Dissertation submitted for the Diploma in Architecture
at the University of Cambridge

SANDERSON MILLER OF RADWAY
1716 - 1780
Architect

- Volume I -

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- Jesus College
1964
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The purpose of this thesis is to catalogue the architectural work of Sanderson Miller. As an amateur he was rarely paid for his work. This has meant that on the whole documentary evidence is limited to his correspondence. The majority of his own letters have been destroyed, but over nine hundred of the letters to him from his friends are preserved at Warwick Record Office. A selection from these was published in 1910, but the editors suppressed much of the architectural detail, which they considered of little interest to the general reader. This book has formed the basis of practically every article on Miller, as the originals are not arranged nor catalogued. I have examined the complete collection of original letters, from which I have extracted anything of architectural relevance. This research has produced a greater amount of material than could be presented with any clarity within the limits required for the examination. I have therefore placed the sections on his minor and unauthenticated works in an appendix.

I would like to express my thanks to all those who have assisted me in my research, but particularly to Christopher Lyster, who most generously lent me the material which he had collected for an earlier thesis on Miller, and to Mr Wood and the Staff of the Warwick County Record Office.
## ABBREVIATIONS

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<td>V.C.H.</td>
<td>The <em>Victoria County Histories</em>.</td>
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<td>R.C.H.M.</td>
<td>Royal Commission on <em>Historical Monuments</em>.</td>
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INTRODUCTION

Sanderson Miller, the son of a wool-merchant from Banbury, was born at Radway in Warwickshire in 1716. Little is known of his early life but at the age of eighteen he entered St. Mary's Hall at Oxford, where he came under the influence of the great Jacobite, Dr. King. While at Oxford Miller formed a profound interest in antiquarian matters which was to last throughout his life. The death of his father in 1737 left him the estate at Radway on Edge Hill, together with the means to pursue the life of a country gentleman.

It was as one of the earliest exponents of the style now known as Gothic Rococo that Miller commanded the respect of his contemporaries. Fostered by the prevailing fashion in literature, the reaction against the Augustan ideals of the regime of Sir Robert Walpole found expression in architecture in a variety of styles. In 1744 Miller began to enlarge and gothicise his seat, built a small gothic cottage on the summit of Edge Hill and shortly afterwards the first of his sham ruins. In his selection of gothic Miller was probably influenced as much by Batty Langley's recently published Gothic Architecture improved by Rules and Proportions as by the historical associations of the site. With the assistance of his faithful valet-de-chambre and stone mason, William Hitchcox, he was soon attending to the insatiable demand of his friends for similar embellishments for their own estates. In satisfying their tastes Miller produced little more in some cases than what one correspondent jokingly referred to as "A Gothic Hog-Sty for some Customary freeholder in Oxfordshire". However in the mid eighteenth century his reputation as an authority on Gothic was only equalled by that of Horace Walpole. As early as 1746 Lord Dacre, a fellow antiquary and Gothic enthusiast, was able to write to Miller, "Your fame in Architecture grows greater and greater every day and I hear of nothing else, if you have a mind to set up you'll soon eclipse Mr. Kent, especially in the Gothick way in which in my mind he succeeds very ill". Unfortunately after 1760, when Miller suffered from an attack of insanity, he achieved little of importance. Although he is remembered today as a "Master of Gothick", his versatility is shown by his designs for Hagley Hall and the Shire Hall at Warwick, both of which are excellent examples of the restrained classicism of the Rococo period.
### PRINCIPAL WORKS

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Philip Yorke, the son of an attorney at Dover, was created Baron
Hardwicke in 1733. Under the ministry of Sir Robert Walpole, he rose
to become Lord Chancellor in 1737. Three years later he purchased
from the impoverished Lord Harley the estate of Wimpole in Cambridg-
shire, for which he is reputed to have paid £100,000. Hardwicke was
closely acquainted with George Lyttelton, who was responsible for
introducing him to Sanderson Miller.

In June 1749 Sanderson Miller was asked by George Lyttelton to
design a ruined Gothic castle for Lord Hardwicke. This was to be
similar to the one erected by Miller in the grounds of Hagley Hall in
1748-9. Lyttelton, in apologising for making this request, remarked
that Miller could hardly expect his great genius in architecture not
to be importuned by his friends:

My Lord Chancellor... told me... that he wanted to see the
plan of my castle, having a mind to build one at Wimple
himself. Upon further enquiry I found it would be better
for him not to copy mine, but have one upon something
like the same idea, but differing in many respects,
particularly in this, that he wants no house or even room
in it, but nearly the walls and semblance of an old castle
to make an object from his house. At most he only desires
to have a staircase carried up one of the towers, and a
leaded gallery half round it to stand on and view the
prospect. It will have a fine wood of firs for a backing
behind it and will stand on an eminence at a proper
distance from his house...

With regard to the dimensions... you are not confined,
but may make it of just what height and breadth you think
fitt. He desired me to make his compliments to you, and
to say he would take it as a great favour if you would
sketch it for him as soon as you conveniently can.'

Miller wrote at once to Hardwicke to enquire for more details of the
site for the proposed building, before he embarked on any designs.
George Lyttelton replied on his behalf:

I have communicated your letter to my Lord Chancellor and
he desires me to return you a great many thanks for it.
The view of Wimple which you have seen will give you a
pretty just idea of the place where he designs building
the ruin. It is a hill about half a mile from the house
to which the ground rises gently all the way. My Ld.
agrees to your notion of having some firs before part of
the walls. As the back view will be immediately closed
by the wood there is no regard to be had to it, nor to
the left side, but only to the front and the right side
as you look from the house.2
The staircase and viewing platform were to be omitted, as Hardwicke intended the castle to be "nearly as an object". Possible materials for the building were freestone, flint pebbles and "other stone, of which an old church in the parish is built". This church, shown in an engraving of the house and grounds by Kip, which was probably the one seen by Miller, was rebuilt between 1748-9 by Henry Flitcroft. A few days later Hardwicke asked George Lyttelton to convey his thanks to Miller for a sketch of the castle. In an album at Wimpole there are four drawings of the proposed ruin, which are probably by Miller. One of these is a perspective view of the building, as it would have appeared from the direction of the house. (Plate ) The central tower, of three storeys, has a marked affinity to Miller's design for Hagley: it differs only in the omission of the staircase tower and the addition of cross arrow-slits to the castellations. This similarity to Hagley extends to the composition with the ruined stumps of the corner towers, but in the Wimpole drawing the remains of a great hall appear within the outer curtain wall, whereas at Hagley these features form part of the outer wall. The ruin is set against a background of fir trees, but, perhaps for sake of clarity, none of these appear before the walls, as Miller had suggested in his first letter to Hardwicke. The standard of draughtsmanship is higher than that normally displayed by Miller, but that considerable pains were taken over this drawing is clear from the manner in which the plan has been set up in perspective beneath the towers in the drawing. The other drawings are elevational sketches for this building. (Plates )

