These quarries had been owned by the Fullers for over fifty years, and are known through a letter of Rose Fuller to his brother when he was working in Jamaica. see the Rose Fuller papers: ESRO/SAS/RF/16.

PART IV

Chapter 3

- ¹ The rooms at Ashdown were all measured, and found to be regular shapes, as were the landing, stairs and hall: none were tapered like those on the landing at Hammerwood.
- ² See Part IV, Chapter 1, note 5.
- ³ The evidence for this addition to the Latrobe building is from the plan: ESRO/DW/A2/7/951.
- ⁴ The south (main) facade is 57 feet long, as opposed to the west and east facades that are only 40 feet long.

PART IV

Chapter 4

- ¹ Above the library and dining room exterior doors of Hammerwood there are Coade stone plaques. The plaque above the latter is of a drunken procession and the former is of Apollo.

- 2 It is possible that the reason for Latrobe's rapid departure, and his leaving Hammerwood and Ashdown was prompted by his apparently secret work on the buildings in Whitehall. This is discussed in a book that is being published in 1994 on the beginnings of the secret service.
- 3 I was given these plans by Jeffrey Cohen of the Philadelphia Philosophical society.
- 4 See Lucas op. cit.
- 5 Roy Fairbrother, who has worked on restoration projects of many similar houses informed me that the quality of the walls is neither common nor uncommon for the time.
- 6 Patrick Snadon from Cincinnati hypothesised on the original site of the staircase from the evidence of Latrobe's later Pennock House. Mike Trinder, gave this further evidence by observing the cut away flagstone in the floor. The theory was proved beyond all doubt when I was able to measure the stairs and work out the original layout from the figures given at the ESRO. See Appendix 2.

Appendix 1

- 1 From the manuscript catalogue of Niesky Paedagogium 1779. In "The Papers of Benjamin Henry Latrobe." vol. I 1784-1804

Appendix 2

- 1 The inscription behind the portico on the left of the house reads as follows:

"ΤΗΣ. ΤΟΥ ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΣΠΕΡΛΙΝΓΟΥ ΕΠΑΥΛΕΩΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΥΑΗ ΠΡΩΤΗ.
ΑΡΧΙΤΕΚΤΩΝ ΛΑΤΡΟΒΕ. ΕΝΟΙΕ ΤΟΝ ΑΨΘΒ ΕΝΕΑΥΤΟΝ. ΙΗΣΟΥ
ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ. ΤΟΝ. ΔΕ Υ ΤΕΡΟΝ ΤΗΣ ΧΜΒ ΟΛΥΜΠΙΑΔΑΣ."

"This is the first portico of John Sperlings mansion. The architect is B.H.Latrobe. He made it in the one thousand seven hundred and ninety second year of Jesus Christ and the second year of the six hundred and forty second Olympiad."

Latrobe and Sperling failed to take into account the year zero, thus creating a discrepancy in the time in terms of the Olympiad. (See David Pinnegar's pamphlet on Hammerwood Park).

- 2 See Hamlin: op. cit. p40.

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Maps

TD/E 149: Hartfield Parish surveyed 1842.

SAS/RF/15/21 Maps and Crops of John Trayton Fuller's estate at Ashdown. 1792–1810.

Plans (all are Twentieth Century)

DW/A2/4/552: alterations to Ashdown house. Lavertye wing.

DW/A2/7/951: alterations to Ashdown House. Addition of a room on the east side of the building.

DW/A5/57/6772

Documents

SAS/RF/11/10: The marriage between John Trayton Fuller and Elizabeth Fuller. Dated 7.5.1771.

SAS/RF/11/12: John Trayton Fuller's inheritance from his father.

SAS/RF/11/27: Thomas Fuller's will, father of John Trayton Fuller. Dated 1.3.1773.

SAS/RF/11/29: John Trayton Fuller's will. Dated 1.2.1808.

SAS/RF/12/121: Particulars of the Ashdown estate. 1865–1866.

SAS/RF/12/125: Deeds of Lavertye. Dated 1794.

SAS/RF/14/13: John Trayton Fuller certificate as a Captain of the Sussex County Volunteers.
Dated 2.11.1779.

SAS/RF/15/13: Fuller family genealogy.

SAS/RF/15/21: Maps and Crops of John Trayton Fuller's estate at Ashdown. 1792–1810.

SAS/RF/15/24: John Trayton Fuller's Bills. 1806–1811. [See later note, on RAF/F/13/11].

SAS/RF/16: The Rose Fuller papers.

