

## 8. RADWAY, WARWICKSHIRE.

Miller's own house, Radway Grange, lies at the bottom of Edge Hill, on ground over which the Royalist troops on their way to the battle which was fought near the neighbouring village of Kineton. Miller, as an antiquarian, was highly sensitive to the historical associations of the site and his alterations to both house and grounds were intended to accentuate this.

Before he was twenty-two Miller had constructed on the hill above the Grange cascades and a viewing-platform from which the field of battle could be surveyed. The cascades have disappeared but the poet William Shenstone rather scornfully described their performance in 1750: "At ye top is a Reservoir...it falls over three rustick arches, runs down through broken stone work to a Bason in ye midst of wch is a Jetteau and on each side tumuli or little mounds of earth artificially cast up. But this is a juvenile performance, and only retained because it is there and has cost him money."<sup>1</sup>

In all his improvements Miller was severely hampered by lack of funds, particularly during the heavy expenses which attended his enclosure of Radway Field in 1756. His first building on the estate was suitably modest. This was Egge Cottage which he built on the summit of Edge Hill between 1743-4. (Plates ) Miller designed this with round corner bastions and small gothic windows to seem as if it had been formed from the remains of some great fortress.<sup>2</sup> The thatch gave it a peaceful air

Within this solitary cell  
Calm thoughts and sweet contentment dwell,  
Parents of bliss sincere;  
Peace spreads around her balmy wings,  
And banish'd from the courts of kings,  
Has fixed her mansion here.<sup>3</sup>

This was followed in 1745 by his celebrated octagonal tower, a gate lodge built on the spot where Charles is reputed to have raised his standard on the morning of the battle. The design, based on that of Guy's Tower at Warwick Castle, secured his reputation as an architect and was to bring him several commissions for similar buildings on the estates of his friends. (Plates ) William Hitchcox supervised the work which was completed in 1747.<sup>4</sup> Shenstone was critical of the upper room which Miller fitted up in his best Gothic manner.

(Plate ) "Antique shields blazon'd on ye ceiling; painted glass in ye windows, Gothick Niches and Gothick Cornice." The original arched ceiling has been replaced, but according to George Miller this was "illuminated with the royal arms, and below were seen the arms of the several kingdoms of the Saxon Heptarchy".<sup>5</sup> A "ruinous wall" was added to the tower two years later in 1749. The appearance of this can be seen in a contemporary engraving, in which the wall, shattered by "the waste of time", is punctuated with doors and adorned with a variety of windows in the mediaeval style.<sup>6</sup> A smaller square tower and a draw-bridge, spanning the road, were put up in time for the opening ceremony on September 3 1750. Sir Edward Turner appreciated Miller's diplomacy in the choice of a date to suit people of both persuasions, for "on that day Cromwell gloriously carried his two most important victories and did his country the pleasure to quit this life in a storm".<sup>7</sup>

At the same time Miller was engaged at the foot of the hill in gothicising his old tudor house. Between 1744-6 he extended the South-east front, built the two bay-windows to the south-west, raised the parapet level of the roof and fitted up his dining-room. The detailing of the south-east front with its polygonal corner buttresses and curious central bay, which contains an assortment of Gothic windows set under a classical pediment, seems today amateur and slightly incongruous, but it must be remembered that to his contemporaries it was convincingly mediaeval.<sup>8</sup> The bow-windows were added in 1746. Even Shenstone pronounced them "really delightful"; they are far superior in design to his earlier work, indeed they were so universally admired that he was asked to build almost exact replicas at Arbury for Sir Roger Newdigate and at Adlestrop for James Leigh.<sup>9</sup> The brattished central doorway was added six years later.<sup>10</sup> (Plates ) Miller summarised his achievement in poetic form:

My House! tis true a small and old one,  
 Yet now tis warm tho once a cold one.  
 My study holds 3,000 volumes  
 And yet I sigh for Gothick Columns.  
 Such as Sir Roger, learned Knight of Taste,  
 At Arbury so well has placed.<sup>11</sup>

The latter ambition he never achieved, but his house shares the distinction with Prior Park at Bath of being the model for Squire Allworthy's seat in Henry Fielding's Tom Jones.<sup>12</sup>

Miller continued to plant and landscape his grounds until his death

in 1780. In this he received advice and materials from his friends William Pitt, Lord North and Lord Barrington.<sup>13</sup> The result was acclaimed in the Rev. Richard Jago's poem Edge Hill:

Thanks Miller to thy paths,  
That ease our winding steps! Thanks to the fount,  
The trees, the flow'rs, imparting to the sense  
Fragrance or dulcet sound of murm'ring rill,  
And stilling every tumult in the breast!  
And oft the stately tow'rs, that overtop  
The rising wood, and oft the broken arch,  
Or mould'ring wall, well taught to counterfeit  
The waste of time, to solemn thought excite,<sup>14</sup>  
And crown with graceful pomp the shaggy hill.

The removal of the parish church to its present site during the nineteenth century destroyed the only feature of Miller's work at Radway to receive the wholehearted approval of William Shenstone:

He has taken advantage of a kind of seperate Chapell in his Parish Church to make himself one of ye most magnificent and handsome pews I ever saw...Tis neatly stucco'd, has a Cornish and a Cove ceiling; and is large and square.<sup>15</sup>

1. W. Shenstone Letters, ed, M.Williams (London 1939) p. 251. The cascades are first mentioned by Deane Swift in 1739 (Dec '39, Jun '45: CR 125B/302, 309.) The mounds can still be seen. The Ha Ha was dug in 1743 (CR 125B/Box 1, Acct.)
2. This small building used to be claimed as the first and therefore highly significant product of the Gothic Revival. (CR 125B/Box 1 Accts.; May '44/307)
3. Verses on Egge Cottage by the Rev. James Merrick. (Dickins & Stanton, p. 267.)
4. The foundations were laid in September 1745. (CR 125B/Box 1.)
5. Rev. G. Miller, Rambles round the Edge Hills, (London 1900) p.24. The original pitched roof can be seen in an engraving in the Rev. Jago's Poems (London 1784). The shields round the walls which bear the arms of Miller's particular friends are discussed by Mr. Greening Lambourn in Notes & Queries CLXXXIV (1943) p. 157. According to Pococke the statue of Caractacus, carved by James Lovell as a gift from Lord North, was intended for one of the niches in the upper room (Dickins & Stanton, p.270) The room had been fitted up by May 1747 when Miller offered George Ballard, the antiquary, the use of the room when he tired of study. (Bod.Lib.Ballard, 40.f108) One of the masons was William Hiron, whose possible identity is

discussed in the section on Arbury. William Moore did the plaster work; he was later employed by Miller at Arbury, Warwick, Belhus and Hagley. The joinery was by Robins of Bloxham who also executed Miller's design at All Souls College. (CR 125B/Box 1.) Glass for the windows was sent by Lord Deerhurst in 1747. Some of this is now in the church.

6. Jago, loc.cit. Lyttelton approved the wall which was built by Hitchcox. (CR 125B/Box 1, /350.) Shenstone preferred an Eye Trap which Miller had formed on the end of a barn. (Shenstone, loc.cit.) The last vestige of the wall was demolished recently to form a car-park.
7. Hirons was at work on the castle in 1750. The bridge tower was covered in in July 1751. (CR 125B/ Box 1; Z 30/1.)
8. A model of the grange (in the possession of Miss Carey at Radway) shows that the turrets were originally surmounted by caps, as at Lacock and Adlestrop. In 1744 Hitchcox and Hiorn were altering the house and Miller "Paid Mr. Partridge for the arch in my room", which is probably that in the dining room. Work continued in 1745. In 1746 Robins was paid for the staircase, a false door and arches to the bow-windows. An Alehouse built by Hitchcox & Hiorn collapsed the same year. (CR 125B/Box 1; Oct'45 /416.)
9. The Brattishing has been removed.
10. Nov '52/748. The porch on the west front was built by Lt. Col. Miller in the nineteenth century. (Miller album in possession of Mrs. Walker, Ashbury)
11. Dec '56/967.
12. Tom Jones was published in 1749. Fielding certainly visited Radway. In 1755 Radway was mentioned as the model for Allworthy's seat (Brit.Mus. Add. MS. 4326.f82)
13. Feb '58 - '63: CR 125B/760-2, 773, 766, 769.
14. Jago, op.cit.
15. Shenstone, op.cit.

## 9. THE SHIRE HALL, WARWICK.

An earlier building on the site of the present Shire Hall was designed by William Hulbert of Warwick. The land had been granted in 1576 to the corporation by the Earls of Warwick and Leicester<sup>1</sup>, but the responsibility for the upkeep of the County buildings was transferred, a hundred years later, to a body of seventeen trustees.<sup>2</sup> They appointed William Hulbert, a carpenter by profession of Starton near Coventry, as surveyor.<sup>3</sup> Six years earlier he had erected the Market Hall in Warwick, a drawing of which appears in a sketch-book by Nicholas Hawksmoor. This book also contains a rather crude drawing of "The Judgement Hall at Warwick", which is thought to represent the building designed by Hulbert.<sup>4</sup> (Plate .) It is unlikely that he rebuilt the Shire Hall completely.<sup>5</sup> In 1704, the two surviving trustees, Lord Brooke and Lord Leigh, renewed the trust to the Justices of the Peace. Francis Smith of Warwick was appointed surveyor by the Justices, in which office he probably continued until shortly before his death, at the age of seventy-five, in 1738. He was succeeded in his business, as architect and contractor, by his eldest surviving son William, who also inherited his post of surveyor of the County buildings.<sup>6</sup> William Smith died in 1747, by which time the Shire Hall was in a badly decayed condition and much in need of repair, for two years later the Grand Jury made a presentment against the building.