At the request of Lord Hardwicke, Miller visited Wimpole in order to adapt his original design more closely to the proposed site. In February 1750, he wrote to George Lyttelton, who was still acting as intermediary between architect and client. The letter is partially damaged:

When I came from wimple my Lord Chancellor desired me to take my plans of his Castle and make such alterations as I thought the situation required. I have so done. As it is not in my power to be in town at present, I must beg the favour of you to acquaint his Lordship that if he has any thoughts of building it this year, it is time that somebody should be employed to dig the stone and get the other materials in readiness, ... if it is to be done this year and his Lordship will let me know his intentions, I will send hitchcox down who may see the materials the Country affords... for I would by no means have his Lordship led into a greater expense about it than he
is at first apprized of... The very kind reception I found at Wimpole demands the turn of everything in my power and nothing will give me so much pleasure as doing anything to embellish that place.

Hardwicke did not feel any great anxiety to proceed with the work at once. He thanked Miller for his trouble, and concluded that:

As the building of this Castle requires no great haste, I think there will be no great harm if it remains in the air a few months longer. Therefore there will be no occasion to send Hitchcox to Wimpole yet. But, when your other occasions shall call you to this Town, I shall take it as a particular favour if you will be at the trouble of bringing the new Draught of the Plan along with you.... by which means the whole may be more fully understood.

Miller must have complied with this request, for, at about this time, Hardwicke's daughter, Elizabeth wrote to her brother-in-law, Thomas Anson, "Mr. Miller has completed his scheme for the Ruin; which is to be called Chicheley Castle". However this name does not seem to have gained favour, for it was more generally known simply as the Gothic Tower or Ruin.

Hardwicke continued to seek Miller's advice during the next three years. In response to the Lord Chancellor's entreaties, Miller seems to have visited Wimpole each September from 1750 to 1753. His offer of some stained glass, which bore the Worcestershire arms upon it, proved very acceptable to Hardwicke, who returned this kindness by appointing a friend of Miller to the living at Radway. Hardwicke anticipated with pleasure Miller's intended visit in 1752, "I hope then to be able to show you some improvements, and to profit by your good Tast, for I am now actually putting in execution the scheme you have heard me talk of by opening the West side of the garden to the Park Hill". In September of the year following he expressed his desire to show Miller his alterations, "to have the advantage of your Judgement upon them, and how to improve them".

Miller is reputed to have been responsible for alterations in the library at Wimpole. The library wing had been built by Edward Harley to house his splendid collection. William Cole, antiquary and friend of Horace Walpole, states that Miller advised "altering the Library at Wimpole by removing the Large Chimney-piece and making a Bow-window to the Park, and that the Arms put up in the windows were also through his means". The fireplace, which was
moved to the centre of the western wall, was replaced by a five-sided bow with central venetian window. (Plate ) There seems no reason to doubt this: the work was probably executed in the early part of 1754, so Miller could have given his directions during his visit in September of the previous year. 11

It is improbable that the Gothic castle was erected during the lifetime of the first Earl of Hardwicke. In October 1752, two years after Miller had completed the design for the ruin, a "Mr. S-" gave Hardwicke his hints for alterations in the park. 12 His proposal for "a Temple or Dome seat at Johnson's Hill" suggests that the ruin was not then in existence. The first Earl died in 1764. Three years later his son invited Capability Brown to Wimpole. Brown's proposed alterations are shown in a copy of his original plan, in the album at Wimpole. 13 A building on the site of the present castle, with central tower and stumpy wings, is described in the original as "the intended Building on Johnson's Hill", and in the copy as "The new Tower at Johnson's Hill". Brown noted in January 1772 that he had not yet been paid for "what is doing at the Tower, and what has been done there by Brisley". 14 This evidence would seem to indicate that the second Earl employed Brown to erect the Castle from Miller's plans, and that it was completed in 1772, the year of Brown's departure. The tower was certainly finished before 1776, for a set of verses, entitled "INSCRIPTION in a TOWER at W - in the COUNTY OF CAMBRIDGE" appeared in the Annual Register for 1775. 15 These were written by Daniel Wray, antiquary and author, a friend of the second Earl. They reveal the spirit in which the ruined castle was conceived and built:

When HENRY stemm'd IERNE'S stormy flood;
And bow'd to BRITAIN'S yoke her savage brood;
When, by true courage and false zeal impell'd,
RICHARD encamp'd on SALEM'S balmy field;
On towers like these EARL, BARON, VAVASOR,
Hung high their banners waving in the air;
Free, hardy, proud, they brav'd their feudal Lord,
And tried their rights by ordeal of the sword;

Yet Freedom's cause once raised the civil broil,
And MAGNA CARTA clos'd the glorious toil ---
Spruce modern villas different scenes afford;
The patriot Baronet, the courtier Lord,
Gently amus'd, now waste the summer's day
In Book-room, Print-room, or in Ferme Ornée;
Oh! might our age in happy concert join
The manly virtues of the Norman line
With the true science and just taste which raise
High in each useful art these modern days:

The second Earl of Hardwicke published an engraving of the Ruin, beneath which were inscribed the lines from the *Annual Register*.  

