

although it is not mentioned by Heely. (Plate)

Whether Miller was responsible for the transformation of the house, by the addition of towers, pointed windows and castellations, so that it appeared "like a castle" is not known, but it is possible that this was the work of William Baker, an architect and surveyor who worked largely in Staffordshire and Shropshire.⁹

1. Country Life, IX (1901) p. 336.
2. W. Shenstone, Letters, ed. M. Williams (London 1939) p. 261.
3. The building he describes stands at the upper end of the lawn at the back of the house, which is exactly the position of the museum. (R. Pococke, Travels through England, (Camden Soc. 1889) II, p. 231.)
4. J. Heely, Letters on the Beauties of Hagley, Envil and the Leasowes, (1777) II, p. 82. The roof has now gone and the ceiling collapsed, but much of the internal plasterwork and the marble fireplace remains.
5. Pococke, loc.cit.
6. Heely, op.cit., p. 76.
7. John Ivory Talbot to Miller: Lacock, Sept. 7 1754: CR 125B/401.
8. Heely, op.cit., pp. 25-93. I have used Heely's names for the buildings. The Cottage, of which practically nothing remains is known as the Hermitage; the Shepherd's Lodge as Sheepwalk House.
9. J. Britton, Beauties of England and Wales, (London 1813) Vol.13, pt.ii, p.853. Pococke, loc.cit. Colvin, Dictionary, p. 53.

19. INGESTRE, STAFFORDSHIRE.

At the request of George Lyttelton, Sanderson Miller sent John, Viscount Chetwynd, a design for a gothic tower for his estate at Ingestre. In June 1749 Lyttelton commented that he had engaged Miller "in a great deal of business: first for myself, then for Lord Chetwynd and now for my Lord Chancellor".¹ A few weeks later he thanked Miller for sending the design: "I entirely approve the design you have sent for Lord Chetwynd, and only wish I could see it from Hagley Park. It will be a noble object, and everyway answer the purpose; so I daresay my Lord will be highly pleased with it, and very thankful to you."² Miller's design was for an octagonal tower, similar to the one he had built for himself at Radway except that the hood-moulds to the windows were square.³

It is possible that the castle was not erected until 1751. In October of that year John Talbot, Lord Chetwynd's son-in-law, wrote to the Rev. William Talbot, Miller's neighbour at Kineton, "I almost give over all hopes of seeing Miller here... and I believe Lord Chetwynd heartily prays for it;" in the month following he urged Miller to visit Ingestre to give his advice on the alterations.⁴ The tower was certainly completed by 1752, when Capability Brown drew up his plans for the grounds, for "The Tower" appears clearly marked at the western end of the ride from the house.⁵

Miller may have had a hand in the design of two other buildings on the estate. These are the Doric Rotundo and the Pavilion, both of which are shown on Brown's plan. The latter is generally attributed to Charles Trubshaw of Stafford, a sculptor and mason, who is known to have worked for Chetwynd at about this time.⁶

The tower was demolished in 1850, after a series of murders committed there by the head-gamekeeper.⁷ The remains of the ramparts can still be seen.

1. This refers to Miller's work at Hagley, Ingestre and Wimpole. (June 1 1749: CR 125B/348.)
2. June 18 1749: CR 125B/350.
3. This information was kindly supplied by Christopher Lyster, who has examined a sketch of the tower made by T. Peploe Woods, who was tutor to the children at Ingestre Hall. I have been unable to trace the drawing which was at the Hall in 1952.
4. The Hon. John Talbot was the second son of Lord Chancellor Talbot. He begs Miller to advise on "some schemes of my own". As he was largely resident at Ingestre this probably refers to improvements there rather than to any for his seat at Hillingdon. (H.E. Chetwynd-Stapylton, The Chetwynds of Ingestre, (London 1892) p. 237; Oct. 26 /1751/CR 125B/386; Nov. 16 1751: CR 125B/387.)
5. Country Life, Vol. CXXII (1957) p. 874.
6. John Harris has pointed out the resemblance between the design for the Pavilion and that in a drawing by Kent in the R.I.B.A. (Country Life, loc. cit., p. 874, 1231; R. Gunnis, Dictionary of British Sculptors, (London 1953) p. 400.)
7. Information supplied to Christopher Lyster by Major Anthony Crofton in 1952.

20. KILKENNY, IRELAND.

Richard Pococke, an Englishman, was created Bishop of Ossory in 1756. The cathedral church of the see of Ossory, St. Canice's Kilkenny, was said to have been at that time "in a most ruinous condition, being totally neglected by his predecessors: its galleries decaying, its roof tumbling down, its monuments broken and scattered about".¹ Pococke, with characteristic energy, immediately communicated to the Dean and Chapter a scheme for restoring the chancel and for fitting up a new chapter-house in the Lady chapel.²

At the suggestion of Charles Lyttelton, Dean of Exeter, Pococke asked Sanderson Miller to advise on the alterations. Two years earlier Miller had restored the chancel of Hagley church, part of the expense of which had been met by the Dean. Pococke much admired this work.³ In June 1756 he sent the plans of Kilkenny cathedral to Charles Lyttelton, together with the request that he "convey them to Mr. Miller. I will gladly pay the expenses of his designs for drawing."⁴ He must have settled most of the details of the design when he visited Miller at Radway in September.⁵

Pococke corresponded regularly with Miller about the alterations during the next fourteen months. He took great pains to impress that the design and craftsmanship should be of the highest standard, "as the work will be a monument both to the honour of the designer and the Benefactor, so I set my heart much on having it executed in the best manner". Miller was sent minute particulars of his wishes for the design of the stalls for the Choir and the Chapter-house, as well as for the fittings for the Bishop's court, which he intended to erect in the south transept.⁶ In response to his request for a drawing of the Choir, Miller sent him a wooden model of his proposals which Pococke assured him was "much admired by everybody", but it needed small modifications to the detailing of the stalls, galleries, pillars and steps before he was fully satisfied.⁷ In May Pococke crossed back to Ireland, taking with him the model and the drawings of the Choir, which he considered "very fine and I return you my hearty thanks. I much admire the ceiling." This ceiling was to have in the centre "a group of Foliage, Festoons and Cherubims", which Pococke felt would "suit very well with the Gothick

work as there is nothing in it relating to the Orders".⁸ This remark makes it all the more curious that the fittings for the Choir were "all of a fine dark-grained oak ... carved in the Ionic style".⁹

Early in 1757 Pococke had requested Miller to provide a foreman to supervise the work of restoration. He approved Miller's suggestion that a craftsman called Cobb be employed, but he stressed the dangers of working with the Irish: "he must be a sober man... otherwise he will be undone". Cobb had still not arrived at Kilkenny by December, although Miller had been asked to brief him before his departure in June.¹⁰ However there seems little reason to doubt that he was sent to Ireland for the work was not begun until the middle of the following year.

