

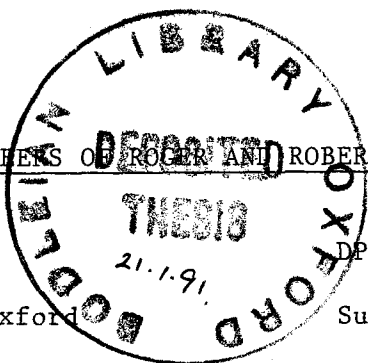
ABSTRACT: THE CAREERS OF ROGER AND ROBERT MORRIS, ARCHITECTS

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DPhil Thesis

Submitted Trinity Term 1989



This thesis is concerned with an examination of the life and work of the mid eighteenth century architect Roger Morris and his kinsman, the Palladian theorist and surveyor Robert Morris.

Roger Morris was one of the pioneers of the Palladian movement in England. Owing to the paucity of drawings and other documentary evidence associated with him, however, Morris has frequently been overshadowed and neglected in favour of more fully documented architects such as Campbell and Kent, and particularly his patron and architectural collaborator, the 9th Earl of Pembroke. This work attempts to establish Morris as a leading architect of the period: uniquely skilled in carpentry and bricklaying as well as in the field of architectural design, by the late 1720s Morris was already the principal architect of the circle of the Prince of Wales (George II after 1727), a group which provided Morris with the bulk of his practice. At the same time Morris continued to exercise his skills as a craftsman. This thesis attempts to determine the extent of his practice - clarifying his authorship of attributed buildings where possible - and to trace the financial and social success commensurate with his professional progress. It also defines his unique architectural style, an unusually eclectic combination of standard English Neopalladianism and elements of Baroque, Neoclassicism and Gothic.

Robert Morris was the first theorist of the Palladian movement in Britain and, as such, became a considerable influence on subsequent architects both in Britain and in America. Having trained as a joiner, he studied architecture with Roger Morris, whose buildings became a major influence on his writings. This work delineates his use of contemporary, Renaissance and Antique artistic theory to form a consistent system embracing architectural form, proportion and siting unique in British architecture. Additionally, the extent of Robert Morris' surveying, designing and literary activities is defined, where sources permit.

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Both Roger and Robert Morris have been somewhat neglected by architectural historians. Very little was known about either figure prior to the Country Life correspondence on the Morrises of 1944, and even in recent years the two have been confused, Roger's buildings being on many occasions assigned to Robert. Robert Morris' books have in general been rather cursorily examined, and frequently judged as being of only limited value. Modern commentators have tended to view Robert Morris in an architectural vacuum, ignoring in particular the sizeable influence his works exerted on the subsequent generation of British architects. Roger Morris has been similarly undervalued: he has been depicted as a second-rate architect, as a designer markedly inferior to contemporaries such as Colen Campbell and William Kent, and as a simple craftsman who merely provided the technical prowess necessary in realising the architectural schemes of the 'Architect Earl', the 9th Earl of Pembroke.

The primary purpose of this thesis is to rehabilitate the reputation of the Morrises to its mid-eighteenth century level and to establish them not as supporting but as leading figures in the Palladian movement. The work seeks to represent Roger Morris not merely as the designer of small, uncomplicated Palladian villas

but as an architect, unusually skilled in both bricklaying and carpentry, who was able to function both as a craftsman and as the author of buildings which owed much to sources other than mere Neopalladianism. It attempts to portray Roger Morris not only as the designer of highly individual villa-style houses but also of some of the earliest examples of the Gothic Revival in Britain; not as a 'minor Court architect' but as a figure who by 1727 was firmly established as the principal architect to the Court adherents of the new monarch, George II; not merely as Master Carpenter to the Office of Works, but as a man of relatively humble social origins who employed his craft and designing skills to achieve considerable financial and social success; and not solely as an architect or craftsman, but also as a speculative builder and aspirant businessman. In a similar vein, the content of and influences on Robert Morris' literary works are closely examined in order to establish the context, the degree of innovation, and above all the subsequent influence of his prose and his pattern-book plates.

Thses aims are liable to be frustrated by important practical considerations, however. The problem of the absence of reliable documentary sources - particularly identifiable or signed drawings, correspondence, or surviving accounts - has proved a major obstacle to the overall goal of a comprehensive and factually watertight account of the Morrises. This has proved more possible with figures for which there exists more primary evidence, such as James Gibbs or William Kent. This is presumably the reason why a full-scale

appreciation of these two figures has not been attempted before. Nevertheless, there does exist sufficient documentary evidence to build up a reasonably exact, complete and wholly integrated account of the two Morrisises. While few previously undiscovered sources have come to light in the course of research, re-examination of those that are known to exist can provide numerous new insights. While, for example, little evidence has been found on the subject of Robert Morris' personal life, his architectural and poetic works give a good indication of the nature of his personal biases as well as of the substance of his architectural theories.

The inadequacy of primary sources is especially prevalent, and indeed particularly crucial, in the area of the personal lives of the Morrisises. Some new facts have come to light - Robert Morris' apprenticeship to his father as a joiner, for example - whilst additional information regarding Roger Morris' family has helped to eradicate a number of genealogical problems, most notably the confusion of modern writers between Roger's two wives. It has also been possible to detail the personal and professional relationship between Roger and Robert Morris with greater exactitude than has been previously achieved; the lack of any further evidence to link their respective families suggests that when Robert Morris referred to Roger as his 'cousin', he was doing so to indicate merely a similarity in their surnames, and not that they were closely related.

There does exist a substantial amount of evidence regarding

Roger's (though not Robert's) financial affairs: his bank accounts at Hoare's and Coutts, for example, and the extensive records of his involvement with the Office of Ordnance and the King's Works in the Public Record Office. The Ordnance archive reveals that by the 1740s Roger was securing the greater part of his earnings from his work as Master Carpenter to the Office. Records detailing his involvement with other, private commissions, however, are sadly incomplete or even totally absent. Nevertheless, it has been possible to strengthen - or eliminate - the more uncertain of the attributions to Roger Morris, often using a combination of abundant but vague circumstantial and stylistic evidence when precise documentary corroboration cannot be found. This is not to say that no completely new evidence has been unearthed: the Blenheim Papers recently deposited in the British Library, for example, feature payments to Morris and his workmen which help to firmly assign the structures built at Monkey Island, Bray to Morris' authorship. Re-examination of previously known sources has also helped to remove Roger Morris' name from the list of putative designers of houses which have been previously associated with him. The north front of West Wycombe Park - probably by Isaac Ware - and Lydiard Tregoze in Wiltshire - whose author, possibly an amateur, is still to be discovered - fall into this category, for example. Given the highly individual nature of Roger Morris' villa style, it has been easier to link villas such as South Dalton and even Cobham Park (on which there is very little information) with

Morris, since they approximate so closely to the style of the Morris-Herbert villa Marble Hill.

One of the fundamental aims of the thesis in the area of patronage and attribution has been to refute, where possible, the image of Roger Morris as little more than a gifted bricklayer and carpenter. Once again, the lack of factually precise evidence has hampered attempts at defining the respective roles of Morris and the Earl of Pembroke. In particular, the disarray of the archive at Wilton House, home of the Herbert family, has not proved enormously helpful. However, the correspondence which does survive, together with contemporary attributions, appears to indicate that Pembroke generally acted both as architectural consultant to Morris, and as an acceptably aristocratic buffer between Morris and his patrons. His task at sites such as Marble Hill and Wimbledon seems to have been to act as the intermediary between site architect and commissioning patron and also to provide artistic advice of an orthodox Palladian nature, in order to counteract some of Morris' more amateurish excesses.

Notwithstanding Morris' substantial debt to Pembroke, the growth of his architectural practice was by no means wholly due to the influence of the Earl. The 2nd and 3rd Dukes of Argyll proved more lucrative sources of business than Pembroke; indeed by 1740 it appears that Islay (later the 3rd Duke) was maintaining Morris with a substantial monthly or bi-monthly retainer. It was the Leicester House circle of the 1720s - a group which included both Pembroke and the Argylls - and not

Pembroke alone, which provided Morris with the majority of his commissions during his lifetime.

Roger Morris' architectural style has often been dismissed as repetitive and dull. Such an approach to his work not only disregards the intrinsic novelties of Morris' astylar, cubic villa form, but also ignores his experiments with Baroque and Neoclassical elements, the sources for which the thesis attempts to categorise and examine. Most especially, Roger Morris' forays into the Gothic style, produced at a time when most of the leading Palladian designers were eschewing such barbaric or trivial forms, has been seriously neglected by architectural writers. For example, an examination of the development of the 'Gothick' style of the eighteenth century published as recently as 1987 entirely fails to mention Morris' Gothic works. This work seeks to eradicate this imbalance, and to establish Roger Morris as a figure of central importance in the history of the Gothic Revival in Britain. Not only is Morris' highly influential Inveraray Castle one of the most notable products of the picturesque, castle taste of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, but his authentically medieval Clearwell Castle, begun in 1728, can be termed the first large-scale product of the Gothic Revival in the country.

Whilst there is insufficient evidence to fully document the life of Robert Morris, close examination of his acknowledged writings has, for example, allowed confirmation of the authorship of minor poetic works formerly attributed to figures such as

John Gwynn; it has also enabled a detailed delineation of the major influences on his works, and helped to define more accurately his debt to Roger Morris. Further analysis of his influences - primarily philosophers such as Shaftesbury, Hutcheson and, ultimately, Plato, and artistic commentators such as Vitruvius and Ten Kate - has helped to place Morris' theories firmly in their historical and artistic context. The thesis also seeks to enunciate the influence of Robert Morris on later generations of designers, a subject hitherto passed over even by the biographers of the architects of the 1750s and 1760s who clearly owed much to Morris' books. In particular, Morris' development in his works of the concept of the compact villa, and his extensive advocacy of forms such as the canted bay and octagonal room, proved a major influence on British architects such as James Paine, Sir Robert Taylor and John Carr, and, over twenty years later, on America's first true native-born architect, Thomas Jefferson.

THE CAREERS OF ROGER AND ROBERT MORRIS, ARCHITECTS

[S. P. Parvén]

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FOR WAL

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ABBREVIATIONS USED THROUGHOUT THE WORK

<u>AA</u>	Robert Morris, <u>The Art of Architecture</u> (1742)
<u>AH</u>	<u>Architectural History</u>
<u>AR</u>	Robert Morris, <u>The Architectural Remembrancer</u> (1751)
BL	The British Library, London
<u>CL</u>	<u>Country Life</u>
Colvin	H.M.Colvin, <u>A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects</u> (1978)
<u>ED</u>	Robert Morris, <u>An Essay in Defence of Ancient Architecture</u> (1723)
<u>EH</u>	Robert Morris, <u>An Essay upon Harmony</u> (1739)
MLR	Middlesex Land Register, Greater London Record Office
NLS	National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh
PRO	Public Records Office, London
<u>RA</u>	Robert Morris, <u>Rural Architecture</u> (1750)
RIBA	The British Architectural Library Drawings Collection, The Royal Institute of British Architects, London
RO	County Record Office
SIMR	Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh
<u>VB</u>	<u>Vitruvius Britannicus</u> (vols. I-III (1715-25), Volume the Fourth (1739), IV-V (1767-71))
WCL	Westminster City Library

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1 INTRODUCTION: ENGLISH PALLADIANISM

(1) THE PRACTICE OF PALLADIANISM

The architectural style of English Palladianism, while it did not enjoy that precise label during the eighteenth century, was a style recognised by contemporary artists and critics alike as possessing a clearly identifiable set of architectural precepts and, in the particular context of English architecture, a surprisingly well-defined vocabulary of structural elements. When Robert Morris referred to the 'Paladian manner' in 1751, he clearly believed that his readership already understood what this term signified in the field of design. Morris' term carries with it connotations of specific purpose and function: English Palladian designers did not merely seek to 'take and adapt the Italian classical tradition to our own mild requirements', as Vita Sackville-West suggested in 1941, but aimed to create a mode of building based on original forms and conceptions as well as continental and native precedents.¹

The concept of architectural purpose was essential to the early Palladian architects. The new style was characterised not only by formalised groupings of recognisable patterns or structures, but also by the adoption of well-defined artistic, professional and socio-political goals. The period which encapsulated the evolution of the Neopalladian manner also, interestingly, witnessed a considerable growth in the trend to architectural professionalism. Mason-architects,

1 AR, explanation to pl 19: V. Sackville-West, English Country Houses (1941), 39-40.

well-grounded in the technical aspects of the trade, began to supplant the dilettanti gentleman-architects of the Baroque period such as Vanbrugh and Archer; Roger Morris, by origin a bricklayer and carpenter who only began to term himself 'architect' as his career developed, was merely one of a number of contractor-craftsmen who were advancing themselves in this fashion. At the same time, the rising popularity of Palladianism also appeared to promote or inspire an increase in the general level of interest in the art. The genesis of English Palladianism provoked a flood of related publications: three separate editions of Palladio's Quattro Libri... were published between 1715 and 1742, for example, in addition to two editions of Book I of this work, while Richards' version of Palladio's First Book passed through as many as eight editions prior to 1733. Most significantly, this rush of publications incorporated the production of a large number of professional commentaries and builders' manuals, hitherto rare in England but now compiled with evident enthusiasm by figures such as Robert Morris, John and William Halfpenny and, most notably, the prolific Batty Langley. The primary purpose of these volumes was not merely to ensure that Palladian details were executed with professional exactitude - although many less gifted builders would have doubtless found the discipline of Palladianism often proving more technically demanding than the relative freedom of Baroque; they also sought to establish the Palladian style as a definably English manner that was superior to rival approaches both in terms of artistic achievement and nationalistic symbolism.

Such calls for a National Style reflected the growth in national self-confidence since 1688. The constitution of 1689 was

repeatedly hailed as a masterpiece of reason and moderation, 'a legal limited monarchy' rather than the continental model of 'an arbitrary despotic power',¹ which guaranteed

...frame sustained
Of British freedom - independent life;
Integrity in office; and, o'er all
Supreme, a passion for the commonweal.²

The Revolutionary Settlement was, throughout the eighteenth century, praised as a unique product of British genius, 'because it was achieved by the good sense of Englishmen; because the Parliament sat quietly and voted independently, what necessity demanded, and wisdom approved'.³ It provided the constitutional bedrock for the impressive victories of the War of the Spanish Succession - 'Not since Agincourt had there been military achievements by an English general on continental soil to compare with Marlborough's triumphs of 1704-8',⁴ - and the substantial territorial gains secured both in Europe and the Americas by the Treaty of Utrecht of 1713. Foreigners - particularly after the abortive rising of 1715 and the anti-government plot scares of 1717, 1719 and 1722 - were derided as victims of political or religious tyranny or, more positively, as malevolent enemies of British liberties who sheltered Jacobites and plotted to undermine both the Constitution and the Protestant Succession.

1 The Scottish Claim of Right, 1689, quoted in J. Carter, 'The Revolution and the Constitution', in ed. G. Holmes, Britain After the Glorious Revolution (1969), 39.

2 James Thomson, Liberty, part V (1736), 11.120-3.

3 G. Chalmers, 'A Vindication of the Privilege of the People...' (1796) p. 67, quoted in H. T. Dickinson, 'The Eighteenth Century Debate on the 'Glorious Revolution'', in History Today, February 1976.

4 G. Holmes in ed. Holmes, op.cit., 20.

Such xenophobic and nationalistic stereotypes quickly became associated with the emergent architectural fashion for Palladian design, the political and High Baroque architectural excesses of Continental Europe being contrasted with concepts of British liberty and with the restrained style of English Palladianism. In 1710 the 3rd Earl of Shaftesbury used his Soliloquy to combine a discussion of artistic temperament with an examination of the innate British devotion to the principle of political and artistic liberty; in 1712 he took his argument further, calling for a national architectural style based on the essentially British spirit of freedom, as enshrined in the British Constitution. The years which followed the accession of George I in 1714, and the safeguarding of the Protestant Succession, witnessed copious literary contrasts between the rational perfection of the English Palladian style and the Baroque fancies of European designers,

Their wild creation scattered, where a world
Unknown to nature, Chaos more confused,
O'er the brute scene its ouran-outangs pours;
Detested forms! that, on the mind impressed,
Corrupt, confound, and barbarize an age.¹

Thomson's verse found a natural parallel for the wise moderation of British politics in the simple facades of English Palladianism:

Lo! numerous domes a Burlington confess -
For kings and senates fit; the palace see!
The temple breathing a religious awe;
Even framed with elegance the plain retreat,
The private dwelling. Certain in his aim,
Taste, never idly working, saves expense.²

1 James Thomson, Liberty, part V (1736), 11.676-82.

2 Ibid., 11.690-5.

By the 1730s the Kentian, 'English' garden - 'sylvan scenes, where art alone pretends/ To dress her mistress and disclose her charms',¹ - was also being cited as a corollary to the liberty guaranteed by the constitution of 1689, the naturalistic arrangement of such landscapes providing an obvious contrast with the rigid formalism of Continental planning.

Praise for British constitutional freedoms in turn fostered an increasingly humanitarian - if conveniently distant - concern for the environments of the middling and lower classes of society. This concern, while it did not result in legislation designed to improve the condition or the social mobility of the poorer classes during the eighteenth century, did begin to influence the work both of artists such as Hogarth and of Early Palladian architects such as Burlington and the Morrises. Italian hierarchical theory (to which Palladio himself had subscribed) maintained that the dwellings of the lower orders of society were not deserving of the attention of architects as they were not the province of Art. English Palladians, however, rejected this thesis, and began to address themselves to the problem of designing humbler, more utilitarian structures.

In 1747 Daniel Garrett produced the first pattern-book entirely devoted to rustic architecture - Designs and Estimates of farm-houses, etc., for the county of York, Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland and the Bishoprick of Durham. His designs were, he alleged,

1 James Thomson, op.cit., 11.696-7.

specifically intended to provide pertinent guides for local builders, previous models for farm architecture invariably proving 'irregular, expensive, and frequently too large for the farms they were intended for'. Robert Morris voiced a similar concern for buildings of a less majestic stature and function in his Rural Architecture of 1750: complaining that up till then architects had 'raised nothing but Palaces...while the Cottage, or plain little Villa, are passed by unregarded', he advocated the new villa form as the most satisfactory expression of the ideals of 'Grecian and Roman Purity and Simplicity'. In 1756 Isaac Ware wrote that architects should be taught to familiarise themselves as much with 'small farm houses in the country',¹ encouraging a trend towards the celebration of humble, utilitarian structures that was to reach its eighteenth-century zenith with the publication in 1781 of John Wood the Younger's Series of Plans for cottages or habitations of the labourer.

Such concern that even the most functional dwelling should be the province of the professional architect reflected the Palladians' interest in the honesty of design. This radical and striking theme was best amplified in the writings of Early Palladianism's sole theoretician, Robert Morris. In his Preface to Rural Architecture Morris made frequent and explicit reference to the subject of utility and the expression of function, in a manner somewhat reminiscent of the Bauhaus designers two centuries later: 'Your structure must answer the End for which it was erected', he stipulated, adding that 'Every Cave and Hut was made to answer

¹ RA, Preface; I. Ware, A Complete Body of Architecture (1756), 349.

some End'. Every structural and decorative item was deemed unworthy unless it served a particular constructional or aesthetic purpose: 'all Breaks arise or spring from some proper Bearings' and must be 'useful for the End they are introduc'd' he declared in 1751, an exhortation which recalled his example of a Baroque doorway with tapered pilasters contrasting with the simple functionalism of a Morris design, shown in his first book of 1728.¹ Such stressing of use and function found practical expression in the Palladians' emphases on the constituent parts of even the largest structures (see below, page 29).

One of the most commonly-cited aspects of English Palladianism is its identification with a singular, even rigid building philosophy. Certainly the 3rd Earl of Burlington and his followers did publicly acknowledge the existence of a limited number of architectural solutions to the problems inherent in design; however, such formulae were espoused not merely for the sake of convenience or to assert the primacy of particular patrons, but represented the key to the goal of perfection. 'Perfect' architecture was not a mere theoretical ideal for the Palladians, who held that their Antique-inspired solutions made such an objective fully attainable. (Again, such an approach is somewhat reminiscent of the Modernists of the twentieth century). Robert Morris was the first to emphasise that perfection lay within the compass of most designers of talent and application: in following the 'Universal rule' of proportion that could 'serve for all Manner of Rooms whatever', which Morris devised

1 AR, Preface, vii; ED, 69.

during the early 1730s, an architect could have the perfection of Nature within his grasp. Beauty and perfection, Morris quickly divined, derived from a consummate harmony of parts; 'the nearer we approach to Nature', he concluded, 'the more agreeable will that Harmony be'.¹ The uniformity and simplicity of Nature should, he declared, provide all designers with the ultimate model for structural perfection. Such perfection was also one which encapsulated ideals in all spheres of human experience: as there existed 'only seven distinct Proportions which produce all the different Buildings in the Universe', there were also similarly immutable forms in music and other related fields.² (See Chapter 7, below).

(2) THE ENGLISHNESS OF ENGLISH PALLADIANISM

One of the most interesting aspects of English Palladianism was the tendency for its proponents to understate the influence and importance of Andrea Palladio himself; in his stead English commentators and designers preferred to elevate the figure of the native 'master' of the seventeenth century, Inigo Jones. As an Englishman, Jones was far more compatible with the image of an architectural style grounded on national sentiment and characteristics than Palladio or his fellow-countrymen, and the style's recurrent use of Jonesian rather than pure 'Palladian' (i.e. sixteenth century Italian) motifs reflects a conscious desire to emphasise a peculiarly English heritage and style. Jones was the object of continual praise

1 Lectures, VI, 98; EH, 10.

2 Lectures, VI, 98.

by the Early Palladian architects, who frequently lauded the Englishman at the expense of Palladio (who, while still venerated as a genius of design, nonetheless remained an Italian). In the first volume of Vitruvius Britannicus of 1715, Campbell stressed with monotonous regularity the undeniable superiority of the 'great Master' of British architecture: he was the author not only of 'those excellent pieces at Greenwich' but also the 'incomparable piece', the Banqueting House in Whitehall ('...designed by the immortal Jones'), while it was confidently declared of his vision for the palace at Whitehall that 'There is no Palace in the World to rival it'. It is evident that Campbell intended Vitruvius Britannicus not as a celebration of Palladio but of Jones. In a similar fashion Robert Morris, while actually censuring Palladio in his Lectures of the early 1730s for superimposing orders - a practice condemned as 'contrary to all the stated rules of Architecture' and 'disagreeable to the eye' - lavished praise on Jones for his 'sensible and strong Ideas of the Beauties of the Ancients'.¹ Even Horace Walpole, a figure generally prepared to be sharply critical of the deficiencies of Palladian design, was quick to acclaim Jones as an architect who 'soon stepped into the true and perfect Grecian'.²

Given the importance of Jones to the Early Palladians, it is of some significance that the building which arguably augured the arrival of Neopalladianism in England, William Benson's Wilbury House of c. 1709-10,³ represented a synthesis of Jonesian motifs

1 Lectures, IV, 55 and III, 42.

2 Ed. P. Toynbee, The Letters of Horace Walpole (1903), VII, 304 (August 1769).

3 See plate 3, below.

and methods, it being then supposed that the model for the house, Amesbury Abbey in Wiltshire, was by Jones himself and not, as proved the case, by his pupil Webb. Thus from its inception English Palladianism adopted the characteristics of a movement dedicated to a revival of the works and manner of Inigo Jones rather than to the importation of Italian models of the sixteenth century. The result was a confusion of allegiances, readily apparent in the minds of the earliest designers: while Campbell, for example, was reproducing Palladio's Villa Rotonda at Mereworth in Kent during the early 1720s, he was also competing with Thomas Hewett's architectural 'Junta' to rebuild Whitehall Palace to Jones' monumental (and repetitive) designs.

