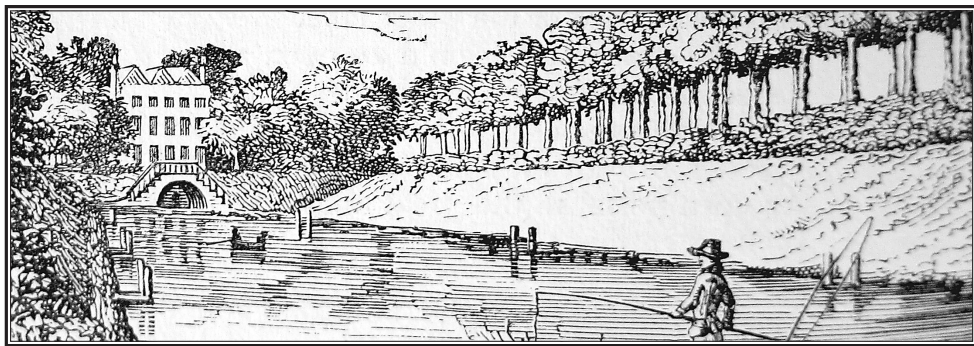




THE PERILOUS POND: 'THE COMPLEATEST
[PLEASURE BATH] OF A PUBLIC NATURE OF ANY
IN THE KINGDOM'¹

By Todd Longstaffe-Gowan

Those familiar with the growth of the metropolis will know that London has had its share of natural and artificial waterworks, many of which have vanished over the centuries: rivulets that once 'murmured pleasantly near the abodes of Londoners have long since been degraded into sewers';² and many a well, pool, fountain and mineral spring has suffered similar indignities. The memory of these lost features is, however, very often preserved in street names – including Fleet, Walbrook, Clerkenwell, Holywell, Bridewell, Monkwell, Spa-fields and Bagnigge Wells.

Among the more evocative watery street names are Bath and Peerless Streets off the City Road near Old Street roundabout, which commemorate London's most famous outdoor 'spacious bath for use and pleasure' – the 'compleatest of a public nature of any in the kingdom'.³

As the Peerless Pool and its place in the history of British bathing is outlined in two recent books, I propose here to discuss and illustrate the landscape setting of the place and its suburban context.⁴

From the late seventeenth century, London's northern suburbs were possessed of a broad range of establishments, including

pleasure grounds, spas, inns and tea and assembly rooms, which catered to pleasure-seeking city dwellers from all sections of society.⁵ Mineral spas, in particular, became especially popular as they combined health and pleasure, and in few districts were they more abundant than in Islington. The area was transformed in the 1670s with the opening of Sadler's Wells, which in turn spawned a number of rival establishments including New Tunbridge Wells or Islington Spa, Bagnigge Wells, the Royal Oak, White Conduit House, and the London Spa. Most of these possessed handsome and extensive pleasure grounds littered with exotic buildings including kiosks, pavilions, grottoes, and sometimes supper boxes. Among the most unusual of these was the Peerless Pool.

We are told that the pool was 'distinguished for having been one of the ancient springs that supplied the metropolis with water, when our ancestors drew that essential element from public conduits; that is to say, before the "old" water-works at London-bridge "commenced to be," or the "New River" had been brought to London by sir Hugh Myddelton'.⁶ Known variously as the Perillous or the Parlous Pond, the topographer John Stow describes it in 1603 as a 'cleare water called *Perillous* pond, because diuerse youtthes swimming therein haue beene drowned'.⁷ Writing in 1825 the topographer William Hone reports that 'in consequence of such accidents, and the worthy inhabitants of Lothbury having obtained their water from

1. Walter Harrison, *A new and universal history: description and survey of the cities of London* (1776), p.542.

2. Robert Chambers, *The Book of Days: A Miscellany of Popular Antiquities in Connection with the Calendar, Including Anecdote, Biography, & History, Curiosities of Literature and Oddities of Human Life and Character*, vol.2 (1832), p.718.

3. Harrison, *op.cit.*, p.542.

4. Janet Smith and Simon Inglis, *Liquid Assets: the lidos and open air swimming pools of Britain* (2005), pp.11-12; and Ian Gordon and Simon Inglis, *Great Lengths: the historic indoor swimming pools of Britain* (2009), pp.21-2.

5. Elizabeth McKellar, *Landscapes of London: the City, the Country and the Suburbs, 1660-1840* (2013), pp.111-43.

6. William Hone, *The every-day book, or, The guide to the year* (1825), p.971.

7. John Stow, *A Survey of London* (1603), preface. See www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=6017&strquery=Perillous. As for drowning – Stow remarked that 'thus much bee said for Fontaines and Wels'.