The extent of Pococke's alterations was considerable.¹¹ In order that the work should be of the highest standard, he himself set an example for he "zealously set about its reparation: he warmly solicited subscriptions: purchased every necessary material at the best rate: in person superintended the workmen, and that often from four o'clock in the morning: beautified and adorned it throughout, and left a memorial of his piety and regard for his episcopal church".¹² The reconstruction of the Choir must have been begun before 1762, for in that year Pococke disposed of the old materials. An inscription in the old Chapter-house, which lies to the north of the Lady Chapel, records that the Cathedral was restored in 1763. This was probably the date of the completion of the new Chapter-house in the Lady-chapel, which was built to Miller's design to judge from Pococke's letters. The Bishop's Court, for which he also gave advice, was put up in the south transept. Pococke also repaired the Parish Church, a chapel in the north transept, where he collected and rearranged the mediaeval glass and effigies. His scheme to increase the height of the Belfry was abandoned, according to Shee, as the "architect" considered it unsafe. This pronouncement cannot have been made by Miller, who never visited the site, but may be attributed to Cobb. A Doric Colonnade was built at this time to connect the north transept to the Bishop's palace. This necessitated the blocking up of several windows in the gable of the transept. The architect of this is not known, but Miller may have been responsible.

The majority of Pococke's work on Kilkenny Cathedral, which was officially completed in 1768, was removed during the complete restoration made during the nineteenth century. The Choir, Bishop's Court

and the Doric Colonnade were all taken down and replaced, and what remained of his alterations were much altered.¹³

1. E. Ledwich, Antiquities of Ireland, (Dublin 1803) p. 391: quoted in Rev. J. Graves & J.G. Prim, History of the Cathedral Church of St. Canice Kilkenny, (Dublin 1857) p. 56. This is probably a slight exaggeration, but the Dean and Chapter in voting him thanks for the restoration considered that they owed him "almost the very being of our cathedral". (Chapter Book A, p. 393: quoted Graves & Prim, op.cit., p. 56.)
2. Chapter Book A, p. 335: quoted Graves & Prim, op.cit., p. 56.
3. R. Pococke, Travels through England, (Camden Society 1888) II, p. 285.
4. It is unlikely that Miller was paid anything for his pains, as he did not execute the drawings himself. Pococke suggests that Miller should borrow a copy of Sir James Ware's History of Ireland if he requires any further details of Kilkenny. (June 1756: CR 125B/798.)
5. He consulted Miller about the "adorning of the cathedral of Kilkenny, the design of which he has been so kind as to undertake". (R. Pococke, op.cit., II, p. 238.)
6. Oct. 1756: CR 125B/799; Nov. 1756: CR 125B/800; Graves & Prim, op.cit., p. 57.
7. Feb. 1757: CR 125B/802,3; Mar. 1757: CR 125B/804.
8. Apr. 1757: CR 125B/782; May 1757: CR 125B/783. There seems to be some confusion over the design of the chancel ceiling as Graves & Prim describe the earlier ceiling as being identical. (Graves & Prim, op.cit. p. 53.) Twenty years before it was described as being "adorned with curious Fretwork". (W. Chetwood, Tour through Ireland by two English Gentlemen, (London 1748) p.175.
9. The episcopal throne, pebendal stalls, galleries, pews etc. were described thus. (Graves & Prim, op.cit., p. 57.)
10. Feb. 1757: CR 125B/802; June 1757: CR 125B/784; Dec. 1757: CR 125B/785.
11. Graves & Prim, op.cit., p. 56.
12. Ledwich, op.cit., p. 391.
13. P. Smithwick, "Georgian Kilkenny", Irish Georgian Society Bulletin, Vol. VI, No. 4.

APPENDIX II : UNEXECUTED, UNAUTHENTICATED OR
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21. STOWE, BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

Sanderson Miller's obituary in the Gentleman's Magazine states that he was "very intimate with the Lords Temple, Lyttelton and Mr. Shenstone, for whom he planned several buildings which they erected".¹ Hester Temple, the wife of Richard Grenville of Wotton, had succeeded to the title and estates of her brother, Lord Cobham, upon his death in 1749. Her eldest son, Richard, became Lord Temple when she died in 1752. Miller, a frequent visitor at Stowe, was intimately acquainted with several members of the Grenville, Lyttelton and Pitt families, or the "Cobham Cousinhood" as the children of the sisters of Lord Cobham were known.

Miller certainly advised Lord Temple on his improvements at Stowe. In July 1752, he wrote to Deane Swift, "I am now repairing John Temple's monument... and new painting the Arms by my Lord Cobham's order. You see he has something of the Antiquarian in him, though Master Willis cannot persuade him to join in rebuilding Bucks Spire".² It is possible that what Miller is referring to is not an ecclesiastical monument but the Gothic Temple, or Temple of Liberty, erected to the design of James Gibbs between 1739-44.³ This building, much admired by Horace Walpole, is described by Lipscomb as "in the Moorish Gothic style, adorned with old painted glass, armourial bearings etc." The latter showed the descent of the Grenville and Temple families down to "the late Lord Viscount Cobham and his sister and heiress Hester Grenville, Countess Temple".⁴ This suggests that the heraldic decoration was completed by Lord Temple after the death of his mother. Furthermore much of the glass came from the Priory at Warwick, the home of Miller's friends, the Wise family.⁵ In April 1758, Miller was told, by James Grenville, not to trouble himself any further about some stone pots, which he had promised to bespeak for Lord Temple, for he had "placed the pot with the aloe upon the pedestal, which is painted the same colour: and it pleases so much that he is come to a resolution to let it remain so".⁶ The following year Henry Grenville was concerned whether he was to see Miller "at the Castle of Radway or the Castle of Stowe".⁷ This is probably intended as more than a metaphor for he could be contrasting Radway Tower with the building known as Stowe Castle, "an eyecatcher of surprising size", which appears to have been

erected between 1751-3.⁸ A series of cottages were grouped round an open courtyard to form an "elongated half decagon with five angle square towers" with a castellated exterior wall. On stylistic grounds Miller could well have been responsible for the design, but there is no documentary evidence to support this. (Plate)