This is not to underestimate, however, the importance of Palladio's own works to the evolution of English Palladianism. Many of Burlington's designs in particular relied heavily on the Earl's collection of original Italian drawings, the bulk of which were Palladio's own: his house for Marshal Wade, for example, was virtually an exact copy of a project by Palladio for a waterside palace. Yet within a few years the style of the English Palladians had evolved beyond the mere mimicry of Italian precedents: Burlington's Italianate house for Wade, of 1723 (plate 12), contrasts strongly with the stark, unhurried Palladianism of Roger Morris' Combe Bank, begun only two years after Burlington's house (plate 32). Already elements which owed little to Palladio himself were beginning to dominate the style of the English designers.

While the English Palladians began to move away from the figure of Palladio, Jones still retained his place at the centre

of the Palladian pantheon. Virtually all Palladian architects of the first half of the eighteenth century made some reference to the towers at either end of the south front of Wilton House (plate 1) in their works, and indeed the Wilton towers represent perhaps the most characteristic motif of Early Palladianism - an aspect which is not without some irony, given that it is doubtful whether Jones was actually the real author of the south front.¹ Wiltonesque towers, inset with single Venetian windows, first appeared at Burlington's Tottenham Park of 1721 (plate 11); they subsequently featured in Campbell's Houghton Hall of 1722 (plate 9), and became a recurrent motif in the country houses of Roger Morris, being a direct quotation from the home of one of his principal patrons, the 9th Earl of Pembroke. Books of Jones' designs, most notably Kent's Designs of Inigo Jones, with some Additional Designs of 1727, helped popularise Jonesian Palladianism further, and references to Jones filled the interiors of the period. At Lydiard Tregoze in Wiltshire, for example, chimneypieces, friezes, doorcases and brackets were all taken from plates in Kent's volumes,² while at Roger Morris' Marble Hill the borrowings from Jones (or Jones' pupils) were numerous: the alcoves recall the Jones/Webb alcove room at Greenwich; the Breakfast Parlour Room frieze is taken directly from Jones' designs for St. Paul's Cathedral; the ceilings to the principal floor derive from Jones/Webb designs, used by Campbell at Compton Place; while the mahogany stairs recall the double stair at Coleshill (in 1724 still erroneously attributed to Jones), which

1 Cf. H. Colvin in Archaeological Journal, 1955, and A. Tait in Burlington Magazine, cvi, 1964.

2 C. Hussey in Country Life, 19 March 1948. For a discussion of the putative authorship of Lydiard Tregoze, see Ch. 3.

had again been utilised more recently by Colen Campbell, at Houghton (in the Great Stair) and at Compton Place (in the Painted Stair).¹

Other elements of English Palladian design appear to owe their origin to sources other than Andrea Palladio's buildings and drawings. The Venetian window, an old Italian form which Palladio took from Serlio, was introduced into English practice by Jones, who used not Palladio but Scamozzi as his inspiration. Centrally-placed Venetian windows, remarkably similar in context and form to those used by Scamozzi in schemes for palazzi in his Idea della Architettura universale of 1615 appear in Jones' projects for Somerset House, Worcester College and Whitehall Palace, and from Jones the motif passed into the vocabulary of eighteenth-century designers. Campbell and, surprisingly, Vanbrugh appear to have used the window simultaneously, at Burlington House and Eastbury respectively, and its application as the only punctuating element in corner pavilions or Wiltonesque towers was a common feature in both domestic and ecclesiastical architecture of the 1720s and 30s.² Most significantly, the context in which the window was used in British practice differed sharply from Italian custom, being employed generally as a single, enlarged, isolated feature. Palladio himself rarely used Venetian windows in this manner: the only isolated window in Palladio's oeuvre occurs at the Villa Angaranò, which was not only of Palladio's earliest years (being begun c. 1548), but also never finished and, most significantly,

1 M. Draper & W. A. Eden, Marble Hill House and its Owners (1970), 34-5.

2 Eg. the east end of Flitcroft's church of St. Giles-in-the-Fields (1731-4).

accorded only a small illustration in his Quattro Libri.... Far more typical of Palladio's use of Venetian windows is the Basilica in Vicenza, where large, continuously repeated openings of this kind occupy most of the wall space on both storeys. Yet such rhythmic sequences of more than three windows did not appear in the buildings of the English Palladians until the works of Robert Adam towards the end of the century:¹ Early Palladian usage of the Venetian window remained directly opposed to Italian tradition, where every structural element possessed its own functional energy and linear movement. In Britain prior to 1760 Venetian windows provided punctuation for facades that were otherwise comparatively undecorated: large windows of this type, for example, dominated the exterior of Burlington's Chiswick House (plate 10⁶) and the pavilions of Campbell's Burlington House. Thirty years later Isaac Ware was using monstrous Venetian windows not, as had often been the practice with Early Palladian designers, as the central feature of the main block or pavilions, but in grand isolation at either side of the central, pedimented portico.² Single Venetian windows also featured with great regularity in the literary works of Robert Morris, where they frequently served as the sole light source for wing pavilions, for small dwellings or for garden temples.³ Ware's comment in his Complete Body of Architecture of 1756 that Venetian windows were of 'a kind calculated for shew, and very pompous in their nature' neatly describes this novel English usage.⁴

1 Cf. the sequence of Venetian windows in the conservatory at Adam's Osterley Park, which directly quotes the Vicenza Basilica.

2 VB, V, pl. 46.- Chesterfield House.

3 Eg. the 'little Seat', plate 19 of RA, pierced merely by one Venetian window.

4 Quoted in R. Wittkower, Palladio and English Palladianism (1974), 159.

In exploring the aesthetic possibilities of the Venetian window, Palladian architects in Britain made extensive use of the relieving arch, a motif which was also taken from Palladio but which subsequently became one of the hallmarks of English Palladian design. Flanking pavilions incorporating large Venetian windows, spanned by relieving arches, were first used in Britain by Colen Campbell, who inserted them into the facades of Wanstead, Burlington House and Houghton. Following Campbell's lead, Burlington and, later, William Kent used the motif with great fervour: Kent's Treasury and Horse Guards projects include numerous examples of this form. The Venetian window was also frequently grouped in isolated groups of three - a device which Burlington took directly from Palladio. Kent used the motif at the Horse Guards (plate 175), and it passed into the repertoire of the mid-century Palladians such as Paine and Robert Adam.¹

Similarly recurrent, and peculiarly English, was the use of so-called 'Gibbs surround', block quoins superimposed on door or window jambs underneath a heavy mass of voussoirs. Again, this form provides an example of the revival of a Jonesian, rather than a strictly Neopalladian, element: used on a number of occasions by Webb, the three-window form was, according to Chambers, not Palladio's idea but, 'I believe, an original of Inigo Jones'. Other structural and decorative devices owe more to pure invention than they do to Palladio. While Burlington took much of his inspiration from the

¹ See, for example, Paine's house for Featherstonehaugh of 1755, and Adam's north front of Stowe of 1771. By the late eighteenth century the motif had fully permeated the provinces - being used, for example, at Lloyds Bank in Cirencester, Glos., in 1780.

Italian architect - most notably in the repeated use of temple fronts and of the lunette windows derived from Palladio's adaptation of the Baths of Diocletian¹ - other concepts were distinctly un-Italian. The provision of four symmetrical wings around a central block, for example, was used only once by Palladio, at the Villa Mocenigo: it was the Italian's general practice to site the principal blocks at his villa sites between two wings and a courtyard. Yet four wings were used by Burlington at Tottenham Park, whence the form passes to Kent's Holkham (plate 19) and other Palladian mansions. Additionally, whilst both Scamozzi and Palladio had denounced the practice of placing windows on an upper storey of greater size or width than those below,² this did not deter English designers from frequently siting large Venetian windows above smaller apertures. This practice was begun by Campbell, with the openings for the pavilions at Burlington House, and was still in use by 1769, when Robert Adam used a similar solution at the Register House in Edinburgh. It must also be noted that nowhere in the designs of Palladio or his fellow-Italians does the cubism of the kind enshrined in Burlington's Tottenham Park and Morris' Combe Bank appear.

English architects clearly went to great pains to establish recognisably English elements into what was in origin a wholly Italian style. By mid-century even the figure of Palladio himself

1 Cf. Burlington's designs for Chiswick, the York Assembly Rooms and Wade's house. Cf. also J. Vardy, Some Designs of Inigo Jones and William Kent (1744), pl. 37: plan and elevation of a stable by Kent; also I. Ware, A Complete Body of Architecture (1756), pl. 35 and passim.

2 V. Scamozzi, Idea della Architettura universale (1615), VI, ch. 14; A. Palladio, Quattro Libri... (1570), I, ch. 25.

was being attacked by the disciples of English Palladianism: in 1756 Ware berated the Italian for 'so monstrous a practice' as penetrating columns, and declared that the appearance of the Palazzo Chiericati, where the middle portico intercolumniation was wider than the others, was so ill-proportioned 'that nothing but its being his work could protect it from such censure', concluding that it was dangerous to follow Italian practice and that 'it is not at all proper' that young architects 'should have such examples' as faulty Palladian work.¹ Clearly Ware was implying that future English designers should turn to specifically English examples for their Palladianism rather than rely on an Italian whose practices were often suspect. Certainly Palladio's Mannerist tendencies - all too evident in a work like the Palazzo Valmarana - represented anathema to the mainstream of English thought. In this context it appears that Jones was chosen as the godfather of English Palladianism not necessarily for his architectural achievements but primarily because of his symbolic value to a national architectural style designed to match the grandiose political aspirations of Georgian England. The inaccuracy with which Neopalladians attributed works to Jones suggests that here it was not the content of the Jonesian-Palladian style that mattered so crucially as its essential Englishness, a nationalistic image which could be based on the myth of an incomparable English Master. Campbell erroneously ascribed mediocre works such as York House Water Gate and Gunnersbury House, as well as Wilton, to Jones. His attribution of Cobham Hall to Jones is a particular instance of Campbell's apparent lack of

1 I. Ware, A Complete Body of Architecture (1756), 254, 265, 316.

scholarly concern in this matter: Cobham Hall as drawn in Vitruvius Britannicus (a representation which entirely omitted the old house) appears distinctly un-Jonesian, with a central, flat-roofed, three-bay projection (with an unusually high balustraded attic which projects in an ungainly fashion above the main roofline) inserted rather uneasily into an uninspired block.¹ Jones was clearly being used by Palladian apologists such as Campbell and Ware almost as much for his inspirational value as for his contributions to design. In the event, however, Burlington's not entirely welcomed devotion to Italian culture in the early years of the Palladian movement - so evident during the 1720s with his sponsorship of Italian opera and sculpture - merely served to muddy the prospects for a distinct National Style already based on dubious attributions and borrowings.

(3) ENGLISH PALLADIANISM AS AN ORIGINAL STYLE

Aside from elements borrowed from recent English and Italian usage, there remain three unique and distinctive characteristics of English Palladian design which appear to be based largely on original concepts: (i) an emphasis on cubic forms, (ii) the isolation of features and the resultant predominance of plain surfaces, and (iii) the sharp differentiation of individual elements within the same structure. The prevalence of cubes is a commonly noted aspect of English Palladianism² - at its most obvious in buildings such as Burlington's Tottenham Park, Kent's Horse Guards³ and Roger Morris'

¹ VB, II, pl. 30.

² Cf. D. Cruickshank in Architectural Review, April 1983.

³ See plates 12 and 175 below.

Combe Bank. This predilection was readily translated into prose by Robert Morris, whose perfect cube form provided an architectural solution which could be used as a 'natural short-cut to a rule of taste'. Morris subsequently constructed a series of rules and tables of which the cube was the formative element: 'the nearer a Room... is to a Square', declared Morris, 'the more uniform and commodious' it would be.¹

More subtle than this simple cubic approach, however, was the method in which Palladian architects, in violation of Italian precedent, used the vocabulary at their disposal to create an impression of clarity and isolation, where blank spaces and widely-separated features emphasised the significance of each individual element of construction or decoration. English Palladian design totally omitted the restlessness of Palladio's facades: the constant repetition of standard units was a common feature of Palladio's architecture, most notably the Palazzo Civena, the Palazzo Valmarana and the Palazzo Chiericati, which was covered with repeated patterns of windows and columns and any small spaces filled with small rectangular apertures or niches. Palladio only chose to assemble elements in a less vigorous way with his smallest rural villas, such as the plain, astylar facades of the Villa Poiana, the Villa Caldogno and particularly the Villa Saraceno (his plainest - and the most diminutive - villa, built in 1560). In contrast, English Palladians adopted the principles of space and isolation for even the largest buildings. The Italian tradition of rhythmic repetition was espoused

1 Lectures, VII, 104.

by Campbell in some of his earlier designs - an Italianate sequence of large first floor windows was a feature of his Halifax design¹ and Wanstead I and II - but already, with his Vitruvius Britannicus design for Lord Percival, he was departing from the idea of closely-packed windows and columns to a composition where windows were surrounded by large areas of plain wall surface.² This latter theme rapidly became the hallmark of Early Palladianism. The Venetian Window was, as has already been noted (see above), most often found in a decidedly English context: arranged singly, of substantial size, and encompassed by a considerable expanse of plain wall. However, this use of the blank surface in order to place greater emphasis on individual elements was not merely in defiance of continental antecedents: such an approach also rejected the traditions of the Baroque in England. Large areas of fenestration were distinct features of Baroque houses such as Marlborough House and Buckingham House, and massive window openings closely packed between giant columns and pilasters characterised the facades of Blenheim and Castle Howard;³ yet such arrangements were denounced by Robert Morris, who ridiculed the modern architects who 'croud and fill the Spaces by some gay Dress'.⁴ In Palladian designs windows were largely employed as isolated elements on a blank wall, as seen at Houghton, Goodwood, and most clearly at Roger Morris' Combe Bank (plate 32) - whose use of plain surfaces, isolated apertures and astylar, cubic forms contrasts sharply with the sequences of window and rows of

1 VB, I, pls. 29-30, 22, 24-5.

2 VB, I, pls. 96-7.

3 VB, I, pls. 40, 44, 57-8, 69-70.

4 Lectures, VIII, 123.

decoration of Serlio and Scamozzi. At Kent's Horse Guards (plate 175) the plain surface of the east front wall and the rustication of the west front serve to heighten the isolation of the window openings and, on the west, to emphasise the placement of the five Venetian windows.¹

Robert Morris' writings in particular testify to the deliberation with which English Palladianism sought to establish the primacy of the plain surface. He declared that he much preferred 'Plainness and Utility to Gaiety and Ornament', and castigated an imaginary 'Modern Profile' of Baroque design which featured large, tall windows, excessive compactness, and even asymmetry. 'A Plain regular front', he asserted, 'without Dress or Ornament, if justly proportion'd, will better satisfy the taste of the Judicious'.² One of his principal concerns was to retain the balancing element of wall space: 'Dress and Decoration', he declared, should be 'used to preserve an equal Space from Vacuity to Vacuity'. The main purpose of exterior decoration, he stipulated, was so that 'the spaces are preserved by breaking the Distances with Festoons or Drapery';³ this decoration was only to be adopted if the function of the building required it. In his drawings Morris betrayed an evident preference for single apertures and plain walls: the majority of his smaller pavilions, for example, were punctuated only by one large Venetian window, miniature swags and patterns of small niches.⁴

1 VB, III, pls. 29-30, 32.

2 RA, Preface; ED, 88; Lectures, VIII, 123.

3 Lectures, VIII, 128-9.

4 AR, pl. 8

The ideal houses designed to exhibit his versions of the three orders in his 'Essay...' include very few openings indeed: his Ionic building includes only a door and two small windows between the columns of his hexastyle portico, in contrast to the Italian (and English Baroque) conventions of rhythm and movement. Morris' habitual adoption of niches - as opposed to windows - and his repeated literary advocacy of little window ornamentation does seem to suggest that his goal was the creation of flat, two-dimensional wall surfaces rather than the three-dimensional design characteristic of the Italians; niches - small in scale, with no architrave - would disrupt the surface less. In Morris' opinion, the less windows and their surrounds intruded into the flat plane of the wall, 'the more elegant they will appear'.¹

Robert Morris was not alone in forwarding such opinions. William Halfpenny's New and Compleat System of Architecture included a large number of plain walls and unframed openings that recalled Morris' drawings, while Ware censured those wall surfaces that were 'in a manner, all windows'.² As Palladianism progressed, the trend developed to wider spaces and particularly to astylar facades for large houses (for example, Houghton's north front, Stourhead's south front, Hagley Hall's principal front, and Kirby Hall). James Paine dispensed with vertical ties altogether on three sides of Gosforth Hall, and at Axwell Park the similarly astylar facade placed additional emphasis on the smooth wall expanses and on the

1 Lectures, VIII, 150.

2 Ware, op.cit., 315.

isolation of the window openings. It was only with Palladianism's inclusion in Robert Adam's personal style that this trend to heightened isolation was reversed: at Stowe and elsewhere Adam considerably reduced the amount of plain wall surface, retranslating earlier Palladian surface patterns back to the genuinely Italian tradition of functionally important motifs.

The third fundamental characteristic of Palladian design, and one closely allied to the isolation of elements within plain contexts, was the accentuation of the constituent portions of the Palladian house. Individuality of parts was most evident in the arrangement of blocks and wings. Palladio's practice had been to design low wing pavilions barely higher than the connecting colonades, such as at the Villas Badoer, Poiana, Saraceno and Ragona:¹ when he did construct high wing blocks they were connected to the main house by structures of comparable stature; thus the two-storey pavilions at the Villa Pisani, Montagnana, (which were almost as tall as the principal block) were connected by high, arched wings of one-and-a-half storeys.² English Palladian wing pavilions, however, were of marked individual significance. They were often very loosely connected to the main block: the pavilions at Houghton, although linked by colonades, appear to be self-contained units; as envisaged in Vitruvius Britannicus the wings at Chiswick bear little relation to the main house, as do those at Campbell's house for John Hedworth at Chester-le-Street and at Sanderson and Smith's Kirtlington Park:³

1 Quattro Libri..., II, pls. 31, 41, 39, 40.

2 Ibid., pl. 35.

3 VB, IV, pl. 32.

the astylar pavilions at Roger Morris' White Lodge are connected only by low, narrow wings that are barely the height of the basement. In many Palladian houses each block appeared as an individual unit, quite unrelated to the other major constituents: at Kent's Horse Guards differing elements - large wings, principal block, corner towers - all jostle with each other for predominance;¹ at Combe Bank the heavy corner towers sit very uncomfortably round the main block (echoing a Robert Morris design used by William Halfpenny where cylindrical corner turrets are set against a plain cube);² while Robert Morris' Rural Architecture is full of compositions with dissimilar block sizes and widely varying rooflines. In the hands of later architects these developments became even more radical: in Adam's design for Kedleston, reproduced in Vitruvius Britannicus, the south front pavilions, with their motifs of three repeated Venetian windows (cf. page 21 above), have no affinity with the main block, which has no Venetian windows at all.³

Similarly, the wide spacing of the three windows on the front of the pavilions at Nostell Priory is totally unrelated to the spacing of the windows in the principal block. This contrast of spacing was a feature used with great frequency by Robert Adam and the other leading architects of the late eighteenth century; at William Chambers' Duddington House of 1763-8, not only is the pavilion fenestration arranged in this manner, but the office blocks are actually larger than the main house.

1 VB, V, pls. 5-8.

2 VB, IV, pls. 75-7; W. Halfpenny and others, The Modern Builder's Assistant (1742), pl. 13.

3 VB, IV, pls. 47-50.

4 VB, IV, pls. 16-17.

This deliberate separation of parts inevitably paralleled a reduction in the emphasis on central features and a move towards less stress on the goals of gradation and concatenation - primary aspects both of Palladio's low-winged villas¹ and of Baroque masses such as Castle Howard and Blenheim. In Early Palladian designs such as Burlington's Tottenham Park (begun in 1721) every unit had its own individual roof and own sharply-delineated detail, all of which served to emphasise each block's particular function. Even in the late eighteenth century, George Dance the Younger's Newgate Prison (1770-80), with its strong juxtaposition of entrance and wing blocks, clearly derives its form from this Palladian tendency to emphasise the disparity of constituent elements. This preference for the individuality of parts extended even to Palladian bridge design: the bridge-houses depicted as the 'Bridge with one arch' and the 'Bridge with three arches' in Robert Morris' The Architectural Remembrancer, for example, both sit very uneasily on the parapets and are additionally quite unrelated to the height and width of the bridges, far exceeding both.² Perhaps the clearest expression of this individual stressing, however, is found in Roger Morris' Combe Bank, Kent, of c. 1725: in addition to its strikingly cubic appearance (and evident lack of direct Italian models for its design) and the considerable extent of plain wall surface apparent in the elevations, the four corner towers appear just as dramatically delineated as the central block.

1 Cf. Palladio's complex project for the Villa Trissino at Meledo, illustrated as plate 43 in book II of his Quattro Libri....

2 AR, pls. 17, 19.

2 THE LIVES OF ROGER AND ROBERT MORRIS

(1) ROGER MORRIS

Roger Morris was born on 19 April 1695 in the parish of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, London, the son of Owen and Rebecca Morris.¹ He has been said to be of Yorkshire stock,² but this is a mistaken assumption derived from the social climbing of his son James, who set up as a country gentleman and adopted the coat of arms of Morris of Netherby in an attempt to claim descent from a recently extinct but well-established gentry family.³ Lindsay and Cosh appear to have a more likely solution when they suggest that Morris was 'of Welsh descent';⁴ there is as yet no evidence, however, of either his father's birthplace or the nature of his profession. Roger was the eldest of seven children,⁵ and in about 1722 (there is no mention of the marriage in the parish registers of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, St. James, Westminster or St. Marylebone) he married his first wife,

1 Greater London R0, St. Martin-in-the-Fields Parish Registers, vol. 8.

2 G. Beard, Georgian Craftsmen (1986) 54, following W. Hemp in Country Life 7 April 1944. Beard alleges that Morris 'was born at Netherby in Yorkshire and may have come to Campbell's attention when the architect was in Yorkshire...'