1. John Rocque, *Plan of London*, 1746.
Detail showing Peerless Pool and its 'Fish Pond' and 'Bathing Pond'
(PRIVATE COLLECTION)

other sources, Perilous Pond was entirely filled up, and rendered useless, till Mr. William Kemp, "an eminent jeweller and citizen of London", took possession of the place sometime in the 1730s – the land being leased from St. Bartholomew's Hospital. After spending a decade restoring the 'ruins' of the former Perilous Pool, and having been cured of a chronic and 'violent pain in the head' by bathing within it, Kemp, we are informed, magnanimously opened the pool and its spring – which he renamed 'to the more agreeable name of *Peerless Pool*, that is, *Matchless Bath*' – for 'public benefit', to form "the completest swimming-bath in the whole world".⁸

Kemp 'spared no expense nor contrivance to render it quite private and retired from public inspection, decent in its regulation, and as genteel in its furniture as such a place could be made'.⁹ The early layout of the pool and its surroundings are clearly delineated on John Rocque's *Plan of London* (1746) (fig. 1). Peerless Pool sat on the north side of Old Street opposite St. Luke's Work House. It was bounded on the west by the French Hospital, the Girdlers' and Cripplegate Almshouses, and on the north by open fields. It is shown as comprising two basins – a 'Bathing Pond' with a semi-circular apse at its northern end, and a larger and narrower 'Fish Pond' surrounded on three sides by rows of trees. The remainder of the ground is divided into a series of compartments including an orchard and a bowling green. What one cannot perceive on the plan, because it is not labelled, is the indoor 'cold bath, generally allowed to be the largest in England, it being forty feet long, and twenty feet broad, with flights of steps and dressing rooms at each end'.¹⁰

Peerless Pool appears to have been a great commercial success soon after it opened to the public. It was frequented by 'Clergymen, great numbers of Gentlemen, eminent Merchants, and substantial Traders'¹¹ and was the subject of various encomiums.¹² William Maitland writing in 1756 praised the 'fine *swimming Bath*' as one of the more

remarkable attributes of the parish, exclaiming that 'for the Sweetness of the Water, Accommodations and Pleasure, is not to be equalled in the British Dominions'.¹³ Walter Harrison, writing in 1776, was equally effusive and supplies a more detailed description: the pool was 'esteemed the completest of a public nature of any in the kingdom. It being 170 feet long, and above 100 feet broad, having a smooth gravel bottom, five feet deep in the middle, four feet at the sides, but three feet at one end. The descent to it is by several flights of steps conveniently disposed round it, adjoining to which are boxes and arbours for dressing and undressing, some of them open, and others enclosed. On the fourth side is a neat arcade, under which is a looking-glass over a marble slab; and a small collection of books for the entertainment of the subscribers. The ground about the pleasure bath is agreeably laid out and well planted with trees'.¹⁴ He also praised the 'very large fish-pond, 320 feet in length, and well stocked with fish, for the use of the subscribers who admire the amusement of angling. On each side of this pond is a very handsome terrace walk, well planted with lime trees, and the slopes are very agreeably covered with shrubs'.¹⁵ The baths were 'well attended by waiters; and the free use of the place is purchased by the easy subscription of One Guinea per annum...'.¹⁶

The Pool seems to have remained a popular resort at least until Kemp's death in 1757. His son, who was 'not so successful as his father', appears to have struggled to keep the premises going, as did the successive owners and occupiers Messrs. Taylor and Crewe. Things began to change dramatically in c.1805 when the Northamptonshire-born builder Joseph Watts obtained a new lease upon new buildings terms from St. Bartholomew's Hospital. So as to 'remunerate himself', Watts set about 'improving' the place 'by draining the fish-pond, pulling down Kemp's house, and felling the trees'. He also laid out Baldwin Street on the site of the fish-pond, erected bath-buildings on the ground of Kemp's orchard, built 'other adjoining streets', but all the while 'preserving the baths as he found