(Plate ) The building is represented fairly accurately, but the artist has flattered the site, particularly the size and extent of the moat. The central tower, increased to four storeys and decorated with cross arrow-slits, has lost its resemblance to the Hagley castle. The ruined Great Hall has a single four-light window, but the curtain-wall to the left of the central tower has been enlivened with an archway with shields above it, an echo of Hagley, and several two-light windows. That Daniel Wray was the author of the poem is clear from a letter sent to Miller by John Jeffreys, a prebendary of St. Paul's, in November 1777: "I have a Print to show you, which will give you pleasure. It is of the ruin at Wimpole done from your old Plan, and finely engraved by Stewart, with a copy of verses under the print written by my brother, Mr. Wray — probably known to you as he was intimately aquainted with the Lord Lyttelton as well as the Hardwicke family." It is extremely unlikely that James Stuart engraved this plate himself. He may have prepared Miller's plan for the engraver, although it is difficult to imagine the great Athenian engaged on a drawing of a Gothic castle. Hardwicke dispatched copies of the engraving to Miller in December 1777, and to the Earl of Dartmouth in the following February. The engraving was probably published during 1777. In his letter to Dartmouth, he states that he has erected the castle himself:

I beg leave to send your Lordship the print of a Gothic Chateau - a ruin, which I have erected at Wimpole. Perhaps the views may strike you as no bad contrast between ancient and modern times. They are by a friend, I furnished the hint. I am as a companion to this antique engraving a modern Italian Loggia, which I have set up at Wimpole, under the auspices of Mr. Stewart.

John Britton mentions that the second Earl built both the castle and the Park House. The view of Stuart's building, published in 1778, was executed by Daniel Lerpiniere, an engraver of landscapes who worked in London. As the technique and composition of the two plates are remarkably similar, both may have been drawn by Stuart and engraved by
A much reduced version of the two views was published by Fielding and Walker in 1781.21

Further alterations were made to the castle during the nineteenth century. Humphry Repton, whose Red book is preserved at Wimpole, considered the ruin "one of the best of its kind extant". However he felt that its significance would not be diminished if, by inserting floors in the tower and outbuildings, it was converted to form a Keeper's lodge. This suggested conversion was in fact carried out. The original castellation must have become decayed, for it was replaced rather unsympathetically in brick. In the catalogue of the sale of the Wimpole estate in 1891, the castle is described as, "very picturesque... A portion of the tower is occupied by the Head Gamekeeper... and contains three bedrooms, a sitting-room, a kitchen and a cellar".22 The ruins are no longer inhabited; but, with the exception of the rebuilt parapet and the collapse of the window in the great Hall, they present much the same appearance today as they did at the time of the original engraving. (Plates )

5. I am indebted to Dr. Eden of the Royal Commission on Historical monuments for allowing me to copy a photograph of this drawing.
This entry is dated Apr. 10 1760. The Arms in the windows were

copied from an old pedigree, which had been given to Miller by

his friend, Thomas Prowse. This must be the glass, mentioned above,

which Miller sent to Hardwicke. (British Museum, Add. MSS. 5823

f. 135). Dr. Eden kindly drew my attention to this, as well as to

the entry in the Annual Register and the letter to the Earl of

Dartmouth, quoted below.

In Mar. 1754, Hardwicke asked his steward how much longer the

Bow-window would take to finish. (British Museum, Add. MSS.

35,679, f. 104). Mr. Lees-Milne thinks the oriel window was

erected in 1760. (James Lees-Milne, Earls of Creation, (London,

1962, p. 216).

The identity of Mr. S- remains a mystery. As an advisor in the

laying out of grounds, William Shenstone is a possibility, for he

was acquainted with Lyttelton and Miller. However Hardwicke is

not mentioned in his correspondence, and his letters at this time

suggest that he would not have had the opportunity to visit

Wimpole. (British Museum, Add. MSS. 35679, f. 75; William


Dr. Eden has been unable to find a larger drawing, mentioned

by Dorothy Stroud, of these proposals. However the smaller

drawings in the Wimpole Album showing the "Alterations made in

1767" to the north park are "according to Mr. Brown's drawing".

(Dorothy Stroud, Capability Brown, (London 1950, p. 128).

Copied by Dorothy Stroud from Brown's accounts.


University Library, Cambridge; Views, aa. 53. 91. 4/102.

There are two small alterations to the text.

Christ Church, Nov. 13 1777: CR 125B/71.

Mr. Wray feared that Miller's "nice eye" would discover in the

poem "pieces of older and better versifiers". (Christ Church,

Dec. 1777: CR 125B/72; Hist. MS. Comm., MS of the Earl of


E.W. Brayley and J. Britton, Beauties of England and Wales,


University Library, Cambridge: Views, aa. 53. 91. 4/103.

These were published in March 1781 by Fielding and Walker in

Paternoster Row. (Univ.Lib., Cambridge: Views, aa. 53. 91. 4/100-1).

University Library, Cambridge: Atlas, 24. 89. 3.

Above the entrance door to the tower is a carved mediaeval head

wearing a mitre. Beneath this is inscribed: STIRKEIUS ABBAS

CROYLANDIE AD 946 FUNDATOR ACADEMARII CANTABRIGIE ET STANFORDIE.
2. ADLESTROP, GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

James Henry Leigh was the brother of Sir Edward Turner's wife, Cassandra, and a nephew of Dr. Leigh, Master of Balliol. He was a close friend of Miller, and a frequent visitor at Ambrosden and Radway. ¹

Among his papers², there is preserved an Article of Agreement³, dated March 11 1750, between "James Leigh Esqre. and William Hitchcox of Alkerton mason, for the erection of a new building adjoining the withdrawing room of the house of William Leigh Esqre". ⁴ The new building was to consist of a cellar with two rooms directly above it, lit by a two-storey Gothic bow-window, and to be "executed to the design given by Mr. Miller and subject to his approval". The cost was not to exceed £300: in the event of any dispute, reference was to be made to Miller.

Evidently Hitchcox proceeded with his customary lack of efficiency, for two years later Sir Edward Turner writes:

Hitchcox is in high disgrace, and indeed he hath too much neglected (don't break off now to treat Mrs. Miller with a Dissertation on the Impeccability of your Mason) his Attendance at Adiestrop.