3 I am indebted to Dr. Edmund Carr-Saunders for information on this and other aspects of the Morris family. See also Burke's General Armoury (1884) for Morris of Netherby's coat of arms.

4 I. Lindsay and M. Cosh, Inveraray and the Dukes of Argyll (1973), 30.

5 William was born on 17 April 1698, James on 30 March 1701, Peter on 30 April 1704 and Elizabeth on 12 December 1706; the birthdates of the two remaining children, Crouch and Sarah, are unknown. Their mother, Rebecca, was buried on 4 February 1718/19, but there is no record of the burial of their father in this parish. (St. Martin-in-the-Fields Parish Registers). Crouch's name is so unusual as to invite the speculation that it was his mother's maiden name.

Mary. Burke's Landed Gentry (which Draper follows) is wrong in declaring that Morris' first wife was the daughter of Sir Peter Jackson;¹ this is based on a confusion of his wife Mary with the 'Mrs. Mary Jackson' - who was presumably the sister of his second wife Elizabeth - mentioned in his will (see below). Nor was Mary the daughter of Sir Peter Vandeput of Twickenham - the owner of Standlynch (a putative connection which prompted Christopher Hussey to attribute this house to Roger Morris);² again, this devolves from confusion with Roger's second wife, whose parents were Sir Phillip Jackson and Jane Vandeput. Ironically, Mary Morris' maiden name still remains undiscovered; the most plausible alternative appears to be Crouch, the name of one of their sons.

Roger and Mary had five children, of whom only three survived: James, Roger and Mary.³ (Roger junior later joined the army, was promoted to the rank of Colonel, and subsequently moved to New York, where before his death in 1794 he built a house with a sizeable octagonal saloon in the manner of Robert Morris - now preserved as

1 M. Draper & W. A. Eden, Marble Hill House & its Owners (1970), 17.

2 C. Hussey in Country Life, 13 July 1945.

3 James was the eldest child (birthdate unknown); Andrew was born on 10 April 1723 but was buried four years later, on 26 November 1727; Roger (I) was born in March 1726 but also died prematurely, in November 1727 - possibly of the same illness as Andrew; Roger (II) was born on 28 January 1727/8, and survived into manhood; and Mary was born in June 1729, but presumably predeceased Roger and Elizabeth's child Mary, born in January 1740/1. (Greater London (GLC) RO; St. James, Westminster Parish Registers; St. Marylebone Parish Registers).

the Morris-Jumel Mansion).¹ These births testify that the Morrises were resident in the parish of St. James, Westminster in 1723, and that in 1726 they moved to the parish of St. Marylebone.² Sadly, in 1729 Mary Morris herself died. Within two years, however, Roger married for the second time, making a financially advantageous match: his bride was Elizabeth Jackson, born in 1704 and the fifth child of Jane Vandeput (who died in the year of her daughter's marriage) and Sir Philip Jackson of Richmond in Surrey, who prior to his death in 1724 had been a successful Levantine merchant and a Director of the Bank of England.³ Roger and Elizabeth had five children: Elizabeth (born on 2 August 1733); Margaret (born 1 December 1734); Charles (born on 9 January 1735/6, who later died, unmarried, in Italy); Jane (date of birth unknown; in 1765 she married Sir George Baker, and lived until 1813); and Mary (born on

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- 1 Information kindly supplied by Ms. Lee Roberts of New York. Cf. also Burke's Landed Gentry (1886 ed.), II, 889. His property was temporarily confiscated during the American Revolution, and in 1809 his son Henry-Gage Morris sold the estate to J. J. Astor. Colonel Roger's wife, Mary Philipse, had earlier refused George Washington's offer of marriage; Washington himself used the Morris house as a temporary headquarters during the War of Independence. See plate 141, below.
 - 2 Greater London RO, Middlesex Calendar of Sessions, 870. At a session of April 1729 Morris was excused from the office of Overseer of the Poor as he was 'employed in his trade of building for his grace the Duke of Argyle, and diverse other noblemen, which will take up the whole time'. The entry also mentions that Morris had been resident in the parish for three years.
 - 3 The marriage, of 6 November 1731, is recorded in the Parish Registers of St. George, Hanover Square (Greater London (GLC) Record Office). The marriage settlement is also extant Greater London RO, MLR, 1731, vol. 5, no. 13), which describes Morris' property in Oxford Street and Green Street. One of the trustees of this settlement was Anthony Corbiere, husband of Elizabeth Jackson's elder sister Jane. (The other trustee was the Hon. Thomas Pagett).

26 January 1740/1).¹ It was whilst returning from Inveraray to London in 1744 that Roger, pausing at Bourne in Lincolnshire, learned for the first time of 'my Poor Mrs. Morris' Death' from a newspaper; 'your Lordship's Humanity', he told Lord Milton, 'will easey Feel my unhappyness'.² In the event he only outlived his second wife by four and a half years.

Morris had established himself as a reputable craftsman by 1724, in which year he began work on a house for Henrietta Howard, mistress of the Prince of Wales. Prior to his involvement at Marble Hill, however, he had already (on 8 April 1723) opened a bank account at Hoare's with £20 of capital.³ The following year he made his first purchase as a builder-speculator, when he bought land to the north of Oxford Street from Lord Harley (who had recently secured the valuable estate in this area by his marriage to Lady Henrietta Cavendish-Holles).⁴ Morris was described as a 'Bricklayer' in the lease, but as his professional stock rose, so did his social prestige and financial respectability. As early as 1724 he had enough funds to reserve a plot of the Oxford Street land for his own use, and by the late 1720s was considered to be

1 Parish Registers of St. George, Hanover Square; Burke's Landed Gentry.

2 National Library of Scotland, Saltoun MSS, 16601/69; Roger Morris to Lord Milton, 30 August 1744.

3 Hoare's Bank, Roger Morris' account, Ledger 25, f. 127.

4 MLR, 1724/4/49, contract dated 7 May 1724.

of sufficient social standing to be offered the post of an Overseer of the Poor in the parish of St. Marylebone. By 1727 he was being referred to as 'the noted Architect Mr. Morris' and being cited as an example of professional rectitude,¹ and three years later he was wealthy enough to move yet again, this time to a house he had built for himself and his young family on a plot of 180 feet frontage originally leased in December 1727.² Number 61 Green Street reflected the degree to which Roger Morris had advanced both financially and socially: the new house was seven bays wide, and large enough for entertainment on a grand scale. Roger's status was further underlined when the daughter of a Director of the Bank of England became mistress of 61 Green Street in 1731.

During this period Morris greatly broadened his architectural experience and enhanced his professional reputation by journeying abroad to Italy. The evidence for his trip has already been well documented by John Harris:³ from June 1731 he was cited as being 'absent from the kingdom and beyond the seas', probably accompanying his patron George Bubb Dodington and possibly also encountering a relative of Lord Herbert's, James Herbert. Morris was definitely back in England by November 1732: on the 16th of that month Kent

1 Cf. E. Laurence, The Duty of a Steward to his Lord (1727), 50n.

2 MLR 1731/5/13 and 1730/4/178.

3 J. Harris in Architectural History, 1984.

wrote to Burlington of Morris that:

one wonder more is the late great traveller,
that he's satisfied with what he's built,
& wonder's now since he's come home that his
buildings is [sic] sp perfect that he cannot
alter anything he has done they are so
excellent.¹

Morris' presence at home is confirmed not only by this caustic comment but also by the fact that his daughter Elizabeth was born on 2 August 1733, which suggests (is we are to assume the child's legitimacy) that Roger was in Britain at the beginning of November; at the same time Pope was writing that his friend Dodington 'is happily returned from Italy, without', he continued acidly, 'any one Idea of Building more than he set out with, whereby Morris and He continue to admirè each other'.² Morris may well have returned to Italy early in 1733 however, since it is likely that his drawings (now in the Visentini Collection in the Royal Library, Windsor) of the Lodge at Wilton and of the elevation of Eastbury, the latter actually dated 29 September 1733, were penned and despatched from there.

Recently (January 1989) evidence has come to light which suggests that Morris may have returned to Italy again in 1744.³

1 Chatsworth MSS, box 143, quoted in Draper, op.cit., 18.

2 Alexander Pope, Correspondence, III, 32, quoted by T. Connor, 'Bubo's House', in Architectural History, 1984, III.

3 My thanks to Mr. Charles Nugent of Christie's for bringing this album of drawings to my attention.

An album of 49 drawings sold by Christie's in the Spring of 1989 features a selection of pen-and-wash sketches of buildings by Palladio in the area of Venice and Vicenza, and also a number of drawings of small houses. Most are in a heavy, precise hand, with dark grey washes, but two sets of sketches - of the Lordin Palace in Padua (plate 201, below) and the Villa Madama (plate 200) - are executed in a less meticulous and more amateurish hand. The Padua drawings include a large number of measurements, suggesting that they were intended to be some sort of exercise. And the Madama drawing (plate 200) is actually dated 1744.

A number of factors point to Roger Morris' authorship of the bulk of these drawings. Firstly, approximately half of them have captions printed by hand, in a manner which, while it does not resemble Morris' handwriting (plate 107), is very similar to the hand-printing on Morris' Inveraray sketches and on the Beechwood drawings attributed to Morris. The serif capital 'S' and the rising lower-case 's' on both the Italian and the Inveraray drawings appear to be identical (- compare plates 203 and 91, below). Each of these captions has 'by Palladio' added, in what must be a later hand. (It is highly unlikely that Morris or a fellow-architect would have needed to have been reminded that Palladio was the architect of San Giorgio Maggiore in Venice or of the Vicenza Basilica.) Certainly this type of printing could have been commonly practised during this period, and does not necessarily have to be Morris' own. Nevertheless, an elevation

of Il Redentore in annotated ('extends 91 ft. 6 in.') in an everyday hand which approximates to Morris' (see plate 203). Furthermore, one of the studies (plate 202) is for a villa very much in the vein of Marble Hill House. Most significantly, the inside cover of the album has affixed to it a partially-observed bookplate featuring the name 'James Morris' and the Morris of Netherby crest that James adopted in later life.

Possibly, then, Roger and his son James travelled to Italy together in 1744. The Padua and Villa Madama drawings may represent exercises, set by Roger for a son who, it is apparent from other sources, was evidently being groomed to take over his father's practice during the 1740s. (See chapter 4, below.) Yet there remains no documentary evidence for such a visit. Roger is known to have been in Britain on 30 August 1744, on which date he wrote to Lord Milton lamenting the recent death of his second wife, Elizabeth. It is conceivable that Morris took his son (or another companion) to Italy in order to recover from his grief at losing a wife; this seems to be his action after the death of his first wife, when he accompanied Dodington to Italy. James Morris clearly inherited the resultant drawings after his father's death.

Morris' will¹ shows him to have been a modest man: he merely describes himself as 'Master Carpenter to his Majesty's Office of Ordnance'. And prior to his Ordnance appointment in 1735

1 PRO, PCC 49 Lisle.

Morris referred to himself in legal documents simply as a bricklayer - although other sources such as Vitruvius Britannicus and Edward Laurence's The Duty of a Steward... describe him as an architect.¹ In his contracts with Lord Clinton at 11 Grosvenor Square, London, and Castle Hill, Devon, of 1728 and 1729 he termed himself as a 'Bricklayer',² and during 1732-3 he was called upon to adjudicate in a dispute at the Covent Garden Theatre as a 'master bricklayer'.³ Such terminology suggests that Morris had been specifically trained as a bricklayer, yet there is no evidence in the records of the Tylers and Bricklayers Company or in the Public Record Office's Apprenticeship Books to confirm such a training. What is surprising is that after 1735 Morris generally labelled himself not as a bricklayer but as a carpenter, being employed by the Ordnance solely in this latter capacity.⁴ He was described as a 'Carpenter' when contracting to purchase land to the west of Westminster Bridge for his speculative scheme in 1740, when he was paid for work for the Charteris trust and for George Middleton in 1742 and 1745

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- 1 Edward Laurence, The Duty of a Steward to his Lord (1727), 51: 'The Example of the noted Architect Mr. Morris, and some few others, should be a pattern to the rest...'
 - 2 Devon RO, 1262 M/TM 2 (a contract for painting and finishing 11 Grosvenor Square 'according to the direction and approbation of Mr. Roger Morris Bricklayer'), and Devon RO, Fortescue Papers, E1/93.
 - 3 PRO, C11/2662/1: on 15 March 1733 Morris and Henry Joynes were required to 'go out and Examine into severall parts of the said building and not only then but at other times declare to the said Edward Shepherd that he had not performed his said Articles... particularly that the Brickwork was very bad'.
 - 4 Whereas prior to his appointment he had been hired by the Ordnance exclusively for bricklaying tasks. See below, chapter 4.

respectively¹ and, as noted above, even in his will. This seems to indicate that not only did Morris master the professions of architect and surveyor, but, most unusually, he was also at some point trained in the trades of both bricklaying and carpentry.² The combination of these two crafts in one tradesman is quite uncustomary; in Morris, it suggests a comprehensive range of building skills unparalleled among the architects of the period.

Whilst Morris continued to describe himself as a bricklayer or a carpenter, however, the comments of his contemporaries testify to a professional and social rise which did not correspond to the status of a mere tradesman. By 1730 Morris was already being referred to as a 'gentleman', and two years later was actually criticised by one patron as 'having so little Time, being employ'd in so many things of greater Consequence' than her own house.³ In 1739 he transferred from Hoare's to the more exclusive banking firm of Coutts,⁴ and by the early 1740s his financial receipts were generally few and large, indicating a

1 PRO, WORK 6/39, Minutes of the Westminster Bridge Works Committees, memorial to the Treasury dated 5 August 1740; Coutts & Co., Charteris Trust account, Ledger 1742-4, f. 114; Coutts & Co., Middleton's account, Ledger 1744-6, f. 102, payment dated 17 September 1745.

2 Again, there is no evidence of Morris' carpentry apprenticeship in the records of the Joiners Company.

3 Westminster City Library, ratebooks of St. George's, Hanover Square; L. Whistler, The Imagination of Vanbrugh (1954), 173: Duchess of Marlborough to Herbert, 29 March 1731/2.

4 Coutts & Co., Roger Morris' account, Ledger 1738-40, f. 165: account opened with a cash deposit of £977.1.0 on 6 October 1739.

dependable and lucrative practice.¹ Indeed his practice was sufficiently extensive by this time to enable him the luxury of resigning a prestigious commission - from the Duke of Cleveland - in 1746.² In the last years of his life Morris extended his business interests to encompass not only speculative building (see below, ch. 4), but also an involvement in the wine trade - a suitably bourgeois area of activity for a socially-aspirant country house architect. After 1740 he was acting as an agent for Portuguese wines, which he then sold to architectural patrons such as Islay and Middleton;³ presumably he largely dealt in the crude form of port which had become very popular, and thus most profitable, following the conclusion of the Methuen Treaty of 1703.

Roger Morris died in January 1748/9.⁴ He was buried in the churchyard (since built over) at St. George, Hanover Square on 4 February of that year, his debts being settled by his friend and executor Robert Andrews.⁵ By the terms of his will £7,500 went to the children of his second marriage: James received the

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- 1 Eg. *ibid.*, Ledger 1742-4, ff. 138-9: receipts for 1742-3 include lump sums of £3,000, £4,000 and £1,000, the majority of the others being in multiples of £100. (*Ex. inf.* Mary Cosh).
 - 2 Raby Castle Archives, box 3. Morris subsequently sued Cleveland in the Court of Exchequer at Westminster for the payment of his bill. See below, p. 107.
 - 3 Eg. Coutts, George Middleton's account, Ledger 1742-4, f. 123 (£6.16.11½ paid to Morris by Middleton on 18 April 1744 'for prime cost of a Hogshead Methuen Wine'), and f. 126 (Morris paid £12.16.0); cf. also the Earl of Islay's account, Ledger 1740-2, f. 121 and *passim*.
 - 4 The London Magazine reported on 31 January 1748/9 (96), the death of 'Roger Morris, Esq; carpenter and principal engineer to the board of ordnance'.
 - 5 Parish Registers of St. George, Hanover Square; Coutts & Co., Roger Morris' account, Ledger 1749-50, f. 149.

freehold of the land at the west end of Westminster Bridge and £100 as his share of the profits of his father's business, as well as the silver cup given to his father by Pembroke in 1734; Roger (later to become Colonel the Honourable Roger Morris), who had already received £1,000 with which to buy his army commission, was provided with an extra £1,500; his brother Crouch and sister Sarah (now Sarah Wright) were given life annuities of £120 p.a. each; and small sums were distributed to Mrs. Mary Jackson - probably his late wife's sister (on whom had been bestowed the courtesy title of 'Mrs'), who had looked after the Morris daughters - and to his friend Robert Andrews.¹ 61 Green Street was sold by his executors to the Earl of Hyndford in 1750 for £1,260.² What remained of Morris' architectural practice went to his son James, who was additionally bequeathed all of his father's books and drawings, and who took over his father's customary payments at Coutts Bank.³ James was clearly not as prudent as his father had been, however, and by 1752 was regularly and sizeably overdrawn at the bank, despite the sale of the Westminster Bridge land in 1750.⁴ Nevertheless, he did use his father's considerable wealth to set

1 Andrews' assistant, Alexander Elcock, had married Roger Morris' eldest daughter Elizabeth. (Burke's Landed Gentry).

2 MLR 1750/1/552.

3 James Morris was clearly groomed to follow in his father's profession, and took over at Inveraray after the latter's death (I. Lindsay and M. Cosh, Inveraray and the Dukes of Argyll (1973), p. 68). He was employed at the Ordnance by his father since 1748 (PRO, WO 48/89, ff. 412-15). James Morris, the painter who features frequently in Roger Morris' accounts from 1728, is clearly another person altogether; it is possible that it was this James Morris, and not Roger's son, who was the executor of Robert Morris' will in 1754.

4 Coutts & Co., James Morris' account, Ledger 1751-2, ff. 141, 159. By 1754 he was frequently in arrears (eg. Ledger 1753-4, f. 150). PRO, WORK 6/83, minutes of the Westminster Bridge Commission dated 9 January 1749/50.

himself up as a respectable member of the gentry, awarding himself a bogus coat of arms; his reward was to be made a magistrate, the Deputy-Lieutenant of Surrey, and ultimately Sheriff of Surrey in 1764. The careers of James' own sons, Roger Morris' grandchildren, illustrate the social advances made by the Morris family since 1695: James Morris junior became a Director of the Bank of England, while Charles evolved into 'a most liberal benefactor to the town of Malvern, in Worcestershire, on the improvement of which he laid out several thousand pounds'.¹

(2) ROBERT MORRIS

Robert Morris was born in the parish of St. Mary, Twickenham in Middlesex in 1703 and died in Mayfair in Central London in 1754.² He was the son of Thomas and Hannah Morris, and was the eldest of three children.³ Thomas was a joiner by trade and in 1718 Robert was apprenticed to his father 'Citizen and Joyner of London' - succeeding the young Henry Flitcroft - as a

1 Burke's Landed Gentry.

2 In Morris' own copy of his Essay in Defence... now in the R. I. B. A. Library, the title page includes the handwritten comment that Morris 'Died Nov. ye 12th 1754 and in ye Fifty-Third year of His Age'. His will (PRO, PCC 334 Pinfold, 1754), signed on 22 May 1754, describes him as a resident of the parish of St. George, Hanover Square. The comment concerning his age is not entirely accurate, however, since in the Twickenham Parish Registers (now in Twickenham Public Library) the christening of Robert Morris is entered for 25 February 1702/3, i.e. he was only 51 when he died.

3 Hannah was christened on 17 May 1717 and died prematurely in September 1735; Thomas was christened on 16 August 1719 (parish registers of St. Mary, Twickenham). Their mother, Hannah senior, was buried on 4 December 1727 (parish registers of St. George, Hanover Square). There is no record of the marriage of Robert and Mary in the Twickenham registers: either they had only recently moved into the parish, or they had been married in the parish of Mary's parents.

joiner for seven years.¹ There is no evidence, however, that Robert continued as a joiner in his later years. Around 1722 Robert married, he and his wife Mary (maiden name unknown) having seven children: David and George, twins born in 1723; Thomas, born in 1726; James (I) (1731-2) and James (II), born late in 1732; Mary; and Hannah.² The title page of Robert's Essay in Defence of Ancient Architecture of 1728 refers to him as 'Robert Morris, of Twickenham', but in 1738 the Morrises moved from this area of Middlesex (where they had been a close neighbour of the architectural writer Batty Langley) to Park Street in the West End of London. A few years after his death Robert Morris was described as 'Late of Hyde-Park-Street, Grosvenor Square'.³ Both his architectural and poetical works, however, betray the affection Robert continued to feel for his childhood home and the surrounding landscape: throughout the Essay upon Harmony he constantly lauded the 'Beauties of Situation' afforded by siting houses besides meandering rivers and gentle hills,⁴ while his 'HEROIC EPISTLE' Rupert to Maria of 1748 was deliberately set in the green

- 1 Joiner's Company Apprenticeship Books (Guildhall Library), 8052/4, f. 98.
- 2 The records for marriages in the parish of St. Mary, Twickenham between 1712 and 1726 have been lost: the earliest entry regarding Robert's wife Mary is for 24 March 1722/3, at the christening of their twin sons. The twins evidently died before 1754, since only four children are named in Morris' will; certainly their first son James, born on 31 December 1731, died a few days later on 6 January 1731/2, the second James being born on 17 November 1732 (parish registers of St. George, Hanover Square).
- 3 Title page of Architecture Improved, a new edition of The Architectural Remembrancer of 1751, published posthumously in 1755. Robert first appears in the rate books for the parish of St. George, Hanover Square in the rate of 19 December 1738 (C85), having not been recorded in the previous rate of 13 April of the same year (C84) (Greater London (GLC) R0, rate books for the parish of St. George, Hanover Square, Grosvenor Street ward, C64 and passim).
- 4 EH, 85.

environs of Twickenham and Richmond:

Where silver streams refresh the flow'ry Plain;
In the sweet Vale by Richmond's rising Side,
They pour the easy Current of the Tide...