The decision to rebuild the Hall must have been made at the time of the Jury's presentment in 1749. Arrangements were made shortly afterwards with John Parry for the temporary lease of the Market Hall for a period of four years. The necessary fittings were transferred to the Market Hall for that purpose.<sup>7</sup>

Sanderson Miller of Radway was chosen by the County to be the architect of the new building. Lord Dacre remarked, in a letter written to Miller and his wife in September 1752, "I can't help giving your Shire Hall many a curse which has so unluckily deprived me of your companies". A month later Francis North, Lord Guilford, wrote to congratulate Miller upon his appointment, "The County of Warwick have done very wisely to ask the favour of you to rebuild their Hall".<sup>8</sup> Why the Justices delayed so long, after leaving the old building, before they appointed the architect to design the new Hall, is not known. They

can scarcely have expected to have completed the new Shire Hall before the temporary lease of the Market Hall expired.

It was hoped originally that the cost of the reconstruction could be met by private subscription. Miller wrote to Charles Lyttelton, Dean of Exeter, in 1752,

I find the subscriptions for the County Hall fill as fast as can be expected.... I now experience in miniature what it is to be a great man in power. I have undertakers & projectors of all parties coming to me, and if I please them all and not displease the County I shall do wonders. Though I am determined to serve my County most uprightly, yet I cannot help fearing cabbals, oppositions, and secret committees. However my accounts shall stand clear of obloquy, tho' my building must expect abuse.<sup>9</sup>

The public reaction to the Justices appeal for funds was not as great as had been anticipated. The Earl of Aylesford was a trustee of the Shire Hall and extremely active in his efforts to secure subscriptions. In December he expressed his regret to Miller that he was unable to "give so good an account of the public spirit of the Gentlemen near me as Mr. Wise has done of those of his acquaintance". By the following May it had become apparent that it was not only Guernsey's neighbours who lacked this quality, for he wrote, "I am no less eager than yourself that it should be completed, but alas! the taste of some of our Countrymen will hardly engage them to contribute much to a work of so much elegance, and so far above their comprehension". He urged Miller to continue the collection with vigour for he thought it unreasonable that "poor David Hiorn must be kept so long unpaid"; but, after two more unsuccessful attempts to interest the inhabitants of Birmingham, even he was forced to admit defeat.<sup>10</sup> In February 1753 Miller was advised by the trustees to appoint "some person or Banker in London... to receive the subscription money for the County Hall.... The same thing may be necessary to be done in the Country and a public advertisement may be probably the easiest method of doing it". This suggestion led to the appointment of Messrs. Henry and Richard Hoare, in the Strand, as the London bankers.<sup>11</sup> At Warwick the subscriptions were received by Edward Croft, the official treasurer for the Shire Hall. The attempt to raise the money by this means seems to have been abandoned towards the end of 1755.

In June 1757, an Act of Parliament was obtained which permitted the Shire Hall commissioners to levy a county rate to finance the completion of the new building:

Whereas the Shire Hall of the County of Warwick was a very ruinous Edifice, and became so decayed and ruinous that it was necessary that the same should be taken down and rebuilt: And whereas the said Hall was lately taken down, and some progress hath been made in rebuilding the same.... May it therefore please your Majesty that... the Justices of the Peace and the Commissioners of the Land Tax for the County of Warwick... shall be appointed Commissioners for completing and finishing the said Shire Hall.<sup>12</sup>

Certificates for raising the money, which was not to be in excess of £4000, were issued to the Justices, who gave the necessary orders to the churchwardens and the overseers of the poor to levy the rate. Upon completion the Hall was to be vested in a body of trustees, who were to be responsible for the administration and upkeep of the building.<sup>13</sup>

The old building was not demolished until shortly before the work of reconstruction began. The cost of taking it down is recorded in an "Abstract of Bills paid on Account of Pulling Down the County Hall 1753, per D. Hiorn & Co". David and William Hiorn had inherited the family business of Francis and William Smith in 1747 and had thus become the largest firm of building contractors in Warwick. They had already gained some experience of working under Miller's direction while they were at Arbury Hall in 1748 and 1750.<sup>14</sup>

Estimates of the cost of rebuilding the Shire Hall were submitted in August 1753, by two Warwick firms. These were the Hiorn brothers and Job Collins & John Potton. Job Collins had worked for the county on previous occasions, mostly on repairing bridges and the county buildings.<sup>15</sup> Both estimates were based on "A plan, Elevation & Section approv'd by Sanderson Miller Esq."<sup>16</sup> The references to these drawings in the estimates make it clear that they showed the proposals in considerable detail. The description in the estimates of the main hall, the grand jury chamber and the octagonal courts with their cupolas tallies with the building as shown in Edward Rooker's engraving, so that such alterations as were made from the original design can only have been small. Miller was undoubtedly the author of the original design, although, as he lacked much practical experience of building, he settled the details of the scheme in consultation with Collins and the Hiorns. They appear to have submitted large-scale drawings for his approval. It would be natural for him to employ some draughtsman more competent than himself to carry out the drawings. Although Job

Collins' estimate was considerably less than that of the Hiorn brothers, Miller compromised by deciding to employ both firms at once on the same building. This curious decision can only have been made in an attempt to complete the work as speedily as possible. In November Job Collins informed Miller that he had settled matters with the Hiorns, and that he was now "willing that Mr. Hiorns be jointly and equally concerned with us". It is possible that he was to assist William Hiorn with the mason's work while David Hiorn undertook to execute the remainder, for Miller noted in December, "David Hiorn agrees to undertake the Carpenter's work, Plumber's, Slater's and Smith's work... according to the plans and Elevations agreed on by the said parties".<sup>17</sup> The Hiorn brothers were more conditional in their agreement to work with Collins,

As Mr. Miller is Inclined that several people in the same Branches should be Employed in the ... work, to do which in order to prevent confusion which naturely [sic] must arise from one Single Building ... as Each Master will be giving directions in the same Branches, and so liable to Blunders, which will upon the whole fall on the Architect, It's purposed by W<sup>m</sup> & D. Hiorn that they will each ... supply a mason and a carpenter, capable of Executing such designs as shall be agreed on.... The whole to be carried on in as Concise a manner as the nature of the Building will admit and under the care of the two men abovementioned.<sup>18</sup>

Thomas Prowse, member for parliament for Somerset, advised Miller on the design of the proposed Shire Hall. Like Miller Prowse was a gentleman-architect with an interest in both the Palladian and Gothic styles. He probably made Miller's acquaintance when George Lyttelton consulted them both in 1753 about Hagley Hall.<sup>19</sup> The son of Sir Charles Mordaunt, a close friend of Miller and a trustee of the Shire Hall, had married a daughter of Thomas Prowse. That Miller and Prowse were on excellent terms is clear from the frankness of their correspondence. He wrote to Miller from London, in January 1754,

I have returned the capital to Mr. Lovell ... to my mind the upper part of the Bell is much more crowded than any I remember in Desgodetz, especially those of the Pantheon.... You see I delight in finding faults, but remember it is in Buildings that are as yet advanced no further than Paper.... Will you give me leave to indulge this critical Disposition by begging you to turn your thoughts to one part of your Town Hall, which I am afraid will not succeed to your wish when completed.... I mean the Octagon Temple in each of your Courts. I am almost afraid to tell you what I mean.... I really think in your present Disposition you esteem them a greater Beauty than Miss Bankes. I am fully convinced



that you will find these eight pillars very inconvenient.... You will say then how would I finish the Courts? First I would leave the Columns which separate the Hall from the Court, and instead of continuing the Pedestal as a Partition... I would make single pedestals to each column and carry the Entablature round the Court.... If your Pillars are removed, the Gallery may be supported by proper Trusses which will add beauty to it.... Your own observations upon the model first led me to this way of thinking - You may remember you said ... it appeared as if you had found two little Temples... ready built; and had converted them into courts.<sup>20</sup>

Miller was unimpressed by his criticisms, and defended his design with some spirit. He replied at once from Ambrosden,

You could do nothing which would please me so much as finding fault in the candid manner you do. At the same time that you convince me of your own superior Judgement, you do me justice in thinking my Modesty such as will submit to it, and I had rather you should pay me that compliment than think me as great an Architect as Palladio. However, give me leave to say you mistake your man when you think you have the power to make me give up anything which I esteem a greater Beauty than Miss Banks.... In all other respects I have a pleasure in submitting to you... If you was what is generally called a Great Man you might think I flattered, but as you are plain Mr. Prowse, do me the Justice to believe me sincere.... The capital I left with you was drawn by the Warwick carver, and was the same which he told me was generally admired at Lord Rockingham's. It seemed to me much like that in Freart's Parallel which... differed from that of the Pantheon in Desgodetz.... If you will let Mr. Lovel mark out your alterations they shall be observed. As to the great point of the Octagon Temples you will be surprised when I assure you...that they are no favourites at all. In my first idea I own they were - I mean when I drew them out 34 feet diameter instead of 24.... I had reason to think the Noise not too great...by what I heard about Walbrook Church which I am told is an excellent Room to speak in.