1. Dickins & Stanton, op.cit., p. 448. It is unlikely that Miller planned any buildings for William Shenstone, so it is possible that this statement is inaccurate.
2. Lord Temple was frequently referred to as Lord Cobham at this time. The recipient of this letter, of which only an incorrectly dated copy is preserved, is not known but internal evidence proclaims it to be Deane Swift, to whom Miller had written earlier, in July 1751, on the subject of Browne Willis' efforts to build the spire of Buckingham church: "Last week I had a letter and Print of the Steeple at Bucks from Master Willis. He wants exceedingly to build one without Money, for he seems to have no hopes but in the Benefaction of the Burgesses". (Typescript in Warwick Record Office (Z 30/1-3) of originals in the possession of Mrs. F.G. Walker.)
3. L. Whistler, "The authorship of the Stowe Temples" Country Life, CVIII (1950) p. 1002; Country Life, XXXV, (1914) p. 90.
4. G. Lipscomb, History of Buckinghamshire, (London 1831) III p.108.
5. The remainder of the glass came from Flanders. (Country Life, XXXV (1914) p. 90) (Notes & Queries, CLXXXIV, (1943) p. 157.)
6. Apr. 2 1758: CR 125B/596.
7. July 31 1759: CR 125B/604.
8. Pevsner states that this was built by Lord Cobham towards the end of his life. (N. Pevsner, Buildings of England: Bucks., (Harmondsworth 1960) p.262.) However it first appears in an engraving, dated 1753, by Bickham of "A view of the Elysian Fields from the spring of Helicon", where it can be seen beyond the Palladian bridge. (G. Bickham, Beauties of Stowe, (London 1755).) Although Rivington includes a cut of "The Castle" in his later guides, it does not appear in the 1751 edition. (J. Rivington, Stowe, a Description, (London 1751) p. 31) The design of the Castle at Stowe is similar to the Gaol erected by Lord Cobham in 1748 in Buckingham, in the form of a mock castle. (I am indebted to Alistair Rowan for information on this.)

22. WOTTON UNDERWOOD, BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

George Grenville, brother to Lord Temple of Stowe, thanked Miller in March 1758 for drawing out the plan of a bridge for his estate at Wotton.¹ This may well have been for the sham bridge, which dams the lake, with "pedimented piers to the arches and rusticated masonry, reminiscent of the Temple of British Worthies at Stowe".² In June Miller was reminded of his promise to send a design for an "Octagon Seat upon the Mount", which was possibly that known as the "Crescent Moon Shelter".³ The Grotto was designed by Grenville himself, but sent to Miller to check "whether there is anything very absurd or contrary to rule in it".⁴

1. Mar '58: CR 125B/595.
2. Country Life, CVI (1949) p. 38. Another bridge which crossed to one of the islands has collapsed. (Information kindly provided by Mrs. Brunner.)
3. A photograph of this "Gothic-cum-Saracenic fantasy" can be seen in Country Life. Mrs. Brunner hopes to rebuild this. (Jun'58: CR 125B/601.)
4. Wotton, Sep.-: CR 125B/587; N. Pevsner, Buildings of England: Bucks. (Harmondsworth 1960) p. 303. Parts of the grotto survive.

23. EYTHROPE, BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

Sir William Stanhope was the second son of Philip, third Earl of Chesterfield. He was "distinguished by his wit, humour and literary talents . . . , lived in great splendour and hospitality and was one of that noted club of wits and bon vivants who assembled at Medmenham".¹ The Knights of Sir Francis, or Monks of Medmenham, was a society founded about 1745 by Sir Francis Dashwood, whose members belonged to the Opposition and included Frederick, Prince of Wales. Thus Stanhope could have made Miller's acquaintance through a mutual friend in the "Cobham Cousinhood".

At Eythrope, according to Lysons², "Sir William Stanhope . . . added the more modern part of the house and erected several large buildings in the pleasure grounds and plantations, resembling the ruins of amphitheatres, castles &c." He also states on the authority of Browne Willis, that Stanhope pulled down the chapel in 1738 and used the stones to build a bridge over the Thame near his house. Lipscomb³ mentions that "He expended large sums in the improvement and decoration of the house and grounds.... The imitation of ruins of an amphitheatre, castles and turretted buildings, erected . . . on the neighbouring eminences, gave an air of extent and magnificence to the grounds".

There are, in the British Museum, two ink drawings for a building at Eythrope.⁴ (Plates) The earlier drawing, inscribed "27 June 1751: Design Approved by Sir Wm. Stanhope at Twittenham for Ethrupe: shortened two windows at each end", shows a turretted Gothic gateway with three flanking bays; the other, inscribed "July 3rd 1751: Sir W. Stanhope's Ethrupe", is a corrected version with the two bays at each end removed and the addition of corner-buttresses and pinnacles.