The chrystal Thames, between the verdant Sides,
Spreads a sweet tuneful Murmur as it glides.¹

The first mention of Robert Morris in any professional role occurs in 1728, on the title page of his An Essay in Defence of Ancient Architecture. By the time this work was published he was clearly not only knowledgeable in architectural aesthetics and building practicalities, as is evidenced by the text (see chapter seven, below), but also acquainted with the world of architectural patronage: the rambling dedication specifically singles out for especial mention Burlington and Roger Morris' patrons 'the Honourable Lord HERBERT, and Sir ANDREW FOUNTAINE', suggesting that these figures were already well known to Morris. From the comment, made in 1736, concerning his tutelage at the hands of his 'kinsman' Roger² it seems likely that the latter had certainly initiated Robert into the complexities of architecture by the time his first book had appeared. Robert Morris, however, clearly made a decision not to follow Roger into architectural practice; instead he preferred to concentrate on the trade of Surveyor, in which role he is first found in 1731, surveying Sir Michael Newton's

1 Rupert to Maria, 3, 8.

2 Lectures, part II (1736), Preface. Their relationship is discussed below, in section (3).

house at Culverthorpe in Lincolnshire, and simultaneously advising the town of Boston in the same county. The Newton Papers, currently in the Library of Congress in Washington, include a contract for 12 March 1731, annotated: 'having compar'd this Bill with my Accountings I find it agrees Robt Morris'.¹ He also approved bills for construction work at Culverthorpe dated 11 and 31 October. Two years later Roger Morris was acting as surveyor - and possibly as architect - at the house; during much of 1731, however, he was apparently overseas (q.v.), and thus may have sent his 'pupil' as his substitute.

At the same time Boston Corporation was making payments to a 'Mr Morice ye architect for his advice abt ye Cross'.² Unfortunately the accounts do not specify a christian name, but if Robert was involved at Culverthorpe it is reasonable to assume that he was the advisor referred to here. The Market Cross in Boston was built from public subscription levied from election candidates in 1730. The accounts show that Morris was present in an advisory capacity at least three times during 1731-2, including one visit where he suggested the form of the Venetian window. Richard Hewlings has speculated that it was this latter feature - which, interestingly, occurs in the new wings at Culverthorpe - which precipitated the epidemic of Venetian windows inserted into Boston houses during the 1730s and 40s.³

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- 1 U.S. Library of Congress, Washington DC, Halliwell Phillips Collection, Newton Papers, vol.19.
 - 2 Lincolnshire RO, Boston Corporation Chamberlain's Accounts, 1731-2; ex.inf. Richard Hewlings.
 - 3 Richard Hewlings, unpublished paper read to the Association of Art Historians, April 1988.

In 1732 Robert's wife, Mary, died.¹ Meanwhile, however, Robert's surveying practice appears to have proved remarkably successful in a relatively short space of time: by 1738 he was being employed as the expert arbitrator in a dispute over no less a building than the Mansion House in the City of London, adjudicating in a dispute between the architect, George Dance, and the City Carpenter;² two years prior to this a Dr. Birch was asking his opinion (in very flattering terms) on as bizarre a subject as the pyramids of Egypt.³ During the 1740s there is evidence of him surveying the banker George Middleton's house in Twickenham and again being used as an expert in the dispute of 1748 between the Earl of Strafford and Lord Hervey⁴ - commissions which testify to the eminence of his professional reputation.

While making a name for himself as a surveyor, however, Robert Morris did not neglect architectural design. Rykwert has alleged

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- 1 Mary was buried on 6 March 1732/3 (parish registers of St. George, Hanover Square). Thus her children Mary and Hannah, for whose births there is no evidence either in the records at Twickenham or for St. George, Hanover Square, must have been born prior to this date.
 - 2 S. Perks, History of the Mansion House (1922), 183-4.
 - 3 BL, Add. MS 4314, ff. 244-5: letter to Dr. Birch from Robert Morris dated 21 October 1736.
 - 4 Coutts & Co., George Middleton's account. Ledger 1742-4, f. 144: payment of £1.6.0 to 'Robt Morris for Surveying or Measuring Brick Work done by Thos Reeves' dated 19 November 1743; Survey of London, xxix, 104.

that Morris never styled himself 'architect', and certainly in the posthumous Architecture Improved of 1757 he was still titled 'Surveyor'. Nevertheless, in his Rural Architecture of 1750 he frequently styled himself 'Architect' in the annotations to the engraved plates.¹ The Preface of the Halfpennys' A New and Compleat System of Architecture (1749) marks 'Mr. Robert Morrice' as both friend and valued advisor - the practical result of this professional connection being the Halfpennys' utilisation of unused Morris designs in The Modern Builder's Assistant of 1757. And a year before his death Morris was working as both surveyor and architect for a client of his near neighbour in Park Street, Sir Edward Hales,² and as an architectural authority in Norwich, where he was called on to provide plans and elevations for an octagonal chapel which, while not executed, proved the inspiration for Thomas Ivory's final design.³

At the same time as maintaining a professional interest in practical architectural design, Robert Morris pursued a much more public career as an architectural writer and theoretician. Following the publication of his Essay in Defence..., in 1730 he formed, or at least joined, 'a SOCIETY Establish'd for the Improvement of ARTS

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- 1 J. Rykwert, The First Moderns (1980), 190; RA, pls. 1-5 and passim.
 - 2 Now in the R. I. B. A. Library (Letter from Robert Morris to Edward Hales (now in the R. I. B. A. Library), 2 January 1753: 'As Mr. Bishop requires his Bedchamber...I have pursuant to his order made 2 Drawings as little Expensive as I can & tomorrow shalle wait on him with them'. Morris and Hales' houses in Park Street were separated only by Roger Morris' stables (see below, part 3).
 - 3 S. J. Wearing, Georgian Norwich and its Builders (1926), 21-3. In this instance Morris was again being consulted as an expert authority: on 28 December 1753 a Mr. Lee told the building committee 'that he expected some drawings from Mr. Robert Morris of London, with his Remarks upon the octagon Plan; and that he deferred finishing his own Plans till he received the same'.

and SCIENCES', to which he addressed architectural papers from 1730 to 1735.¹ Eight of these were collected in a single volume, which was published in 1734 and dedicated to Sir Michael Newton, for whom Robert had recently been surveying Culverthorpe. In the Preface Morris declared that 'It is about three Years and half since I propos'd the establishing a SOCIETY', whose formation was agreed by 'Friends'. Rykwert suggests that this 'society' was a Masonic Lodge, in the vein of Batty Langley's building school; there is no evidence to support this theory, however, and it was just as likely to have been an informal gathering of architects, related craftsmen and dilettanti patrons such as Newton and Pembroke. Whoever the audience, the Lectures were not above being topical as well as stimulating: even in the Preface to his 1734 book Morris managed to introduce a few well-aimed thrusts at James Ralph's recently-published Critical Review... (- 'just in some Places, in others more ludicrous'), castigating Ralph for seeking to 'force upon his Readers' his 'Ill-nature and Self-opinion' while continuing to parade his own misconceived conclusions before his audience.

The publication of the first eight lectures in 1734 was such an immediate success that Morris persevered with reading six further addresses, all delivered in the short space of three-and-a-half months during 1734-5. This second collection was published in 1736,

1 The dates inscribed for the lecture readings are as follows: I, 22 October 1730; II, 29 October 1730; III, 12 November 1730; IV, 31 December 1732 (- the gap between lectures III and IV suggests that Morris had been away for some time, possibly surveying at Culverthorpe); V, 21 January 1733; VI and VIII, undated; VII, 11 March 1734; IX, 30 September 1734; X, 14 October 1734; XI, 11 November 1734; XII, 25 November 1734; XIII, 16 December 1734; and XIV, 13 January 1734/5.

but not bound together with the earlier lectures until 1759.¹ 'The Reception which the first Part of my Lectures on Archt. hath found since their Publication', declared Morris at the beginning of Lecture IX, 'hath in some measure encourag'd me to continue 'em'.² However, whether either for financial gain or in order to satisfy the 'Society', this second series appears to have been prepared somewhat rapidly, and has little new to say. The new lectures are largely amplifications of the proportional system and other concepts already expounded in the first eight. Indeed, Morris acknowledged this in his Preface, stating that the new lectures were 'chiefly demonstrations to the First'. And as the lectures progressed, Morris increasingly tended to abandon any attempts at serious observation, preferring to translate his concepts into poetic visions of Arcadian landscapes 'Where silver Streams in Eddies glide along'.³

1 Lectures IX-XIV were, according to the text headings, read to the mysterious Society between 30 September 1734 and 13 January 1734-5.

2 Lectures (1759 edition), IX 135.

3 Lectures, XI 184. Morris' figure C in Lecture IX (plate 198) was clearly derived from Campbell's Pembroke House (plate 4); figure D of Lecture X owed much to Roger Morris' Marble Hill.

This second series was dedicated to Roger Morris, 'as an Acknowledgement of the sincere Duty and Obligation I lie under to YOU'. Yet nothing was explained, either in the Preface or in the main text, of the nature of the Society to which they were purportedly delivered. At the same time Morris was very specific concerning the dates the lectures were read.

Three years later, in 1739, Morris produced a second edition of the Lectures - now allegedly 'DESIGN'D As An Agreeable ENTERTAINMENT for GENTLEMEN' or those well-versed in 'the POLITE ARTS'. In the Preface to this edition Morris categorically stated that it had been 'about three Years since I propos'd the establishing a Society for the Improvement of Knowledge in Arts and Sciences'. Yet again, the membership of this Society remains an enigma, being described by Morris only as 'those Friends to whom I communicated my Thoughts'.

At the same time as producing this edition of the earlier Lectures, in 1739 Morris also published a small theoretical pamphlet entitled An Essay upon Harmony as is relates chiefly to Situation and Building. It was over a decade before he followed the Lectures with another important architectural treatise. Rural Architecture of 1750, and The Architectural Remembrancer of 1751, both represent a substantial departure from the format of the Lectures, being pattern-books, with surprisingly little commentary, devised in order to function as design guides for those wishing to construct 'buildings in the Country' and

'ORNAMENTAL BUILDINGS and DECORATION FOR Parks, Gardens, Woods, &c' respectively. Rural Architecture also featured Morris' first consideration of ecclesiastical architecture: plate 45 is a 'plain Church for a Village' (- a very uneasy design with a nave which resembles a small villa and a Hawksmoorian, even Gothick spire of the type Morris was always quick to denigrate), and plate 46 an Ionic altarpiece. (The octagonal temple in plate 47 was jokingly recommended for use as a Puritan chapel [sic], synagogue, or possibly a Mosque, a surgery, an auction room, library, 'cold-bath', and so on). The Preface of The Architectural Remembrancer clearly demonstrated Morris' intention of producing a design source-book in the manner of Gibbs' Book of Architecture and Batty Langley and William Halfpenny's myriad volumes:

I have observed, that Gentlemen often want something in Building, &c, which...they cannot well describe...and for Want of an Architect's immediate Comprehension, he may wreck and torture Invention till he is weary, and not hit upon the Meaning of the Proposer...therefore in both these Lights, I thought this little Monitor might be useful...

The number of plates in The Architectural Remembrancer was, like its predecessor, an easily-manageable fifty, but the engravings depicted only small or medium-sized garden structures: Morris methodically progressed from simple drawings of porticoes and 'Summer Rooms' to the more ambitious five-bay pavilions of plates 33 and 34; appended to this was a selection of chimneypieces very much in the style of Jones and Kent. The Architectural Remembrancer also demonstrated that Morris did possess a sense of humour: at the end he inserted a parodied advertisement for 'A Treatise on Country

Five Barr'd Gates, Stiles and Wickets, elegant Pig-styes...according to the Turkish and Persian Manner', which would also include 'Designs of Flytraps, Bees Palaces...in the Muscovite and Arabian Architecture' (all translated from the Turkish by 'Jemmy Gyp'). This was largely a joke at his own expense, poking fun at the comparative rusticity of the buildings portrayed in his last two works and at the more unusual architectural styles he had been tempted to use for such structures (- the tower-room of plate 15 of The Architectural Remembrancer itself, for example, had been described in all seriousness as 'partly Persian and partly Gothic').

Reissues of Robert Morris' last two volumes following his death testifies to their critical and financial success. A new edition of Rural Architecture appeared in 1755 as Select Architecture (with no indication on the title page that the author was no longer alive, suggesting that Morris had been involved in the project up to his death in November 1754), and The Architectural Remembrancer was republished as Architecture Improved in 1755 and again in 1757. In this last year some of Morris' previously unpublished engravings were published in William and John Halfpenny's and Timothy Lightoler's The Modern Builder's Assistant.¹

¹ The date originally cited for this volume is far too early for Lightoler's participation: 1742 is astonishingly early for a designer whose other recorded commissions begin in the 1760s. Thus the date (curiously printed as 'MDCCVLII' in the Bodleian edition) must be a misprint, and the most likely alternative is 1757 (i.e. the 'V' has been set on the wrong side of the 'L').

In contrast to writers such as the Halfpennys and Langley, however, Robert Morris did not confine his literary output to pattern-books and theoretical tracts. He was also an amateur poet, drawing heavily (if rather clumsily) on the style of Alexander Pope. Pope was clearly a major inspiration for Morris: the latter quotes repeatedly from his works, and frequently echoes the poet's rural themes and architectural prejudices. Pope and Morris were, of course, close neighbours in Twickenham, so it is reasonable to suppose they were friends.

Two of Morris' long poems dealt specifically with architectural subjects: The Art of Architecture of 1742 and The Qualifications and Duty of a Surveyor... of 1752. In the earlier work, Morris constantly attacks architecture that is 'void of Order, Symmetry or Art', and exercises his capacity for professional invective to the full - applauding Jones, Flitcroft and Roger Morris whilst vilifying Ripley and his mediocre associates in the Office of Works.¹ Both of these poems were published anonymously; however, the first page of The Qualifications and Duty... (which enunciates the general rules of building in a rather imprecise manner) includes the information that the author also produced 'The Art of Architecture, a Poem', 'An Enquiry after Virtue, a Poem' and 'Rupert to Maria, an Heroic Epistle', as well as 'An Essay on Harmony' - a claim which clearly establishes Morris as the author of all of these works.

1 AA, 5, 17, 28.

One of the poems referred to in this entry, Rupert to Maria, is a romance much in the vein of Mills and Boon, having no discernible political or architectural content. Published in 1748, it features Morris' poetry - never, it must be said, lyrically eloquent - at its most pedestrian and clumsy, in passages such as 'Forc'd by the Laws, my Passion to subdue,/By Nature bound to love and cherish you.' and 'Unforc'd my Passion, as unfac'd my Praise,/Maria, you my Admiration raise.'.

Vastly different to this entertainment was Morris' political tract of c.1740, An Enquiry After Virtue in a Letter to a Friend. This is a fierce, anti-government polemic which seeks to contrast the failings of Walpole's ministry with the virtuous qualities of the opposition. It is undated, but it is reasonable to assume that it was printed in c.1740, since it bestows lavish praise on the 2nd Duke of Argyll for his conduct following his very public sacking of 1740. Argyll was expelled both from the government and from his numerous military commands as a result of his vocal criticism of Walpole's prosecution of the Spanish war. Morris, however, viewed Argyll's exit in a somewhat different vein than had Walpole:

Indulgent to our wants in Bounty, Heav'n,
Peculiar Blessings with ARGYLE has giv'n;
That noble Conduct, in his Country's Cause,
Must even force from Envy and Applause,
To Quit with HONOUR: Martial-Power and Fame;
Merits a Greater, a more GLORIOUS Name.

The war with Spain - popularly known as the War of Jenkin's Ear after an alleged atrocity at sea - had begun in 1739, and appeared to justify the Opposition's vehement attacks on Walpole's policy of settlement with France and Spain and in particular on the recent convention of Prado with the latter. Walpole entered this war unwillingly, and overnight his fragile system of continental alliances dissolved and Britain found itself without a major ally in Europe. And despite Admiral Vernon's successful capture of the trading prize of Porto Bello in November 1739, the conflict rapidly proved highly disappointing and politically damaging for Walpole's administration. Spain was not, as the government had predicted and popular opinion had expected, easily overcome; indeed, the British navy was not even able to frustrate Spain's despatch of troops to Italy for the War of the Austrian Succession. The immediate result was that a war which Walpole had not even sought was now being used by the Opposition as a stick with which to beat him, and by the inordinately ambitious Argyll as a means of assuming the leadership of the anti-Walpolean factions and, ultimately, of the next government.

Morris' poem clearly identified with Argyll - who had, of course, been one of the principal patrons of his kinsman Roger. (See below, chapter 3.) It also sought to label the Opposition politicians as 'Patriots', a term which was beginning to signify not only the groupings around Carteret, Pulteney and Argyll but also the cause of Frederick, Prince of Wales:

Lo! the firm Patriot in his Country's Cause,
Stands 'midst the Senate to defend her Laws.

Thus Morris allied himself with the Reversionary Interest of the 1740s, in the same way that Roger Morris had attached himself to the reversionary Leicester House 'Court' twenty years before.

Morris also rehearsed the traditional Opposition criticisms of Walpole's allegedly corrupt administration. All of the old charges were cited - charges originally levelled by the Tories against the Late Stuart Whig ministries: Placemen, bribery, excessive taxation (represented by the hugely unpopular Excise of 1733) and standing armies:

Place-Men, and Pensions, should be laid aside,
And proves they're made, to keep up one Man's Pride,
The haughty MINISTER's, designs to Aid,
And to enslave us only - Such were made
To these; excise, and Standing-Armies; join'd
All for our Country's Ruin were design'd.

However, An Enquiry... did not merely seek to repeat such traditional Tory complaints, but also spent much time castigating the Church under Walpole. The stress laid on this subject - which occupies almost a quarter of the whole text - demonstrates Morris' keen attachment to the Church of England. Indeed, his citing of the example of Sacheverell's notorious trial (Sacheverell who had "boldly preach'd in Spite of all their Laws"), as a contrast to the slackness of "Mislead and Blind" Walpolean episcopal appointees such as Bishops Trapp and Whitefield indicates that there was a strong Tory bias to Morris' opposition politics.

The style and vehemence of political jibes in An Enquiry... also recurs in much the same fashion in elements of a pamphlet series and in a semi-political play of the same period. Yes, They Are and Have at you All were both published anonymously in 1740 as part of a pamphlet war centering on Walpole's foreign policy, and in particular

on the conduct of the Spanish war; certainly their style is closely akin to that of Morris' poem. The former was designed as a companion to James Miller's anti-government Are These Things So? of 1740, which bemoaned the apparent fact that "Gaul and Spain limit our seas" and suggested that Carteret, Pulteney or Argyll were all better fitted for high office than Walpole. Yes, They Are enlarged on Miller's predictable themes, and repeated once more the accustomed anti-Walpolean litany of excise, foreign treaties and bribery:

... I dare be free
From the Corruptor's Bribe or venal Fee...
If Taxes, Place-men, Pensions, Bribes encrease.

This pamphlet was in turn answered by the similarly anonymous but pro-government pamphlets of What of that?, The Weather-Menders and They are not, all of 1740. These decried the "false Steps" of the Patriot Opposition:

Nothing delights 'em, but the Rabble's Cries:
Regardless of their Country's Weal or Woes,
Acting as Patriots, tho' the Nation's Foes.

In reply, the author of Yes, They Are produced a pamphlet entitled Have at you All, which concentrated solely on the failings of Walpole's foreign policy, but again in a manner very reminiscent of An Enquiry....:

You¹ echo out brave VERNON's glorious Name,
Whose Act unparallel'd will live in Fame;
With SIX SHIPS ONLY; that you have forgot,
Your other Vessels lay in Port to rot.²

1 Replying to They Are Not (1740), 4.

2 Yes, They Are (1740), 11; What of That (1740), 5; Have at you All (1740), 8.

If Yes, They Are and Have at you All can be attributed to Morris, so can the 1742 play Fatal Necessity. This work is dedicated to the victor of the 1742 Westminster election, Charles Edwin, M.P. for Westminster 1741-7 and for Glamorgan 1747-56. Dupplin classed Edwin as a Tory,¹ and the dedication venerates him for opposing 'Excise schemes, Standing Armies, Useless Fleets, Pensions &c' - the same litany that appears in An Enquiry... (known to be by Morris) and in the 1740 pamphlets discussed above. Edwin is particularly praised for his endeavours 'to lessen the Weight of TAXES, which so heavily oppress us'; this must refer to Walpole's notorious Excise scheme of 1733. The anti-Walpolean bias is reflected in the text, which rapidly assumes the guise of a thinly-veiled allegory of Walpole's fall, written in much the same manner as the pamphlets of 1740. The story is ostensibly that of Appius and Virginia, but the tyrant Appius - responsible for 'The Bankrupt State,/Oppress'd with heavy Taxes' - is clearly meant to be Walpole; at the same time the martial hero, Valerius, is probably a symbol for Argyll. At the conclusion Rome is wrested from Appius' 'impious Power' and, as the play's alternative title 'Liberty Regain'd' suggests, the play becomes a celebration of the fall of Walpole in 1742.

Whilst the subject and the tone of the play are very much in

1 L. Namier and J. Brooke, The Commons 1754-90 (1964), II 384.

the vein of Morris' other political tracts, two other factors point to Morris' authorship of Fatal Necessity. In 1764 Baker's Biographia Dramatica listed the play as being 'By Robert Morris 8vo 1742'. (Stephen Jones' 1812 edition of Baker notes that 'It was never represented on stage'. The play was thus probably envisaged more as a political pamphlet couched in dramatic form.) Possibly as a result of Baker's attribution, the title page of the British Library's copy of the play has the name 'Rob: Morris' inscribed, in an eighteenth or nineteenth-century hand, on the title page.

In addition, Fatal Necessity was sold by 'T. Cooper in Pasternoster Row'. Cooper was the printer of Morris' architectural treatise An Essay upon Harmony of 1739, and also of the 1740 pamphlets attributed to Morris as well as Miller's Are These Things So). His involvement may help to assign all of these political works to Robert Morris.

Robert Morris died on 12 November 1754, according to the annotation at the foot of the title page of the British Library's copy of An Essay in Defence... . His will described him as a resident of the parish of St. George, Hanover Square, and disposed of his estate (including the legacy left him by his brother-in-law John Thornton¹) to 'Mrs. Mary Fielder of East Sheene', his granddaughter Mary (daughter of his son Thomas) and to his four children.² No mention is made of his wife, also Mary, which indicates that she predeceased him. Given the prominence accorded to Mary Fielder, it seems possible that Mrs. Fielder filled the gap left by his late wife. His executors were William Perritt, a plasterer who had worked with Roger Morris at George Middleton's house in the Strand,³ 'my cousin James Thornton of Kew', and 'my cousin James Morris painter in Berkeley Square'. James Morris may well be Roger's son - Berkeley Square was very near Roger's own house in Green Street - or to some as yet undiscovered relative.

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- 1 John Thornton was presumably the husband of Robert's sister Hannah, who had died in 1735.
 - 2 PRO, PCC 334 Pinfold.
 - 3 Coutts & Co., George Middleton's account, Ledgers 1740-6, f.102 (payments to Perritt for work at 59 Strand) and Roger Morris' account, Ledger 1742-4, f.139 (payments to Perritt, November-December 1742).