Everybody I showed that design to was so much pleased with it that they preferred it to that which you propose, tho' I stated all the objections you mention in their full force, and I never was tolerably satisfied about it, which was the Principal Reason why I had the Model made... There was one method I mentioned to Lord Temple, which was to make the octagon of unequal sides.. it was not so well liked. It was impossible to make the octagon 34 feet without incroaching too much on the Jail... But I told Mr. Hiron I believed at last we must leave out the Pillars and put it upon the footing of Economy, but he did not chuse to hear of it.

I can always see more faults in my own performances than I love to think on, and I would never draw a line more if I did not see much worse in the shocking designs of common

workmen...I agree with you in all your observations except one, which is that of setting the two Pillars upon single Bases...if there is no separation of the Hall from the Courts - I fear our Architrave will in that place will appear disagreeably low..Gallerys upon Trusses are at best but bad things, nothing but necessity can justify them. 'Tis pity a Genius should be cramped for want of money to pay for some fine Caryatides. If our courts are to be great coves without break, there will want something to stop the circulation of sound and I would advise Green Cloth behind the seats of the Gallery... I think some circular tribunes in the Gallerys...will be ornamental and useful and will break sound - Let me have your opinion....

You see how free I am in asking your opinion about these trifles....Believe that I only endeavour to serve my County as a Builder with as much Zeal as you serve yours.<sup>21</sup>

Thomas Prowse wrote two more letters to Miller on the subject of the octagonal courts. Beyond suggesting that the lanterns be omitted and that a "circular form would be more antique", he was forced to admit that he was not able to "untye the Gordian knot".<sup>22</sup> His influence seems to have been limited to the design of the Corinthian capitals, for when the building was erected, the division between the courts and the Hall was made by a low wall between the pedestals, as it had been in Miller's original plan.<sup>23</sup>

The model, to which reference was made in the correspondence between Thomas Prowse and Sanderson Miller, was probably made in London. It was not brought to Warwick until June 1755, so it is likely that it was used to promote interest in the new building and to encourage subscriptions.<sup>24</sup> In about 1915, a model of the facade of the Shire Hall was discovered, together with five other wooden models of buildings designed by Thomas Johnson of Warwick.<sup>25</sup> (Plate ) As this is a simple facade with a plain back, it cannot be part of the model which showed the interior arrangements. However it may be the model which was made to show Benjamin King's scheme of decoration for the facade.

The work of reconstruction was begun in the early part of 1754. Payment was made to the niorn brothers and to Job Collins throughout the year by Edward Croft, the Shire Hall treasurer, or by his deputy Richard Wright, an attorney at Warwick.<sup>26</sup> Job Collins occasionally received money through his foreman, Thomas Briscoe. Richard Newman

acted for the Hiorns in a similar capacity.<sup>27</sup> He was one of the two foremen, who were appointed at the request of the Hiorns to control and coordinate the work of the two contractors. He had been the foreman in charge of the demolition in 1753, and was described as "Richard Newman - Mason" on a plate fixed to the roof-timbers in 1754. Benjamin King, a mason of Warwick, carried out the stone-carving at the new Hall. He was paid during the year in July and October, but, as he was also engaged together with the Hiorns on the library at Arbury for Sir Roger Newdigate, he cannot have remained on the site throughout.<sup>28</sup> Yet another craftsman who was employed both at the Arbury and at the Shire Hall, was Robert Moore, a plasterer. He had worked at Radway for Miller in 1748-9. The presence of a plasterer and the supporting evidence of the plate fixed to the beams of the roof suggest that the main fabric of the building was completed and roofed over during 1754.

In August 1754 Sir George Lyttelton advised Miller to send the plans of the Shire Hall to the Duke of Newcastle. The death of James Gibbs had caused the post of Architect to the Office of Ordnance to fall vacant. Miller applied for the post to Sir John Ligonier, whose gift it was, at the suggestion of his wife's uncle, Robert Eddowes, who was employed in the Ordnance Office at Portsmouth. Lyttelton wrote to tell him that the place had already been filled,

I am heartily sorry that we have met with no better success in this your first application to the Great; but I know you are a Philosopher and can bear a disappointment.... In the meantime let me advise you not to neglect to send the Duke of Newcastle the Plan and Upright of your Town Hall at Warwick; as he desired you would do; because by making yourself known to his grace as an Architect, you may more easily hereafter obtain some other Place of the same sort or still better than this in the Ordnance.<sup>29</sup>

Thomas Holles, Duke of Newcastle was the greatest exponent of the art of patronage in the eighteenth century. With an annual income of £40,000 he rose to become Secretary of State under Walpole. It is not known whether Miller sent him the drawings; but, in February 1756, Robert Nugent told him, "The Duke of Newcastle desires to see you tomorrow - no other engagement must interfere", so Miller must by then have gained his Lordship's favour.<sup>30</sup>

The greater part of the work on the Shire Hall was completed during 1755-6. Job Collins and the Hiorn brothers continued to be

paid throughout 1755 and Benjamin King between June and October of that year. Collins and William Hiorn, with David Hiorn as carpenter, also repaired the neighbouring County Gaol.<sup>31</sup> In August, two months after the arrival of the model from London, it became apparent that it was not going to be possible to complete the contract for the estimated figure. The Hiorns submitted "An Estimate for finishing sundry works relating to the County Hall in Warwick".<sup>32</sup> This was for paving "the great room & Hall", the lower jury-room, the "two courts behind the columns" and the staircases; for plastering the rooms and staircase "with finishing to imitate stone"; for joiners work on the windows, partitions and a "strong English oak floor" to the Jury Chamber; and for smith's work on the handrail to the stairs and gallery. By October the Hall was sufficiently complete for James Wills to write to Dr. Birch, Secretary of the Royal Society, "I spent three days recently with a Mr. Miller, near Edge Hill....This gentleman has an excellent taste in architecture; has built a County House in Warwick very fine".<sup>33</sup> In February of the year following, David Hiorn asked Miller for permission to let the Hall to "the people called Quakers", so the Entrance-hall at least must have been completed by then. Edward Croft owed considerable sums of money in June to the Hiorns, Collins, King and Moore, which suggests that a great deal had been done since the previous August. Two thirds of the extra work remained to be done at that time, but the majority of this seems to have been executed before the end of the year.<sup>34</sup> No records of payment are preserved for 1757: possibly the work was abandoned until further money could be collected by means of the Act.

The Hiorn brothers did not devote their attention solely to the Shire Hall during the period of its construction. In addition to the library at Arbury, they are known to have been responsible at this time for building Kyre Park in Gloucestershire, a bridge at Charlecote, Derby County Gaol and Daventry Parish Church.<sup>35</sup> The latter was not finished until 1758, so they may have been engaged on this if they were absent from Warwick in 1757.

The Shire Hall was finally completed in 1758. In January David Hiorn wrote to Miller, "As Mr. King will in all probability be longest about his work, I shall be glad of your advice what to put in the Tympanum of the Pediment as also the festoons to the front".<sup>36</sup> The exact nature of the decoration in the pediment was a source of some

embarrassment to Miller and the trustees. A month later Hiorn informed Miller that

I was a little surprised one even at my Inn as came in Mr. Lightholder and Mr. Lowe and desired I would get them up a scaffold to do the pediment, for that you had given them orders so to do, which I hope is not true. For as I shall be glad of yours and Mr. Prowse's approbation in the disposition of ye ornaments, and what they should be, but own I shall be very sorry to have any other persons come to do the work, unless it cannot be done by the people who have been already concerned; and as I little doubt the veracity of Mr. Lightholder, I ask my Lord Brooke, who said something of the kind had been shown to him, but that he thought it was doing Mr. King a great injury if it was executed by others.<sup>37</sup>

Miller must have expressed his dissatisfaction with this behaviour, for he received an apologetic reply from Lord Brooke, in which he requested that "nothing may be fixed as to the Tympanum till the rest of the work more necessary to be done may be executed, and that in the mean time that King may send in his plans and Model and the others theirs for to be looked at by Mr. Prowse, Mr. Stewart and others of judgement here - and then at a meeting of the Commissioners it may be settled.... Lightholder was rather too hasty, as I hear he now says he will not undertake the ornament under £150, which is a good deal for such a thing".<sup>38</sup> In fact the pediment was left undecorated. It is shown thus in an engraving of the Hall and in the model of the facade in the Warwick Museum, which may be the one mentioned by Lord Brooke. Miller did not give up all thought of decorating the pediment, as may be seen from a sketch he made on the back of a letter he received in 1762.<sup>39</sup>  
(Plate )

Francis Hiorn, the eldest son of William, published an engraving of the Shire Hall, which he dedicated to the Commissioners. Richard Pococke, Bishop of Ossory, had advised Miller to have a print made in 1757, but this cannot have instigated the engraving, as Francis Hiorn was only twelve years old at the time of the Act. Edward Rooker engraved the plate which shows the facade and ground floor plan.<sup>40</sup> (Plate )  
Credit is given to William and David Hiorn, as the builders, but no mention is made of either Miller or Job Collins.