These drawings have been attributed to Isaac Ware, as Bishop Pococke, visiting Eythrope in 1751, describes it thus:⁵

We soon passed over the Tame on a fine bridge with an elliptical arch⁶, at which the river is stop'd to raise it for the view of the neighbouring house of S^r William Stanhope, to which we came: it is called Eythrop..... It . . . is an old house consisting of two corpses of buildings, one joyning to the other at the angle.... To the west is an handsome new front before the court of good architecture, designed by Harris.⁷ In a line within it are stables, with a very fine Roman front,

but backwards it is Gothick, to answer the house. This is the design of Ware. There are two very handsome lodges leading to the house. The gardens are very fine; ... adorned with clumps of trees and two buildings. To the north a hill is planted, on the summit of which is a temple.⁸

Ware is known to have worked for Sir William Stanhope at Eythrope: his designs for a stone bridge⁹ and two temple garden-seats appear in his Complete Body of Architecture.¹⁰ Ware was a strict Palladian; although he might well have been responsible for the "very fine Roman front", it is difficult to credit him with the design of the Gothic rear elevation, for he was highly critical of the Gothic style, which he considered "wild and irregular", and remarked of its use "We will not descend to call it architecture".¹¹ Certainly there are no other designs attributed to him, in the Gothic style.¹²

It is questionable whether the British Museum drawings can be for the Gothic stable-front. Pococke visited Eythrope on May 12 1751: the drawings are dated June 27 and July 3 1751, respectively. The corrections in the later drawing and the nature of the inscriptions do not suggest that the designs were made from an existing building.

At Warwick, there is a letter preserved from Sir William Stanhope to Sanderson Miller:

I approve extremely of your Plan for my farm. As I am now deep in mortar with my kitchen garden walls, I cannot begin any building this year. Early in the next Spring, if you will favour me with your company and advice, you will lay a very great obligation upon your most obedient and obliged humble servant, W. Stanhope.
(Etherup, Sep. - : CR 125B/725)

It is possible that this letter refers to the earlier of the two British Museum drawings. If Stanhope is using the word "farm" in the general sense of Ferme Ornée¹³, to distinguish Eythrope from his seat at Ascot in the same county, it is reasonable to suppose that he is thanking Miller for a design for an ornamental building on the estate, and not specifically for a design for a farm or farm-building. The design was approved and corrected at Twickenham in July; Stanhope could easily have delayed his answer until he was at Eythrope in September. The design itself is very much in Miller's style, and the standard of draughtsmanship supports this possibility. It could be a design for one of the "turretted buildings" mentioned by Lipscomb.

The nature of the buildings in the grounds suggests that Miller

may have been employed here, perhaps at the suggestion of George Lyttelton, as maestro ruinante.^(ROVINANTE) The inspiration, which gave the grounds its "air of extent and magnificence", may have been his.

The life of these ornamental buildings was limited. By 1862, there remained only a "castellated structure with four towers".¹⁴ Nothing survives today except "a very small grotto by the lake and a nice 18th Century Bridge".¹⁵

1. George Lipscomb, History of Buckinghamshire, (London, 1831) I, p. 481.
2. Daniel Lysons, Antiquities of the County of Buckingham, (London: 2 vol. edition, 1822), II, p. 655.
3. Lipscomb, op. cit., I, p. 483.
4. King's Maps, xxx, 19, u-w. (I am indebted to Alistair Rowan for the photographs of these.)
5. Richard Pococke, Travels through England, (Camden Society, 1888), I, 161-2.
6. Possibly by Isaac Ware, see below.
7. Thomas Harris, in 1720, submitted for the approval of Sir John Vanbrugh a design for rebuilding the prison and courtroom at Aylesbury. (Colvin, Dictionary, p. 267.)
 Lady Caroline Verney did not have such a high opinion of the new front: she wrote of it in August 1745, "He is laying a great deal of money as badly as I ever saw" (M. Verney, Verney Letters, (London, 1930) II, p. 196.)
 In the Bodleian Library there is a photograph of a drawing, showing the L-shaped house with square-headed windows. This was copied in 1890, by F.G. Lee from a picture at Grove Park. Eythrope house was demolished in 1804. (MS. Top. Oxon. c4, f. 393v.)
8. Possibly by Isaac Ware, see below.
9. This was, perhaps, a design for the bridge mentioned by Pococke, which was built from the ruins of the Chapel, demolished in 1738.
10. Isaac Ware, Complete Body of Architecture, (London, 1735?) Plates 104-5, 107.
11. Isaac Ware, op.cit.
12. Mr. John Harris has examined the drawings in the Avery Library, Columbia University, N.Y., and found nothing to support the attribution of the British Museum drawings to Ware.
13. This usage was quite customary. Joseph Heely describes both Enville and The Leasowes as "farms".

14. J.J. Sheahan, History and Topography of Buckinghamshire, (London, 1862) p. 431.
15. Nikolaus Pevsner, Buildings of England: Buckinghamshire, (Harmondsworth, 1960) p. 274.

24. SISTON, GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

On the back of a letter, Miller has drawn a "Plan for a Poor's House", which he has inscribed "Siston, Nov. 21 1759."¹ (Plate)
Siston Court in Gloucestershire was a seat of the Trotman family, who were the parents of Miller's wife. Miller's daughter Hester married her cousin Fiennes Trotman who lived at Siston.²

1. n.d.: CR 125B/678.
2. Genealogical album in the possession of Mrs. F.G. Walker, Winslow Coombe, Ashbury, Wilts. p. 210.

25. WHITMINSTER, GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

In December 1748 George Coventry, Lord Deerhurst, asked Miller to design a Gothic front to a stable at Whitminster for Richard Owen Cambridge, the poet.¹ Miller promptly dispatched a design to Cambridge, who was immensely satisfied with it.² It is unlikely that the design was ever carried out, for during the year Cambridge had inherited his uncle's estate at Twickenham, to which he removed shortly afterwards.³

1. Dec. 13 1748: CR 125B/150.
2. Dec. 20 1748: CR 125B/151.
3. R.O. Cambridge, Works, ed. G.O. Cambridge (London 1803) p. xxxvii; S. Rudder, Hist. of Glos., (Cirencester 1779).

26. TESTON, KENT.

In April 1753 Sir Philip Boteler wrote to Miller to claim his "known readiness to assist every person ... in Architecture", for he intended to lay out "upwards of £2000 ... in improving and embellishing" his seat, Teston House.¹

1. Apr. 1753: CR 125B/743. The house, "a large edifice, stuccoed" was also known as Barham Court. (J. Britton, Beauties of England and Wales, (London 1808) VIII p. 1281.)