(3) ROGER AND ROBERT MORRIS

Before examining the nature of Roger Morris' practice and the relationship between him and his patrons, it is perhaps helpful to define the professional connections and the degree of personal intimacy between Roger and his cousin Robert. Given that comparatively little was known of the Morrises, particularly Roger, before the Inveraray correspondence in Country Life in 1944, it is hardly surprising that the two have been confused.¹ In 1933 the North Front of West Wycombe Park was described as 'a competent Palladian design such as an architect like Robert Morris might have produced'; the author presumably means to cite Roger Morris, since he goes on to comment that 'Morris is known to have designed Bubb Dodington's house at Hammersmith...'.² In 1944 James Lees-Milne revealed that the attribution of Inveraray to Robert Morris in an earlier issue of Country Life was erroneous, and in 1973 Ian Lindsay and Mary Cosh affirmed that it was Roger Morris' son James, and not his cousin Robert, who took over supervision of the Castle on Roger's death.³ As recently as 1985, however, an architectural expert persisted in merging the identities of Roger and Robert.⁴

1 J. Lees-Milne in Country Life 25 Feb 1944; C. Hussey in ibid. 17 March 1944; W. Hemp in ibid. 7 April 1944.

2 A. Oswald in Country Life 6 May 1933.

3 I. Lindsay and M. Cosh, Inveraray and the Dukes of Argyll (1973), 68.

4 M. Binney, 'Sir Robert Taylor: Prototypical Architect for Annapolis' (unpublished article based on a paper given to the Second Conference of the Centre for Palladian Studies, U. S., in 1985).

The principal evidence for a professional association between the two Morrises is Robert's fulsome dedication to Roger of the second series of Lectures, published in 1736:

If our Affinity or Friendship are Motives to induce me to address this Second Part of my Lectures to YOU, I am more immediately obliged to it, from the ERUDITION I have received in your Service... Be pleas'd, Sir, to receive this ... as an Acknowledgement of the sincere Duty and Obligation I lie under to YOU.

These comments strongly suggest that Robert studied architecture under Roger some time during the late 1720s or early 1730s.

Two other comments also help to connect Robert with Roger. A letter of 1746 pertaining to Roger's work for the Duke of Cleveland at 19 St. James's Square mentions Robert as 'Cousin to Roger Morris'.¹ This could, of course, merely mean that Roger was a distant relative, not necessarily a first cousin in the modern sense, or even just that they shared the same surname. Examination of the family trees of the two men does not reveal any direct family connection. Of additional interest is that Roger most prominently heads a list of exemplary architects recommended in Robert's The Art of Architecture of 1742.

There is little evidence, however, that Roger and Robert remained close friends, or even professional colleagues. Neither mentions the other in their respective wills, and Robert's later works do not mention Roger by name. The influence of Roger's practice on Robert's thought appears to be strongest in the late 1720s and early 1730s, at the time of the putative apprenticeship with Roger. In his first published work, An Essay in defence of Ancient Architecture of 1728, Robert inserts at the beginning of chapter 12 an engraving of an ideal house - 'compos'd according to the foregoing rules' - which is an exact replica of the north front of Roger Morris and Lord Herbert's Marble Hill House. Marble Hill was almost complete in 1728; not only was Robert a close neighbour of the house in Twickenham, but if he was learning the craft of architecture under Roger at this time he cannot have failed to have become personally involved with the project. The similarities of the two designs are

striking: even the eared architrave of the central attic window and the triangular pediment on the window below this at Marble Hill are reproduced in Robert's engraving. The only major difference between the two is that the engraving features rustication across the whole basement, rather than merely on the basement of the central, three-bay projection. This, though, could well represent an earlier scheme for the house. Certainly Robert could conceivably have derived his engraving from the Vitruvius Britannicus plate of Marble Hill, published in 1725; however, the latter elevations include no basement rustication whatsoever. It is surely very significant that Robert was using Roger's first major architectural commission to illustrate his own first book.

Marble Hill appears to have had a profound influence on Robert Morris. Perhaps most important is the close resemblance between the elevations and divisions of the Twickenham villa and the ideal proportions later advocated by Robert. The outer walls of the villa, for example, correspond to Robert's proportion G (with a measurement ratio of 4:3:2), whilst even the height of the chimneypieces match Robert's subsequent formulae.¹ This clearly indicates that Roger was instrumental in helping his colleague develop his architectural theories.

Not only was Marble Hill used as a prototype for Robert's ideal houses. Roger's Combe Bank - a villa roughly contemporary with Marble Hill - also seems to have been the object of close study. The 4:6 proportion of the main facades closely mirrors proportion I, revealed

¹ See Dan Cruickshank in Architectural Review, April 1983, 54.

in Robert's subsequent Lectures, as indeed do the double-cube towers at each corner.

During the early 1730s both Roger and Robert were employed at at least one site - Culverthorpe Hall in Lincolnshire. Culverthorpe was rebuilt during this period for Sir Michael Newton, and it is surely significant that the Lectures were dedicated to Newton when first published in 1734. In 1731 Robert was paid for work as a surveyor;¹ two years later, however, Roger was also examining bills at the site, and possibly even designing the new additions. It is probable, then, that one of the two Morrisises recommended the use of the other to Newton.

Of additional interest is that in 1738 it appears that Roger, as part of his work on the Park Street Stables in Mayfair for the 3rd Duke of Marlborough, also built a house for Robert adjacent to the stables site. (See below, chapter 3.) Thus there seems enough circumstantial evidence for some professional connections between the two, even if there were no ties of family or close friendship.

1 U.S. Library of Congress, Washington DC, Halliwell Phillips Collection, Newton Papers, vols. 18-19: contracts for plastering at 'Thorpe Hall' dated 8 June 1730 and 12 March 1730/1, the latter annotated by Robert; bill for smith's work examined by Robert Morris 11 October 1731; masons' bills, 10 October 1731; claim of payments owing to Robert Morris, in the latter's hand, dated 31 October 1731, including 'Carriage of My Box to and from London' and the purchasing of scaffolding from Boston.

3 ROGER MORRIS' ARCHITECTURAL PRACTICE: PATRONAGE

(1) ROGER MORRIS, COLLEN CAMPBELL AND LEICESTER HOUSE

Roger Morris' early career owed much to the pioneering Palladian architect Colen Campbell. During the early 1720s it appears that Campbell was employing Morris as his assistant; a drawing signed by Morris for Campbell's Pembroke House of 1724 in the archive at Wilton suggests either that Campbell was using Morris as his draughtsman or that, given the evidence of Morris' signature at the side of the drawing rather than at the bottom, this was a drawing exercise set by Campbell for his junior.¹ It seems probable, then, that Campbell in some sense 'discovered' Morris, encouraging him to exercise his talents beyond the building trades towards a career in architectural design - a career which was, ironically, soon to eclipse Campbell's own.

It could well have been Campbell who introduced Morris into the Leicester House circle, a group of politicians and courtiers centered around George I's son prince Georg Augustus. And it was this circle which afforded Morris his first commissions, and which continued to

¹ See ed. John Harris, Catalogue of the R.I.B.A. Drawings Collection: Colen Campbell (1973), 12 and fig.61.

provide him with the bulk of his practice throughout his career. In 1716 the Prince of Wales broke publicly with his father and with his father's court, and set up his own, rival establishment at Leicester House (actually purchased in 1718). Although the Prince was formally reconciled with his father through the agency of Sir Robert Walpole in 1720, the Prince maintained his residence at Leicester House and the connections he had secured during these years, the majority of his adherents being rewarded with court offices in 1727.

It was this group, which virtually represented the unofficial Opposition, which provided Morris with the nucleus of his practice. His principal patron, Lord Herbert, later 9th Earl of Pembroke, was an intimate of Leicester House, as were subsequent patrons such as Dodington, Fountaine (who, whilst it is doubtful if he was using Morris as early as 1718, may well have employed him at a later date),¹ and Islay. Campbell himself was well connected to the luminaries of the prince's set: in addition to designing Pembroke House, Whitehall for Herbert, he was working on the fabric of Leicester House itself during the early 1720s, and between 1726 and 1727 built Compton Place,

1 See below, p.351 . Fountaine was particularly close to Prince George's wife Caroline, who appointed him as her Vice-Chamberlain in 1725 and tutor to her son Prince William. A Kneller portrait of Caroline, given personally by the Princess, still hangs on the staircase wall at Narford. Fountaine was also very close to the 9th Earl of Pembroke: Vertue records the two escorting the Prince of Wales to the Academy of Painting in 1722, and refers to a book that they collaborated on concerning the paintings and statues at Wilton. From the evidence of the Pembroke correspondence Fountaine appears to have become almost a permanent resident at Wilton by the 1740s. Eg. Wiltshire RO, Pembroke MSS, 2057/F4/25, Pembroke to the Countess of Suffolk, 21 June 1738: 'rib [the Countess of Pembroke], Sir Andrew Fountaine, myself and chuff [his son, Henry Herbert] have not yet done what they ought...'; cf. also Henry Herbert to Pembroke, 23 August 1743, in which Fountaine is referred to almost as a member of the Herbert family.

Sussex, for Spencer Compton, a Leicester House adherent who was used by George II in 1727-8 in an attempt to supplant Walpole as First Minister. (Ironically, at that time work was also progressing on Campbell's Houghton Hall, begun in 1722 for Walpole himself. Walpole had sided with Prince George after the Whig Schism of 1716-17 and the temporary triumph of Stanhope and Sunderland, but on effecting the reconciliation of 1720 firmly established himself both at court and in government. Walpole's anomalous position as the bridge between the Prince of Wales and the King may explain the sudden promotion of Compton to the Earldom of Wilmington in 1727). It is likely that Campbell turned to Leicester House after his dismissal from the Works in 1719 and Benson's replacement by Sunderland's protege Hewett - Leicester House being at this time the refuge for all those opposed to Sunderland's government; certainly by 1725 Campbell was styling himself 'Architect to His Royal Highness, the Prince of Wales' on the title page of the third volume of Vitruvius Britannicus.

Having been introduced into Prince George's circle, Morris was soon taken up by the Prince's adherents not only as an alternative to the mediocre talents of the Office of Works (presided over by Sir Thomas Hewett until 1726) but also as a substitute - and possibly a more pliable one - for Campbell himself. At Marble Hill in c.1724

Morris was seemingly acting as Campbell's deputy, but by the end of the decade, and well before Campbell's death in 1729, he had evidently replaced his master at a number of sites. It is

conceivable that Morris assisted Campbell at Goodwood. The R.I.B.A. Drawings Collection includes a drawing for Goodwood signed by Campbell and dated 1724; this is remarkably similar to a design identified by John Harris as being for Saltram in Devon, which may have well been another Campbell-commissioned drawing exercise (plate 10). There is also a bound volume of 7 drawings, possibly in Morris' hand, for Goodwood. (See below, appendix 2.)

Morris was also employed by Campbell at Stourhead during the late 1720s, receiving payments for work here of £10 in 1726 and, after Campbell's death, £31 in 1734.¹ The small size of these sums suggests that Morris was only at the site in some minor capacity - perhaps as a surveyor or bricklayer. By the later 1720s, however, there is evidence elsewhere that Campbell - already dropped by Burlington to make way for William Kent - was becoming unpopular with the habitués of Leicester House, and that Morris was being considered as his effective replacement as the Prince of Wales' premier architect.

It is surely of considerable significance that Morris, and not Campbell, was employed to work on the most important Leicester House commission of this period, Marble Hill House. The building history of the new villa at Twickenham, soon called Marble

¹ Cf. ed. Christopher Hussey, English Country Houses: Early Georgian (1966), 235.

Hill (plates 27-30) has been comprehensively covered by Draper and Eden in their account of the house. In 1723 the Prince of Wales gave his mistress Henrietta Howard a financial settlement of £12,000, which Mrs. Howard subsequently used to build a house on the banks of the Thames at Twickenham.¹ Designs appear to have been produced as early as 1723 itself: on the 5th of July of that year Mrs. Howard wrote to John Gay, asking him not to mention 'the Plan which you found in my Room'.² Receipts now in the Norfolk Record Office indicate that building began in 1724 and continued until 1729;³ they also demonstrate that Morris, not Campbell, was the principal site architect.⁴

Admittedly Campbell does appear to have played a part in the early stages of the project: a drawing of the house (formerly at Wilton, now lost or mislaid) is possibly in Campbell's hand, while the form of Marble Hill is not dissimilar to Campbell's favourite villa formula, that of Palladio's Villa Emo at Fanzolo, which he had modified for use at Pembroke House. Nevertheless, there is no mention of Campbell in the building receipts, which show that the Earls of Pembroke

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- 1 Draper and Eden, op.cit., 12. In 1731 Henrietta's husband Charles became the 9th Earl of Suffolk on the death of his brother, but although the couple were separated she was allowed by George II to take her husband's title, which she maintained despite the death of the Earl in 1733 and her second marriage in 1735.
- 2 BL, Add. MS 22626, ff. 29-30.
- 3 Norfolk RO, Hobart MSS, 8862, 21 f. 4. The earliest receipt is dated 21 June 1724 and is for £200 paid by Islay to Morris 'for Building the naked Carcass of a house...at Twickenham'; the last is dated 24 June 1729 and records the payment to Morris of £763 'for finishing of Workes done att her House att Marble Hill att Twickingham and of Demands by Roger Morris'. Two payments of £400 each, however, were made by Mrs. Howard (by then Countess of Suffolk) directly to Morris on 15 April and 31 May 1735. (Coutts Bank, f. 155, Countess of Suffolk's account; ex inf. Mary Cosh).
- 4 A plan for Marble Hill in the archives at Wilton House (F6/14) is actually signed by Morris.

and Islay - both luminaries of Leicester House - were acting as intermediaries between Mrs. Howard and Morris alone.¹

The comparatively rapid supercession of Campbell by Morris is further underlined by Morris' winning of the commission for building the White Lodge in Richmond Park (plates 37-9). The White Lodge, while begun at the end of George I's reign, effectively represents the first official residence built for George II: the Treasury Warrant to the Office of Works is dated 15 March 1726/7, while the Board of the Office ordered foundations to be dug on 14 February 1726/7, following a proposal received on 26 January;² by this time George I was ill, and absorbed in preparations for his last journey to Hanover (where he died on 20 June 1727).³ It is somewhat significant that the commission for the Lodge was not bestowed on any members of the Burlingtonian set, nor on the officers of the Works itself; indeed Morris' authorship of this royal residence seems to belie Summerson's opinion that Morris was at this time merely 'a minor Court architect'.⁴

George II's accession in 1727 enabled most of the Leicester House group to achieve Court office,⁵ and resulted in a flood of

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- 1 Eg. Norfolk RO, Hobart MSS, 21 f. 4, a payment of £100 dated 1 Feb 1724/5 to Morris made by 'the Rt. Honble. the Earl of Ilay by the hands of the Rt. Honble. Henry Lord Herbert'. Islay and his brother the 2nd Duke of Argyll were the trustees of the original gift from the Prince of Wales.
 - 2 PRO, WORK 4/3, Minutes of the Board of Works, 26 Jan and 2 Feb 1726/7.
 - 3 J. Summerson in Journal of the Royal Society of Arts (1959), 572. Vitruvius Britannicus I also points to George II, rather than his father, as the patron of the White Lodge: the description to plate 1 states that 'the center part of this building was erected by king George II'.
 - 4 R. Hatton, George I (1978), 280.
 - 5 See T. P. Connor in Architectural History, 1977, 67-8.

commissions for Morris from this circle. Significantly, most of these appear to have been won at the expense of Colen Campbell. In 1728 a number of the luminaries of Leicester House were employing Morris - not Campbell - to design and build new houses: Lord Clinton at 11 Grosvenor Square and Castle Hill in Devon, John Campbell at Combe Bank in Kent,¹ and most probably also Islay at Whitton Park in Middlesex and Sir Charles Hotham at South Dalton in Yorkshire (q. v.). Morris, also currently involved with the King's New Lodge in Richmond Park, was thus clearly identified as the premier royal architect, a position he had won at the expense of Campbell.

Morris' success at the expense of his former tutor may explain the bitterness Campbell expressed whilst working with Morris at Studley Royal, Yorkshire in 1729. In his last years Campbell was advising John Aislaby, formerly Walpole's Chancellor of the Exchequer, on various outbuildings planned for his West Riding estate.² Increasing ill-health appears to have forced upon him the necessity of employing Morris as his assistant, and also obliged him to allow him considerable autonomy at the site.

¹ Already begun in c. 1725; see below.

² See G. Goodfellow in Burlington Magazine, April 1969, 189.

William - his son.

Aislabie was M. P. for Ripon from 1721 until 1781¹, but at the beginning of his tenure his political career was effectively terminated: implicated in the South Sea Bubble of 1720, in 1721 he was used as a scapegoat and dismissed as Chancellor of the Exchequer, and later disqualified from public office.¹ Aislabie represents an interesting exception to the group of powerfully-connected Leicester House patrons that Morris had attracted by the late 1720s; clearly it was Campbell, not Morris, who secured this particular commission - although, given the bitterness Campbell expressed towards Morris during the work, it was presumably not Campbell himself who had advocated the employment of his now-fashionable rival.

From his sickbed Campbell poured scorn on Morris' designs. Two of these he condemned as 'very ugly'; the third Morris was 'advised ... to correct'. In their stead Campbell recommended the use of an 'original design' - presumably his own. Thus Morris was, in the light of Campbell's complaints and objections, perhaps being a little too optimistic when he wrote to Aislabie on 11 August 1729, declaring that 'Mr. Campbell has examined the Arcade and thinks

¹ R. Haslam in CL, 27 March 1986.

this design will be the best...'; or possibly this demonstrates how dismissive an increasingly confident Morris was of the dying man's strictures.¹ It is probable, though, ^{that} Aislabie himself was pleased with Morris' work, since he evidently asked Morris to design other estate buildings: drawings are extant in the R. I. B. A. Drawings Collection which show plans of the cascade and fishing lodges at Studley in Morris' hand. Recently it has been suggested with some conviction that Morris was additionally the author of the East Gate of c. 1729: Mowl and Earnshaw have pointed out that the heavy quoins here are similar to the 'over dramatised doorway surrounds' at the Brinton Lodge at Althorp (plate 56), and that the heavy, quasi-Baroque nature of the gate is mirrored in the wings at Adderbury, in the stable block at Althorp, and in the stable block at South Dalton - all of which are works by, or attributed to, Morris.²

Leicester House provided the bedrock for Roger Morris' architectural practice, allowing him to make the acquaintance of aristocratic patrons who were to dominate his career - most notably the 9th Earl of Pembroke and the 2nd and 3rd Dukes of Argyll. It is interesting to speculate what might have been the outcome for Morris had George II displayed more enthusiasm for building: Morris would surely have been in an excellent position to establish himself, with the aid of royal patronage, as the foremost architect of the 1730s and 40s. Unfortunately, whereas George's son Prince Frederick was prepared to adopt the role of patron, George himself remained singularly uninterested in the arts,

1 Leeds District Archives, Studley Royal MSS, VR 286, letter from Campbell to Aislabie dated 26 August 1729.

2 Ed. J. Harris, *op.cit.*, fig. 119; Mowl and Earnshaw, A Trumpet at a Distant Gate (1985), 84-5.

save for the more popular of Handel's works.¹

One of Morris' Leicester House contacts even appears to have become a personal friend.² Morris is known to have accompanied George Budd Dodington on a trip to Italy in c. 1731-2 (see above, ch.2), and either during or shortly after this visit was commissioned to complete Dodington's house at Eastbury in Dorset, begun in 1718 for Dodington's father.³ Morris' signed elevation for the house, now in the Royal Library at Windsor (plate 59), testifies to his involvement here;⁴ two other drawings at Windsor feature a triumphal arch dedicated to George II, either actually erected at or intended for Eastbury (plate 60).⁵ Other projects for Dodington followed: a house (later Melcombe House, after Dodington's elevation to the title of Lord Melcombe Regis in 1761) in Pall Mall, London, begun in 1731, and Brandenburg House in Hammersmith, rebuilt for Dodington in 1748.⁶ The close relationship between architect and patron in this instance is testified to by Pope's remark of Dodington in 1732, that 'Morris and He continue to admire each other...'.⁶

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- 1 See K. Woodbridge, Landscape and Antiquity (1970), 9. A modern, full-length biography of George II is still awaited.
 - 2 Dodington was a close associate of Spencer Compton and others of the Prince's set. See T. Connor in Architectural History, 1984, 113.
 - 3 Little building work was actually completed before Vanbrugh's death. See L. Whistler, The Imagination of Sir John Vanbrugh... (1954), 172.
 - 4 Royal Library, Windsor, Consul Smith Collection (Visentini Drawings) 10571. Above the elevation is the comment 'This building was built by Sr John Vanbrugh in Dorsitshire for Mr Dodington. I finished the inside by a contract for £9000', and below: 'E. front of Eastbury Sept. 29 1733'.
 - 5 Ibid., 10570. At the sale of Consul Smith's collection in 1762 all three Morris drawings were catalogued as pertaining to the 'seat of George Bubb Dodington Esq.'. See Whistler, op.cit., 175; see also Watson in Country Life, 11 Feb 1949, and Harris in Architectural History, 1984, 231-40. See plates 69,70,81 below.

Dodington may in turn have introduced Morris to another of his patrons, Thomas Wyndham of Clearwell in Gloucestershire. Connections between Dodington and the Wydnhams were close: one of Thomas' cousins (also Thomas) became almost a permanent fixture at Dodington's Hammersmith residence, whilst in 1734 another cousin, Charles, was helped by Dodington to a parliamentary seat at Bridgwater.¹ Thomas Wyndham seems to have wanted to mark his second marriage of 1728 with the building of a new house, and it is possible that Dodington suggested Morris.² The result was a surprisingly medieval-looking house of two storeys which can be called the first authentic product of the Gothic Revival in England. (See below, chapter 6, for a discussion of the significance of Clearwell's Gothicism.)

1 H.A.Wyndham, A Family History 1688-1837 (1950), 93, 186.

2 The marriage settlement with Anne Edwin is preserved in the National Library of Wales, Dunraven MSS, 308. Estimates for work at Clearwell, signed by Morris and dated 29 December 1727 and 1 January 1727/8, can also be found in the same collection, Dunraven 347.