Letters: CR 125/514

It was not until January 8 1754 that final payment was made to Hitchcox for his work.⁵

During this period, from 1752 to 1753, Samuel Driver⁶ was at work improving the gardens at Adlestrop. He came from Ambrosden, where he was in the employment of Sir Edward Turner. There is an entry, in March 1752, of payment to Driver for "drawing a plan for the alterations by the Bow-window".⁷ However this was probably a plan for the gardens in the vicinity of the window, as all the other payments to him were for plants and seeds.

Despite the lengthy execution of the work, James Leigh was satisfied and seems to have kept some respect for Hitchcox. He writes to Miller in July 1755:

When August his tenth day shall cause to shine,
To Chipping Norton bring thyself and thine.
So may a blessing on your Buildings fall,
And Hitchcox rear his fame on Hagley Hall.⁹

Letters: CR 125/580/
Four years later, Leigh decided to extend the alterations initiated by Miller. On March 2, 1759, he drew up "Articles of Agreement between me and Thos. Collet for Building the best part of my House at Adlestrop". It was agreed that "Thos Collett shall erect a building adjoining to the Mansion House of James Leigh Esqre.... exactly according to the plans and sections given in and signed by the said Thos. Collet for that purpose". (Plates)

There was to be an Entrance Hall with a stair behind and a room over the Hall to conform in height to the "Bow-window Room... already built". On the other side of the Hall, "answering ye present Bow-window Rooms now built", there was to be a Parlour with the best Bed-chamber above and a cellar below. All the doors and windows were to be "Gothick" and to copy exactly those in the recently constructed rooms. "The outside or Front of the Whole Building facing ye present Bowling Green, inclusive of ye two Bow-window rooms already built, shall be executed and made to answer exactly ye Plan projected, settled or approv'd by Sanderson Miller Esq. of Radway, and... acknowledged as such by ye said Thomas Collet, ye four Octagon Towers to be... as in ye plan... signed by ye said Thos Collet." These corner-towers, drawn rather tentatively on the plans, would appear to be the only departure from Miller's plan. The estimate is for £947 10.; and once again Miller was to be arbitrator, in conjunction with Mr. Powell Snell of Lower Guiting and William Moore.

The cost of this reconstruction was to be shared by the whole Leigh family. An indenture, dated February 1, 1759, for rebuilding Adlestrop House "now greatly decayed" is signed by various members of the family. At the same time Driver produced a plan to show the intended alterations to house and grounds.

Further alterations were made between 1796 and 1800. In 1803 Britton and Brayley wrote of Adlestrop "The mansion is a very ancient building, but has been much enlarged and otherwise improved. The pleasure grounds have been lately laid out by Repton, and the natural beauties of the situation displayed according to the modern system of landscape gardening". An engraving of the house, as it appeared in 1823, shows Collet's corner turrets and Miller's central bay and bow-windows, with their marked affinity to his contemporary one for Sir Roger Newdigate at Arbury, which in turn derived from those he built, in 1745-6, onto his own house at Radway. (Plates)

2. The Leigh Manuscripts, deposited at Shakespeare's Birthplace, Stratford-upon-Avon.


4. William Leigh was the father of James. He died in 1757.

5. Hitchcox's receipt for £300 is witnessed by Miller (Leigh MSS: loc. cit., verso of Articles of Agreement).

6. He was an excellent draughtsman; possibly he extended his practice into architecture, and can be identified with the S.T. Driver, who died in 1798, mentioned by Chambers in his MS. Collections for a Biography of English Architects. (Colvin, Dictionary, p. 185).


8. Adlestrop is near Chipping Norton.

9. The construction of Hagley Hall was begun in 1754, but was not completed until 1760.

10. Samuel was the son of Thomas Collet of Upper Slaughter, Glos.

11. Leigh MSS: B 1517.

12. Three of these drawings, dated March 2 1759, are in Leigh Maps & Plans, Bn 1.


17. J.P. Neale, Views of the Seats of Noblemen and Gentlemen, (London, 1819- ), Series I, II: Neale's original drawing for this is in the V. & A. (D/55/160). There are three very small undated engravings of the house in the Bodleian Library (MS. Top. Oxon. a37. f17).
3. ARLINGTON STREET, LONDON.

Horace Walpole wrote, in his "Anecdotes of Painting", that "The Gothic House of the Countess of Pomfret in Arlington Street was designed by Mr. Miller of Radway".\(^1\) A drawing of this building survives, inscribed "Pomfret Castle, Arlington Street, built by Lady Pomfret A° 1760". The house, which has a central castellated pediment, a porch and side towers, stands back from the street behind an entrance arch flanked by low octagonal towers.\(^2\)

(Plate

\[\text{(Plate)}\]

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2. Bodleian Library, Gough Maps, 22 f.39v. One of the Gothic picture frames from the house is now in the Ashmolean Museum. (Colvin, *Dictionary*, p. 389). The entrance lodge was still standing, although somewhat altered, in 1831. (Brit. Mus., P.x.98). Sir Roger Newdigate noted in his diary in November 1761: "Walked to Lady Pomfret. Met Mr. Miller with the Oxford statues drawings soon to be published". Lady Pomfret had presented the statues from Easton Neston to Oxford University in 1755-6. Miller may have been asked to design a setting. (A.C. Wood, "Diaries of Sir Roger Newdigate", *B'ham Arch.Soc.*, Vol. 78 (1962).)
4. WROXTON, OXFORDSHIRE.