8. Hone, *op.cit.*, p.971, quoting from William Maitland, *History and Survey of London...in two volumes* (1756).

9. Hone, *op.cit.*, p.972, quoting from William Maitland *op.cit.*

10. Harrison, *op.cit.*, p.542.

11. Maitland, *op.cit.*, p.84.

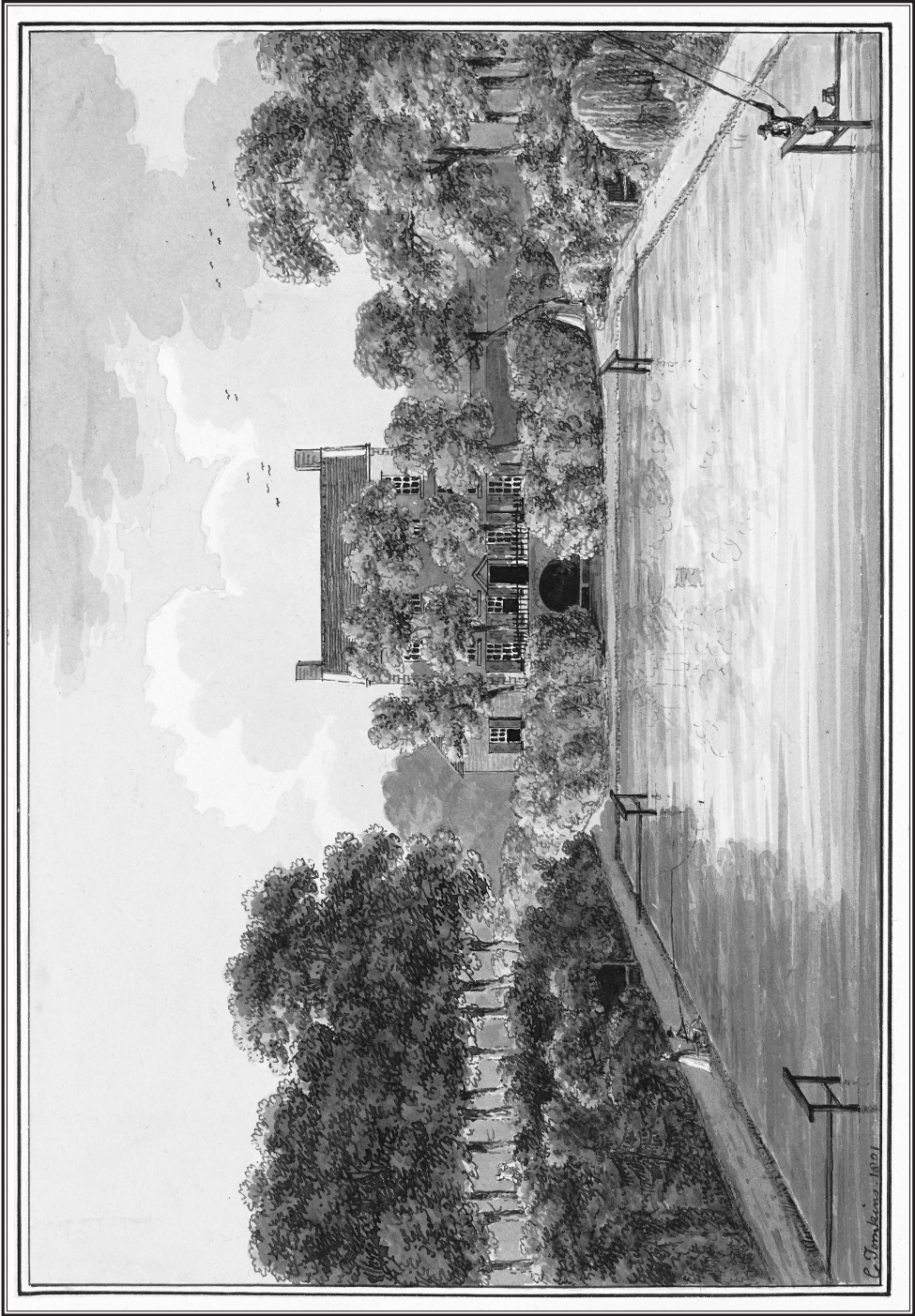
12. Among the most descriptive is *Philander's* eulogy in praise of the 'spacious bath' published in Harrison, *op.cit.*, pp.542-3.

13. Maitland, *History and Survey of London*, vol. II (1756) p.1370.

14. Harrison, *op.cit.*, p.542.

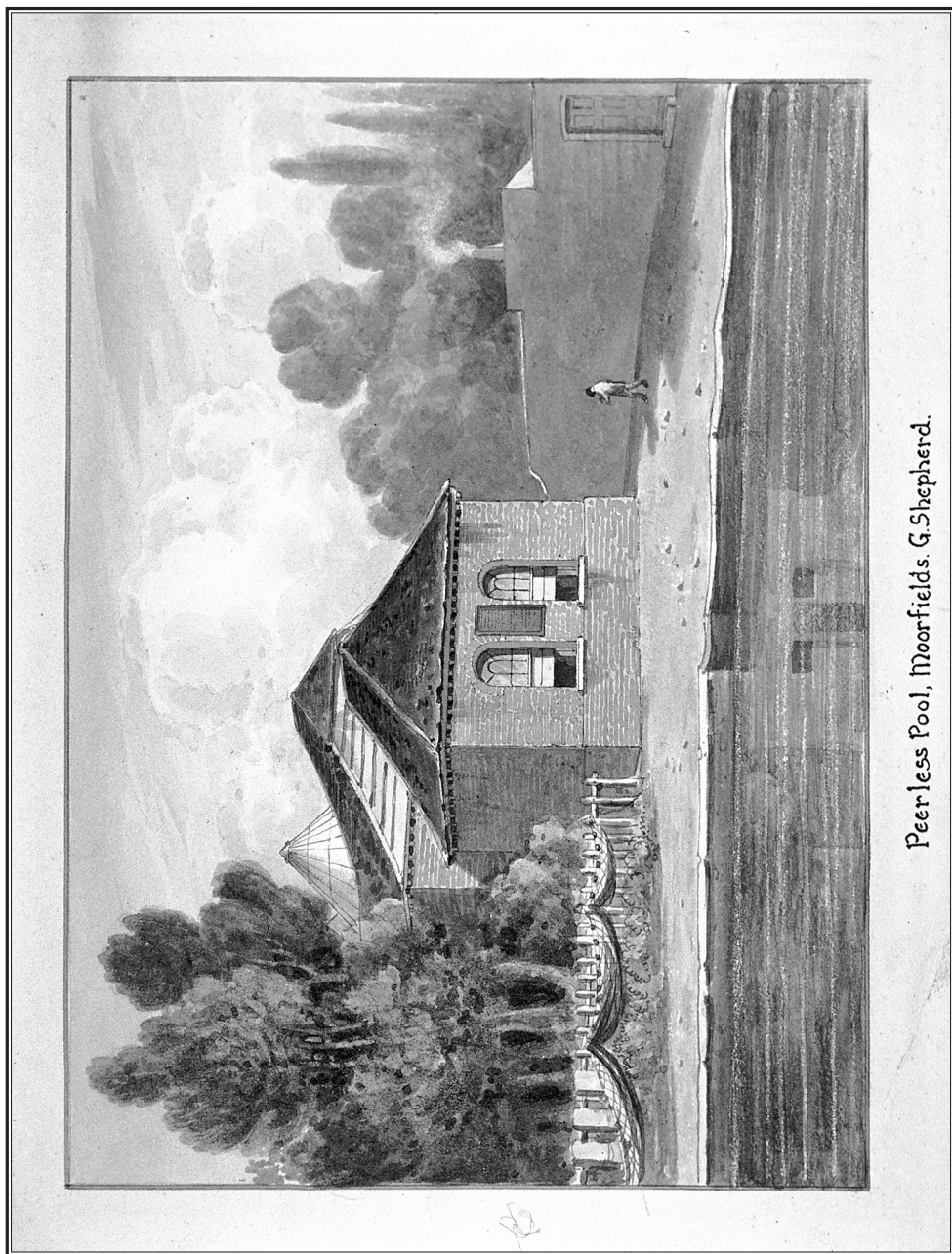
15. *Ibid.*, p.542.