(2) ROGER MORRIS AND THE EARL OF PEMBROKE

It is most probable that Roger Morris met Lord Herbert - 9th Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery after his father's death in 1733 - at Leicester House some time around 1720, introduced by Campbell or another of Prince George's circle. Pembroke had established his Palladian credentials early in his career: although not a sponsor of Vitruvius Britannicus in 1715, he had visited Italy in 1712 - where it is possible he met Morris' future patron, Argyll¹ - and indeed prior to this was at Christ Church, Oxford, during the construction of Dean Aldrich's Peckwater Quad.² In 1722 he and Stukeley founded the Society of Antiquaries and in 1743 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society.³ Pembroke retained contact with Leicester House (and, after 1727, the Court) during his career: although not a politician he was, in Hervey's opinion, 'of great quality, of an extreme good character' and 'beloved by everybody who knew him', and became a good friend of Queen Caroline, who declared him to be 'the best creature in the world' (although still 'as odd as his father was...and full as mad').⁴ It was presumably this royal influence which helped him to capture the office of Surveyor-General for the Leicester House interest in 1726: following the death of Hewett in that year Herbert's half-brother Richard Arundell was

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- 1 J. Lees-Milne, Earls of Creation, 61. The English Minister recorded Herbert's presence in Venice on 5 February and Argyll's on 4 March.
 - 2 D. Cruickshank in Architectural Review, April 1983, 50.
 - 3 Earls of Creation, 63.
 - 4 Ed. R. Sedgwick, Memoirs of Lord Hervey (1952), I 251 and III 828. Horace Walpole amplified the Queen's opinion: Pembroke House, he declared in 1750, was 'as madly built as my Lord himself was' (ed. P. Toynbee, The Letters of Horace Walpole (1903), II 445.

appointed in his stead.¹ This in turn would have facilitated moves by Herbert to secure the commission for the White Lodge for his new protégé, Roger Morris. (It is also likely that at this time Herbert introduced Morris to Vanbrugh, a close friend of the Herbert family).²

Herbert was certainly instrumental in arranging for Morris' employment at his first major project, Marble Hill House. Herbert and Islay were Henrietta Howard's agents at the site, and many of the surviving receipts record that Morris was actually reimbursed 'by the hands of' Herbert himself.³ These circumstances seem to demonstrate that some time during 1724, or shortly afterwards, Campbell fell from favour with Herbert and his Leicester House colleagues and was replaced by Morris, since although Campbell was the author of Pembroke House of 1723 he was passed over in favour of the younger architect both at Marble Hill and at the White Lodge.

Herbert himself was able to turn his hand to architectural design. Draper and Eden, in their account of Marble Hill House, have suggested that he designed the alcove screen in the

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- 1 Ed. H. Colvin, History of the King's Works (1963-76), V 74, and R. Sedgwick, The House of Commons 1715-54 (1970), 421. Arundell was both a good friend of Pelham, as was Pembroke (who resigned his posts in company with the Pelhams in 1746), and also of Burlington, who made him his executor and trustee; he was additionally, reported Pelham, 'personally known to his majesty'.
 - 2 Whistler, op.cit., 159. In 1722 Vanbrugh wrote that 'I was an hour this morning with my Lord Pemk [the 8th Earl]: he is prodigious good to me, and has lately done me the honour of a visit'. Whistler also suggests that Morris may have met Vanbrugh at the Royal Ordnance, but whereas Vanbrugh died in 1726, Morris' first commission for the Ordnance was dated 30 March 1729 (PRO, WO 51/126, Ordnance Treasurer's Bill Books).
 - 3 Draper and Eden, op.cit., 28, pls. 96, 24; eg. Hobart MSS, bill for carving and plastering by Richards for £30.7.4, dated 14 May 1726.

Breakfast Parlour, a drawing for which appears to be in a hand other than Morris'. However, the double consoles of the alcove, roughly detailed and awkwardly paired (plate 29), look like the work of an unsophisticated craftsman. More likely it was the work of an experienced plasterer such as James Richards, who is known to have worked with Morris here. Nevertheless, drawings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York - inscribed by Horace Walpole: 'designed by Henry Lord Herbert, afterwards Earl of Pembroke' - and Walpole's comments of 1773 - 'the water-house built by Lord Pembroke tumbling down...' - testify to Herbert's authorship of the Water House at Houghton Hall (plate 18).¹ Herbert may also have been the architect of outbuildings at his brother Robert's house of Highclere in Hampshire,² and certainly appears to have been in sole charge of the Column of Victory at Blenheim Palace in Oxfordshire. Letters from the 1st Duchess of Marlborough indicate that Herbert was responsible for the design at least at the time of the commencement

1 Reproduced in John Harris, A Catalogue of British Drawings... in American Collections (1971), plates 88-9; Walpole's Correspondence, VIII 324, entry for September 1773. Harris points out that the Water House drawings 'may be the only surviving evidence of Lord Pembroke's abilities as an architectural draughtsman'. Plate 88 shows a temple-like structure with a pyramidal roof, strongly recalling the central bays of Campbell's Pembroke House, Whitehall; plate 89 is similar, but with a large Venetian window and only one opening in the basement.

2 Colvin, 415.

of the building work in 1727.¹ This attribution is reinforced by Hawksmoor's comment of 1731 that 'the Historicall Pillar is set up in the park (conducted by my Lord Herbert)'.² Nowhere, however, does either Hawksmoor or the Duchess mention that Roger Morris was involved in the design of the column. Indeed, the Duchess' letters to the local craftsman William Townesend seem to indicate that Townesend himself was acting as mason-architect at the site.³

Herbert was thus clearly well-acquainted with the practicalities of architectural design. Such abilities appear to have encouraged him to act as an architectural advisor to Morris, and not just as a buffer to Morris' aristocratic patrons. The contrast of the well-ordered, wholly symmetrical plans of Marble Hill and the White Lodge, when compared with the innovative but bizarre irregularities of Morris' own Combe Bank, suggest that Herbert was the moderating hand at these two sites. This would certainly correspond to Walpole's comment, in his Anecdotes of Painters, that 'Marble Hill and Richmond Lodge are incontestable proofs of Lord Pembroke's taste'.⁴

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- 1 Berkshire RO, D/Esv(B), f.30, letter from the Duchess to Townesend dated 4 April 1727: 'I have this day receiv'd a Letter from my Lord Herbert; who says it is absolutely necessary for you to send him a section of the Pillar & Pedestal according to the Measures propos'd in the Contract'.
 - 2 Hawksmoor to the Earl of Carlisle, 4 October 1731, quoted by David Green in Architectural Review, April 1950, 274. Herbert is rarely mentioned by the Duchess after 1727.
 - 3 See note 1, above, and also instructions to Townesend dated 21 April and 15 August 1730. In c.1730 Townesend was paid the sizeable sum of £193.18.0 'for monument' (Berkshire RO, D/Esv(B), f.29/4).
 - 4 Quoted by James Lees-Milne in Earls of Creation (1962), 68.

Morris' commission for Adderbury House in Oxfordshire, added to in c.1731 for the 2nd Duke of Argyll, also appears to have been the result of Pembroke's influence. A plan of the principal storey in a bound collection of 27 designs for the house, now in the Scottish Record Office, is actually inscribed 'As propos'd by Ld. Pembroke'. The use of Pembroke's title, however, may indicate (if the inscription is assumed to be pedantically correct) that this design, and thus Pembroke's involvement, came some time after Morris had begun work, since the 9th earl only came into his titles in 1733. Then again, the drawing could be a later copy of Pembroke's original, or the annotation could simply be failing to distinguish between Lord Herbert and his father, who was still 8th Earl in 1731. The claim for Morris' own involvement lies with a signed drawing for the 'new... gallery' dated 28 February 1730/1 (plate 50).¹

The Duchess of Marlborough indicates that Herbert was also responsible for the rebuilding of Westcombe House, Kent in c.1730; this attribution is confirmed by Richard Pococke's comment of 1754 that 'Toward Charlton is a small house built by the late Lord Pembroke, when Lord Herbert'.² The house, however, possesses many features highly typical of Morris' Later work: the pyramidal roof surmounted by a square lantern, the sunken oval panels between the ground and first floors, the tall side chimneys, and the 1-3-1 rhythm of the

¹ SRO, RHP 13777, 20693.

² G.S.Thomson, letters of a Grandmother (1943), 21-3; Richard Pococke, Travels Through England (ed. J.Cartwright, 1888), II 69, entry for August 1754.

bays.¹ Herbert may also have provided the link between Morris and Sir Charles Hotham, for whom Morris seemingly designed South Dalton (a house closely modelled on Marble Hill) in c. 1728: letters in the Hotham Papers illustrate the close relationship between Hotham and Herbert, although they do not specifically identify the architect of the house.²

Wimbledon House presents a clear example of the close professional relationship that existed between Herbert and Morris. As at Marble Hill, Herbert acted as intermediary between Morris and the patron, as revealed by the Duchess of Marlborough's letters of 1732,³ and it seems probable that, as at Wilton Bridge, Herbert may have played some role in designing the building. Marie Draper illustrates a plan of Wimbledon from the Wilton archives (a plan since lost or mislaid) which was evidently drawn by the Duchess' granddaughter Diana, who was altering the Herbert-Morris plan at the Duchess' insistence.⁴

This plan is remarkably similar to that in Vitruvius Britannicus, which - despite Horace Walpole's claim that Herbert was the sole architect of Wimbledon - is credited only to 'R. Morris'

- 1 BL, King's Maps, K. Top xvii 49b (Watts' engraving of 1777); compare this with Woolett's engraving of Whitton K. Top xxx 21b. A drawing of the facade, originally at Wilton House, is now lost.
- 2 Hull University, Brynmor Jones Library, Hotham Papers, DDHO 4/3 (eg. Beaumont Hotham to Sir Charles Hotham, 16 November 1749: 'I have made your compliments to Lord Pembroke as you desire. He thanks you for your attention to his recommendation [concerning a visit to Egypt]'); DDHO 4/4 (Beaumont Hotham to Sir Charles, 25 January 1749/50: 'Lord Pembroke's death continues to be generally lamented. I have lost in him a very sincere and usefull friend'). Hotham was also a close friend of the Prince of Wales, and a beneficiary of his accession, when he received the post of Groom of the Bedchamber. (See T. P. Connor in Architectural History, 1977, 67).
- 3 L. Whistler, op.cit., 173-4.
- 4 M. Draper in Country Life, 2 Aug 1962.

(plate 58).¹ Herbert's involvement in the planning is hinted at in the Duchess' comment on the south-east room of the Wilton plan that 'This Room and that which answers it I think may be done as yr. Lordp. design'd it in your plan...'.² The Duchess was a notoriously cantankerous patron, as both Herbert and Morris were to discover. She refused to ascend steps to enter the house, so (Walpole reports) Herbert 'dug a saucer to put it in and levelled the first floor with the ground', whereupon the Duchess complained that the architects were 'setting the house in a pit'.³ She was soon claiming that Herbert (by this time Earl of Pembroke) had overcharged her for building materials and was alleging that Morris had 'some things done, not only without my having ever seen a plan of them, but after I had positively said that they shou'd not be done' and had vastly overcharged for his services; her hysterical conclusion was that she had never 'given any directions that [Morris] obey'd'.⁴ The outcome was predictable, mirroring the treatment of Vanbrugh and Hawksmoor at Blenheim: in a codicil to her will of 1732 or 1733 the Duchess directed that neither Pembroke nor Morris were to have anything further to do with the house, and that 'Mr [Francis] Smith of Warwicks. the Builder may be employed to make Contracts and to Measure the work...'.⁵

At the same time as Wimbledon was being constructed Pembroke was also acting as intermediary - this time in conjunction with

1 VB V, pls. 20-2.

2 Quoted in Whistler, 249.

3 Quoted in R. Milward, Wimbledon's Manor Houses (1982) 6.

4 L. Whistler, op.cit., pp. 173-4.

5 Quoted in Draper and Eden, op.cit., p. 250. A date of 1732 is given, but Herbert's name was amended to 'the now Earl of Pembroke' - a title to which he only succeeded in 1733.

Burlington - between Morris and his patron at Castle Hill in Devon, where additions were built for Lord Clinton c. 1728-40. The contract for the exterior (plates 40-3), dated 22 February 1728/9, specified that the carving of the entablature 'shall be made as the Earl of Burlington and Lord Herbert shall direct...according to the plans or drawing thereof signed by the said Roger Morris'.¹ Morris may additionally have been the author of the small villa at nearby Clatworthy, a simple retreat much in his villa style, and possibly also of the Castle Hill estate church at Filleigh - a Gothick structure with two battlemented turrets at the east end - and the sham castle, resembling Inveraray, in the grounds of the house.²

It is also possible that Pembroke may have used, or at least consulted, Morris during the 1730s or 40s concerning work at Narford Hall, Norfolk for his friend Sir Andrew Fountaine - a man who was regarded, so Jonathan Richardson averred, as 'one of the keenest virtuosi in Europe', who 'out-Italianized the Italians themselves'.³ A letter at Narford (see p. 353) demonstrates that Pembroke was at some time after 1733 asked to give his opinion on an architectural scheme for the house; whether, however, Morris was involved here,

¹ Devon RO, Fortescue Papers, E1/93.

² K. Woodbridge in *Country Life*, 4 Jan 1979. Woodbridge says that the Clatworthy villa 'has the air of coming from Burlington's circle'. The sham castle, which Woodbridge attributes to Sanderson Miller, has four corner towers in addition to four, larger towers which project from the centre.

³ Quoted in B. Ford in *Apollo*, Nov 1985. Fountaine had been appointed Black Rod of the Irish Parliament shortly after the 8th Earl of Pembroke was created Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and became an intimate of both the 9th Earl and, like many of the Leicester House set around which Morris gravitated, of Queen Caroline, George II's consort (q. v.). Pembroke may have brought Morris and Clermont together for the first time at Narford or at Wilton. This provided the basis for a lasting artistic partnership: see p. 353, below.

is a problem as yet unsolved. (This is partly due to the fact that the present owner of the house has limited access to the archives that remain there. The complex history of Narford is outlined in detail in appendix 1, below.¹)

By the mid-1730s Morris and Pembroke clearly enjoyed not only a professional association but also something approaching a personal friendship. In 1734 the Earl presented Morris with a silver cup, engraved with a cartouche containing a representation of Inigo Jones. The cup bore the inscription: 'GIVEN By my Noble Patron HENRY EARL OF PEMBROKE By Whose Favour alone I am

¹ See also S.Parissien, etc., 'Narford Hall, Norfolk' in The Georgian Group Journal, 1987.

Enabled to fill it R. Morris 1734'.¹ Little more than a year after this gift Pembroke was again acting as go-between, this time at Henrietta Howard's house at 15 Savile Row.² He was also happy to use Morris to embellish his own home. Most authors were originally content to follow Vertue and assign the Palladian Bridge (plate 64) at Wilton to the Earl himself: Vertue's tour of 1740 took in both the house and grounds at Wilton, and he declared of the bridge that it was 'the design of the present Earl of Pembroke and built by his direction'.³ Two centuries later Laurence Whistler suggested that Pembroke was merely 'a very gifted amateur', but in the absence of any other candidate ('That lovely bridge is too delicate for Kent') was prepared to confirm Vertue's judgement on 'one of the happiest exercises in the strict Palladian manner in the country', despite the obvious evidence of Woolfe and Gandon, who had credited the structure to Morris alone.⁴ Drawings at Wilton do not feature Pembroke's own amateur hand, but nevertheless are the work of two draughtsmen - Morris and possibly John Deval, who is known to have acted as Morris' principal mason at the site.⁵ Side and front elevations of the bridge from Foudrinier's engravings are also to be found in the Visentini album at Windsor, amongst other designs for buildings connected with Morris.⁶ James Lees-Milne was the first to note Morris' role, in a

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- 1 Letter from Sir Alexander Carr-Saunders in Country Life, 31 Oct 1952. Sir Alexander's grandmother, Madeline Morris, was a descendant of the architect; the cup is now in the possession of Dr. Edmund Carr-Saunders of Dalston, Cumbria, to whom I am indebted for much help on matters concerning the Morris family.
 - 2 Survey of London xxxii 563.
 - 3 Walpole Society, Vertue Note Books, V 130.
 - 4 L. Whistler in Country Life, 18 Feb 1944; VB V pls. 88-9.
 - 5 Wilton archive, H3/8: elevation of the ends of the bridge and sketch plans of the piers.
 - 6 Royal Library, Windsor, Consul Smith Collection, Visentini Drawings (vol. 187 A/13), 10568-9.

reply to Whistler's comments: the bridge, he affirmed, was too 'masterly...to be the work of an amateur', and while he was still willing to give Pembroke the credit for the original idea, 'the siting and the form of the bridge' were probably, he deduced, Morris' work.¹ Morris may also have been employed by Pembroke to design a Porter's Lodge at Wilton (plate 33). Rocque's Exact Survey... of 1754 shows a gate and lodge to the east of the house which were not there in Stukeley's view of 1723.² Drawings at Windsor seem to have been intended for the Lodge; the elevation of one resembles the structure in Rocque's engraving and includes motifs often used by Morris: a large, dominating Diocletian Window, a Venetian Window with a relieving arch and a double temple front (as at the Council House in Chichester).³ Of additional interest is that the elevation appears, subtly modified, twice in Robert Morris' The Architectural Remembrancer of 1751.⁴ By 1742 Morris was supervising the construction of an outbuilding on the Wilton estate,⁵ and in the same year Pembroke appears to have recommended Morris to Sir Jacob Bouverie, owner of nearby Longford Castle and M. P. for Salisbury between 1741 and 1747. An entry in the Longford accounts (Lord Folkestone's Accounts) for 31 May 1742 states that Morris was paid £10 'for drawing a design of ye building at Longford', this 'building' is unidentified and was presumably not

1 J. Lees-Milne in Country Life, 25 Feb 1944.

2 J. Harris in Architectural History 1984, 131-40.

3 Visentini Drawings 10574-5.

4 AR, pls. 11, 27.

5 Wiltshire RO, Pembroke Papers, 2057/E1/3, John Gore (Pembroke's steward) to Pembroke, 14 January 1741/2. Morris was brought in to calculate the cost of an estate house: '...various attendances have been laid before the Master...and we have lain before him by a Proper workman Viz by Mr. Morris, who has attended for that end, what it will cost us in workmanship Mortar etc'.

executed, but may well refer to the Long Gallery under construction during the 1740s.

Far better documented is Morris' involvement at this time at Westminster Bridge. As part of Pembroke's scheme for the bridge and surrounding area Morris, acting both as developer and as architect, bought an area of land at the western end of the bridge, 'between the east side of Parliamt. Street and the Passage into New Palace Yard', in August 1740.¹ Within a few weeks he was already criticising the provisions made for house building, complaining to Pembroke's Building Committee about the 'Inconveniences that will necessarily arise, if Areas be not allow'd before the Houses' and of the likelihood that 'Ground Rents would be diminish'd in their value at least one fifth by reason of the darkness of the cellar floors'.² (Morris' opinions were noted and Charles Labelye, the Swiss architect-engineer whom Pembroke had controversially appointed as architect for the bridge, agreed to raise the level of Bridge Street). In December 1740 'Lord Pembroke shewd to the Board a Drawing of the Upright of the Houses which Mr. Roger Morris proposes to Build on the Piece of ground in New Palace Yard...'³ - payments from the Bridge Committee, presumably for general building work, having commenced in January of that year.⁴ By 1742 Morris was already leasing the north side of North Palace

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- 1 PRO, WORK 6/39 and 40, Minutes of the Westminster Bridge Committee, memorial to the Treasury dated 5 August 1740.
 - 2 Ibid., minute dated 24 September 1740. (Pembroke was present as Chairman).
 - 3 Ibid., WORK 6/29, minutes dated 17 December 1740.
 - 4 PRO, WORK 5/194, Westminster Bridge Account Books, payments to Morris, each of £525, dated 6 January and 29 July 1740. Morris and Andrews Jelfe were also paid for the erection of the Bridge Street common sewer in March of that year (WORK 6/51, Westminster Bridge Accounts vol. 2, 163).

Yard and the south side of Bridge Street,¹ but the Committee continued to function slowly and inefficiently, hampering the work of the impatient speculators: in March 1745 Morris complained again, this time of the 'heavy Load of Arrears which have accrued', since it was difficult to let the newly-constructed houses until 'the other side of Bridge Street is...began and Parliamt Street is Open'd and Built'.² It is important to note that, although Jelfe and Barnard also acted as builder-speculators at the site,³ Morris evidently enjoyed some seniority here, presumably as a result of his close relationship with Pembroke; his position is amply illustrated by his use of Jelfe to send stone from Westminster to Goodwood in 1742 (see below, p.363).⁴

(3) ROGER MORRIS AND THE ARGYLLS

Colen Campbell was never slow to attempt to exploit his clan links with John Campbell, 2nd Duke of Argyll: in the first volume of Vitruvius Britannicus, for example, he trumpeted that 'it's my greatest Honour to receive my Blood from his August House' while dedicating a design of his own invention to the Duke. However, although Argyll gave Campbell some financial assistance in his early years, no further money was forthcoming during the rest of his career;⁵

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- 1 PRO, WORK 6/52, Westminster Bridge Accounts vol. 3, Rent Roll 1743-9, leases commencing Michaelmas 1742.
 - 2 PRO, WORK 6/40, minutes of the Westminster Bridge Committee, memorial by Morris to the committee dated 12 March 1744/5. See below, p. 363.
 - 3 PRO, WORK 6/29, report by secretary Lediard dated 28 May 1740, and WORK 6/31, minutes of 2 April 1745.
 - 4 BL, Add. MS 27587, Accounts and Letter Books of Andrews Jelfe at Westminster Bridge, f. 83: letter dated 10 August 1742.
 - 5 T. Connor in Architectural History, 1977, 23.

nor was Campbell ever commissioned to build anything for the Duke. In contrast Campbell's putative successor, Roger Morris, fared far better: Argyll and his brother Islay (who succeeded as 3rd Duke in 1743) provided Morris with a succession of projects, culminating in the rebuilding of the seat of the Argylls, Inveraray Castle, after 1744.

The 2nd Duke was one of the more controversial and maverick figures of the period.¹ Although highly successful as second-in-command to Marlborough, he was excessively jealous of his commander, and although he halted the rebels of 1715 by checking the Earl of Mar's army at Sheriffmuir his loyalty to George I was suspect and he was replaced by Cadogan in February 1716.² He subsequently became one of the first victims of the Whig Schism of 1716-17, being ousted from his remaining posts by Sunderland in June 1716, and he immediately joined with the Prince of Wales and other Whig malcontents in the opposition grouping based on the alternative Court of Leicester House.³ As already noted, this circle provided the base for Morris' patronage; Leicester House, however, was not sufficient to contain Argyll's ego, and in February 1719 he broke with the Prince and returned to Court in a characteristically immodest attempt to head the next ministry. In the event his bid failed: it was Robert Walpole who effected the reconciliation between George I and his eldest son in

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- 1 Unfortunately no satisfactory biography of the 2nd Duke of Argyll exists; the only recent attempt is Patricia Dickson's execrable Red John of the Battles (1977).
 - 2 B. Lenman, 'A Client Society: Scotland between the '15 and the '45', in ed. J. Black, Britain in the Age of Walpole (1984) 86; R. Hatton, George I (1978), 178.
 - 3 A. Foord, His Majesty's Opposition (1964) 60-1. The Prince of Wales actually purchased Leicester House in January 1718.