Wroxton Abbey, a seat of Francis North, Earl of Guildford, lay within a few miles of Miller at Radway, where he was a frequent visitor. He had a great regard for the architectural ability of Miller, whose first commission at Wroxton was to advise on the design of a new window for the Chapel at the Abbey. Lord North was distressed by the low standard of the design which he had received from his mason Robin Cheyne, so Miller was brought in as a consultant. In his customary manner Miller submitted several alternative schemes, from which Lord North, with the assistance of Lord Dacre, selected "the most enriched pattern". This he sent in May 1747 to Cheyne, who objected that "the window being begun the middle munition cannot be larger than the others". The external appearance of the window can be seen in a sketch made in 1781 by the topographical draughtsman, Samuel Grimm. (Plate )

At the same time Miller was engaged on another project which was to cause some damage to his reputation as an architect. In 1747 Lord North agreed to assist the churchwardens in rebuilding the badly decayed tower of the parish church of All Saints. In May he wrote to Miller, "I am very glad to think our tower can be built cheaper than was imagined; I have laid aside all thoughts of a spire for I find it will come to too much". As a compromise Miller proposed to surmount the new tower with an "octagon of stone", the effect of which he demonstrated by means of a wooden model. The contract for rebuilding the tower was given in November to Miller's executant mason, William Hitchcox. The work began in April, but received a severe set back a few months later when, as a result of Hitchcox neglecting to insert suitable cramps, the octagon was blown down during a severe storm. Horace Walpole could scarcely contain his delight at the discomfort of his rival: "Mr. Miller... unluckily once in his life happened to think rather of beauty than the water-tables and so it fell down the first winter!" The tower was immediately repaired but it was thought better not to tempt providence with a second octagon. (Plate )

Lord North cannot have been unduly perturbed by the disaster as Miller was asked to set about the design of a new building to decorate
the park. Known as "The Temple on the Mount", the appearance of this can be seen in several drawings by Grimm and in Francis Booth's engraving of the grounds. Bishop Pococke described it in 1756 as "a Gothic open rotundo of Mr. Miller's design, in which he has practis'd curtains, that by turning screws let down so as to afford shelter whichever way you please". A model of the proposed building was made in February 1750 in which Lord North saw the same defects as Miller; "the dome appears too heavy... and the point at the top had better be left out". Eventually the building was begun in May, but Banister, the workman, was constantly being "overtaken in liquor" and it was not completed until the following summer.

Lord North wrote to Miller in February 1751 to tell him that "Mr. Henry Talbot, my neighbour... is to build a Greenhouse and wishes to have the front Gothick, if he could have the sanction of your taste, without which he does not venture upon it". Miller sent a plan which Henry Keene, surveyor to Westminster Abbey, transferred into terms of practical construction.

During 1752 James Lovell, the sculptor, was at work under Miller's direction on a ceiling-rose for Wroxton. This was to be of papier-mâché and is probably the curious tudor-baronial fitting in the entrance-hall.

Miller may also have had a hand in the design of the Dovehouse, the fortified gateway and the cascade. The Dovehouse, which is shown in Booth's engraving, is an octagonal tower with castellation and cross arrow-slits, all very much in Miller's manner. The "Gateway" built by Hiorn in 1771 may be the fortified one which was standing at the time of Grimm's visit in 1781. The cascade, which North seems to have regarded as his pièce de résistance, was given particular mention by William Pitt in a letter to Miller, who may well have been consulted as he had some experience in the management of water.
1. From 1744-53 the frequency of Lord North's visits to Radway can be judged from his account books. (Bod.Lib., MS North, c60) North was also acquainted with Miller's friends Lord Dacre, Robert Nugent, the Pitts, Lord Lyttelton and Miller's uncle, Robert Eddowes.

2. The window was designed to take a collection of glass formed by Lord North (May-Jun.'47: CR 125B/936-8,925.) Grimm's beautifully executed drawings of the house and grounds are in the British Museum (Add MS. 15,546.76). North's accounts record payment to a Mr. Wright and a Mr. Shearsley for work in the Chapel. (Bod.Lib., c59,f176). Cheyne seems to have won the battle of the centre mullion, but the ogee hood-mould is Miller.


4. The contract is for £150. Hitchcox was paid in 1749. (Bod. Lib. MS North b29,f175) North's account books reveal payment to a John Hiorn for masons work. (MS North, c59f176) This must be a member of the Hiorn family from Great Tew who were much employed by Miller.

5. H. Walpole, Memoirs, ed Toynbee, II, p.347. The octagon only collapsed: this is clear from a letter from Lord Dacre (Jan '49: CR 125B/429) and is confirmed by the existence of squinches forming an octagon under the present roof.

6. A drawing dated 1797 and the engraving by Booth which was made before Lord North's death in 1790 both show the church tower as being totally undecorated and quite unlike the present tower. (Bod. Lib., MS. Top.Oxon.b220.f171a; Gough 26,f68.)

7. It is also shown in a sketch by Charlotte Lindsay. (Bod. Lib., Gough Mps, 26 ff.68,69v; MS Top.Oxon d515.f9; Brit.Mus., Add. MS. 15,546 nos.78,83.) The mount on which the rotundo stood can still be seen.


9. Feb '50-Jun '51: CR 125B/941-7,951,953-4. Miller was asked to set up some poles on the mount to guage the correct height. A scheme to decorate the top with cresting like that at Radway was abandoned. The timber structure was sanded with stone dust in June 1751. The steps were repaired by Hiorn in 1769 (Bod. Lib. MS North, c56.)

10. Keene advised that the ornaments be made of lead. (Feb-Mar '51: CR 125B/948-9) He worked on chairs for Hagley in 1749, and later superseded Miller at Arbury. North's father-in-law, George Montague, may also have consulted Miller at Hanwell (Apr '53: CR 125B/752.)

11. Nov '51-Nov '52: CR 125H/955,957-9,747. Lovell was also engaged on a statue of an ancient briton, Caractacus, which Lord North intended to give to Miller. He paid 10gns. for it in 1760, so it seems Lovell took nearly eight years to complete it. (MS. North, c56.f187)

12. This building survives: the arrow slits are merely recessed slightly into the face of the stonework. There is no sign of the quatrefoil shown by Booth.
13. This too survives. It has half-round towers and an archway in between, a simplification of the sham castle at Bath. (Brit. Mus. Add MS 15,546 ff77, 82)

14. North's account books show that work was done on the cascades between 1744 and 1768 (MS North c56, 59.) Grimm exaggerates the impressiveness of the falls which are shown more correctly in a drawing by Charlotte Lindsay. (Brit. Mus., ADD MS 15,546.80; Bod.Lib. MS.Top.Oxon.d515.f17.) North made a note to remind himself to consult Miller on the cascade (MS North.b24 f256). Some of the entries under "Miller" are payments to John Miller, a labourer in the park. (MS North b14.f377) In 1758 Sanderson Miller was asked about "setting my building upright". Which this was is not clear. The obelisk was taken down and rebuilt in 1769. (MS North c56)
In September 1750 Sanderson Miller was asked by Robert Vansittart, who was then a fellow of All Souls College, to convert the old Library into rooms for his own use. Miller's appointment was probably the result of the activities of his friends Charles Talbot and George Ballard, who seem to have had some say in the manner in which the rooms were fitted up. The agreement of the College Council to proceed with the work is recorded in the Acta in Capitulis for August:

Agreed then... that the Old Library be partitioned out for the Use of Mr. Vansittart, that two new Chimneys be built on the East side and the whole floored, and Doors and Chimneypieces be found by the College. Also that the Portraits in the Windows be taken out for the use of the College, and new glass or the Price of it be given to Mr. Vansittart in its stead. Also that the Wainscot Classes now in the Library be given to him towards fitting up the Apartments.