16. Maitland, *op.cit.*, vol. II, p.1370.



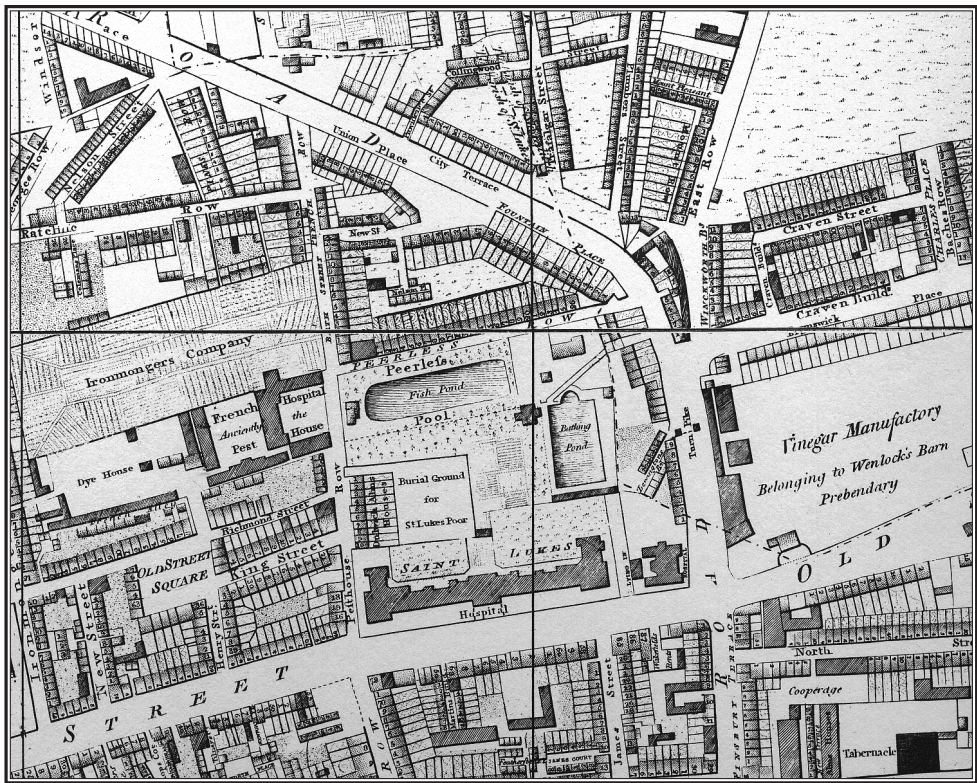
2. Charles Tomkins, 'Peerless Pool', pen and ink with watercolour, 1801.