27. PRESTON, LANCASHIRE.

In January 1749 Miller was asked by Lord Strange to design a Gothic Cock Pit. This request was contained in a letter from Miller's great friend Sir Edward Turner, who placed it in a characteristic parenthesis: "Very good Debates upon (but before I proceed any further I am desired by Lord Strange to apply to you for a Plan of a Gothic Cock-pit) the Mutiny Bill".¹ Cock-fighting was something of a mania amongst the Derbys, who built and supported several pits at Preston.² It is probable that the building, for which Miller was asked to send the design, was the one marked on a plan of Preston in 1790, but which was demolished shortly afterwards.³

1. Jan. 1749: CR 125B/509.
2. The 13th Earl was "so enamoured of the sport that he would have cocks fighting on his counterpane when he was ill in bed". (V.C.H. Lancs., II, p. 502).
3. Lancs. Record Office, DDK/815/12b. (Information sent to Christopher Lyster by the County Archivist.)

28. GOPSAL, LEICESTERSHIRE.

In October 1748 Lord Guernsey wrote to Miller to apologise for being unable to join him on a proposed visit to Gopsal; he added "you will certainly be at Gopsal tonight where I hope you will be of great service to Mr. Jennens".¹ Charles Jennens, the son of an ironmaster, built the Hall at Gopsal and laid out the grounds at great expense.² The architect of the house was, according to Throsby, Alderman Westley of Leicester, but the offices he attributes to "Mr. Hiorn of Warwick".³ Nichols repeats this statement, but identifies the "Mr. Hiorn" as Francis Hiorn, the son of William.⁴ The designs for the house, which was probably erected in 1750, fall into three distinct groups: several early drawings in a competent hand, which may well be those of Westley; drawings for the interior and exterior of the house in an unidentified amateur hand, which form the basis of the Hiorns' design and must therefore have been executed before 1749; a series of final drawings for the house and outbuildings, several of which are signed by the Hiorns.⁵ As Miller had already worked with the Hiorn brothers at Arbury, it is possible that the middle group of drawings are by him. The standard of the draughtsmanship supports this. The final design of the house was similar in many respects to Croome Court and Hagley Hall.⁶ (Plates)

1. Oct. 1748: CR 125B/908.
2. The house was demolished in 1951. (V.C.H.Staffs., II, p. 241)
3. J. Throsby, Select Views in Leics., (Leicester 1789) p. 280.
4. J. Nichols, History & Antiquities of the County of Leicester, (London 1811) Vol. IV pt. ii, p. 857.
5. R.I.B.A. Library: (K10) The designs which may be by Miller are in K10/5-9.
6. Woolfe & Gandon, Vitruvius Britannicus, IV (1767) p.166; Rev. F.O. Morris, Picturesque Views of Seats, (Leeds) II, p. 47; R. Wittkower, "Pseudo Palladian Elements..", Journal of Warburg & Courtauld Inst., VI (1943) p. 157.

29. HOLKHAM, NORFOLK.

Sanderson Miller was urged by George Lyttelton to visit Norfolk for "Lord Leicester's alone would pay you the trouble and expence of your journey. The only danger is that it should put you out of conceit with your Gothick Architecture".¹ Lyttelton probably had Walpole's Houghton in mind as well as Lord Leicester's Holkham; both of these must have influenced Miller in his design for Hagley.² Miller was requested to take with him a "Gothick Castle" for Lord Leicester, but if he did so, it is unlikely that any such building was erected.³

1. The letter is undated but is probably 1754 or 1755. (CR 125B/645.)
2. Houghton was designed in 1721 by Colin Campbell; Holkham was begun in 1734 to William Kent's design.
3. Country Life, II (1898) p. 752; XXIII (1908) p. 822; p. 870.

30. MIDDLETON STONEY, OXFORDSHIRE.

In August 1749 Lord Jersey wrote to Sanderson Miller to enquire about two designs which Miller had promised him for his estate at Middleton Stoney. Miller executed the drawings, for Jersey thanks him in October for sending the two designs, "the one of which seems to be near the thing that I mean to build".¹ The letters do not mention the nature of the proposed building; but, on stylistic grounds, alone it is probable that the design was for the gatelodge which stands at the south-east corner of the park.² The octagonal lodge is pierced by pointed, quatrefoil and round windows, and is protected on the side facing the road by a battlemented wall, flanked by pointed archways. (Plates) The design is reminiscent of much of Miller's work.

1. Aug. 1749: CR 125B/722; Oct. 1749: CR 125B/723.

2. I am indebted to Mr. Colvin for drawing my attention to this building.

31. MONGEWELL, OXFORDSHIRE.

Shute Barrington, Bishop of Llandaff, asked Sanderson Miller to advise him in June 1776 on alterations to the vicarage at Mongewell.¹ The Bishop, who was the brother of Miller's great friend Lord Barrington, intended to make the vicarage more comfortable for occupation by his nephew, Robert Price. It is uncertain whether Miller was responsible for any work there, as the building has since been demolished.²

1. June 1776: CR 125B/721.
2. Information kindly supplied by Rev. E. Moreton.

32. CRICKET ST. THOMAS, SOMERSET.

In October 1774, Captain Alexander Hood wrote to Sanderson Miller about a farmhouse he was intending to erect at Cricket St. Thomas.¹ This was to be inhabited by himself and his wife, a cousin to the Grenvilles, for the "Mansion, our old Farm House" was in a state of disrepair.² Hood was anxious that the house be "truly in the Farm stile", for which reason he sent Miller details of the layout of the farmyard with its dairy and brew house. However he was not permitted to enjoy for long his dreams of "humble tranquility", for he was, in 1794, raised to the peerage as Viscount Bridport. In 1802, in deference to the needs of his new station, he employed Sir John Soane to remodel Cricket House.³

1. Lyme Regis, Oct. 26 1774: CR 125B/663.
2. Hood married Maria West, daughter of the pebendary of Winchester, whose wife was Mary Grenville. The Hoods were frequent visitors at Hagley, where they probably made Miller's acquaintance.
3. Colvin, Dictionary, p. 561.