The removal of the mediaeval glass, which depicted "several of the Saints and many of our English Kings" displeased Vansittart, but he was obliged to defer to the wishes of the Council who intended to reerect the figures in the ante-room to the new Codrington Library. Miller designed screens to partition off the room into a study, a dining-room, a bed-closet and "a place of secrecy and disorder"; one of the screens was movable so that a Mr. Jenkinson could have occasional use of part of the room. The windows were altered at Vansittart's request so that it no longer became necessary, in order to look into the quad, "to bend upon your knees or mount upon a stool". An earlier scheme to cut through the plaster barrel-vault of the ceiling was fortunately abandoned as it was considered unsafe. The alterations were begun in March 1751 by Robins of Bloxham. The room was repanelled: much of the old wainscot was reused, together with some supplied by Vansittart's father. The floor was relaid, and the two fireplaces inserted in place of two of the east windows. One of these is composed almost entirely of earlier fragments, but the other has a pierced gothic surround and side pinnacles. The screens have been destroyed but the walls of the room remain much as designed by Miller. (Plates )

2. The entry is signed by Sir William Blackstone, Jurist Bursar. I am indebted to Prof. Jacobs and Mr. Webb of the Codrington Library for the reference. ("Classes" is the plural of "Classis", an obsolete word for the compartment formed by the bookcases in a library. O.E.D.)

3. The history of this glass and its migration, via the Warton Room, to the College Chapel is fully discussed in F.E. Hutchinson's Mediaeval Glass at All Souls College, (London 1949).

4. Vansittart was strangely insensitive to the splendours of this ceiling, which had been put up in 1598. (V.C.H., Oxon., III, p.187; R.C.H.M., City of Oxford, (London 1939) p.16.) Even at the last minute he had thoughts of inserting a false ceiling, but seems to have been dissuaded by Miller.

5. Robins was selected as Miller had apparently "frequently employed him". (Mar 1751: CR 125B/718)
6. BATH, SOMERSET.

At the request of William Pitt, Sanderson Miller designed for Ralph Allen the eyecatcher, or "Sham Castle", on Claverton Down. Allen, upon whom Fielding based his character Mr. Allworthy in Tom Jones, resided at Prior Park, where he could number among his acquaintance such men as Pitt, Fielding, Gainsborough, Garrick, Lords Hardwicke and Lyttelton and William Shenstone. In October 1755, Pitt informed Miller that he would "have one call upon your Imagination for a considerable Gothick Object which is to stand in a very fine situation on the Hills near Bath. It is for Mr. Allen... The name of that excellent man will render my desires to you to do your best unnecessary. I shall have a particular pleasure in procuring to him the help of the Great Master of Gothick." This building was intended as an eyecatcher from Allen's town house in Lilliput Alley. Miller's design was for a shallow castellated facade, which consisted of a central archway flanked by semicircular towers with short curtain walls terminated by square towers. The use of the arrow-slits is typical of much of his work. (Plate ) The castle was not erected until 1762, two years before the death of Allen. The work was carried out by Richard Jones, Allen's clerk of works, who had completed the building of Prior Park after the departure of Wood. A drawing of the castle, made by Samuel Grimm in 1788, shows that the castle has survived without alteration. (Plate )

1. R.E.M. Peach, Life and Times of Ralph Allen, (Bath 1895).
ARBURY, WARWICKSHIRE.

Sir Roger Newdigate succeeded to the baronetcy in 1734, upon the death of his elder brother Edward, while he himself was still at school. He entered University College, Oxford, in 1738 and remained in contact with the University for the greater part of his long life. He founded there the verse Prize, which bears his name, for a poem on ancient art, painting or architecture, "and not a compliment to me in it. If there is, it will make me sick". Soon after leaving Oxford he made the Grand Tour of France and Italy, returning to his seat at Arbury, with portfolios full of drawings and a collection of statuary. He visited Italy for a second time after the death of his first wife, Sophia Conyers, in 1774. He died in his eighty-seventh year in 1806. He was well acquainted with Sanderson Miller, and they are known to have had mutual friends in Lord Guernsey of Packington and Lord Dacre of Belhouse.

Mary Ann Evans, better known as George Eliot, was the daughter of the agent at Arbury. She used Arbury Hall as the model for Cheverel Manor, the setting for Mr. Gilfil's Love Story, which is the second of her Scenes from Clerical Life. Although she was born thirteen years after Sir Roger's death, she was well enough acquainted with his character to be able to describe him as Sir Christopher Cheverel. Her account of the alterations is substantially correct.

"Cheverel Manor was growing from ugliness into beauty", wrote George Eliot of Sir Roger Newdigate's gradual transformation of Arbury Hall. The old house, built about 1556, can be seen in a drawing made by Henry Beighton in 1708. It was a plain three-storey Elizabethan building, set around a central courtyard, the main lines of which survive. In 1748, Sir Roger began to convert his outmoded house into "a most elegant specimen of the compendious Gothic style". The extent of his proposals was considerable:

Sir Christopher, as I understand, is going to make a new thing of the old Manor-house... And he's got portfolios full of plans and pictures coming. It is to be cased with stone, in the Gothic style - pretty near like the churches, you know, as far as I can make out; and the ceilings are to be beyond anything that's been seen in the country." Sir Christopher's been giving a deal of study to it."
Sir Roger insisted on financing the alterations directly out of the revenue from his estate, which meant that each year he was only able to undertake a small amount of the work, which took in all fifty-two years to complete. 10