The Shire Hall survives today largely in its original condition. The appearance of the building in the early nineteenth century is recorded in a watercolour by David Cox, which shows the Hall as it

appeared in Rooker's engraving, with the pediment left plain.<sup>41</sup>  
 (Plate ) John Britton, in The Beauties of England and Wales,  
 considered that "The front is of a chaste and dignified character; the  
 interior is judiciously arranged and sufficiently spacious".<sup>42</sup> In  
 1864 considerable alterations were made internally, including the  
 remodelling of the Crown and Nisi Prius Courts. The undecorated  
 pediment was felt to be unsuitable in a building of such importance,  
 and some heavy and ungraceful carving was placed in it. Fortunately  
 the restorations during the present century have removed most of  
 these alterations, and returned the building to something of its  
 original condition.<sup>43</sup> (Plates )

1. The account given here of the early history of the Shire Hall is based on that given in Warwick County Records. (ed. S.C. Ratcliff & H.C. Johnson, Warwick County Records, Vol. III: Quarter Sessions Records, (Warwick, 1946), pp. ciii - cxlix.)
2. The name of Thomas Archer appears in the list: possibly this is the father of the architect, who was born at Umberslade.
3. H.M. Colvin, Dictionary, p. 549.
4. The sketchbook is in the R.I.B.A. Library (L. 3/1.) f.29. The drawing was made in 1683, when Hawksmoor was only twenty-two years old. All the other drawings in the sketchbook are of existing buildings, so it is reasonable to assume that this is not a design by Hawksmoor. (Country Life, (1951) Nov. 30, Dec. 7.)
5. A large number of small repairs were done internally during the following twenty years.
6. H.M. Colvin, Dictionary, p. 549. The earliest reference to Francis Smith in connection with the County buildings is in 1718: the last entry of payment to him is in 1734. (Ratcliff and Johnson, op.cit., p. cxxv.) The "Mr. Smith" mentioned in 1742 must be his son, William.
7. Ratcliff and Johnson, op.cit., p. cxxv.
8. Belhouse, Sep. 19 1752: CR 125B/439. Waldershare, Oct. 10 1752: CR 125B/960.
9. Typescript of letter (1752), in possession of Miss Lilian Dickins in 1950. (Flyleaf of Eighteenth Century Correspondence at Warwick R. O.)

10. Packington, Dec. 3 1752: CR 125B/913. Matthew Wise, the eldest son of Henry Wise the landscape gardener, lived at The Priory in Warwick. He extended the south portion of the Tudor house in 1750. Miller may have been consulted on this, as he was well acquainted with the family. (E.A. Greening-Lambourn, "The Shields in Ratley Roundhouse". Notes and Queries, Vol. 184 (1943) p. 157.) Matthew and his brother Henry were appointed trustees of the Shire Hall in 1757. The Priory was later taken down and shipped to Richmond Virginia, where it was reerected. (William Cooper, History of Lillington, (Shipston-on-Stour, 1940) p. 24.) (Grosvenor Square, May 24 1754: CR 125B/915.) (CR 125B/916 (June '54), 918 (Oct. '54), 919 (Jan. '55), 920 (Oct. '55))
11. Grosvenor Square, Feb. 9 1753: CR 125B/914. An extract from Hoare's books is at Warwick Record Office. The entries begin in April 1753 with a charge for advertisements in the London and General Evening Posts. Two of Miller's friends, Lord Dacre and Charles Henry Talbot were paid in the same year. David Hiorn was paid in June 1755. Among the subscribers with whom Miller was acquainted were: Lords Guilford, Brooke and Guernsey, the Bishop of Worcester, James West of Alscott, Charles Jennens of Gopsall and Lord Hillsborough. (Feb 3 1756: CR 125/8).
12. 30 Geo. II c56, "An Act for the rebuilding... the Shire Hall in the County of Warwick". (CR 125/2.) Miller's name appears with suitable modesty at the bottom of the list of 67 trustees. These include Lord Brooke, the Earls of Northampton and Hertford, Lord Guernsey, Sir Charles Mordaunt, Sir Roger Newdigate, James West, Francis Stratford, Matthew and Henry Wise, William Bumstead and James Newsam.
13. £4,400 was raised: 1757-£2,000; 1758-£600; 1759-£600; 1760-£600; 1763-£600. (QS. 40/1/11.)
14. CR 125/19. The bills total £49. 2. 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ . Job Collins was employed to remove rubbish. Of the three craftsmen mentioned, "Mr. Dun - Blacksmith" is John Dunn who was frequently employed by the Count until his death in 1755 (QS. 40/1/11.) Robert Heath must have been his assistant; the identity of "Ric. Newman - Foreman" is discussed below.  
Cf. ARBURY, footnote 16. One of the Shire Hall trustees was Sir Robert Burdett, for whom the Hiorns later built Foremark Hall. (County Life, Vol. IV (1923) p. 218.)
15. In January 1753, he repaired the County Gaol and House of Correction, and in the following October, the Market Hall. (QS. 40/1/11.)
16. The Hiorns brothers estimate was £1708. 9. 7. : that of Job Collins and John Potton, £1197, excluding the value of the old materials. (Aug. 21 1753: CR 125/15,17,18.)
17. He increased his estimate to £1375. 6. 6. (Nov. 21 1753: CR 125/5.) He was to have the old materials except the building stone (Dec. 19 1753: CR 125/3). An estimate of the value of these is preserved. (n.d. : CR 125/14.)
18. A plate fixed to the roof-timbers records "MR. WILLIAM AND DAVID HIORN OF WARWICK SURVEYORS AND BUILDERS OF THIS HALL RICHARD NEWMAN MASON DAVID SANDERS CARPENTER 1754". Newman and

Sanders were probably the two foremen. (H.M. Colvin, Dictionary, p. 287.)

19. Cf. HAGLEY. Prowse designed Wicken Church in Northamptonshire in 1758. (H.M. Colvin, Dictionary, p. 479.) He presented the living of this to Henry Quartley, one of Miller's closest friends from his days at St. Mary's Hall, Oxford.
20. James Lovell was a protégé of Horace Walpole. He worked for Miller at HAGLEY HALL and at WROXTON. (Rupert Gunnis, Dictionary of British Sculptors, (London 1953) p. 244.); Antoine Desgodetz, Les Edifices Antiques de Rome, dessinés et mesurés tres exactement, (Paris 1682); Miller's infatuation for the celebrated beauty, Margaret Banks, who married Henry Grenville, was a source of great amusement to his friends. (Argyll Street, Jan. 8 1754: CR 125/34.)
21. The Warwick carver was probably Benjamin King. Lord Rockingham's house at Wentworth Woodhouse, Yorkshire, was enlarged by Henry Flitcroft in 1735-70; Roland Fréart's Parallèle d'architecture antique avec la moderne was published in England as Roland Freard de Chambray, The whole body of Antient and Modern Architecture, trans. John Evelyn. (London 1680) (Ambrosden, Jan. 12 1754: CR 125/35.)
22. Argyll Street, Jan. 29 1754: CR 125/37; Mar. 1754: CR 125B/873.
23. It is shown thus in the engraving of the Shire Hall, mentioned below. The courts were not enclosed completely until a later date.
24. In June 1755 10/6 was paid "for the Carriage of the Model from London". (CR 125/13.)
25. This was found in the roof of a cottage in Sidbury, Worcester. It is now in the County Museum, Warwick. (Trans. Worc. Arch. Soc., (1943) p. 25; Burlington Mag., May 1944; H.M. Colvin, Dictionary, p. 326.)
26. Payment was made separately to W. & D. Hiorn, with one exception. (CR 125/32) (CR 125/6,7,9,11,21,22,29,30,31,32.)
27. CR 125/9,19,22. His name is also spelt Newsam. This must be an error on the part of Edward Croft.
28. King was only paid £30 for his work at the Shire Hall in 1754.
29. Aug. 1754: CR 125B/674a.
30. Feb. 2 1756: CR 125B/174.
31. CR 125/7,9,11,16,27,28; CR 125/11,13,24; QS. 40/1/11.
32. Aug. 20 1755: CR 125/4.
33. British Museum: Add. MSS. 4326B, f. 82.
34. Feb. 26 1756: CR 125A/1; the total cost of completing the building was hoped to be £3340. 18.11. (CR 125/12.); CR 125/10,23.
35. H.M. Colvin, Dictionary, p. 287.
36. Jan. 16 1758: CR 125A/2.
37. Feb. 3 1758: CR 125/33. Thomas Lightholder was a carver and architect. He died in about 1779. (H.M. Colvin, Dictionary, p. 367.)



38. This is "Athenian" Stuart, the architect. (Feb. 9 1758: CR 125A/3.)
39. Mar. 1762: Cr 125B/568.
40. The fittings of the Crown and Nisi Prius Courts are shown in detail. A record-room is placed under one of the stairs. Edward Rooker (c.1712-1774) specialised in architectural scenes. He engraved the plates for Chamber's Civil Architecture and did several for Stuart's Athens and Adam's Diocletian's Palace. Warwick Record Office: PV War. Shi. 1.)
41. The original is in the Shire Hall, Warwick. Cox shows the columns of the facade of the County Gaol with flutings.
42. John Britton, The Beauties of England and Wales, (London 1814) Vol. p. 205.
43. This can be seen in an early postcard of this century, preserved at Warwick Record Office. (Photographs: Warwick, Shire Hall).