SAS/RF/16/VII/4: Rose Fuller's speech in the house of commons. Dated 1773.

RAF/F/6/1: Letters Of Rose Fuller to various people. Dated 1773–1783. [Through these we know about the Fuller's stone quarry.]

RAF/F/12/1: Catalogue of books at Rosehill, 1784–1815.

RAF/F/13/11: John Trayton Fullers Bills. 1794-1806. [This along with the preceding edition are a collection of apparently every bill JTF recieved, all pasted onto paper into two volumes. Accompanying this are written bills, in a semiliterate hand -that of his clerk.]

RAF/F/13/17: Joint Inventory of Rosehill and Ashdown. Dated 1857.

RAF/F/13/19: Joint Inventory of Brightling [Rosehill] and Ashdown. Dated 2.9.1858.

APPENDIX 1

LATROBE'S EDUCATION AT NIESKY

Before his departure to Niesky Latrobe would have received an elementary grounding in Greek, Latin, Algebra and Trigonometry. The exact program of studies at Niesky is shown below:

BHL's course of study at the Moravian Paedagogium at Niesky, 1779¹

SUBJECT	HOURS PER WEEK	TEXTS
Latin	9	class 1: Cicero, Orations class 2: Cicero, Letters
Greek	6	Freyer, Fascikel Gesner, Chrestomathie New Testament
Geometry and Trigonometry	4	Unknown
History	2	Unknown
Hebrew	2	Genesis
French	2	Abrégé
Piano	2	
Violin	2	
Drawing	1	

APPENDIX 2

EXTRACTS FROM THE JOHN TRAYTON FULLER BILLS VOLUME

(Available at the East Sussex Record Office, RAF/F/13/11)

1) John Trayton Fuller Esq to Joshua Drummond Smith Bros. 1793

This bill is for a large quantity of wood, much of it is illegible. The dates for the "craning and loading" start on June 21st of 1793 and finish on December 10th of the same year. The total cost was £307 5s 8d.

2) Recieved April 3 1794 of John Trayton Fuller Esq £274 0s 0d which with £33 5s 0d of Mr Latrobe is in full od all delivered.

For Joshua Drummond Smith.

Knight Surtle (signed).

3) John Trayton Fuller esq, to G. Sandys.

For superintending improvements at Ashdown

September 26 1793 1 journey	£5	5s	0d
February 20 1794 1 journey	£5	5s	0d
May 19 1794 1 journey	£5	5s	0d
In Stricker foreman from February 18 to May 24 14 weeks	£10	15s	4d
Travelling expenses and carriage of a box	£0	15s	0d
September 26 recieved a brown gelding value	£13	18s	0d
J.Stricker recieved an account	£4	4s	0d
BALANCE	£4	3s	4d

4) John Trayton Fuller esq. to James Lynn.

For stone carried to Ashdown Park. from April 5 to June 20 1794

72 wagon loads at 5d per load	£1	16s	0d
-------------------------------	----	-----	----

5) 1794 to Mr T.J.Fuller

for three journeys to London	£88	0s	0d
for stone and slate	£7	17s	0d

August 13th this bill settled. S.J.Weller.

No location is given on this bill, and the T.J.Fuller is probably a mistake, the bill being amongst the other John Trayton bills.

6) October 28 1794

Recieved of Mr James Lynn for one large wagon load of lime the sum of three pounds for the house of John Trayton Fuller esq.

Thomas Ballard (signed).

7) John Trayton Fuller esq. for Smiths work done at Ashdown house by order of Mr Latrobe. February 10 1795 for two men going to and from Ashdown House to take dimensions of staircase railing, balcony and window guards.

Time taken: three days	£0	15s	9d
For coach hire, lodging and extras	£0	15s	

March 7 for 127 slight bars with circular swags betwixt each bar and brass ornaments on each bar two standards and fourteen pairs of top rail 64 feet run at 10s 6d per run	£33	12s	0d
---	-----	-----	----

The circular balcony with circular swags and brass ornaments on. Length of rail 23 feet 9 inches at 10s 6d per foot	£12	9s	4½d
---	-----	----	-----

For 5 circular framed grates for the arca windows wt 5cwt 1gr 2511 at 5d	£12	15s	5d
--	-----	-----	----

March 18. For two men going to and from Ashdown House to fix trhe staircase railing and balcony, mens time 1½ days each.	£1	2s	6d
--	----	----	----

For coach hire, lodging and extras	£1	7s	6d
------------------------------------	----	----	----

TOTAL	£62	17s	6½d
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signed: allowed B.H.Latrobe and paid on 1795.