The view shows William Kemp's house at the western end of the Fish Pond – then screened by large trees. The pond's high banks were planted with 'thousands of variegated shrubs, terminated at the top by a gravelled walk between stately lime-trees'. Note the presence of the alcove under the terrace of the house, which was used by 'gentlemen of the rod and line, [who] were drawn in at night' (COURTESY TRUSTEES OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM)



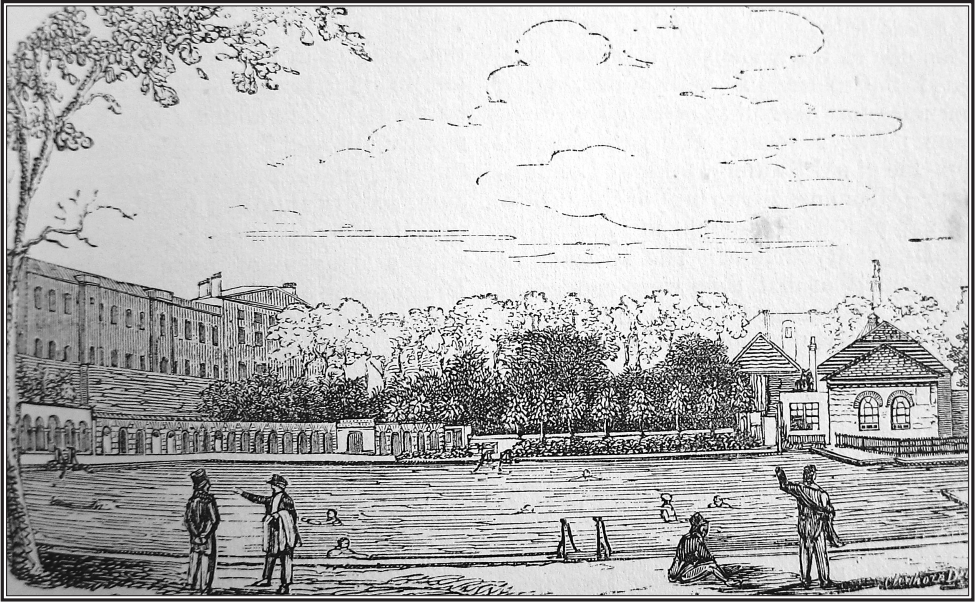
Peerless Pool, Moorfields. G. Shepherd.

3. George Shepherd, 'Peerless Pool, Moorfields', watercolour, c.1810. View looking west across the north end of the 'pleasure bath'
(COURTESY CORPORATION OF CITY OF LONDON, GUILDHALL LIBRARY)



4. Richard Horwood, *Plan of the Cities of London & Westminster*, third edition, 1813. Detail showing Peerless Pool
(PRIVATE COLLECTION)

THE PERILOUS POND



5. John Cleghorn, 'Looking west over the 'pleasure bath' at Peerless Pool', c.1825, reproduced in William Hone, *The every-day book, or, The guide to the year* (1825). St. Luke's Hospital looms over the pool. According to Hone, Cleghorn drew this view and the following illustration from memory
(PRIVATE COLLECTION)

6. John Cleghorn, 'The Old Fish Pond at Peerless Pool', c.1825, reproduced in William Hone, *The every-day book, or, The guide to the year* (1825). Kemp's house is seen at the far end of the pond
(PRIVATE COLLECTION)

them, and in many respects improving them'.¹⁷ Hone reports that despite these changes the pleasure-bath was 'still a pleasant spot, and both that and the cold-bath retain their ancient capabilities. Indeed, the attractions to the pleasure-bath are undiminished. Its size is the same as in Kemp's time, and trees enough remain to shade the visitor from the heat of the sun while on the brink, irresolute whether to plunge gloriously in, or ignobly walk down the steps'. Watts' strategy appears to have worked as *The Morning Chronicle* reported in September 1824 that there were frequently 600 to 700 bathers in a day.¹⁸ This number was broken down into user categories including 'warm sea-water baths; medicated, vapour, gaseous; fresh water warm baths; ladies, children, and female servants private cold sea water baths; gentlemen's single private plunging cold sea-water baths; gentlemen in the grand swimming bath of sea-water; gentlemen in the secondary do.; and journeymen, &c. on day a week – unspecified'.¹⁹

Charles Tomkins' watercolour view of 1801 shows the fish-pond before Watts became the proprietor of Peerless Pool: Kemp's house still rises above the west end of the pond, although its east-facing façade is almost entirely occluded by trees (*figs. 2 & 3*). One can even see the walls that formerly enclosed the house's apple and pear tree orchard. Hone described the house in 1825 as a 'handsome old-country-"squire-like" building [...] the back-front looked upon the water, and had an arch in the embankment on that side, beneath which two boats, kept for the accommodation of gentlemen of the rod and line, were drawn in at night'.²⁰ The 'noble fish-pond's' high slopes or banks were, he remarked, planted with 'thousands of variegated shrubs, terminated at the top by a gravelled walk between stately lime-trees'. It is worth noting that this view of the fish-pond is perhaps the only one of the several surviving views that is an accurate record of the place; subsequent views were made from memory by local topographers.