## 10. HAGLEY, WORCESTERSHIRE

George, first Lord Lyttelton, was a nephew of Richard Temple of Stowe. Thus he was a member of the remarkable "Cobham Cousinhood" of the Grenville, Pitt and Lyttelton families, with several of whom Miller was on intimate terms. For some time he was secretary to Frederick Prince of Wales and later became Lord Chancellor, from the income of which he subsidised the rebuilding of Hagley Hall. As a patron of the arts he could claim acquaintance with such men as Pope, Thomson, Shenstone, Fielding and even James Gibbs. To Miller he was no mean friend, for he lost no opportunity of forwarding his career as an architect and gave him a practical chance to demonstrate his talents at Hagley.

Miller's first commission produced his most significant contribution to the decoration of the grounds. This was the Ruined Castle, of which Lord Dacre remarked to Miller "You have got everlasting fame by the castle at Hagley, so that I hear talk of nothing else".<sup>1</sup> In June 1748 William Shenstone reported that the building was nearing completion: "It consists of one entire Tow'r and three stumps of Tow'rs with a ruin'd wall betwixt them. There is no great art or variety in ye Ruin, but the situation gives it a charming effect."<sup>2</sup> No pains were spared to give the castle an air of authenticity: the great windows in the curtain wall are said to have been brought from the ruins of Halesowen Abbey; Henry Keene was employed to make the Gothic furniture to the design of Miller, who supplied the mediaeval glass for the windows in the tower.<sup>3</sup> The contemporary visitor could be relied upon to wonder "what sieges it has sustained -- what blood has been spilt upon its walls --- and...lament that hostile discord, or the iron hand of all mouldering time should so rapaciously destroy it".<sup>4</sup> However Miller's greatest triumph was to earn the unqualified approval of Horace Walpole, who wrote of his visit to Hagley Park, "There is a ruined Castle built by Miller that would get him his freedom even of Strawberry: it has the true rust of the baron's wars.... I wore out my eyes with gazing, my feet with climbing and my tongue and vocabulary with commending".<sup>5</sup> (Plate )

The Rotunda was built in 1749 to a design of John Pitt of Encombe by William Hitchcox, Miller's "mason a latere".<sup>6</sup> Miller supervised its

erection but as Hitchcox left Hagley for Ambrosden before the work was finished, its completion was entrusted to a local craftsman named Stokes.

In June 1750 Admiral Smith, reputedly Lyttelton's half-brother, bought a house in Hagley village now known as Rockingham Hall. Sir Thomas asked Miller to advise on alterations, which he undertook to do. The following year he wrote to Deane Swift that he was "much employed about Admiral Smith's House, which will really be very convenient and comfortable, and though we are confined by the old House and limited in our expense, the Front towards Witchberry will look very creditable, and you will not like it the worse for the Bow windows which we intend to build".<sup>7</sup> (Plate )

During 1752 Miller designed the doric Dairy and a Greenhouse. Lyttelton was most satisfied with the dairy, which he built to please his wife. Shortly before its completion he wrote to Miller, "I think it altogether the most agreeable building I have".<sup>8</sup> (Plate )

Although plans for repairing the Church of St. John at Hagley were under discussion in 1752, when Miller was asked to design a monument there to Lyttelton's father, it was not until two years later that any real progress was made. Miller directed his mason Hitchcox and a craftsman named Hollier in the rebuilding of the chancel and the refurnishing of the nave. Bishop Pococke was enthusiastic, "Sir George Lyttelton has adorned the Church in the most exquisite Gothick taste, Mr. Miller's design. The Chancel is entirely new; the windows are adorned on the sides and every part with Gothick ornaments in hewn stone, and all the other parts of it is in stucco."<sup>9</sup>

In 1754 Miller supplied materials for the Grotto. Heely described this as "a cavernous hollow, rudely decorated with glassy cinders and mishapen stones".<sup>10</sup>

Lyttelton made free use of the advice of those amongst his acquaintance with architectural inclinations in his rebuilding of the old house at Hagley. In 1749 he had "at last got a plan for my seat" from John Pitt, but he cannot have given the project much serious consideration for it was not until three years later that he began the lengthy consultations which were to produce the final design for Hagley Hall.<sup>11</sup> John Chute, a member of Horace Walpole's "Committee" and cousin to Lennard Barrett, Lord Dacre, sent Lyttelton a design for the new house in 1752, but Lady Lyttelton did not approve the planning of this.<sup>12</sup> At the same time Miller, who had sent a Gothic plan, was

asked to try his hand at something more classical:

Upon showing the Plan of the House to my wife she finds it so different from what she desired of Mr. Barrett...that I believe that no alterations that can be made in it will answer our purpose. We therefore desire that you will try your skill in the Greek Architecture, being persuaded that no other Gentleman Architect will have so great regard to convenience as you... We are pretty indifferent about the outside, it is enough if there be nothing offensive to the eye; but Lady Lyttelton insists on dark closets and back stairs. She wishes too for a small room of separation between the eating room and the Drawing Room, to hinder the Ladies hearing the noise and talk of the men when they are left to their bottle...<sup>13</sup>

She was however satisfied later with "a thick partition and double doors".<sup>14</sup> In October Chute returned his revised drawings to Lyttelton who thought the elevations very beautiful, but considered the expense beyond his means.<sup>15</sup> Chute's plans, which are curiously Italian Renaissance in style, were sent to Miller so that he could transfer "some of the beauties of them" into his own design.<sup>16</sup> The following year another amateur architect was brought in as a consultant. This was Thomas Prowse who was member of parliament for Somerset. Thanks to Prowse's intervention Lady Lyttelton was able to inform Miller in May 1753, "At last Hagley House is absolutely fixed upon... Mr. Prowse has had a model made in wood... 'tis very simple and neat and the Towers give it a dignity: as to the inside, all that is considerable is yours".<sup>17</sup> The final synthesis of the two designs was sent, at Prowse's suggestion, to John Sanderson of Great Russell Street, "a very able and experienced surveyor", to be drawn out and figured for the workmen.<sup>18</sup> Even at this stage Lyttelton was loathe to commit himself, "It will be right to leave a possibility of adding a Portico and other beauties hereafter, but let us adhere at present to the Simple Magnificence of the design I sent down with your last corrections".<sup>19</sup> Fortunately he was dissuaded from erecting a sham portico.

The house took six years to build. The foundations were begun in May 1754, but four years later the scheme of decoration for the interior was still unsettled.<sup>20</sup> Horace Walpole complained to Chute in 1758, "Miller... put me out of all patience. As he has heard me talked of lately he thought it not below him to consult me on ornaments for my Lord's house.... To my comfort I have seen the plan of their Hall; it is stolen from Houghton and mangled frightfully".<sup>21</sup> Although Miller's design owes much to both Holkham and Houghton, Walpole is unreasonable

about the plan which is extremely logical. As the house was nearing completion in April 1759, Lyttelton became excessively worried by the amount of water absorbed by the stone. It was only by practical experiments that Miller was able to prevent him from painting the exterior.<sup>22</sup> The official opening ceremony took place in September 1760, but the accounts were not finally settled for another three years.<sup>23</sup>

Lyttelton wrote of the completed house "The Beauty and Elegance of it...exceeds my Expectations".<sup>24</sup> Dr. Johnson was less enthusiastic, but Miller's fame was spread abroad by the desire of Count Czernichen, the Russian Ambassador, to obtain copies of the plans of Hagley Hall, which he thought "the best he has seen anywhere in all his extensive travels". The original plans had been sent to the King, but were never returned.<sup>25</sup> (Plates )

1. Jan. '49: CR 125B/429.
2. Sir Thomas complained in August that the masons had left the Castle "when only a few days would have completed the work. (-/618) The fabric was completed shortly afterwards. (Aug '48/ CR 125B/672) In 1754 Lyttelton complained at the expense of the restoration to the chancel of Hagley church. He felt that the extra money could have been better employed on building another tower to the ruin to make it "less like a church". (June '54: CR 125B/653.) (W. Shenstone, Letters, ed. M. Williams (London 1939) p. 147.)
3. Lyttelton emphasised that "They are not to be common chairs but in a Gothic Form". Keene asked Miller to send a model. He was to send Miller his design for a dining-room chimney-piece to the old house. (Jun. '49: CR 125B/350.)
4. J. Heely, Beauties of Hagley, Envil & the Leasowes, (1777) p. 172.
5. Quoted in Dickins & Stanton, op.cit., p. 297.
6. John, a cousin of Thomas Pitt, also designed the octagon which was known as "Thomson's Seat". (Arch.Review, Mar.1952 p.200; Country Life, CXXII (1957) p. 608; Heely, op.cit., Jan-Jun. '49: CR 125B/429, 348, 350-1.)
7. Jun. '50: CR 125B/975; Z30/1.
8. Hitchcox, who was supposed to be engaged on rebuilding the garden walls and houses, put Lyttelton out of patience by going

off to rebuild Frankley Church when he was meant to have begun the Dairy. Chas. Lyttelton sent some "bitts of very fine coloured red & blue glass" for the Dairy. (Apr. '52 - Jul. '53: CR 125B/356,960,637,359,640; Z30/3.)