Sir Roger's selection of Gothic, as the style in which to remodel Arbury Hall, placed him among the pioneers of the Gothic Revival. As an ardent Tory he reacted against the strict classicism of the Burlingtonian school favoured by the Whig regime of Sir Robert Walpole. Despite his keen and scholarly interest in the monuments of classical antiquity, he is known to have visited and admired the great French Cathedrals. 11 It is hard, however, to accept George Eliot's assertion that

During Sir Christopher's last visit to Italy with his lady ... they resided for some time at Milan, where Sir Christopher, who was an enthusiast for Gothic Architecture and was then entertaining the project of metamorphosing his plain brick family mansion into the model of a Gothic manor-house, was bent on studying the details of that marble miracle, the Cathedral. 12

His portfolios contain several beautifully-executed drawings of Gothic detail, but these show his inspiration to have been more insular. 13 His close contact with Oxford and its Gothic tradition must have exercised a strong influence upon him. The Divinity School, together with the Chapels of Henry VII at Westminster and King's College at Cambridge, is his most obvious source. It is not known when he first made the acquaintance of Sanderson Miller, but since in 1750 they appeared to be on fairly intimate terms, it is reasonable to assume that Miller had some influence on his decision to employ the Gothic style. 14

Sanderson Miller was consulted by Sir Roger in the early stages of his alterations. The first entry in his account books, concerning the work, is in December 1748, when he paid two guineas to William Hiorn for a "Plan of Arbury". 15 Miller had employed a William Hirons at Radway Grange on building-work. 16 If this is the same man, it is likely that Miller was responsible for his introduction to Sir Roger. In 1750, Lady Newdigate's dressing-room was "fitted up Gothic" by Hiorn, for which room he is known to have carved a chimney-piece. 17 The recent discovery of three drawings for this room proves that Miller was responsible for its design. 18 The
drawings are undated, but the two earlier ones are inscribed in Sir Roger's hand "Miller's drawing for Arbury Lady's Dressing room" and "Arbury Dressing room". They are executed in pencil: the one shows a cusped and crocketted chimneypiece with side pinnacles, flanked by two bookcases with pierced cresting; the other, a doorway similar in style to the chimneypiece and a cusped cornice. The standard of draughtsmanship is not high; perhaps it is this rather than ignorance of Gothic detailing, that makes these two drawings unimpressive. The third drawing, in ink, is probably by Sir Roger and inscribed "Arbury Lady's Dressing room". He has done little more than draw out Miller's scheme for the chimneypiece wall, but in so doing has given the design a quality and vigour that is lacking in the original. The left-hand bookcase has become a panelled door and half the chimneypiece has been drawn in alternative detail. The drawing has pencilled additions which are possibly further suggestions by Miller. (Plates)

The next work to be undertaken was the erection of the bow-window at the west end of the south front. In December 1750, Lord Guernsey wrote to Miller,

On Saturday Lord and Lady Andover leave us which may possibly prevent my seeing you at Arbury, for which reason I have said nothing of any intention of going there this week, & indeed I think I shall be hardly able to do it but if I can I have some intention of riding over on Wednesday to breakfast, as I shall be glad to see the cascade and Bow window whilst you are there.... I shall then have an opportunity of considering Sir Roger's Improvements more fully. (Packington, Dec. 2 1750: CR 125B/911)

This suggests that Miller had some particular interest in the cascade and bow-window. The scaffolding for the bow-window was struck in January 1751, but it was not until the next year that Sir Roger entered in his account books, "Gothick bow-window at w. end of ye Front, paid to W. Hitchcox & Hardy for ye masonry - £50". In Miller's account books for Radway, William Hitchcox is first referred to in January 1751, and from then on, until his death, he was employed by Miller to carry out his designs. Hitchcox's presence suggests that he was under the supervision of Miller. This possibility is increased by the close affinity of the design of the bow to those Miller built onto Radway Grange in 1745-6. (Plate)

In 1754, Sir Roger entered in his account book, "beginning ye
library", which is the room that the bow-window lights. Horace Walpole's Library at Strawberry Hill, completed in 1754 to the design of John Chute, would seem to be the model for this. Sir Roger has replaced Walpole's "Decorated" with the late Perpendicular style, so evident in Oxford, but the overall scheme is the same. (Plate ) The library was completed, with the exception of the ceiling, in 1755: Sir Roger noted "Will Hiorn, Library fitted up". The plasterer was R. Moor and the carver B. King. Miller employed a "More - the plaisterer" at Radway in 1748-9; Benjamin King was responsible for the stone-carving at Warwick Shire Hall, built to Miller's designs by William and David Hiorn and Job Collins in 1753-8. Thus it is hard to believe that Miller was not consulted, yet in a poem, written in December 1756, he gave the credit to Sir Roger:

My Study holds three thousand Volumes,
And yet I sigh for Gothick Columns,
Such as Sir Roger, learned Knight of Taste,
At Arbury so well has placed,
Or such as Dacre, Gothic Master,
Has introduced in Hall of Plaister.
(Radway, Dec. 13 1756: CR 125B/967)

Lord Dacre was a frequent visitor at Radway Grange and a fellow-enthusiast for Gothic. That he was conversant with Sir Roger's early alterations is clear from a letter, written to Miller in 1757, concerning his own work at Belhouse, in Essex.

I wish you could put me in a way to a reasonable stucco man for Lady Dacre's dressing room. It is to be the same cornish which Sir Roger Newdigate has.
(Belhouse, Sep. 1757: CR 125B/481)

He was acquainted with Horace Walpole and a cousin of John Chute, so it is possible that his influence resulted in the similarity between the libraries of Strawberry Hill and Arbury. The ceiling is mentioned in 1761, but an entry in Sir Roger's diary in 1780 reads "Library ceiling designed". George Eliot describes the completed room:

The oriel window was overshadowed by the great beech, and this with the flat heavily carved ceiling and the dark hue of the old books ... made the room look sombre.