Richard Horwood's *Plan of the Cities of London & Westminster* (third edition, 1813) documents some of Watts' landscape improvements described by Hone (*fig. 4*). It shows, however, most remarkably, how the once semi-rural setting of the 'spacious bath' was now densely settled, and how several encroachments had been made on the south side of Peerless Pool, including the Burial Ground for St. Luke's Poor and St. Luke's Hospital (some of whose inmates used the cover of the garden to make their escape).²¹

William Hone remarks that the Peerless Pool was a 'pleasure bath in the open air [...] nearly surrounded by trees, with an arcade divided off into boxes for privately dressing and undressing; and is therefore, both in magnitude and convenience, the greatest bathing-place in the metropolis. Here the lover of cleanliness, or of a "cool dip" in a hot day, may at all times, for a shilling, enjoy the refreshment he desires, without the offensive publicity, and without the risk of life, attendant on river-bathing; while there is "ample room and verge enough" for all the sports and delights which "swimmers only know." It is no where so deep as five feet, and on one side only three; the experienced and inexperienced are alike safe. There is likewise a capacious cold-bath in the adjacent building, for the use of those who prefer a temperature below that of the atmosphere'.²² (*figs. 5 & 6*)

Hone also supplies us with descriptions of the pool users: 'Every fine Thursday and Saturday afternoon in the summer, columns of blue-coat boys, more than three score in each, headed by their respective beadles, arrive, and some half-strip themselves ere they reach their destination; the rapid plunges they make into the pool, and their hilarity in the bath, testify their enjoyment of the tepid fluid'.²³ Blue-coat boys were not the only regular school-boys to make use of the pool: boys also came on a regular basis from Christ's Hospital and Charterhouse. E. Ward writing in *Boys and Their Rulers, Or, What We Do at School* (1853) reports that as a boy at Christ's Hospital he and his fellow students patronised the bath

17. Hone, *op.cit.*, p.973.

18. *The Morning Chronicle*, 'Metropolitan Marine Bath Company', 10 September 1824.

19. *The Morning Post*, 'Metropolitan Marine Bath Company', 17 September 1824.

20. Hone, *op.cit.*, p.973.

21. In 1824 inmates from St Luke's Hospital escaped 'by the assistance of sheets of their beds tied to each other and affixed to a pole, and by which they descended into the gardens of Peerless Pool Baths, and made their way into the street'. *The Times*, 3 May 1824, p.3.

22. Hone, *op.cit.*, pp.969-71.

23. Hone, *op.cit.*, p.974.

**THE PLEASURE BATH,
PEERLESS POOL, CITY ROAD.**

TERMS OF

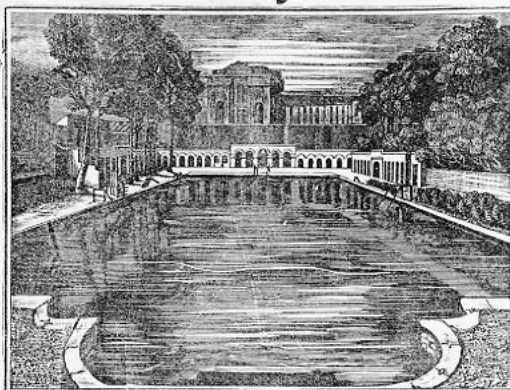
FIRST CLASS.

With Dressing Box & Towels

	$\mathcal{L}$	x	d
Month	0	7	0
Quarter	0	14	0
Year	1	1	0

(Skating included.)

Single Bath
ONE SHILLING.



SUBSCRIPTION

SECOND CLASS

	$\pounds$	$s.$	$d.$
Month	0	3	6
Quarter	0	7	0
Year	0	10	6

Single Bathe,
SIXPENCE.

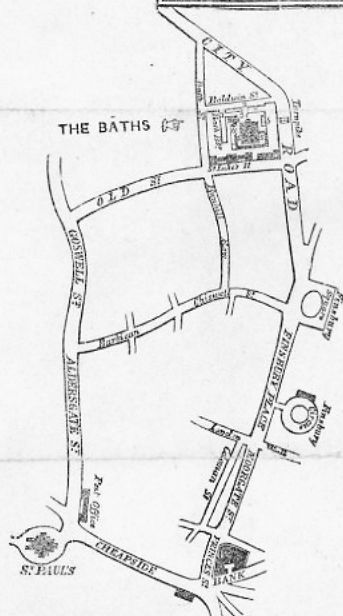
THE PLEASURE BATH
OF PEERLESS POOL.

THE LARGEST IN ENGLAND, is of easy access from all parts of the City, being within Ten minutes' direct walk Northwards from the Bank. (*vide plan.*) Surrounded by trees and shrubberies, open to the air, although entirely screened from observation, and most ample in its dimensions—**170 FEET** in length, by **108** in breadth—it offers to the Bather the very advantages he would least expect to find at so short a distance from the centre of the metropolis. Its depth, which increases gradually from 3 feet 6 inches to nearly five feet, is such as to afford free scope to the Swimmer, while it precludes all fear of accident to any : and the temperature of the water rises to a height sufficient to ensure all the comfort and luxury of Bathing, without the risk of injury to health, from too violent a contrast with the external air.

THE COLD BATH.

THIRTY-SIX feet by EIGHTEEN, is the largest and most commodious of its kind in London. Terms,—Single Bathe, 1s.—Month, 8s.—Quarter, 16s.—Year, £1. 10s.—(Free also to the Pleasure Bath.)