8) John Trayton Fuller esq. to Stephen Hobbs.

To joining the landing and laying down a marble that upon the portico of Ashdown House.

88 feet		£8	16s	0d
36 feet	6ft run of rebated sq	£1	16s	6d
23 feet	6ft circular joint	£0	11s	9d
14 feet	9ft straight joint	£0	4s	11d

Extra work for inkholes £0 14s 2d

TOTAL £11 14s 2d

Approved B.H.Latrobe (signed).

9) Recieved of John Trayton Fuller £11 14s 2d being the amount of a bill delivered for the work done in covering the compleat dome of the portico of Ashdown House, Sussex.

Stephen Hobbs (signed).

APPENDIX 3

Continuity of the Decoration at Ashdown with Hammerwood Lodge and Frimley

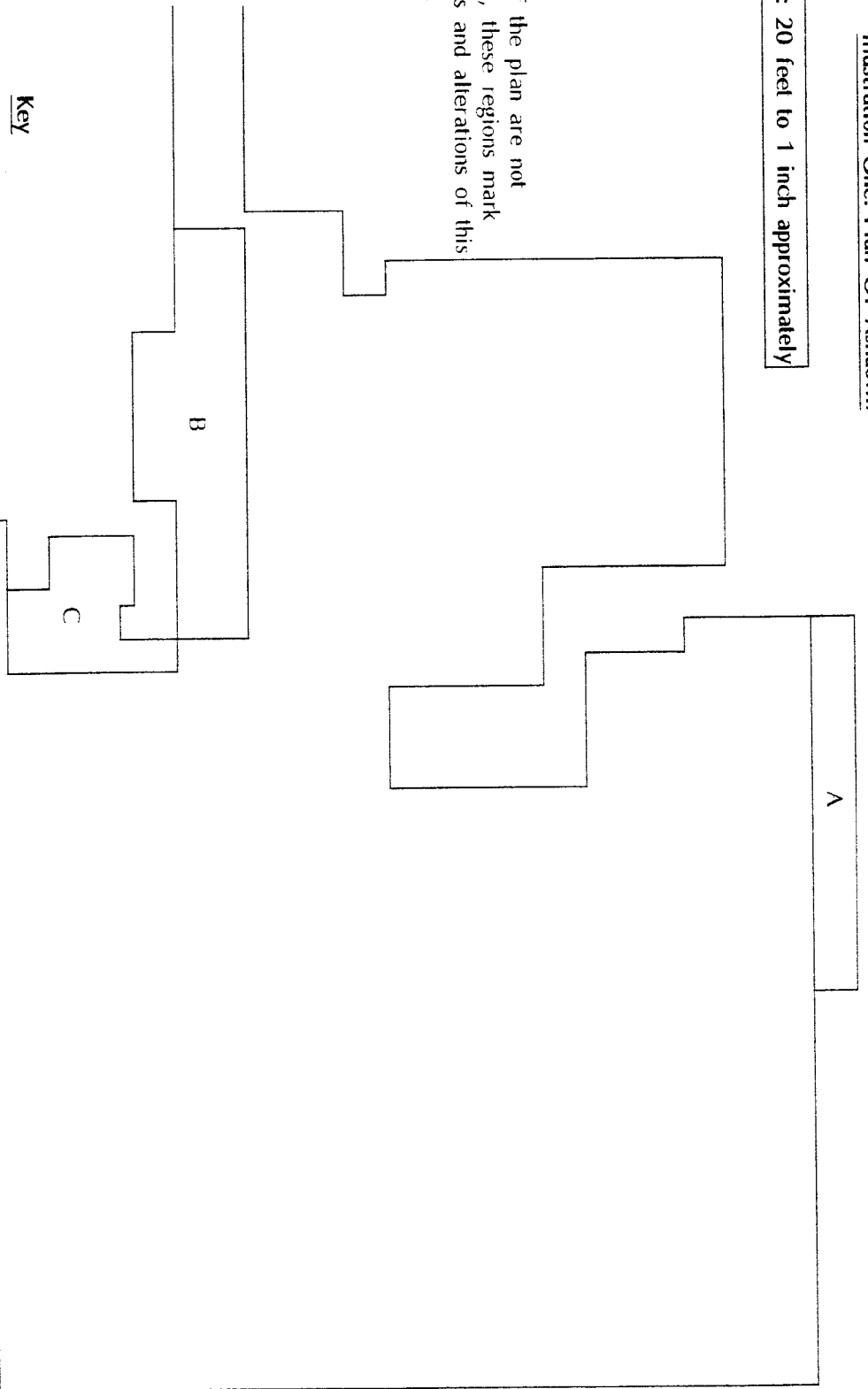
When one looks at the decoration employed at Ashdown and compares it to that of Hammerwood Lodge and Frimley Park it would not be unreasonable to ask if the same architect was responsible. Firstly, at Frimley Latrobe's porch is very different, and shows no interest whatsoever for the archaeological mind we meet at his two later houses. However, we cannot be certain of exactly what Latrobe did here. Hammerwood Lodge presents us with a different side to the architect. Firstly, the commission is given a highly personal, and educationally, flattering touch by a Greek inscription that lies behind the capitals on the left hand wing. This records the date that the house was built, both in terms of years after Christ and also in "...the second year of the six hundred and forty second Olympiad".¹ This tells us that the Sperling and Latrobe were obviously friends, and it must have been a part of a bond between the two of them, which is confirmed by it being near impossible to read as it is positioned behind the capital. Thus it should follow that Latrobe would use the decoration that he most liked inside the house. Yet the interior is dominated by blank friezes, and ceilings with highly ornate mouldings. This may not have been Latrobe's wish at all, as Hamlin has written, and as Ashdown confirms, he was a far greater fan of incised rather than moulded decor.² However, the dining room at Hammerwood presents us with a ceiling with cross beams similar to those in the hall of Ashdown and maybe this was the work of Latrobe and little else was. The continual archaeology of Latrobe throughout Ashdown and on the exterior of Hammerwood makes the interior of the latter hard to come to terms with. It follows that Ashdown, though unfinished, must mark the beginnings of Latrobe's maturer work. He has selected themes of decoration and used them in an appropriate and coordinated manner. He is neither restrained nor flamboyant, he built and decorated along the lines that would appeal to the patron and to the critics of the time.