April 1720, who simultaneously won over Stanhope and Sunderland, and who thus found himself in a position from which he could lead the government.¹ Only four years later Argyll was appointed commander-in-chief of the army in place of the inept Cadogan, the following year also replacing the latter as Master-General of the Royal Ordnance.² Relations between Argyll and Walpole remained strained, however, and although Argyll and Islay were entrusted with the effective management of Scotland during the 1730s Argyll left most of the detailed administration to his brother.³ In 1740 Argyll was again dismissed from all his posts as a result of his public advocacy of a Spanish War; on Walpole's fall in 1742 he was rewarded only with the reversion of the Ordnance (in place of the 2nd Duke of Montagu) and other minor honours, and soon resigned from the ministry to die the following year.⁴

It is likely that Campbell - or another Leicester House intimate - introduced Morris to Argyll, c. 1720; Draper and Eden suggest, however, that it was James Gibbs - whom Argyll used at Adderbury c. 1722-4 - who effected the introduction, citing Morris and Gibbs' association at the Argyll Estate in the West End of London during the 1730s.⁵ Morris may also not have made acquaintance with the Argylls until c. 1724, when

1 Ibid., . 63.

2 Hatton, op.cit., p. 275; O. Hogg, the Royal Arsenal (1963), II 1037.

3 The uncertainties of the 1734 election, when Walpole faced defeat following the unpopular excise of 1733, were largely solved by Islay, who manipulated the election of pro-government Scots peers. On 9 June 1734 Lord Hervey wrote to Henry Fox that 'The express that brought the names of the Election for the 16 Scotch Peers being over arrived last night, My Lord Ilay has carried all before him'. (Lord Ilchester, Lord Hervey and His Friends (1950), 199).

4 B. Lenman, op.cit., 87.

5 Draper and Eden, 19.

Islay acted for Henrietta Howard at Marble Hill.¹ Whatever the source of the original introduction, the first practical result of the connection was Morris' commission for Combe Bank in Kent, built for Colonel John Campbell (4th Duke of Argyll after 1761 and the husband of a close friend of Mrs. Howard's, Mary Bellenden)² in c. 1725. Evidence for Morris' authorship of the house derives from the inscription to the plates in Vitruvius Britannicus (plates 32-3).³ The approximate date of 1725 relies on information attached to a drawing by John Carter of 1805, where the entrance hall niches and panels are annotated '1726 or 27 by an Italian'.⁴ The exterior is very typical of Morris' work, with its three-bay cubic body surmounted by a pyramidal roof with a small cupola (almost identical to that of about the same date at the White Lodge) and four corner towers each with its own pyramidal roof. While owing much to Burlington's Tottenham Park and ultimately to Trissino's Villa Cricoli near Vicenza, it established the peculiarly Morrisian cubic style that was later seen at Westcombe, Dodington's house in Pall Mall, Morris' own 61 Green Street and elsewhere (see below, chapter 5).

In 1727 Morris began work for the Royal Ordnance at Woolwich,⁵ presumably through the good offices of the Duke of Argyll, Master-

1 Islay rapidly adopted the role of principal patron at Marble Hill, often despatching Pembroke to provide Morris with the necessary reimbursement. Eg. Norfolk RO, Hobart MSS, 21 f. 4, receipt for Marble Hill dated 2 June 1724: Islay paid Morris £200 'for Building the naked Carcass of a house for the said Earl of Ilay at Twickenham'. (There is no mention of Henrietta Howard in such transactions).

2 M. Cosh in Country Life, 13 July 1972, 80. Campbell was also an intimate of Leicester House.

3 VB IV, pls. 75-6.

4 Drawing reproduced in Country Life, 28 Sept. 1972.

5 On 12 May 1727 Morris and Pratt were listed as bricklayers for the Ordnance at the Tower of London (PRO, WO 54/204, f.39).

General since 1725; in 1735 he gained a permanent post there, succeeding Sir William Ogborne as Master Carpenter.¹ He was extensively employed in this capacity until his death.² Whereas before his appointment of 1735 he generally worked in partnership with Joseph Pratt³ (who had been employed by Morris as a bricklayer at a number of sites since 1726),⁴ after 1735 he worked alone at sites as varied as the Greenwich Observatory, the Artillery Barracks at Woolwich and the Old Clock House (also at Woolwich), which was completely rebuilt.⁵

During the early 1730s Morris was employed by Argyll to add service wings to his house at Adderbury in Oxfordshire. It is surely significant that whilst Argyll had utilised James Gibbs to build the main house at Adderbury⁶ - as well as to rebuild his house at Sudbrook, on the southern bank of the Thames at Petersham - he was now using Morris. Thus it appears that by c. 1730 Morris had replaced not only

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- 1 PRO, WO 55/517, f.80, warrant dated 8 January 1734/5, and signed by Argyll. Morris was appointed in the stead of 'Sr William Ogbourne, Deceased'.
 - 2 The last recorded payment to Morris (and also to his son James) is dated 3 October 1748 (PRO, WO 48/89, 412-15).
 - 3 Eg. PRO, WO 51/126, 61: 'To Messrs Morris and Pratt Five Hundred and Fifty three Pounds One Shill and 6 for Work by them' at miscellaneous sites, dated 9 December 1729. Their last collaboration was for sundry repairs at Woolwich, payment for which was made on 31 March 1735 (WO 51/135, 227).
 - 4 Pratt features frequently in Morris' account at Hoare's Bank, the first payment to him being made in 1726 (Hoare's, Roger Morris' account, f. 27, 404). He was also one of the subscribers to Pembroke's Westminster Bridge scheme (PRO, WORK 6/41, Westminster Bridge Building Account Cash Books).
 - 5 PRO, WO 48/84, 74: £123.18.4 on 21 April 1743 for work at 'the Astronomical Observators house in Greenwich Park'; WO 51/145, 225-7, £1069.1.0½ on 31 December 1740 for 'the new Barracks for the Regiment of Artillery at Woolwich'; WO 51/152, 198, £253.15.8 paid on 15 June 1742 for 'pulling down the Old Clock House and Rebuilding the same'.
 - 6 Cf. drawings in the Buccleuch Collection (SRO, RHP 13732 etc.); cf. also M. Cosh in Country Life, 13 July 1972, 81.

Campbell (who was eclipsed before his death in 1729) but also Gibbs in the estimation of the Leicester House set. Gibbs' fall from favour is further demonstrated by the building history of Islay's Whitton Park in Middlesex. Islay's rise to power had been almost as spectacular as that of his brother: by 1714 he held the titles of Lord High Treasurer, Lord Justice-General and Lord Register of Scotland, and his adherence to Walpole's cause brought him what virtually amounted to the Regency for Scotland.¹ Despite his notoriously unsavoury personal appearance and habits, Islay sought to emulate his sovereign and to underline his status by taking a mistress, and for this purpose bought land at Whitton in 1726, intending to establish Ann Williams in a new residence there.² Gibbs designed a greenhouse for the site in 1725-6, giving it an attractive open loggia of five rusticated bays.³ However, it seems that either the Earl fell out with his fellow-Scot, or simply that he preferred to use Morris on grounds of architectural taste or

1 Lindsay and Cosh, 6.

2 M. Symes, etc., in Garden History, Autumn 1986.

3 It was this that Clerk saw when he visited Whitton in 1727: see Clerk's 'Journey to London 1727', SRO, GD18/2107, and also T. Friedman, James Gibbs (1984), 317. Islay had purchased the building land for Whitton in July 1726 (Greater London RO, MLR 1726/3/139 and 140).

personal connection, since none of Gibbs' projects for the main house were executed.

It is indeed quite possible that Morris, and not Gibbs, designed the Gothic tower in the grounds (plates 117-19). (This is discussed below, in appendix 1.) He can also be credited with the main house (plates 114-15). Payments for the new house totalling £1,842.10.0 were made by Islay to Morris during 1732-3; this was presumably for work on the offices, since in 1733 Sir John Clerk was writing that Islay intended to front his newly-erected office court 'with a building of 108 feet in length' (i.e. the

main block, plus wings to either side).¹ This last piece of information must date the commencement of the central block at around 1734; in that year Islay was promising to send Lord Portmore 'the thoughts and sketch of my builder Maurice' on a projected tower.²

By the early 1740s Morris was clearly on good terms with the ducal Campbells.³ In 1744 Islay, now the 3rd Duke of Argyll, may have employed Morris to design a lake and outbuildings (since demolished) at his moorland seat in the midst of the Peeblesshire hills, 'The Whim'. An elevation for one of the garden buildings survives in the Scottish National Monuments Record in Edinburgh,⁴ in the form of a simple Gothic gateway or screen with a stepped central gable end reminiscent of his designs of 1747 for Rosneath. The presence of other signed drawings by Morris in the same collection helps to further the case for Morris' authorship. (See below, p.323). Also in 1744 Morris was

- 1 M. Cosh in Country Life, 20 July 1972.
- 2 Payments for work from Islay, presumably for Whitton continue uninterrupted into 1741: Coutts Bank, P/L 1735-55, Earl of Islay's account, ff. 148, 298, 121. After 1741 Islay, on behalf of the Charteris trust, was paying Morris for work in George Street: eg. Coutts, Lord Islay, Andrew Fletcher and Duncan Forbes' account, f. 124, f. 112 and passim.
- 3 Morris was often entertained by Colonel (later General) Campbell: see Lindsay and Cosh, 31. A letter in the Clerk of Penicuik MSS, from Robert Adam to Peggy Adam, refers to 'the Duke's attachment to Morris, so that in case of an English scheme He might be diffculted, how to Act between freindship and merit' (SR0, Clerk of Penicuik MSS, GD18/4787). From the date of the letter - 13 September 1755 - it is clear that Adam is referring to one of Roger Morris' sons, presumably James, who had worked at Inveraray; nevertheless, this amply demonstrates the close links which Roger Morris had forged with the Argylls. Cf. Adam's subsequent comments: 'Had Morris more Genious I should not have used the proud fraze...or Had the Duke less constancy of friendship I shoud not att all dread my Rival'.
- 4 SNMR Photographic Library, Blair Castle Drawings, plan and elevation dated 1747. A sketch plan of the garden survives (NLS, Saltoun MSS, Box 402), dated October 1744 and endorsed by Morris; see RCHM, Peeblesshire (1967) II 327.

being consulted by the Duke over the possibility of repairing the Argyll's principal seat, Inveraray Castle. The local mason William Douglas reported in January 1744 that the old castle¹ 'Cannot be Repaired for use Except at near the Expense that would build such ane other',² and within a few months Morris was personally accompanying the Duke to Inveraray - having evidently been preferred over Scots rivals such as William Adam (Morris' junior at the site) or James Gibbs.

Inveraray's building history has been admirably detailed by Ian Lindsay and Mary Cosh in their book, Inveraray and the Dukes of Argyll. Classical designs by Morris still exist (plate 90), but were evidently rejected, and the executed Gothic elevations (plate 93) clearly betray the influence both of Vanbrugh and of sixteenth-century precedents³ (see chapter 6, below). Building work on the castle began in October 1746⁴ - a rather inauspicious time to begin construction, given the proximity of the events of the '45 rebellion, of the Battle of Culloden (which had taken place only the preceding April), and of the subsequent military occupation of the glens. The dangers inherent in a trip to Western Scotland so soon after the defeat of the rebels,

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- 1 The ruins of the old castle were still extant c. 1760, when they were included in a painting by Clerk of Eldin, now in the new castle.
 - 2 Lindsay and Cosh, 26-7.
 - 3 SNMR Photographic Library, AGD/38/9; Lindsay and Cosh, pp. 37-41.
 - 4 Campbell of Stonefield MSS (SRO, GD14.99), letter from Archibald Campbell to the Duke of Argyll dated Inveraray, 13 July 1846: 'The laying of the foundation this year, will forward the work much...'. Campbell subsequently (and rather belatedly) recommended William Adam or John Douglas for the work, not mentioning Morris. The foundation stone itself was, according to Campbell, laid on 1 October 1746 (SRO, GD14/99, draft letter from Campbell to Lord Justice Clerk).

together with the great distance between London and Inveraray and the need to attend to other projects, dissuaded Morris from making many journeys to Inveraray, and indeed Morris' erratic attendance at the site, and the proven competence of the Adams, ensured that his death in 1749 was not a serious blow to the construction of the castle.¹ Only once, in the Autumn of 1747, were Morris, his deputy William Adam and the Duke all at Inveraray together; most of the day-to-day tasks were left to William Adam (who died in June 1748) and to the latter's son John. Yet Morris was by no means negligent of the site, and in addition to his designs for the main house he also designed three structures in the immediate vicinity of the castle: the bridge over the River Garron (plate 97), erected under the supervision of John Adam in 1747-8;² the dovecote, which terminates the view north-west from the entrance front of the house, across the bridge; and the tower on Duniquaich (Dun na Cuaiche) Hill, a promontory due north of the castle³ (plate 94). Morris may also have had a hand in designing the offices and buildings in the town erected by John Adam after Morris' death: both Cherry Park and the Old Court House (plates 48-9) are distinctly Morrisian in appearance, and even if they were not the direct products of Morris' own hand, they demonstrate that the younger Adam was heavily influenced by the Englishman).

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- 1 Lindsay and Cosh, 61-3. Payments from Islay to Morris continued until 7 July 1748 (Coutts Bank, Duke of Argyll's account, f. 3).
 - 2 J. Fleming, Robert Adam and his Circle (1962) 66. In February 1748 William Adam was complimenting Morris on his classical design for the bridge, declaring that 'it is exceedingly neat and well done and you may believe my son and I will take care to order the execution corresponding thereto...'
 - 3 Contract of 2 October 1747 between Morris, William Adam and William Douglas in the Chamberlain's accounts at Inveraray, reproduced in Lindsay and Cosh, 128.

Close contacts with the Argylls and with the building at Inveraray also helped Morris to secure other small commissions and consultations in Scotland. He was asked to provide designs - unfortunately unexecuted - for rebuilding work at Blair Atholl, the seat of Argyll's fellow-patriarch the Duke of Athol.¹ Drawings at Blair include a signed project by Morris for the 'Plan of elevation of the coach-houses and stables...for Blair 1742', which bears many of the hallmarks of Morris' style: the central tower is topped by the characteristically Morrisian device of a pyramidal roof surmounted by a cupola with a Diocletian window, and the five bays on either side terminate in slightly lower turrets which are again finished with pyramidal roofs. Such roofs also feature in two other small sketches: the plan of a building intended for the top of Broomknow Hill, again signed by Morris and dated 1742, and an unsigned elevation most likely also by Morris (though merely assigned by the Scottish National Monuments Record to the eighteenth century) of a rusticated, square garden house.² Morris' designs, however, were clearly not accepted: one year later Athol was employing the Scots architect James Winter to build a new stable block, and Winter subsequently gained the commission for remodelling the castle itself.³

In 1745 William Adam - already Morris' deputy at Inveraray - consulted Morris about repairs to the roof at the Duke of Roxburgh's castle at Floors: Morris advised leaving the Wilton-style towers and recommended that he should 'take the first floor of the body of

1 Cf. B. Lenman, *op.cit.*, 73

2 Reproduced in SNMR Photographic Library, PTD/127/19, 22, 33.

3 Colvin, 906-7.

the house and turn it into garetts with a slated penthouse roof'. In the event, however, Morris' advice was not followed.¹ Also while at Inveraray Morris was employed to draft a rebuilding scheme for Argyll's castle at Rosneath in Dunbartonshire (not far from the route Morris would have taken to reach Inveraray). The Saltoun Hall drawings of Rosneath include designs for rebuilding the Gothic castle which appear to be in Morris' hand, although none are signed (plate sl00-5). The first batch, dated 1744, outline the rebuilding of three rooms to the south-east;² a variant of this involves the provision of a centrally-placed double staircase, projecting semicircular bays on the north and south fronts, and building work generally in a Classical rather than a Gothic vein.³ The existing medieval tower to the north-west was to be supplemented by circular towers at the other three angles, each culminating in a conical roof similar to those proposed by Vanbrugh in his sketch for Inveraray of c. 1720⁴ and to those being suggested by Morris himself in the course of contemporary work at the Argyll seat. A second group of drawings, dated 1747, proposes a similar scheme, but in the classical style, with heavy, pedimented attic windows, strange stepped gable ends and semicircular windows with large rusticated voussoirs (the three new towers being omitted from these, presumably for the sake of clarity).⁵ In addition, a drawing exists in the Inveraray Letter Book for a window at Rosneath,

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- 1 Floors Castle archives, bundle 558 (ex inf. Howard Colvin); cf. also William Adam, Vitruvius Scoticus (1812), pl. 49.
 - 2 SNMR Photographic Library, Saltoun Hall Drawings, DBD/15/5-7 (plans of three floors).
 - 3 Ibid., DBD/15/8.
 - 4 Ibid., DBD/15/9, 11, 12, the latter including the annotation 'with 3 new Towers 1744'; Colvin and Craig, Architectural Drawings in the Library of Elton Hall... (1964), pl. xxxvi (b).
 - 5 Ibid., DBD/15/15-21.

dated 9 October 1747 and annotated in Morris' hand ('Directions Given for making 10 Windows of Sashes') (plate 106). It seems plausible that Morris was employed to draft a rebuilding scheme for Rosneath while at Inveraray. The 1747 drawings indicate that work was not begun at the Dunbartonshire site until the late 1740s, the first scheme of 1744 having been presumably rejected or shelved (possibly owing to the pressure of work at and the greater importance of the Inveraray house). Unfortunately there is no evidence to prove that all - or indeed any - of Morris' suggested alterations to Rosneath were actually executed. It does seem likely, however, that at least the stables were built to his specifications: photographs taken before demolition show battlemented turrets to the south and a central, three-light tower much in the manner of Inveraray, while the two northern towers feature the low pyramidal roofs much beloved of Morris.¹ While Morris was at Inveraray, Argyll may also have secured him work at Taymouth Castle, seat of the head of the cadet branch of the Campbells, John, 2nd Earl of Breadalbane.² Taymouth (plate 111) had been remodelled by William Adam in c. 1742,³ but the Breadalbane accounts suggest that Morris (and, significantly, not Adam) was engaged to design some additions to the castle whilst commuting to Inveraray in 1747.⁴ (See below, p. 232). Ironically, Taymouth was, between 1806 and 1810, rebuilt by the Elliott brothers as a near-replica of Morris' Inveraray.

1 Saltoun Hall Drawings, photographs of the stables at Rosneath (north and south elevations) before demolition.

2 A. Rowan in Country Life, 8 Oct 1964.

3 Vitruvius Scot icus pl. 51; Colvin, . 59.

4 SRO, Breadalbane MSS, Lord Glenorchy's accounts, GD 112/21/78, entry for 27 November 1747: £10 paid 'To Mr. Morrice an Architect'.

(4) ROGER MORRIS AND THE EARL OF WESTMORLAND

Between c. 1722 and c. 1725 John Fane, later 7th Earl of Westmorland, employed Colen Campbell to build him a house at Mereworth in Kent; the result was the large, celebrated variation on the Villa Rotonda.¹ Fane's use of Campbell may provide the link with his subsequent employment of Morris at his estates both in Kent and in Northamptonshire: although documentary evidence to firmly attribute work of this period is sadly lacking, many of the features of Fane's additions of the 1740s betray decidedly Morrisian characteristics.

In 1736 Fane succeeded to both the title of the Earl of Westmorland and a large number of family properties which included the family residence at Apethorpe, Northamptonshire. Shortly afterwards he commissioned designs for a large-scale rebuilding in the same style he had already seen realised at Mereworth. These drawings survive in the form of copies made in c. 1830;² unfortunately, however, no indication is given of the original draughtsman or architect, the copyist simply assuming that a sketch for the East Front of Apethorpe was 'designed by Colin Campbell, it is supposed, he having been the architect of Mereworth'.³ Campbell was long dead by the time of the rebuilding, and it is reasonable to assume that Morris - inheritor of Campbell's mantle - may well have been the architect. Certainly one element of the sketches is distinctly Morrisian: the corner towers, with pyramidal roofs in the manner of Wilton, Holkham

1 VB III, pls. 35-8.

2 Northamptonshire RO, 'Collectanea Apethorpeana' W(A), Misc. vol. 37.

3 Ibid., drawing 17ii.

and Houghton, closely resemble features and other houses firmly attributed to Morris as well as the towers in the designs attributed to him for Milton House in the same county.¹ Other typical elements of Morris' houses - astylar cubism, large Diocletian Windows - are undoubtedly missing from the Apethorpe elevations; nevertheless, aside from the domed central features (of six bays on the East Front, three bays in the south Front depictions) the rest of the blocks are astylar and the corner towers punctuated with a simplified Venetian Window much in the manner of Morris' (putative) wings at Culverthorpe as well as Kent's Holkham. The slightly amateurish aspects of these designs - the multiplicity of windows in the top storey of the towers, for example, and the rather small and uncomfortable central dome - also appear to suggest the hand of an architect unused to such large-scale projects, i.e. someone such as Morris rather than Kent or Flitcroft. Many details appear to have been borrowed from Campbell: the six-bay centre of 'The Design for the East Side of the Court' (no. 17 iv) has, as does Campbell's Wanstead III elevation, windows with alternating triangular and segmental pediments, and the flanking six bays on either side, with their rusticated basements, again owe much to the Wanstead designs. Such influences may suggest Morris' authorship, given his early contacts with the Scot. Indeed the dome itself may have originated with Campbell, there being little precedent for such a feature in Morris' other works: it is instructive to compare

1 Northamptonshire RO, Fitzwilliam (Milton) Drawings, 99-111. It has been suggested that drawing 109, a 'PLAN of the New Intended Alterations', is by Morris and for Apethorpe; however, it does not appear to correspond with either of the designs cited above or with the work as executed - the principal front of this sketch being of three bays each side of the entrance front (which opens directly onto a square hall).

it with Campbell's grandiose project for a church in Lincoln's Inn Fields (plate 8), and especially with the dome at Mereworth - a site Morris may well have been very familiar with (see below). Of these various proposals, however, only the North Block (which included the Library) was rebuilt, together with the south side of the first court, which was refaced and provided with an arcade occupying the whole of the ground storey. This work can be dated at some time after 1740, in the light of the date of Fane's inheritance (1736) and the existence of a design for a circular dovecote at Apethorpe (similar to that still extant) labelled 1740.¹

As at Apethorpe, the wings at Westmorland's Mereworth have also been attributed to Morris on a stylistic basis: they are designed in a particularly Morrisian fashion, being fundamentally a cube, with side additions, topped with a pyramidal roof and lantern. Perhaps the most interesting aspects of the design are the heavy, deeply-set Tuscan porticos, which recall both the nearby parish church and the east portico at West Wycombe (see below), and the shell room, which is both artistically akin to, and contemporary with, the Shell House at Goodwood (see p.358). John Newman suggests that the proximity of the West Wing to the site of the medieval church (whose foundations can still be glimpsed) indicates that it was not completed before the mid-1740s; however, written evidence from 1743 indicates that the

¹ Northamptonshire RO, W(A), 7xv. It may also be relevant that between 22 July 1745 and his death Morris received large sums from Lord Fane and the Duke of Bedford, totalling £8,756 between 1745 and 1755 (Robert Andrews acting as his executor after 1749): see BL, Althorp MSS, D46.

wings - both exteriors and interiors - were finished by this date.¹

If Westmorland did indeed employ Morris at Mereworth Castle during the early 1740s, it seems plausible that he would have turned to Morris a few years later when he wished to rebuild the parish church of St. Lawrence north-west of its original site. In addition, the deep eaves of the East End and the Tuscan porch at the West Entrance recall not only the castle wings but also Morris' use of the Tuscan order in a similar vein at the Althorp stables. The large Diocletian Window at the East End (containing sixteenth century heraldic glass rescued from the medieval church) is also a favourite motif of Morris', while the unusually heavy keystones above the windows suggest a Baroque influence - possibly culled by Morris from his work at Vanbrugh's Eastbury.² It is doubtful, however, whether the tower is Morris' work - albeit an eye-catching landmark for the surrounding countryside. Of a style which contrasts sharply with the body of the church, it is strongly reminiscent of Gibbs' St. Martin-in-the-Fields, and is perhaps a later addition by a less original architect. Certainly it differs substantially from the mood of the church's

1 J. Newman, The Buildings of England: West Kent and the Weald (1969), 421; BL, Add. MS 15776, f. 198, 'A Journey from London to Tunbridge Wells, Rye, Winchelsea, Hastings, Battel and Lewes': this trip, conducted by an anonymous traveller between 20 August and 2 September 1743, briefly took in Mereworth Castle, which provoked the comments that: 'There are very handsome offices in ye same taste on each side of the front of ye house; but unluckily enough ye parish church which is a very bad as well as ancient building stands just before the offices on ye left hand, and allmost entirely hides them; but Lord Westmorland has a design to remove it further into the village...'.

strangely Neoclassical interior (plate 162).