☞ *The City Road is the line from all parts of the WEST END to the City. Omnibuses pass both ways nearly every minute throughout the day.*



- 1, Bath Buildings Entrance—2, Baldwin Street Entrance—3, Cold Bath—4, Pleasure Bath—5, Dressing Boxes—6, Shrubberies.

7. Advertisement for 'The Pleasure Bath, Peerless Pool, City Road', wood-engraving with letterpress, 1846. This flysheet shows terms of subscription, a view of the pleasure bath and a map showing the location of Peerless Pool relative to other London landmarks (COURTESY TRUSTEES OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM)



8. Samuel Read, 'Peerless Pool, City Road 1848', pen with watercolour, 1848. This depicts the view looking north over the stone-edged pleasure bath. The 'half-circle' at the north end of the bath was 'stigmatised as the Mud's Corner'
(COURTESY TRUSTEES OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM)

during summer season and half-holidays 'in the healthful exercise of swimming' at Peerless Pool.²⁴ From June to August 'arrangements are made by the governors, with the proprietors of Peerless Pool, in Bath Street, City Road, for bathing, Thursday and Saturday afternoons. On these days the monitors of each ward make a selection of ten boys, whose names are handed to the steward, as being desirous of visiting Peerless Pool. At three o'clock the bathers form themselves into a line. The procession, headed by two beadles, moves on, impatient for the cooling stream: - "Cheer'd by the milder beam, the sprightly youth / Speeds to the well-known pool, whose crystal depth / a sandy bottom shows". It is a great point with the boys who shall be the first to plunge into the bath, and, consequently, it can be easily imagined what plans are resorted to for expedition in undressing. Thus, long before the boys arrive in Bath Street, all strings, buckles, and ties of every kind have, by some means, become unloosed, and in a few moments after the gates are passed, commences a scene of splashing and dashing, which is very amusing'.²⁵

Ward also describes the setting:

Around the bath is a gravel walk and shrubbery. Here and there are boxes for dressing, and one larger than the rest - a kind of omnibus box, with a large mirror, which most temptingly reflects the cooling stream. Viewed from the entrance, the appearance of the looking-glass leads one, at first sight, to imagine interminable waste of water. In front of the boxes the deepest water is to be found, which is a depth of about 5 feet some few inches. At this end of the bath, called the Half-circle, from the shape, the depth is only 3 feet 4 inches. This part also was stigmatised as the Mud's Corner. Now the word mud is applied to a boy that is timid of the water, and who, therefore, seeks the shallowest spot to escape being ducked. Each ward has its own peculiar and arranged *locus standi*, which by no means must be trespassed upon. This, of course, only refers to the outside - when you are in the bath you

may paddle or swim wherever you please. As a rule, no boy is permitted to walk ignobly down the steps, but is urged to plunge gloriously in the liquid stream. This proceeding, however, is rather a nervous business for the first time, and before you know anything of swimming... (figs. 7 & 8)

Although the pool was frequented by school children, from the mid-nineteenth century it began to decline in popularity. In 1864 the antiquary *Septugenarius* writing in *The Standard* lamented the development of the neighbourhood, asking his readers 'how many... can have seen a sky unclouded with smoke over Peerless Pool, and scarce a house visible over its surrounding walls?'²⁶ The 'beautiful bath', in fact, is seldom mentioned in contemporary writing until December 1868 when the site, including its 'Bath-buildings, Pool-terrace, &c.' was advertised as a 'site for building'.²⁷ In February 1869 the Peerless Pool Estates was leased to Messrs. Tubbs, Lewis, and Co. at a yearly rental of £2,800,²⁸ and in 1876 it was remarked in the *Daily News* that 'Peerless Pool has vanished within the memory of the middle-aged, to the great loss of the Bluecoat Boys, who were its chief supporters, and altogether the tendency of the last half century has been to deprive London of its old bathing places, and to make little or no provision for supplying their place'.²⁹ In 1879 a contributor to *The Graphic* lamented that 'now that the pool was no more, the only open-air swimming bath within the three-mile radius is at Addington Square, S.E'.³⁰

It is interesting to note that whilst the Peerless Pool waned in popularity and ultimately vanished, its memory was perpetuated in the theatre, and in Christmas pantomimes in particular. In 1851 it featured in a 'scene of rare beauty' in 'The Prince of Happy Land, or, the Fawn in the Forcat' at the Lyceum. Described in *The Times* as an 'entirely new and original fairy extravaganza', the pool was invoked as the site of a 'grand gathering of fairies' ushered in the *corps de ballet*, the effect of which was 'heightened by the introduction

26. *The Standard*, 'Ancient "Hogsden"', 28 September 1864.

27. *The Standard*, 12 December 1868; *The Standard*, 5 January 1869.

28. *The Morning Post*, 'Value of London Property', 13 February 1869.

29. *Daily News*, 21 August 1876.

30. *The Graphic*, 'Swimming and Diving', 6 September 1879.