THE ILLUSTRATIONS

Illustration One: Plan Of Ashdown

Scale: 20 feet to 1 inch approximately

Parts of the plan are not labelled, these regions mark additions and alterations of this century.



Key

- A: Probably after Latrobe.
- B: Remains of the manor of Lavertye.
- C: Lime cement on brick or stone.
- D: Twentieth century addition.
- E: Main block of Ashdown: Latrobe's work.

PORTICO

Illustration Two: Cellar Plan

Key

- A: Wine cellar.
- B: Coal and wood cellar.
- C: Beer cellar and bottle store.

Cellars A and C have a barrel vault whereas the vault of cellar B is groined.

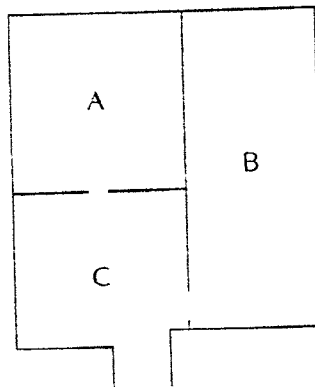


Illustration Three: Ground Floor Plan

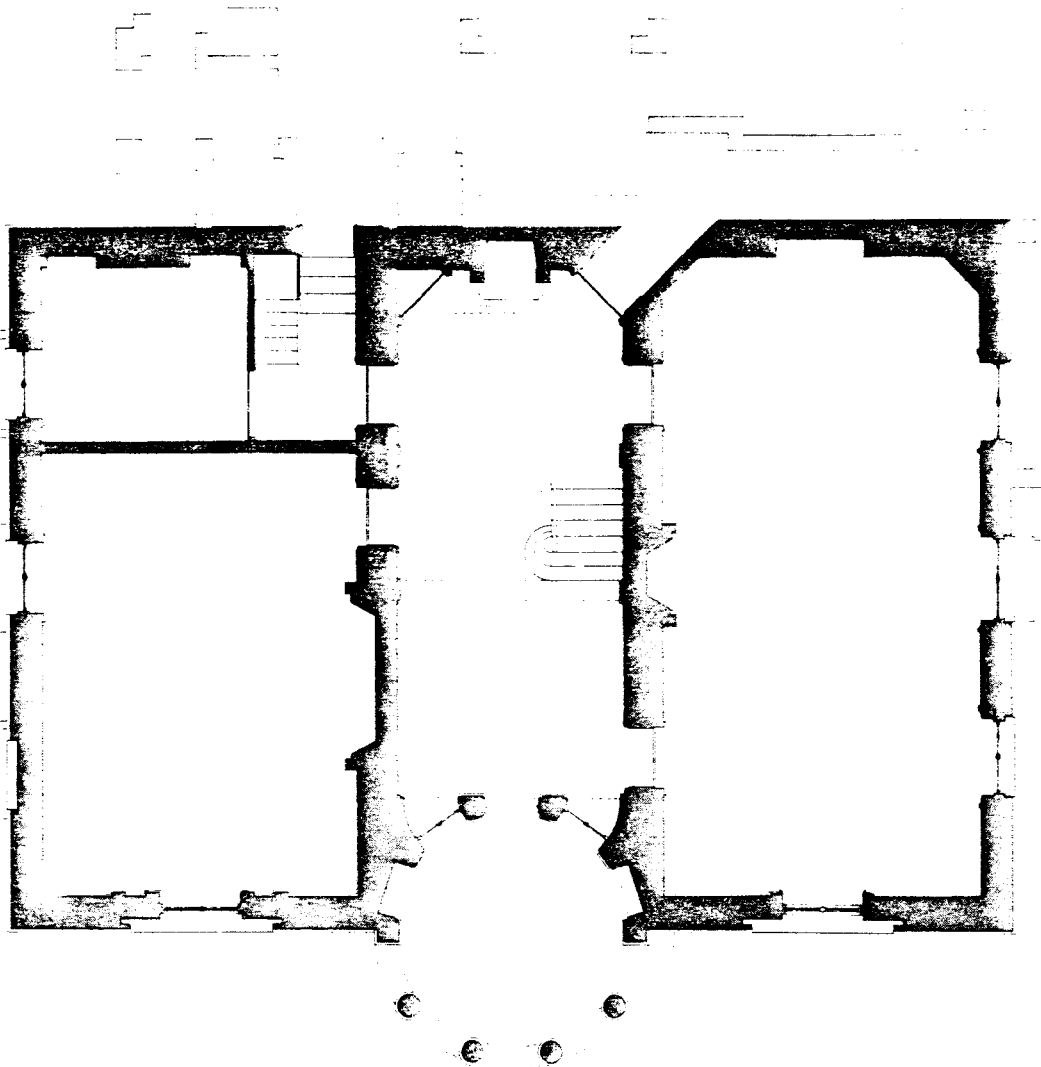