Miller's participation in the design of the Parlour is less certain. Sir Roger recorded, in 1754, "Parlour pulled down". The extent of the demolition is not clear, but it is likely that the wing
was merely gutted and recased, for the next entry is in 1760 when he agreed with Thomas Morris, Andrew Hardy and Thomas Cheshire "to erect a stone bow-window ... in the same form ... as that of the Library, only the whole to be 6" greater in diameter ... by the first of June 1761". In March 1761, Henry Keene made his first appearance at Arbury, to measure the house. Sir Roger "bespoke a draught of Henry VII's vestibule" from him. Keene is not mentioned again until 1762, when he was paid for "Drawings &c." Sir Roger had been "Planning the Parlour" in 1761; the following year work began and Thomas Morris was paid for the ceiling and the floor above it. His impatience to install the bow-window may have been caused by his anxiety to execute the scheme of decoration, the details for which he had settled with Henry Keene during his first visit. The Parlour was finished in 1763, with the exception of the Chimneypiece for which Richard Hayward was paid in 1764.

It was not until 1800 that the alterations were finally completed. Sir Roger continued to consult Keene about the work, so it is not likely that Miller had any further part in it. When Keene died, in 1776, Henry Couchman, Architect and Surveyor of Warwick, was employed by Sir Roger to carry out the last stages of his scheme.

1. In 1766, Henry Keene, surveyor of Westminster Abbey, was called in by Sir Roger Newdigate to remodel The Hall of University College. The chimneypiece, the gift of Sir Roger, was based on the tomb of Aymer de Valence in the Abbey. It is similar to the one installed in the Parlour at Arbury, in 1764, which was probably designed by Keene. The inspiration for this may have come, via Lord Dacre, from Chute's variation on the same theme for Horace Walpole in 1745, which is in the Library at Strawberry Hill. (Country Life, XCVII (1945) pp. 556, 692.)


Lady Cheverel is Hester Mundy, Sir Roger's second wife. Mr. Gilfil himself was the Rev. Bernard Gilpin Eddell, Chaplain at Arbury and Rector of Chilvers Coton. George Eliot also used the setting of Arbury as Mallinger Abbey in Daniel Deronda. (George Eliot, Scenes from Clerical Life: Mr. Blifil's Love Story, ("The Novels of George Eliot", Vol. III; Blackwood's stereotyped edition, n.d.)

She is incorrect in her assertion that the work did not begin until after Sir Roger's second visit to Italy, and that Italians were employed on the plasterwork.

The drawing is in the Aylesford Collection, Birmingham Reference Library. (Gordon Nares, Arbury Hall, (Country Life, 1962) p. 11.) See also Victoria County History: Warwickshire, Vol. IV, p. 173.

The portfolios are preserved among the Newdigate Archives at the County Record Office, Warwick.

In the eighteenth century the name is spelt variably: Hiorn, Hiorne, Hionrs, Hiron, Hirons, Hyorne, Hyron, Hyrons and Irons. In the earliest of Miller's account books for Radway there is mention of the Hiron family. "Hiron Close" and "Goody Hiron - haymaking" appear in 1743. In April 1744 an entry, among the details of the alteration to the Kitchen etc. reads, "Hirons serving mason"; later he is identified as "Will Hirons". If this is William Hiorn, he was then aged 31 and probably acting as assistant to William Hitchcox. In 1745-6 he had a house at Radway and was working at the Castle and elsewhere. In March 1748 reference is made to "Wm Hirons - the clerk", but in 1749 he was again "serving mason" and "serving plaisterer". During 1750 and 1751 he was "digging stones" and doing "work at stonepit & Castle". (CR 125B/Box 1, Account book 5 (1742-59).)

William and David Hiron were the sons of John Hiorne, master mason of Great Tew, Oxfordshire, who was employed by Francis Smith of Warwick at Ditchley in 1720-6. David Hiron witnessed William Smith's report on Tetbury Church in 1742. When William
Smith died, in 1747, the Hiorn brothers appear to have taken over his business. (H.M. Colvin, Dictionary, p. 286.)
(Country Life, Vol. LIV, (1923) p. 218.)

William Hiorn is stated to have carved chimneypieces and monuments at Rugby in 1744, in Shropshire in 1748 and 1751, and in Worcestershire in 1752. (Rupert Gunnis, Dictionary of British Sculptors, 1660-1851, (London, 1953) p.203) It is possible that his brother was responsible for some of these.

If William Hiorn was employed by Miller between 1744 and 1751, it seems unlikely that he went into partnership with his brother until after the latter date.

17. R. Gunnis, op.cit., p. 203.

The extracts from Sir Roger's account books are quoted from the articles in Country Life by Gordon Nares, unless otherwise stated. (Country Life, Vol. CXIV (1953), pp. 1126, 1210, 1444.)

18. These were discovered by Mr. Wood, the Warwick County Archivist. They are now in the Warwick Record Office (CR 764: "Sir Roger Newdigate's Plans and Drawings for Arbury").

19. These are the only authenticated drawings by Miller known to exist. However his ability as a draughtsman can be gauged from the innumerable small sketches he made on the backs of letters from his friends. On the whole he does not display any great talent.

20. Sir Roger's diaries and portfolios reveal that he was an experienced and competent draughtsman. Mr. Wood considers this drawing to be by him.

21. The cascade can still be seen.

22. A.C. Wood, op.cit.

23. CR 125B/Box 1, Account book 5, (1742-59).

24. Mr. Hussey observes that those at Radway differ in that they have no brattishing. It was in fact removed as it became decayed. (Christopher Hussey, Mid Georgian, (London, 1956), p. 43.) (Country Life, Vol. C, (1946), p. 440.)

Hitchcox was contracted in March 1750 to build a similar bow-window to Miller's design at Adlestrop, but this he did not complete until 1754.

25a. It was in 1755 that Sir Roger sat to Arthur Devis for his portrait in the Library. He recorded in his diary, "To Davies, sat for my picture". (A.C. Wood, op.cit.)

25b. CR 125B/Box 1, Account book 5, (1742-59). Robert Moore was also employed by Miller at the Shire Hall in Warwick, at Hagley and at Belhus.


27. The ceiling can hardly be described as heavily carved.
(George Eliot, op.cit., p. 87).


29. Andrew Hardy had been employed earlier on the other bow-window. Payment for the Parlour window was made in 1761.

30. A.C. Wood, op.cit.

31. See above: footnote 1.