33. DORKING, SURREY.

Henry Grenville, a brother of Lord Temple, sought Miller's advice for several schemes. In 1755 he sent him the plans of a building, which he intended to erect to the designs of a Mr. Biggs at Beechly Mount. Miller was to check and correct the drawings and estimates before returning them to Grenville.¹ The following year Grenville intended to build a temple at St. Leonard's Hill "but without my Friend, my Adviser, my Architect what can I do"?; several months later he was obliged to leave London to take up his appointment as Governor of the Barbados, which he remarked to Miller would "put a stop to any design which you and Mr. Hitchcox may have planned for me".² Upon his return he married in 1757 Margaret Banks, who was greatly admired by Miller, much to the amusement of his friends. The Grenvilles settled at Shrub Hill House in Dorking, where Mrs. Grenville put up a grotto designed by Miller.³

1. This may be Richard Biggs, a Clerk of Works at Windsor Castle. (Colvin, Dictionary, p. 75) I am unable to locate Beechly Mount, but it must have been near London. (Oct. 1755: CR 125B/378-9.)
2. Apr. 1756: CR 125B/380-1; Nov. 1756: CR 125B/589.
3. Miller's original sketch had been made upon the Housekeeper's table. Mrs. Grenville begged him to send a proper plan and directions. (Feb. 1758: CR 125B/594; Apr. 1758: CR 125B/597.) The ordnance survey of 1873 shows the house, but in 1896 it had been built over.

34. SHUGBOROUGH, STAFFORDSHIRE.

Sanderson Miller may have been consulted by Thomas Anson, a member of the Society of Dilettanti, concerning alterations to his estate at Shugborough. John Talbot wrote to Miller from the neighbouring park of Ingestre in November 1752 to express his pleasure at hearing that "all things go on extremely well at Mr. Anson's".¹ His remarks are phrased in such a manner as to suggest that Miller had been involved in these improvements. Thomas Anson had probably made Miller's acquaintance at Hagley, where both had advised George Lyttelton on the laying out of his grounds.² The earlier work at Shugborough is not well documented, but of the three buildings erected before the advent of James Stuart both the Pagoda and Chinese Tea-house were to designs supplied by Thomas' brother, Admiral Lord Anson; only the author of the classical sham ruins is unknown.³ Miller's advice may have been limited to the layout of the park, but, as the ruins were already in existence in 1750, it is possible that Anson, to whom he was known as something of a specialist in designing sham ruins, may have asked him to try his skill in the classical taste.⁴ (Plate)

1. Ingestre, Nov. 11 1752: CR 125B/391.
2. William Shenstone, Letters, ed. M. Williams (London 1939). Anson was informed of the progress of Miller's design for the castle at Wimpole by his sister-in-law, Hardwicke's daughter. (Country Life, CXV (1954) p. 1126.)
3. Country Life, CXV (1954) pp. 510, 1126.
4. John Nichols, Literary Illustrations, I, p.639: quoted Colvin, Dictionary, p. 584. The ruins are shown in a water-colour attributed to Nicholas Dall, which was painted in about 1769.

35. HONINGTON, WARWICKSHIRE.

Miller advised Joseph Townsend on the laying out of his grounds at Honington Hall in 1749. Townsend was most satisfied with Miller's suggestions for disguising the kitchen-garden wall and for contriving an artificial "Ookey Hole", from which water was to gush out as if "coming from a cavern".¹ This was probably a scheme for the grotto, which can be seen in a contemporary sketch.² (Plate) Miller may also have designed the cascade with its recumbent water-deities and the Doric temple. Mr. Avray Tipping has suggested that Miller may have been consulted on the interior decoration, which has a similarity to the work at Hagley Hall.³

1. Feb. 1749: CR 125C/1.
2. This sketch is reproduced in Dickins & Stanton, op.cit., p. 266.
3. Country Life, XLVIII (1920) pp. 630, 666.

36. KINETON, WARWICKSHIRE.

Sanderson Miller was probably the architect consulted by the Rev. William Talbot, his great friend, in the rebuilding of the nave and transepts of the church of St. Peter at Kineton.¹ Bishop Pococke visited the church on his way to Radway in September 1756: "Here is a new Gothic church, built to a good old tower by the care of the worthy minister, Mr. Talbot.... with the help of some subscriptions, but chiefly... at his own expense".² According to George Miller, whose accuracy cannot be relied upon, this work was carried out in 1775, but it is probable that this should be 1755.³ However his statement that Miller superintended the alterations can be given greater credence. The appearance of the building, before the restoration in 1890, can be seen in an early photograph.⁴ (Plate)

The nave and transepts are lit by three-light ogee-headed windows, which are very much in Miller's style. The restraint of the design is accounted for by the manner in which the building was financed.

1. Miller's mother lived with the Talbots until her death in 1756. (Album in the possession of Mrs. Walker, Winslow Coombe, Ashbury, Wilts.)
2. R. Pococke, Travels in England, (Camden Soc. 1889) II, p. 238.
3. Rev. G. Miller, Parishes in the Diocese of Worcester, (1889) I, p.23; also in his Rambles round the Edge Hills, (London 1900) p. 83.
4. This photograph was preserved in the vestry of the church in 1952.

37. PACKINGTON, WARWICKSHIRE.

Lord Guernsey was constantly seeking Miller's opinion on his proposed improvements to his house and grounds at Packington. In 1746, Guernsey showed an early liking for Gothic, in which style he intended to erect a building to be decorated with "a white ground and red knots".¹ Between 1748 and 1756 Miller was asked for his advice on the pool, the cascade, the stables and on unspecified "building and planting".² The Hall was recased in 1772 under the direction of Henry Couchman of Warwick, who was employed by Sir Roger Newdigate at Arbury.³

1. July 1746: CR 125B/904.
2. Sir Roger Newdigate was also consulted about the cascade. Oct. 1748 - Mar. 1756: CR 125B/509,908,909,911,921.
3. V.C.H. Warwickshire, IV, p. 180.