9. Chas. Lyttelton, Dean of Exeter, helped to finance the restoration. The church was rebuilt by Street in 1860. (Hagley Parish Reg.1754; R. Pococke, Travels in England, (Camden Soc. 1889) II, p. 285; T. Nash, Hist. of Worcs. (London 1781) p. 502; Feb. '52 - Sep. '54: CR 125B/625,-6,638,358,660,653,345,401.)
10. Aug. '54: CR 125B/671; Heely, op.cit., p. 142.)
11. Jun. '49: CR 125B/348.
12. Barrett assisted Chute in his design. (Jun. '52 - Jul. '52: CR 125B/434-5.)
13. Jun. '52: CR 125B/636.
14. Jul. '52: CR 125B/191.
15. Lyttelton could not understand Chute's plan. (Oct. '52: CR 125B/357.)
16. Country Life, loc. cit.
17. May '53: CR 125B/637-8; May '53 - Jun. '53: CR 125B/631, 640. Prowse also advised Miller on the design of the Shire Hall at Warwick.
18. Jan-May '54: CR 125B/873-4, CR 125/37; Colvin, Dictionary, p.524.
19. Jun. '54, May '55: CR 125B/653, 972.
20. May '54: CR 125B/660.
21. Dickins & Stanton, p. 259.
22. The newer part of the old house was demolished at this time. Hitchcox used the bricks to build a cottage and the lining for the walls of Stuart's Temple. Of the latter, the gift of Admiral Smith, Lyttelton wrote "A plan for that was left with Hitchcox by Stuart. I don't know yet whether Mr. Stuart has yet sent the drawings for the capitals, frieze &c. of the Dorick Building, but I believe Hitchcox has one for all the plain and solid parts". (Mar.-Apr. '59: CR 125B/365-6,666.)
23. The principal masons engaged on Hagley Hall were William Hitchcox & his son, Benjamin Bromfield, Hollier and possibly Benjamin King, who worked for Miller at Arbury and Warwick. James Lovell carved the hall chimneypiece. The plasterwork was by an Italian Vassali and Robert Moore, who worked for Miller at Radway, Arbury, Warwick and Belhus. Stuart and Cipriani were employed on painting ceiling panels. (Feb. '57-May '63: CR 125B/365,344,657,369,376.)
24. Aug. '60: CR 125B/657.
25. Dec. '60: CR 125B/659.

## 11. LACOCK, WILTSHIRE.

John Ivory Talbot, member of parliament for Wiltshire, resolved in 1753 to rebuild the Great Hall of his house, Lacock Abbey.<sup>1</sup> In July Sanderson Miller received a letter of introduction from Richard Goddard of Swindon:

I was last week at Mr. Talbot's at Lacock, when he accidentally mentioned his intention to rebuild his Great Hall next spring. As his house consists of the remains of an Old Nunnery it was agreed on all hands that it would be most proper to fit it up in the Gothick Taste... You will not be surprised that I mentioned your name on the occasion... He was much pleased at the thoughts of having it under your direction as he had been informed before that no one wou'd be more likely to assist him than yourself.

Miller accepted the commission with alacrity. The following month he was sent a list of Talbot's requirements by Goddard. Francis Price, surveyor of Salisbury Cathedral, had submitted an earlier scheme which had not satisfied Talbot, who emphasised to Miller that he "could wish...the Flight of Steps, doorcase, window and chimneypiece were in the Gothick Taste, being desirous of finishing both within and without in that manner".<sup>2</sup> The intrusion of the existing kitchen chimney into the plan caused some initial difficulty but the problem was eventually solved. The interior was to be of stucco, although this was later changed to stone, "I should beg its ceiling might not be too much ornamented and that you would fix on proper places for a few niches, having an intention of placing a plaister of Paris Figure of the Foundress...in one, and should be glad of two or three smaller niches for nun's heads &c." By June 1754 the structure was "raised to the Top of the doors quite round: the Approbation it meets with is universal and the workmen have profited so much by your instructions that we find no difficulty. I have met with a clever fellow of a Carver who will undertake to finish ye carved work of ye niches &c; after they are up, by wich means we advance much faster and save ye danger of the ornamental part being broken". The roof was covered over before the winter, during which the majority of the internal decoration was carried out: "My ceiling is the delight of all eyes, yet I fancy will lose some of its abundance of praise when the Chimney Piece makes its appearance... the Niches are carved and are Beauties".<sup>3</sup>

The detailing is very typical of Miller's work: the doorcases and the angle buttresses with their crocketed caps are similar to those on his own house at Radway. He also designed in May 1755 the Gothic gateway which spans the approach to the Hall at Lacock.<sup>4</sup> Talbot's opening ceremony, "A Grand Sacrifice to Bacchus", was delayed until May 1756 in order that all should be complete. (Plates )

1. Dickins & Stanton cover the progress of the work in detail. (pp. 301-310) (Jul. '53 - Sep. '55: CR 125B/973,392-7,400-4, 406.)
2. In 1753 the chimney piece was to be by "Parsons of Bath" (For Robert & Thomas Parsons see R. Gunnis, Dictionary of British Sculptors, (London 1953) pp. 292-3.) but in the following year Talbot refers to "my carver at Bristol" in connection with the chimneypiece.
3. The niches were decorated with terracotta figures by an otherwise unknown craftsman named Victor Alexander Sederbach. (N. Pevsner, Buildings of England, Wilts., Harmondsworth 1963 p. 258.) The andirons for the fireplace were sent by Lord Dacre from Belhus. (Jan. '56: CR 125B/408-9; Mar. '57/478.)
4. Miller's preliminary sketches for this can be seen on the back of Talbot's letter. (Jan. '55: CR 125B/403.)



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## 12. BECKETT, BERKSHIRE.

William Wildman, second Viscount Barrington of Ardglass, became Sanderson Miller's greatest friend in his old age. Lord Barrington became both Chancellor of the Exchequer and Secretary of State for War, but his political allegiance was not clearly defined for he remained in office under successive governments only by "fourty years of servility, which even in this age makes him a proverb".<sup>1</sup> He probably made Miller's acquaintance through their mutual friends, Lord Dacre and the Lyttelton family. As early as 1757 he was instrumental in securing a cornetcy for Miller's nephew, and from this time Miller was a frequent visitor at Becket House until a few months before his death in 1780.<sup>2</sup>

Lord Barrington consulted Miller over the improvements he made to his house and stables at Beckett. The design for the stables was under discussion in October 1762, but it was not until four years later that Barrington wrote "I am really in great want of your assistance. My stables will be finished by the Autumn, but they cannot be well finished without you, and I have a new plan to communicate to you with relation to my house".<sup>3</sup> The stables, built of red brick to form an open-ended court, were classical in style.<sup>4</sup> There is a tradition that the original Jacobean House at Beckett was burnt during the Civil War, but this seems without foundation, as the evidence of Barrington's letters to Miller shows that he was inhabiting part of the house at least during this period.<sup>5</sup> Barrington's plans for alterations to the house were drawn out by Thomas Strong of Stanford, whose designs were submitted to Miller for correction or approval.<sup>6</sup> In November 1766, Miller promised to select a suitable design for a vestibule door from "some books of authority".<sup>7</sup> By December Barrington had received the drawing, which he dispatched at once to Strong with orders to execute it; he remarked to Miller that he would "never see any man enter this door with more real pleasure than the ingenious worthy architect who has so kindly furnished me with a plan of it".<sup>8</sup> Two years later the work on the interior of the house had begun "my works go on according to the admirable plan settled by you, but not so fast as I could wish. However my new rooms are fitting up and I expect to have full use of them next summer". By the following May the new rooms were "furnished and finished".<sup>9</sup>

The house was demolished in the nineteenth century, but the stables, although much altered, still survive.<sup>10</sup>

1. Horace Walpole to Rev. Cole, Sep. 18 1778: quoted G.E.C., Complete Peerage, Vol. I, p. 433.
2. Lord Barrington's letters to Miller. (Jul. 1776-Sep. 1779: CR 125B/726-33; Aug. 1778: CR 125B/744; May 1758-May 1770: CR 125B/773-81; Apr. 1757-Sep. 1775: CR 125B/828-60.)
3. June 1766: CR 125B/775.
4. Dickins & Stanton, op.cit., p. 433. It is possible that John Fidel, a Leicestershire carpenter, was engaged on these alterations, as he came to Beckett in about 1765. He later set up as a builder at Faringdon, at Lord Barrington's suggestion. (Colvin, Dictionary, p. 204.)
5. Dickins & Stanton, op.cit., p.433.
6. Barrington refers to him as "Strong my architect". (CR 125B/840,844,777.) There can be little doubt that this was Thomas Strong of Stanford: in 1768 he rebuilt Wadley House for Sir Charles Pye, Barrington's neighbour. (Colvin, Dictionary, p. 581.) Sir Charles Pye begged Miller for his assistance in Sep. 1768, probably in connection with this scheme.
7. Oct. 1766: CR 125B/842. The 1863 catalogue of the sale of Miller's library reveals that he was well-provided with the necessary pattern-books. (Bodleian Library, P&S 63.)
8. Dec. 1766: CR 125B/776-7.
9. May 1770: CR 125B/780.
10. Country Life, Vol. VIII (1900) p. 592. The north side and part of the east side of the stables have been converted into cottages and reroofed. The third side has been demolished. These are known as Beckett Stables Farm.