Illustration Four: First Floor Plan

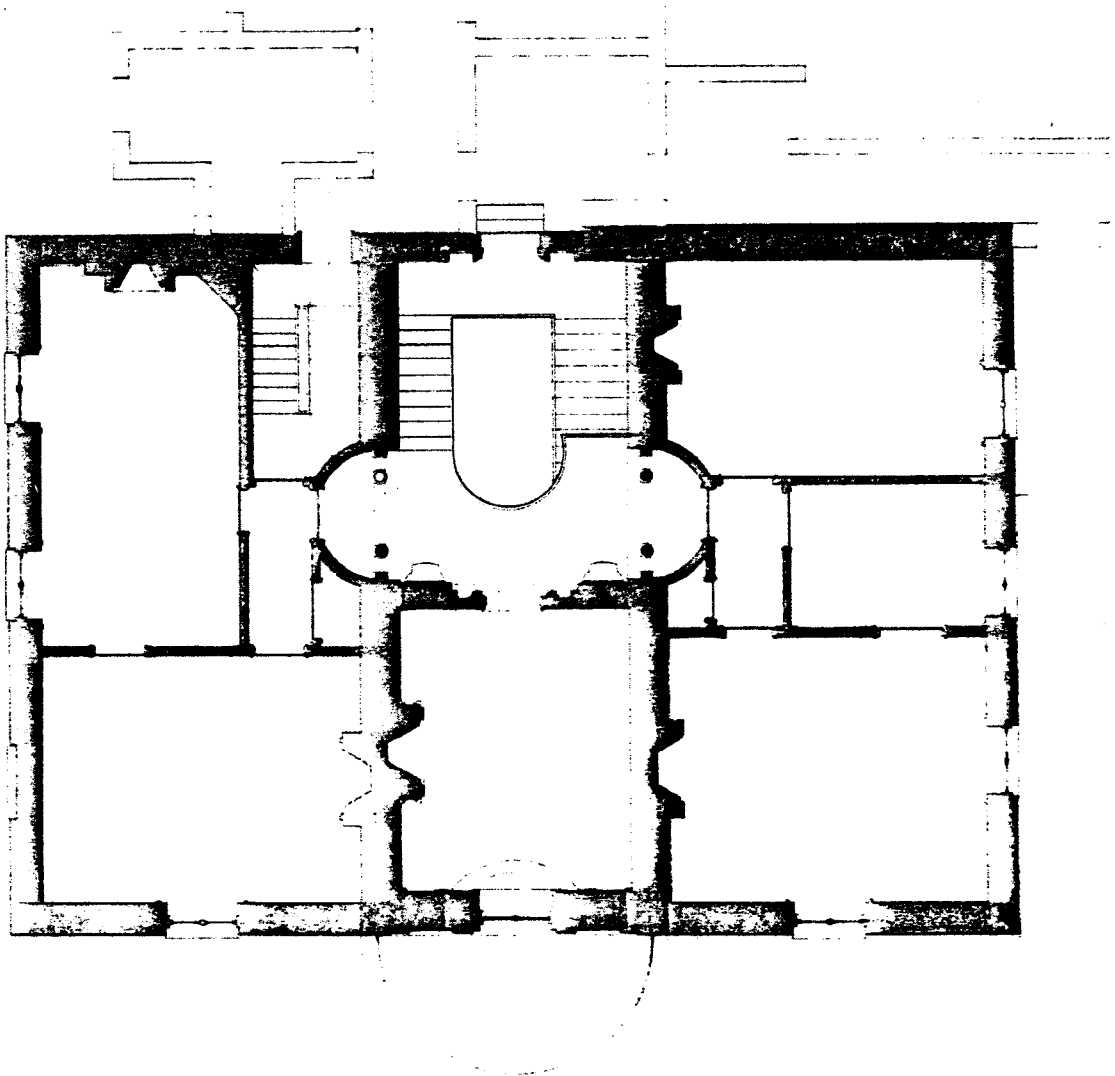


Illustration Five: Second Floor Plan

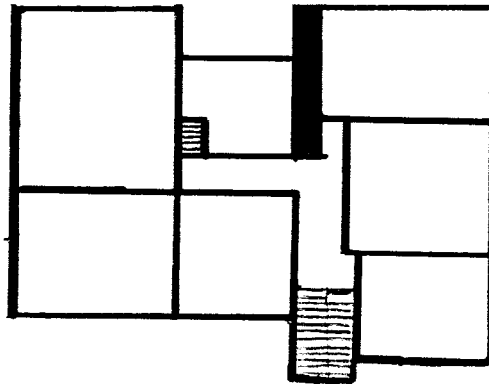


Illustration Six: Latrobe's Plan for Two Houses To Be Built

Near Tunbridge Wells

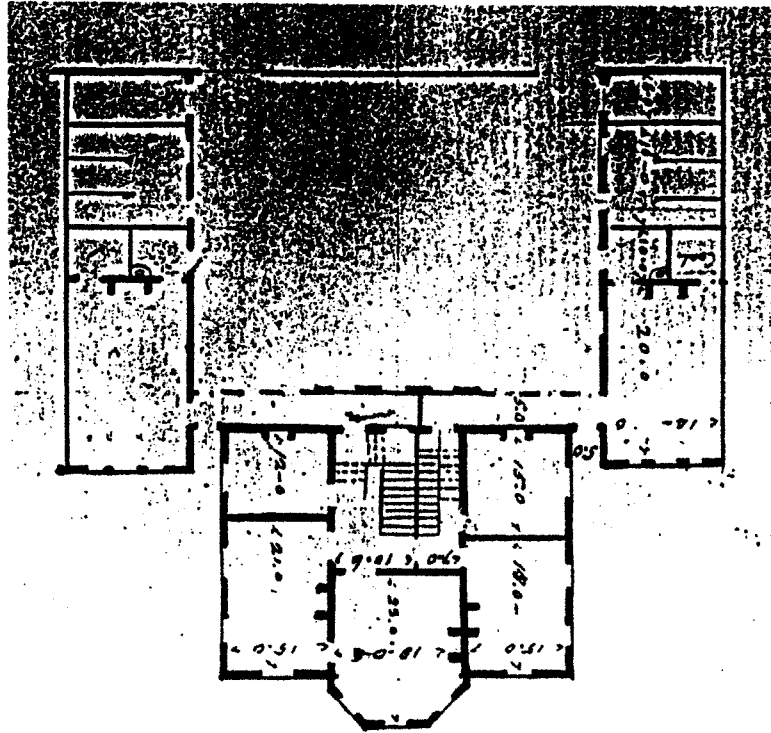


Illustration Seven: Plan of Stairs, Original Position