38. RAGLEY, WARWICKSHIRE.

The tradition that Miller advised Lord Hertford on improvements to Ragley Hall seems without foundation.¹ It is possible that this attribution is based on a misreading of a letter which Horace Walpole sent to John Chute in August 1758.² The "ornaments for my Lord's House", upon which Miller consulted Walpole were intended for Hagley Hall, the seat of George Lyttelton.

1. Tudor Edwards, Warwickshire, (London 1950) p. 67.
2. Dickins & Stanton, op.cit., p. 259.

39. UPTON, WARWICKSHIRE.

Sanderson Miller is reputed to have advised William Bumstead on alterations to Upton House and to have been the designer of the classical temple, which stands at the head of the lowest lake.¹ By 1745 Miller and Bumstead were far from being on good terms: Bumstead seems to have announced publicly that Miller would ruin himself financially if he attempted to carry out his schemes for improvement and enclosure at Radway.² Miller's income was not large; it was only through the good offices of his friends that Bumstead's prophecy was prevented from being fulfilled.³ Miller may have given his advice before the quarrel as they certainly knew each other through their mutual friend Lord Guilford.⁴ Bumstead's improvements to the north entrance front in 1735 could hardly have been directed by Miller, as he was only seventeen years old at the time.⁵

1. Rev. G. Miller, Rambles around the Edge Hills, (London 1900) p. 39. Although a descendant of Miller, this writer is unreliable in many of his statements concerning Miller's architecture. Tudor Edwards, Warwickshire, (London 1950) p. 47.
2. CR 125B/309,313,341,512.
3. G. Harris, Life of Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, (London 1847) III, p. 147.
4. Bod. Lib. MSS North: c60.
5. Country Life, LXXX (1936) p. 248.

40. CROOME D'ABITOT, WORCESTERSHIRE.

Although Miller was responsible for suggesting to Lord Coventry the possibility of draining the park at Croome, there is little doubt that Capability Brown was the architect of the new house, which was put up in 1751.¹ Miller may have assisted Brown on the design as the house bears a marked resemblance to Miller's later scheme for Hagley Hall.² Shortly before the erection of the new building Coventry wrote to Miller about his proposals for building a Lodge for his own use, as he found it impossible to effect any privacy at Croome which "has always been an Inn and always must remain so. Shall I therefore live at the Inn or meet my friends there once a week?.. At all events as this scheme is not going to be executed in a hurry I would wish to have the ground plan in my possession, for when plans are before one it is easier to converse than by mere discription". The Lodge was to be Gothic for Lord Coventry remarked of the plan "It will give me frequent opportunity of speaking of the Architect in other parts of his character besides his Vitruvian".³ His proposed retreat was to be at Spring Hill, near Broadway, but despite his reminding Miller in 1756 that "You flattered me some time since with the hopes of seeing a plan of my Lodge... I have some reason to think it finished", he was obliged to employ Brown, who built the Lodge in 1760, after the death of Coventry's wife, the celebrated beauty Maria Gunning.⁴ In what manner Miller demonstrated the Vitruvian part of his character is not known. The rotundo in the garden, of which the designer has not been discovered, may be his, for in the restraint of its detail it is typical of his Palladian work.⁵

1. Brown had no previous architectural experience but his claim is supported by his own documents (D. Stroud, Capability Brown, (London 1950) p. 47) by Nash (T. Nash, Hist. of Worcs., (London 1781) p. 262) and by William Dean (Historical Acct. of Croome d'Abitot (London 1824) p. 49) who also credits Brown with the sham ruin, Dunstall Castle.

2. Brown and Miller were on excellent terms: Brown wished for Miller's advice on the layout of Burghley. (DR 125B/473.)
3. Feb. '50: CR 125B/152.
4. Feb. '56: CR 125B/156; Stroud, op.cit., p. 77.
5. Country Life, XXXVII (1915) p. 482; A. Bolton, Architecture of Robert & James Adam (London 1922) p. 184.

41. THE LEASOWES, WORCESTERSHIRE.

Sanderson Miller's obituary in the Gentleman's Magazine states that he was "very intimate with the Lords Temple, Lyttelton and Mr. Shenstone, for whom he planned several buildings which they erected".¹ William Shenstone's estate at the Leasowes, "où tout parle de vers, d'innocence, d'amour", became the classic ferme ornee of the eighteenth century.² Dr. Johnson's remark that the grounds were "the envy of the great, the admiration of the skilful" caused Horace Walpole to lose no opportunity of insulting the Leasowes and its owner.³ The scale of the buildings with which Shenstone ornamented his farm was restricted by the limits of his financial resources: he himself was prepared to admit that "my very Roothouses have as much pretence to Architecture as any building I have".⁴ They relied more on the excellence of their inscriptions, to conjure up the necessary images in the mind of the sensitive visitor, than on any architectural merit.⁵ It is unlikely that Miller supplied any designs, for, despite the efforts of their mutual friend the Rev. Jago, Shenstone was slow to accept Miller as a friend and too proud to accept advice. He thought it "extremely ridiculous to permit another person to design for you, when by sketching out your own plans you appropriate the merit of all you build, and feel a double pleasure from any praises it receives".⁶ He begged Jago to discover the title of "a treatise that your Mr. Miller had, where the author endeavours to vindicate and establish Gothic architecture", so that he could carry out his intention of erecting "a Piece of Gothic Architecture, at sight of which all the Pitts & Miller's Castles in the world shall bow their Heads abash'd".⁷ At the time of Shenstone's death, the only buildings of any consequence, besides the ruins of Halesowen Priory, were a Hermit's Seat, which he estimated would cost "ye sum of fifteen shillings & sixpence three farthings", a Gothic Seat with ogee-headed arch, a rustic Temple of Pan formed from "rough unhewn stone" and a semicircular "handsome Gothic Screen".⁸ If Miller was eventually permitted to submit a design, it can only have been for the last of these.