24. E. Ward, *Boys and Their Rulers, Or, What We Do at School* (1853), p.85.

25. *Ibid.*, pp.85-6.

of groups of children in the background'.³¹ In December 1858 the pool once again formed the backdrop for a 'grand comic pantomime' at Sadler's Wells entitled 'Harlequin and Old Izaak Walton; or, Tom Moore of Fleet-street, the Silver Trout, and the Seven Sisters of Tottenham',³² and in 1887 the pond featured in the pantomime 'The Frog Who Would a-Wooing Go' at the Marylebone Theatre.

* * * * *

Acknowledgements

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Georgina Eliot and Alexis Ashot
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JOHN CASTLES ('MASTER OF THE GROTTOS') AND THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY GROTTOS OF LONDON

By Michael Cousins

On 21st October 1738, the *Daily Gazetteer* made the following announcement (*fig. 9*):

A curious fine Grotto is just finished at St. Mary-le-Bone by Mr. Castle, the Gentleman who presented his Majesty with his Arms in Shell-Work, and who made the Grotto in the Garden belonging to Sir Robert Walpole at Chelsea.¹

This is the first evidence of the grotto at Marybone (or Marylebone), and the existence of John Castles, grotto-builder.² Compared to the likes of Thomas Bushell, Thomas Wright, Stephen Wright, and, of course, Joseph and Josiah Lane, Castles is rather the forgotten man of grotto-builders. Yet he is an essential,

and quantifiable bridge between the work of the seventeenth-century artisans, with notable creations at Wilton, Woburn, and Enstone, and the equally famous designs of the eighteenth century at Painshill, Oatlands, and Ascot, for example. Considering the number of grottoes constructed during the latter period, the names of their builders remain generally unknown; to that extent, Castles fairs somewhat better. Besides St. Marybone, the news item of 1738 also provides confirmation that he was responsible for the grotto at Chelsea (although his patron was actually Catherine, Lady Walpole, Sir Robert's first wife). Frequently referred to as 'Castle' in newspapers, the few legal documents that exist concerning the grotto-builder always refer to 'Castles', and so this spelling has been adopted throughout the current article.

We know next to nothing of Castles' youth – when and where he was born, or how he took up a trade, or a career in shell-work and decoration of grottoes – but it is evident that he had limited literacy, having to have his mark witnessed on documents. It is probable that he was related to Anne Castle – possibly his mother rather than his wife – who first appears in the Marybone (or Mary Bone) rate books in 1735, but not after 1737.³ The first mention of Castles is as the lodger of a Major Delaney in 1739, but thereafter he appears as the principal rate-payer in his own right, which continued to be the case right up to his demise in 1757.

But before embarking on his most famous enterprise, the Great Grotto at Marylebone, it is worth recounting the history of the first piece of work that Castles is known to have been involved with: Lady Walpole's grotto at Chelsea.

Lady Walpole (c.1682–1737) appears to have determined to build a grotto at Chelsea early in 1734.⁴ A letter from Aaron Hill indicates that her Ladyship must have called on him at his house in Petty France, Westminster, to see his 'rude beginnings of rock-work' and 'a little obelisk of Jersey shells,

31. *The Times*, 27 December 1851, p.3.

32. *The Times*, 28 December 1858, p.7.

1. *Daily Gazetteer* (London Edition), Saturday 21 October 1738, Issue 103 [1038], p.2, News section.

2. Previous accounts of the Great Grotto have used various old press cuttings from the Westminster City Archives (hereafter referred to as WCA) as a principal source. The publication year of each has been handwritten on the respective cutting; unfortunately on some key pieces the dates have been misread, particularly the aforementioned extract, as can also be evinced by comparison to the actual corresponding eighteenth-century newspapers in other collections. This, plus incorrect assumptions about the location and extent of Castles' establishment, have led to quite misleading accounts of the Great Grotto, e.g. Arthur Ashbridge, 'The Royal Grotto in High Street, Marylebone: An Historical sketch', *The Marylebone Mercury and West London Gazette*, [weekly], No. 3402, London, Saturday 20 January 1923, p.2; Oliver Bradbury, 'Rites of Passage', *The Marylebone Journal*, vol. 2, no. 5 (October–November 2006), pp.38–40; and Ivor Hoole's 'A Guide to the Alleys, Courts, Passages, and Yards of Central London' [Geocities] is just a wonderful piece of creative writing about Castles and the grotto.

3. WCA, Marylebone Rate Books. A Mrs Castle is mentioned under 'Tottingham Court Rd' at the end of 1734, who, it seems, then moved to Marylebone. An Anne Castle is recorded as being buried in the parish of St Marylebone on 1 April 1746 (Parish Registers, vol. no.p89/MRY1/3).

4. Catherine Shorter, Lady Walpole, married (1700) Sir Robert Walpole. She died of dropsy, at 9pm in the evening of 20 August, at Sir Robert's house in Chelsea, and was buried in Houghton Church (*London Evening Post*, 20–23 August 1737).