## 13. DURHAM.

Joseph Butler, Bishop of Durham from 1750-2, was, according to Horace Walpole, wafted into his see "In a cloud of metaphysics and remained absorbed in it", but he retained sufficient awareness of his surroundings to ask Miller to redecorate his rooms in the Castle. John Talbot of Ingestre and the Rev. William Talbot of Kington, both grandsons of the Bishop, secured Miller the commission. In January 1751 Miller received the Bishop's survey which he returned in September together with several alternative schemes in the Gothic style.<sup>1</sup> The following month Miller was urged to send a workman to execute the approved design "as our People at Durham do not much understand the kind of Antique Work".<sup>2</sup> "Reeve ye workman" was probably dispatched in December, at a time when the Bishop was particularly concerned about the north wall being "greatly out of ye perpindicular".<sup>3</sup> The decision to rebuild this was only made after a bitter controversy between the surveyors consulted by Butler.<sup>4</sup> Miller's Gothic designs were for the Bishop's dining room, and for the rooms, later known as the senior judge's apartment.<sup>5</sup> (Plates )

1. Jan-Oct '51: CR 125B/383-5. Miller was worried in September by a rumour that the Bishop had employed Henry Flitcroft in his stead: John Talbot assured him that there was no truth in it.
2. Nov, Dec '51: CR 125B/795,389.
3. Dec '51: CR 125B/796-7.
4. These were Mr. Course of London & Mr. Shirley of Durham. The wall was rebuilt in 1752. (VCH City of Durham, p. 79.)
5. The Dining Room, now the Common room, had the floor lowered, the walls stuccoed, the ceiling adorned with gilt buttercups, two new windows made to the north and a large chimneypiece inserted (CR 125B/388v. may be a drawing for this.) The upper Great west Diningroom was refloored. The bishop's rooms were stuccoed and given new fireplaces. (VCH; additional information from Christopher Lyster.) The fireplaces are identical with the contemporary ones at Bishop Auckland (N. Pevsner, Buildings of England: Durham, (Harmondsworth 1953) p. 120.) Whether Miller had anything to do with the latter is not known.

## 14. BELHUS, ESSEX.

Thomas Barrett Lennard, Lord Dacre shared with Miller a common interest in the revival of the Gothic style and in matters of an antiquarian nature. Dacre was an amateur architect of no mean talent, for he was respected by Miller as a "Gothic Master".<sup>1</sup> As early as 1744 he pressed Miller to visit his seat at Belhus, which had become badly decayed through the neglect of his ancestors, to advise on Gothic improvements, for he had heard, probably from Lord Deerhurst, that Miller had a "very good taste".<sup>2</sup> The prospect of a journey to Belhus must have given Miller great pleasure, as he had formed a great admiration for Lady Dacre, much to the amusement of Lord Deerhurst who cautioned him that "Whilst you are raising my Friend up an House... do not raise him up a Family to inhabit it".<sup>3</sup>

Between 1745-7 Lord Dacre rebuilt the west and south fronts, and fitted up his Gothic Hall, staircase and Upper Drawing Room at Belhus.<sup>4</sup> The internal work is amongst the earliest of the Gothic Revival.<sup>5</sup> William Hitchcox, Miller's executant mason, may have had a hand in this for Dacre urged Miller to bring him on an intended visit in 1745, but it is more likely that they were both merely consulted on the details of the scheme drawn up by Dacre himself. With the house made habitable, the improvements during the following two years were restricted to the replanting of the grounds and the formation of a lake.<sup>6</sup> In 1749 the Dacres went abroad for two years to recover from the severe loss of their daughter, Barbara.

Upon his return to England Dacre set about fitting up his "Eating Room".<sup>7</sup> A chimney-piece was installed to Miller's design, the floor planked and the ceiling, originally to have been ornamented with shields, was left plain "with only a kind of ribbon running along the beams, which lightens them a good deal". The completed room gave great satisfaction to Dacre, who pronounced himself "charmed with it". At the same time Miller was asked to "contrive some little ornament for the chimney in the Parlour we used to eat in".<sup>8</sup>

The north, or Tapestry, Drawing Room was the next room to be improved "without loss of time". The work, which was begun in February 1754, was completed by November. The original designs for this by James Lovell did not satisfy Dacre, who asked Miller to amend them.<sup>9</sup>

Horace Walpole visited Belhus in 1754, shortly after the completion of the redecoration of the drawing room. In a letter to Richard Bentley he was for him unusually complimentary, "I have been at Mr. Barrett's at Belhouse.... what he has done is in Gothic and very true, though not up to the perfection of the Committee. The Hall is pretty... the chimney-pieces, except one little miscarriage into total Ionic, ... are all of good King James the First Gothic".<sup>10</sup>

Miller was consulted at length about the decoration of Lady Dacre's bed and dressing rooms in 1757.<sup>11</sup> Lovell had submitted "two execrable designs", which were probably much altered in execution by John Hobcraft, the carpenter employed by Dacre. Miller sent a "stucco man", Robert Moore, but the roses and crests which he brought with him were "too big and too clumsy". Dacre ordered that they be remade by Lovell at the expense of Thomas Lightholder who had supplied the original moulds. The scheme of decoration included a sham door, "shields on the cornice, a ribbon pattern on the ceiling and a 'Gothic canopy' opposite the fireplace".<sup>12</sup>

Miller does not appear to have given any further advice. The enlargement of the Breakfast room was carried out without him.<sup>13</sup> Horace Walpole was asked to advise on the much later alterations made in 1776-7.<sup>14</sup>

The house was demolished by the London County Council in 1956.

1. Dec.1756: CR 125B/967.
2. Jun.1744: CR 125B/426.
3. Aug.1745: CR 125B/141.
4. The drawing room is said to have been formed from the upper part of the Great Hall. (T.B. Lennard, Account of the Families of Lennard & Barrett, (Colchester 1908) p. 588; I.G. Sparkes, "Belhus", Thurrock Local History Reprints, II, (Upminster 1964) p.8.)(Oct.1745: CR 125B/416; Aug.1747: CR 125B/427; Oct.1747: CR 125B/422.)
5. Dacre supervised the work himself. (Aug.1747: CR 125B/427.) (N. Pevsner, Buildings of England:Essex, (Harmondsworth 1954) p.47) Walpole gives Miller the credit for this work in 1761 (Sparkes, op.cit., p.11), but later writers attribute the design to Dacre. (T. Wright, History of Essex, (London 1831) II p. 512; J.P. Neale, View of Seats, (London 1822) I, Ser.i, p.64.)

6. Jan, Nov. 1749: CR 125B/429, 413.
7. Dec. 1751-Sep. 1752: CR 125B/431,433-5, 439. The chimney piece was typical of Miller's work: a four centred arch with side panels and cresting over. (Country Life, XLVII, (1920) p. 690)
8. Dacre sent him a sketch of the existing fireplace which had "a very flatt appearance". (Sep. 1752: CR 125B/440-2) The Parlour was probably the room later known as the Study. (Essex R.O., Catalogue of the Belhus Sale, 1923.)
9. Jan-Nov. 1754: 448,450,452. James Lovell, a protege of Horace Walpole, worked for Miller at Hagley and carved the statue of Caractacus at Radway.
10. The offending fireplace was the one in the north drawing room. (Quoted in Dickins & Stanton, op.cit., p. 312)
11. Sep. 1757 - Mar. 1758: CR 125B/481-2,454-8,460-6. These were probably the rooms later known as the Crest Bedrooms. Moore worked for Miller at Radway, Arbury, Hagley and the Shire Hall at Warwick. For Hobcraft & Lightholder see Colvin, Dictionary, pp. 289, 367.
12. Sparkes, op.cit., p. 9.
13. Jun. 1759 - Feb. 1761: CR 125B/469, 472.
14. Sparkes, op.cit., p. 10.

## 15. GOSFIELD, ESSEX.

Robert Nugent consulted Sanderson Miller about alterations to the west front of Gosfield Hall. As early as 1736 Miller had been instrumental in securing a chimneypiece for the Library at the Hall, but it was not until 1750 that Nugent began to seek his advice. He reminded Miller then and again four years later of his promise to send "a Draft ... for the Wing which is to answer the kitchen".<sup>1</sup> In June 1754 Miller received "a drawing of the west front. Of the wing that now is and of the other as it is intended to be, to which the old wing is to be made conformable".<sup>2</sup> Miller was urged to correct the plans and to visit Gosfield "to set us a going", but the work seems to have been delayed until the following spring. The wings referred to lie at the extremities of the west front. They are extremely simple with central five-light bow-windows, oeil de boeuf over and pinnacles on the gables ends. (Plate )

1. The letter about the fireplace from Bois Hall is in the Essex Record Office. (D/DL C52) (Oct. 1750: CR 125B/167; May 1754: CR 125B/169.)
2. Jun. 1754: CR 125B/170-1; Sep. 1754: CR 125B/173.
3. The Historical Monuments report thinks the wings are "probably of the nineteenth century. (RCHM Essex, I p.104.) However the evidence quoted above, supported by the presence of the wings in an early 19th century engraving, suggest that they are by Miller.



## 16. ROSS-ON-WYE, HEREFORDSHIRE.

In August 1754 the Rev. J. Egerton, later to become Bishop of Durham, consulted Miller about alterations to the chancel of St. Mary's Church at Ross-on-Wye.<sup>1</sup> At his request Miller sent a mason, named Hill, to survey the existing condition of the chancel.<sup>2</sup> The restoration of the church in 1878 removed all traces of Miller's work.<sup>3</sup>

1. A Mr. Keyse had recommended Miller for the work. (Aug. 1754: CR 125B/786.)
2. Possibly this was a son of James Hill of Cheltenham. (Colvin, Dictionary, p. 284; Sep. 1754: CR 125B/787.)
3. Alterations were made to the nave in 1743, but this was probably under the direction of Nathaniel Wilkinson, who rebuilt the spire in the same year. (R.C.H.M., Herefs., II (1932) p. 158; Colvin, Dictionary, p. 678.)