1. Dickins & Stanton, op.cit., p. 448.
2. Lines on the Leasowes from Debille's poem, Les Jardins. (Flyleaf of Cambridge Univ. Lib. copy of J. Heely's Letters on the Beauties of Hagley, Envil and the Leasowes, (Baldwin 1777) Vol. I.) Joseph Heely describes the Leasowes in detail. Another contemporary account may be found in R. Dodsley's Works of William Shenstone, (London 1764) p. 333.
3. Boswell, Life of Johnson, ed. Hill, V, p. 457: quoted in V.C.H. Worcs., III, p. 136.
4. W. Shenstone, Letters, ed. M. Williams, (London 1939) p. 249.
5. The idea of "association" in landscape architecture is discussed in H.F. Clark's "Eighteenth Century Elysiums", Journal of Warburg & Courtauld Institutes, VI, (1943) p. 165.
6. Shenstone, op.cit., p. 204.
7. The treatise is Batty Langley's, Gothic Architecture improved, (1742). William Pitt helped Miller advise George Lyttelton on the laying out of Hagley Park. Mr. Clark's assertion that Miller designed a ruin for Pitt's house at Enfield Chase seems without foundation. (Shenstone, op.cit., p. 195; H.F. Clark, loc. cit.)
8. Shenstone, op.cit., p. 195; Dodsley, op.cit., p. 335-62.

42. HILLSBOROUGH, IRELAND.

Wills Hill, Marquis of Downshire, succeeded to the peerage in 1742.¹ He rose to become a Privy Counsellor, Lord Lieutenant of County Down, Postmaster General and Secretary of State for the American Colonies. Horace Walpole, in a rare moment of condescension, thought him "a young man of great honour and merit", but George III considered that he "did not know a man of less judgement". His seat at Hillsborough had been burnt to the ground shortly before Walter Harris' visit in 1744: "The present Rt. Hon. Lord intends (as we hear) to build a new Mansion House and has fixed on a plan for a new town to be built in the form of a large square".² By 1758, Lord Hillsborough's schemes for improving his estate had increased in ambition. He informed Mrs. Delaney, the wife of the Dean of Down, that he intended to restore the Fort at Hillsborough and to rebuild the House "which is to be magnificent", with the object of presenting the whole to the Bishop, in the hope that Hillsborough would supersede Downpatrick as the Cathedral City of County Down.³

In June 1763, Lord Barrington urged Sanderson Miller to ride over to Beckett House, for "My friend Lord Hillsborough has determined to make a considerable building in Ireland, but he wants some English advice concerning it. I have told him that you can give him the very best and he is earnestly desirous to receive it".⁴ Lord Hillsborough already knew something of Miller's architectural ability for, ten years earlier, he had subscribed towards the rebuilding of the Shire Hall at Warwick, the model for which had probably been exhibited in London.⁵

It is possible that this letter refers to Lord Hillsborough's £20,000 scheme for reconstructing the parish church, in an effort to further his unsuccessful scheme to replace the ruined Cathedral of Downpatrick. The cruciform outline of the seventeenth century church was preserved but he added a western tower with spire, smaller towers to the transepts and a new sanctuary. The architect of this work has not been discovered but the plans and a wooden model were sent over from London.⁶ The date on which it was begun is not known, but the church was reopened in August 1773, after at least a decade of closure. If allowance is made for the modifications to the original design made by Lord Hillsborough, the church as it stands today is, particularly

in its detailing, very much the sort of building Miller would have produced. (Plate) His alterations to Kilkenny Cathedral for Bishop Pococke were executed in 1756 in a similar manner from a wooden model and plans sent over to Ireland.

The Fort was completely restored by 1778, twenty years after Mrs. Delaney's visit. There is a strong resemblance between the windows in the parish church and that in the new tower erected by Lord Hillsborough over the gateway in the northern rampart of the Fort. This may easily have been copied from those in the plans sent from England and does not necessarily mean that the English architect was consulted on both.

The scheme for rebuilding the House was apparently delayed, for it was not finished until three years after the death of Lord Hillsborough in 1794. A drawing exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1797 stated that Hillsborough House had been built under the direction of Robert Furze Brettingham.

1. This account of Lord Hillsborough's alterations is based on that given in John Barry's Hillsborough, (Belfast 1962.) I am indebted to Alistair Rowan for drawing my attention to this.
2. W. Harris, Ancient and Present state of County Down, (1744)
3. Life and Letters of Mary Granville, (London 1861.)
4. Cavendish Square, June 1763: CR 125B/774.
5. He subscribed £21 to Miller's account at Hoare's Bank for this purpose (May 1753: CR 125/8)
6. This is known from a document, dated May 1819, in which Andrew Jamison, a glazier, recalls how he and his father were employed on the windows of the Church. The joinery was executed by William Gardiner and his sons, John and Charles, the latter of whom was responsible for redrawing the plans where necessary. The masons were Hercules Harper, James McBain and Robert Parker (Barry, op.cit., p. 53.)

43. ?NR. PORTSMOUTH, HAMPSHIRE.

In March 1756 Miller's uncle, Robert Eddowes, asked him to design an "Eye-trap" for a friend, to whom he had mentioned Miller's "knowledge and taste in Architecture Especially in the Gothic Stile". He sent a sketch made by the gentleman concerned, who desired Miller "to put it into any other form or shape you please, but as it is for ordinary use would be glad to have it as little expensive as may be, but as to appear pleasing to the eye at 100 yards distance".¹ Eddowes worked in the Office of Ordnance at Portsmouth, so it is possible that this design was for an estate near the town.

1. The sketch is extremely simple and shows little more than the required dimensions. (Mar. 1756: CR 125B/118, 674b.)

44. ?BATH, SOMERSET.

In December 1758 Dr. Stephen Hales wrote to Miller about a system of ventilation for a "large crowded room".¹ Miller had been asked by a Mr. Wiltshire to "refresh the foul air of his great room". As the letter from Hales also contains a discussion about the chemical properties of spa water, it is probable that the building concerned was the assembly-house at Bath, known as "Wiltshire's Room". Walter Wiltshire, who managed the room, took an active part in the Corporation's schemes for improving and embellishing the town.²

1. The letter to Miller is undated but is contemporary with a similar one from Hales to James Whitchurch on the same subject. (Dec. 1758: CR 125B/677-8)
2. W. Ison, Georgian Buildings of Bath, (London 1948) pp. 35, 42, 50, 152, 153.