## 17. AMBROSDEN, OXFORDSHIRE.

Sir Edward Turner was Miller's principal friend and companion until his death in 1766. They must have made each other's acquaintance while up at Oxford, but their friendship was strengthened by Turner's marriage to Cassandra, the daughter of William Leigh of Adlestrop. Sir Edward delighted in seeking Miller's advice on the innumerable schemes he put forward for embellishing his seat at Ambrosden. That Miller's advice was not limited to architecture is clear from the manner in which he supported his friend's nomination in the Great Oxfordshire Election of 1752. His political activity provoked an opposition pamphlet entitled, "A Comedy called The Canvassing Couple or A Trip to the House of Commons, with scenes, machines and other decorations. Particularly a new scene in the Gothick Taste designed by Mr. M-ll-r".<sup>1</sup>

John Dunkin states that Miller was the architect of Ambrosden House.<sup>2</sup> The rebuilding of Sir William Glynne's seventeenth-century house was probably begun in 1739, at a time when Miller was only twenty-two.<sup>3</sup> Therefore it is unlikely that Miller had anything to do with the original scheme, although he was consulted about the subsequent alterations made to the house by Sir Edward. Turner wrote to Miller in March 1745, "I am determined to send for the Plaisterer and to wait upon my Library downstairs....I only want the architect of Radway".<sup>4</sup> Two years later he was preparing to fix up his saloon, "I have the schemes ready to start into execution, when you shall have approved of them....By your Zeal for the Architectural Cause, I implore your immediate presence".<sup>5</sup> In 1748 he erected to Miller's design a flat ceiling in an unspecified room.<sup>6</sup> William Hitchcox, Miller's executant mason, was planning to purchase two cottages at Ambrosden in December 1755; possibly he intended these as a base from which to superintend the completion of the house, which is reputed to have been done in 1756. Turner may have been thanking Miller for plans for this when he wrote at the time, in poetic mood, "Choose you to give the skilful sketch unpay'd, Or chink your gold in the Exchequer's shade"?<sup>7</sup> The appearance of the house in 1762 can be seen in an engraving in Dunkin's History.<sup>8</sup> (Plate ) The design is unexceptional; the facade, whose vertical emphasis is exaggerated by Dunkin is typical of much work of the period. Turner gives Miller the credit for the design of

the house, "won't you peep upon the child whose aedification proceeds from you?" but it is probable that Miller did little more than complete and alter the original design.<sup>9</sup> The house was demolished shortly after Sir Edward's death in 1766.<sup>10</sup> The Offices to the house were rebuilt in 1761 to a design, drawn up by Thomas Collet of Upper Slaughter, which was submitted to Miller for his approval.<sup>11</sup>

In addition to the work at the house Sanderson Miller also advised on designs for an Entrance Lodge and Gate, a Barn, a sham Ruin, a Farm House and a monument. The plans for the Lodge were under discussion in March 1747, when Miller was thanked for "adding (out of your Mechanical Bounty) a foot and a half to the Breadth".<sup>12</sup> Hitchcox, who directed the work on the Lodge, irritated Sir Edward by his absence in 1748: "If the Gate is to be built by Hitchcox at a Distance, it is possible that he may have to demolish it when he arrives". He caused further consternation by his attempts at decoration: "Hitchcox has begun rusticking, but such a Specimen did he form! as much resembling a Ship as a Rock! He quotes the Pillars at the Physic Garden... but why should we not improve upon it? - I should be much obliged to you if you could procure me a model in wood of stone that is rusticked at D. of Queensberry's or Lord Burlington's as a Pattern for Hitchcox to follow." The Barn, which was to have a Gothic end with pediment and pinnacles, was designed in 1747.<sup>13</sup> The stone was prepared at Radway by Hitchcox, while he was directing extensions to Miller's Castle. His slowness in this task aggravated Sir Edward still further: "If your mason does not supply me faster with stone... the next Sexennial Election will run away with all my money before the Barn can be finished". The existence of the sham Ruin, or rather the collapse of it can be deduced from a letter to Miller in 1750: "Down is fallen, fallen, fallen the Gothick... Will your Toryism advise whether to rebuild or substitute something in its stead?... Come and deplore the ruin of my Ruins".<sup>14</sup> Miller was asked in 1758 to revise a sketch he had made for a Farm House in Piddington Field, as "the situation will not admit of a dairy underground".<sup>15</sup> Prince Hoare, the sculptor of Bath, sent Turner a "draught for a monument" in February 1761. This was to be to the memory of "S. Turner, Esq." but a design by Miller was preferred, which was executed in the following year by Hoare.<sup>16</sup>

1. Dickins & Stanton, op.cit., p. 198.
2. The house was cased with ashler bought from Bibery. (J. Dunkin, History of the hundreds of Bullington and Ploughley, (London 1823) p. 3.
3. A note on a detailed drawing of Turner's house records "Ambrosden House. Begun to be built in the year 1739. Stopped & then went on in 1756. In 1776 Sir Edward Turner's death stopped it and in 1779 it was demolished." (Bod. Lib. MS Top. Oxon. a37.f40.) There seems no reason to doubt the truth of this. The VCH. states that the rebuilding began "Soon after 1740". (VCH. Oxon. V, p. 16)
4. Mar. 1745: CR 125B/487.
5. Jul. 1747: CR 125B/500.
6. Oct. 1748: CR 125B/504.
7. Turner occasionally gave Miller presents "for trouble on my account". (Stratford Birthplace, MS Turner/Leigh, Account Bks.)(Dec. 1755: CR 125B/542; CR 125c/4.)
8. The frontispiece shows the house (Dunkin, op.cit.) The house is also shown in various sketches in the Bodleian Library (MS. Top.Oxon.a37.ff.34b,35-38,39 (the drawing for Dunkin's plate), 40,42; G.A. Oxon.a76.f4;a117.pp 44-5.)
9. The house may have been recased at this time. (June 1764: CR 125B/573.)
10. Sir Gregory, Edward's son, was heavily in debt and pulled down part of Ambrosden House in 1767, in an attempt to reduce the running costs. This proved unsatisfactory and the house was finally demolished in 1779. (Footnote 3; Stratford Birthplace, MS. Turner/Leigh, Ser.D, bn.1.)
11. These were of Headington Stone on brick. The Collets were employed to complete the reconstruction of Adlestrop House to Miller's design in 1759. (Stratford Birthplace, MS Turner/Leigh. Account Bk. 4.)
12. Mar. 1747: CR 125B/493; Oct. 1748: CR 125B/504; Apr. 1749: CR 125B/508.
13. Miller sent two sketches for the Barn. I cannot accept the suggestion that by "my Barn" Turner meant his house: he could scarcely have expected to complete the work in two months. (Dickins & Stanton, op.cit., p. 275.) (Mar.-Jul. 1747: CR 125B/494-5,498,500.)
14. Mar. 1750: CR 125B/510.
15. Jul. 1758: CR 125B/556.
16. Hoare who expressed admiration for Miller's design was paid 2gns. for his sketch and £50 for the monument. (Mar. 1761: CR 125B/561; Stratford Birthplace, MS. Turner/Leigh, Acct.bks.4.)

## 18. ENVILLE, STAFFORDSHIRE.

Harry, Earl of Stamford, employed Sanderson Miller on his estate at Enville. The majority of the ornamental buildings in this celebrated park were erected before William Shenstone undertook the landscaping of the grounds, in which occupation he caught the fatal chill which caused his death in 1763.<sup>1</sup> In March 1750 he wrote that Lord Stamford was "now building a Gothic green-house by Mr. Miller's direction, and intends to build castles, and God-knows-what".<sup>2</sup> The purpose for which Miller's building was intended must have been altered for this is almost certainly the "elegant Gothick summerhouse of Mr. Miller's design" described by Bishop Pococke on his visit to Enville in September 1756.<sup>3</sup> This can be identified as the building now known as the Billiard-room or Museum, (Plate ) the original appearance of which can be judged from Joseph Heely's description in 1777:

The BILLIARD ROOM... is a stately gothic edifice and does much credit to the designer. Its inside is curiously and richly adorned with stucco; the ceiling remarkably so. At one end in a niche is a bust of Homer; at the other a Cicero. A billiard table and a small organ are the furniture of this superb room.<sup>4</sup>

Pococke also mentions the "gateway that appears like a castle", which, as it is very much in Miller's style and is contemporary with the Billiard-room, may be attributed to him with reasonable certainty.<sup>5</sup> A centre arch "with some appearance of a port-cullice" is flanked by curtain walls terminating in alcoves.<sup>6</sup> (Plate ) Pococke's "Gothic seat" may have been Miller's "fine Gothick design" which was described in 1754 as having suffered "an Horrid Massacre by the hands of some Shrewsbury man".<sup>7</sup>

The remains of five of the other buildings described by Joseph Heely survive.<sup>8</sup> The Boathouse, with its interior decorated with "festoons of flowers and medallions of stucco", must surely be by Miller. (Plate ) Shenstone's Chapel (Plate ), the Shepherd's Lodge "in a gothic taste and prettily tufted with trees", (Plate ), the rustic Portico (Plate ) and the Thatched Cottage with its "greater power to charm the eye of taste than the most magnificent temple" could all have been erected to designs by Miller. To these may be added the gothic house, now known as Lyndon,