Perhaps the clearest stylistic evidence linking the church to Morris, however, can be found in the design of the circular and semicircular windows of the west end (plate 161). The windows, with their thick, tapering glazing bars radiating from the centre, are identical to those used prolifically in the wings at nearby Mereworth Castle (plate 159). This strongly suggests that the church and the wings are by the same hand. Furthermore, similar windows occur at two other buildings which can be associated with Morris: at Narford Hall, over the original entrance hall, and at Apethorpe Hall, in the centre of the south range (plate 122). Such similarities suggest that Morris provides the common link between all these buildings. This hypothesis is reinforced by the presence of this type of window over the main entrance at Marble Hill (plate 28).

If at least some of the work carried out for Westmorland can be assigned to Morris, it is quite possible that he was

also brought in at West Wycombe Park in Buckinghamshire. As early as 1933 the North Front of West Wycombe (plate 164) was attributed to Morris: 'It is a competent design', it was suggested, 'such as an architect like Robert (sic) Morris might have produced'.¹ Westmorland was both the guardian and uncle of West Wycombe's owner, the notorious rake, aesthete and failed politician Sir Francis Dashwood, so would have been likely to have recommended Morris if he had been used in Kent or Northamptonshire.² Dashwood evidently began to draft plans for enlarging the house in 1739: one of the drawings preserved at the house (in a somewhat amateur hand, thus possibly by Dashwood himself) is dated for this year. The North Front's actual execution can be traced to the mid- or late-1740s, since a view of it appears in the Hannan painting of West Wycombe which was paid for in 1751; the early date of the execution thus precludes the involvement of John Donowell, author of the South Front, whose employment at the site appears to have started not earlier than 1755.³ This does not, however, exclude the claims of Isaac Ware, suggested by a recent commentator as the architect of the North Front.⁴ The drawings at West Wycombe⁵ include two variations for the north elevation which may be in Morris' hand, but these differ substantially from the executed design, which was evidently derived from two pen and wash schemes which have also survived; these latter elevations differ little from the front as

1 A. Oswald in Country Life, 6 May 1933.

2 On Westmorland's death in 1762 Dashwood inherited much of the Fane land, including Mereworth.

3 Cf. Colvin, 270. VB V cites Donowell as the sole architect of the house - thus proving this source is not always wholly reliable.

4 G. Jackson-Stops, West Wycombe Park (National Trust Guide, 1984) 11.

5 West Wycombe drawings examined by kind permission of Sir Francis Dashwood.

it now stands, merely possessing low pyramidal roofs over the projecting end bays which do not correspond to the final facade. They are in turn clearly derived from an engraving by Ware for a house 'near London' which he subsequently used as the basis for Amisfield House in East Lothian:¹ the only major dissimilarity is that Ware's plate has only one bay between the portico and the end bays, and has rustication across the whole of the basement, whereas both the West Wycombe drawing and the North Front as executed have rustication applied merely on the projecting blocks. Thus an attribution of the North Front to Isaac Ware rather than to Roger Morris appears to be more realistic, even more so in view of Loudon's attribution of 1828 (to 'W. Ware'), Ware's alleged involvement at Dashwood's house at Hanover Square,² and the presence of other drawings in Ware's style in the collection at West Wycombe.³

The case for Morris' association with the East Portico at West Wycombe (plate 165) appears to be stronger. While a letter from a stone agent seems to date the structure at 1754 (or at least no earlier than 1752),⁴ this is too early a date to be by Revett, while its brusque, Neoclassical form precludes Ware's authorship. Thus the portico could conceivably be by Morris, drafted at the same time as his project for the north elevation and executed after his death. Two stylistic factors suggest Morris: the portico almost exactly reproduces those attached to the wings at Mereworth Castle

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- 1 I. Ware, A Complete Body of Architecture (1756), pl. 45.
 - 2 G. Jackson-Stops, West Wycombe Park (National Trust Guide, 1984), 11.
 - 3 Note especially two elevations (north and south) in a manner very reminiscent of Ware, with two octagonal wing pavilions each side of the main block.
 - 4 A. Oswald in Country Life, 6 May 1933; Jackson-Stops, 12.

(q. v.) - as early as 1933 Country Life observed that the similarity 'suggests that Dashwood was much impressed by his uncle's work' - while, more substantially, its heavy Doric columns echo Morris' work at Althorp stables.¹

(5) ROGER MORRIS IN LONDON

Given that Morris was, excepting tours abroad, entirely resident in the West End of London, it is not surprising that he was frequently called on both to design and lease houses for the aristocratic entrepreneurs who were currently seeking to develop this area of the capital. Furthermore, these developers were often men who had already made Morris' acquaintance and were using his talents at sites elsewhere in the country. As Morris grew in confidence and status - and as his financial resources increased correspondingly - he became involved in projects not merely in the role of architect or craftsman but as a builder-speculator, frequently encouraged in this occupation by his Leicester House patrons.

In 1726 Morris was brought in to build two houses on the east side of Grosvenor Square, hub of the new Grosvenor Estate. The builder charged with the development was John Simmons; however, the management of the Estate was in the hands of the Grosvenor's agent, the lawyer Robert Andrews.² Andrews was to become an intimate friend of Morris' - being his chief executor after his death (see above, p. 40) - and it is probable that either the relationship was cemented

¹ See G. Worsley in Burlington Magazine, May 1986.

² J. Summerson, Georgian London (1978), 103-4.

here, or Andrews had recommended the employment of an architect who was already a particular friend. In 1726 the painting and finishing of no. 11 Grosvenor Square (an unremarkable three-bay house, of 'massive and coarse' design in Summerson's opinion) was assigned 'to the direccion and approbacion of Mr. Roger Morris, bricklayer'. This dwelling was bought in February 1728 by Lord Clinton, who was, like Herbert, a member of the King's inner circle: he was created a Lord of the Bedchamber to George II in 1727, as was Richmond and, in 1735, Pembroke himself. At the same time Morris was employed by Clinton at Castle Hill.¹ In 1727-8 no. 12 was built as the centre-piece of the square's eastern block: this can be convincingly attributed to Morris both on grounds of style - the pedimented, five-bay facade is highly suggestive of Marble Hill - and of patron - John Aislable, then employing Morris at Studley Royal.² If this house can be assigned to Morris, it is interesting that, like his own 61 Green Street a few years later, it shows Morris making a conscious attempt to translate the proportions of a small country villa into the context of a London terrace.

In 1731 Morris had returned to Grosvenor Square, surveying the 2nd Earl of Marchmont's house in the same development.³ By this time, however, he was extensively occupied in new work elsewhere in the West End. In c. 1729 it is possible that he was

1 Devon RO, 1262 M/TM 2; Survey of London xl 127.

2 Ibid., 127-9.

3 SRO, Marchmont MSS, GD 158/1380, Morris to the 2nd Earl of Marchmont, 3 June 1731: 'According to your Commands I Survey'd the House in Grosvenor Square yesterday'. Morris also mentions the necessity of seeing 'Mr. Simmons to know his Piece'.

adding wings to the Duke of Argyll's London residence:¹ there is no irrefutable evidence to link Morris with this commission, but in 1729 he was excused from serving in his capacity as Overseer of the Poor in the parish of St. Marylebone, being 'employed in his trade of building for his Grace the Duke of Argyle, and divers other noblemen'.² The main house was sufficiently large for the wings to remain as separate houses (no. 25 Argyll Street and no. 9 Little Argyll Street to the north and south respectively) when Little Argyll Street was driven through the site in 1736. The Westminster Poll for 23 September 1736 declared that:

Two rows of fine houses are building from the end of Great Marlborough-street through the waste ground and his grace the duke of Argyle's gardens into Oxford-road, from the middle of which new building a fine street [i.e. Little Argyll Street] is to be made through his grace's house, King-street, and Swallow-street...

the middle of his grace's house being pulled down for that purpose, and the two wings lately added to the house are to be the corners of the street which is now building.³

Since Morris was consistently employed by Argyll and his brother at a number of varied sites - indeed in 1736 he was working on Islay's house at Whitton, Middlesex - it is likely that he was asked to design at least some of the houses in the Argyll Street scheme of 1737-40. Certainly he was used in his capacity as builder-speculator here, on this occasion in the company of James Gibbs and Thomas Phillips: on 6 March 1735/6 Islay signed articles with these

1 Survey of London xxxi 284.

2 Greater London RO, Middlesex Calendar of Sessions Books, 1727-9, 122.

3 Quoted in T. Allen, The History and Antiquities of London (1828), IV 298.

three to build 'one New Street of dwelling Houses to be called Argyll Street', Little Argyll Street being driven from the west side of this development between 1739 and 1740.¹ Unfortunately little remains of the original work: all of the houses, except numbers 8 and 10, have been entirely rebuilt. However, it is worth speculating whether Morris was the author, in whole or part, of Islay's own house at 7 Argyll Street (later named Argyll House). Work began on extensions to the original property (which dated from the reign of Queen Anne) in 1737,² and the new library - prominent in an engraved plan of the house of c. 1774 - was built in 1742.³ The Survey of London suggests that Morris or Gibbs was responsible for the six-bay, three-storey front, and that Islay himself was the author of the eccentric plan, where the library jutted out to the south of the main house, abutting the garden; however, the front, as portrayed in an engraving of 1854,⁴ is exceptionally plain, with only a pedimented door (evidently moved two bays to the right between 1774 and 1854) for embellishment, and is a work of minimal inspiration. The library, on the other hand, is most intriguing, as the east wall contains two large canted bays, each opposite a fireplace. This may well be Morris' work, reflecting as it does both Morris' low canted bays at Whitton (also, perhaps significantly, for Islay) and his cousin Robert Morris' subsequent popularisation of the form (see chapter 8, below).

Morris was also involved in a further project for Islay during

1 Survey of London xxxi 290.

2 Greater London RO, MLR 1737/5/240.

3 See Colvin, 575; NLS, Saltoun MSS, letters from Islay dated 8 July and 30 October 1742.

4 Survey of London xxxii, pl. 133a.

the late 1730s. Islay - together with members of his 'Edinburgh cabal' Lord Milton (his right-hand man in Scotland) and Forbes of Culloden (the Scottish Lord Advocate)¹ - managed a trust for the minor Francis Wemyss Charteris, younger son of the 4th Earl of Wemyss and heir to the estate of his grandfather, the notorious rake Colonel Francis Charteris.² In 1738 Islay paid Morris £800 from the trust's funds at Coutts Bank for 'repaires done at the Houses in George [subsequently Great George] Street'.³ From the evidence of the ratebooks eighteen houses were built on this site by 1739.⁴

Morris was remarkably busy in the West End of London during the 1730s. In addition to the work for the Grosvenor Estate and the Argylls, detailed above, he was also employed at the Burlington Estate to the south of these developments, while also building a substantial dwelling for himself in Green Street. The area to the north of Piccadilly had been under development by the 3rd Earl of Burlington since 1718; in 1725 Sir Michael Newton acquired the lease for one of the properties on the site, 30 [Old] Burlington Street (originally intended for the Earl of Mountrath), and thereafter embarked on his own projects to the west of Burlington's site, in the area of what became Albermarle Street.⁵ Evidence suggests that Morris was employed as surveyor for this work, at

1 See B. Lenman, *op.cit.*, 86.

2 Colonel Charteris was most celebrated for his prosecution over the alleged rape of a serving girl in 1730: he was convicted, but subsequently - and controversially - pardoned by George II. See P. Langford, *Walpole and the Robinocracy* (1986), 56-9.

3 Coutts Bank, P/L 1735-55, Charteris account, ledger 1736-8, f. 128: £300 paid 31 March 1738 and £500 paid 18 August (*ex inf.* Mary Cosh).

4 WCL, Parish ratebooks of St. George's Hanover Square, Conduit Street Ward, C43-5.

5 *Survey of London* xxxii, 442, 451, 505.

least after 1729. The Newton Papers in the U. S. Library of Congress include surveyor's estimates signed by Morris for 'Various work Done for the Honble Sr Michael Newton by the order of Mr Morris and Charles Capell before the house in Burlington Gardens', dated 3-4 December 1729, and other estimates for work at Newton's house, in Albemarle Street, and in Albemarle Mews dating from 1730 to 4 June 1733.¹ Morris' own bank account substantiates this employment: the principal craftsmen cited in the Library of Congress bills at number 30 or nearby sites - notably the mason George Mercer, the plasterer Isaac Mansfield and the mason Alexander Rouchead - all feature regularly in Morris' personal account at this time, as well as recurring in Matthew Lamb's accounts with Newton in the Welford archive.² Morris may indeed have been surveying the site for Newton as early as 1726: a contract for joiner's work by John Lane at number 30, dated 11 June 1726, extant in the Welford papers corresponds to regular payments from Morris' account to Lane throughout 1725-6.³ Other workmen used by Newton - Robert Umpleby, Richard Okeman, Charles Carne, Joseph Pattison, William Grey and John Deval - also feature both in the Welford archive (where bills survive from 1731) and in Morris' account at Hoare's. Daniel Garrett - recently working under Morris at the White Lodge - also appears at

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- 1 Library of Congress, Washington D. C., Halliwell Phillips Collection (Newton Papers), vols. 17-19, 21.
 - 2 Hoare's Bank, Roger Morris' account, ff. 31/283 and 366, 32/12 and 131, and passim; Welford Park archive, payments to Rouchead and Mansfield dated 29 June and 28 August 1731 and to Mercer dated 26 July 1731. Cf. also the receipt for 10 July 1732 at Welford for £100 paid to Morris 'under Sr Michael's hand'.
 - 3 Hoare's Bank, Roger Morris' account, f. 27/164 and 404; Newton Papers vol. 18.

Newton's house, not as a labourer but in a surveyor's role.¹

While the exterior of 30 Old Burlington Street has been alleged to be the work of Burlington himself (or one of his disciples) in that it is soundly based on Jonesian precedents,² the evidence related to Morris' close involvement at the house has suggested that the latter may have had a hand in the interior design, and was not merely the site's surveyor. Nevertheless, neither the Washington nor the Welford archive material mentions payment for any specific rooms or items, and much of the finished interior actually recalls the Jonesian borrowings of the facade; for example, the balustrades (now at Buxted Park) originate from Coleshill, while the chimneypiece (now at Godmersham Park) is also Jonesian in aspect.³ Thus the interior is either the work of a Burlingtonian designer, well schooled in the Jonesian manner, or Morris is deliberately attempting to evoke the manner of Wilton and other Neopalladian precedents by using a style more strictly academic (and less original) than any he used elsewhere. If Morris is to be credited with the interior, there seems little point, on stylistic grounds, of not assigning him the Jonesian facade too. One clue may be the employment of the carver John Boson, who carved a staircase very like that at 30 Old Burlington Street at 9 Clifford Street, and who also carved a chimneypiece for Newton's Culverthorpe House, where Morris is known to have worked (see below).⁴

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- 1 Newton papers, vol. 19: masons work by George Mercer at Burlington Gardens and Albemarle Street was measured by Garrett on 21 May 1731.
 - 2 Survey of London xxxii, 506 and pl. 80.
 - 3 Ibid., 507-8.
 - 4 C. Hussey in Country Life, 15 and 23 Sept. 1923.

Yet despite Morris' subsequent strong links with Sir Michael Newton and his involvement in the construction, neither aspect of number 30 can safely be attributed to him.

Morris was also employed as surveyor at another house on the Burlington Estate: 15 Savile Row, built for Henrietta Howard (by this time Countess of Suffolk), for whom Morris had recently completed Marble Hill House. Documentary evidence confirms that Morris played a key role here: in 1735 he was paid £800 for surveying the site; a contract of January 1735/6 with the builders Gray and Fortnam was certified by him; and part of Burlington's asking price was actually paid by the Earl of Pembroke on the Countess' behalf - Pembroke obviously fulfilling the same role he had recently performed at Marble Hill.¹ As at 30 Old Burlington Street, however, the evidence for Morris' actual authorship of the house's design is purely circumstantial.

Morris' largest West End project was his own house, built in 1730 (plate 45). In December 1727 he agreed to take 180 feet of frontage on the south side of Green Street, south of the new thoroughfare of Oxford Street, reserving a large plot for himself.² He received the sub-lease of the site of his own house in 1730, and in the same year is first recorded as a resident in the parish ratebooks.³

¹ Survey of London xxxii, 518, 563; Draper and Eden, 39.

² Greater London (GLC) RO, MLR 1731/5/13.

³ MLR 1730/4/178 and Parish ratebooks of St. George's Hanover Square, Grosvenor Street Ward. Other leases on the Green Street site went to James Richards, Robert Umpleby, Richard Oakman and William Gray - all craftsmen who frequently worked for Morris.

The resultant house was surprisingly large, testifying to Morris' economic and social advancement, and comprised a projecting centre of three bays and flanking sides of two bays each. In its original form the central three bays formed a basically square block and each of the sides a square and a half - proportions that Dan Cruickshank has compared to Robert Morris' subsequent proposals for ideal architectural proportions.¹ (A second floor was later added to the centre projection, and more recently no. 61 was combined with no. 60 to form Hampden House). This type of cubic planning reflects the form of Morris' Combe Bank, built about five years earlier, and it has frequently been noted that no. 61 was Morris' attempt to adapt his country villa formula for a London street. Some years later, having obtained possession of the ground bounded by Green Street, Park Street, Wood Mews and Park Lane, Morris (either in his capacity as an officer of the Ordnance or to fulfil a private commission for the Colonel of the regiment, the Duke of Marlborough) erected stables for the Second Troop of Horse Guards close to the site of his own residence.² The stables were, according to Rocque's plan, ranged around a central courtyard, with access to Park Street.³ What is most interesting about this commission is that the site of the stables was literally next door to the house of his cousin Robert Morris: the latter first appears in the Park Street ratebooks of 19 December 1738, i.e. at the same time that the stables were being constructed; thus it seems likely that Roger Morris designed, or at the very least procured the

1 D. Cruickshank in Architectural Review, April 1983, 57.

2 Survey of London xl 185-6; MLR 1728/3/78 and 1739/5/29.

3 J. Rocque, Plans of the Cities of London and Westminster (1740).

site for, his cousin's house.¹

Shortly after finishing the Park Street stables Morris was employed to build a house in The Strand. The banker George Middleton's account at Coutts Bank includes entries for a 'House built for me by Roger Morris and Benjamin Timbrell where the New Exchange in the Strand stood', payments commencing in 1739. The house itself was finished in 1740 (the sum of £1750 was paid on 21 November of that year to Morris and Timbrell 'for erecting Building and Finishing the House') but Morris, using his sons Thomas and James, continued to work on the building intermittently until 1745.² The house was a simple brick structure of three bays with a plain pediment, the three lower storeys being separated by a heavy modillioned cornice from the attic. The original Tuscan portico, with the pediment open at the bottom and a large semicircular fanlight over the doorway (itself echoed by a similar feature on the first floor landing)³ is very probably Morris' work, being somewhat reminiscent of the Tuscan work at Althorp stables and Mereworth church.

Whereas during the 1730s Morris was heavily involved in the speculative developments being promoted in the West End by the great

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- 1 WCL, Parish ratebooks of St. George's Hanover Square, Grosvenor Street Ward, C84-5 and C270. In C270 the rating for the Horse Guards' stables is entered with the note: 'Mr. Roger Morris or the Duke of Marlborough for Riding house and Stables'; similar entries continue throughout the 1740s.
 - 2 Coutts & Co., P/L 1735-55, George Middleton's account, ff. 95, 102, eg. entry for 7 November 1741: 'To Thomas and James Morris for painting', £15. The last entry is for 17 September 1745, when Morris was paid for 'laying the floors and altering the back rooms on first floor &c'.
 - 3 Survey of London xviii, pl. 65a (a photograph of c. 1905). Plate 63a, a photograph of a cast lead cistern bearing initials G^M, includes the date 17-9, presumably 1739.

landowners, during the following decade he was only working at one new site in Central London, 19 St. James's Square; this itself was to prove a very troublesome commission which lasted only a few months. The reason for this may be that Morris was preoccupied with building elsewhere in the country; certainly from 1744 his work at Inveraray would have taken up much of his time. Yet the 1740s in general witness a distinct slowing in the pace of Morris' practice, especially when this decade is compared to the frantic activity of c. 1729-33. Aside from Inveraray, there were no large-scale commissions during this period, excepting Kirby (merely a modified version of Marble Hill) and, possibly, Mereworth Church (q. v.), and it has already been established that Morris was not often at the Inveraray site, generally leaving direct supervision to William Adam. It seems probable then that Morris, now a respected professional figure and a comparatively wealthy man, was content to reduce the scale of his practice and merely to take on commissions which interested him during the last years of his life. He was also evidently prepared to give his sons - particularly James - a taste of business: his account at Coutts shows increasing sums passing to James and Thomas before 1749.

If Morris was deliberately reducing his workload, he would doubtless, with hindsight, have preferred not to take on the commission for the Duke of Cleveland at 19 St. James's Square. He had already been involved in construction elsewhere in the Square: in January 1729 much of the roof of the stables at the Earl of Bristol's house at number 6 collapsed,¹ encouraging Bristol (father of the Court wit

¹ See ed. S. Hervey, Letter Books of John Hervey, 1st Earl of Bristol (1894), III 35.

and writer John, Lord Hervey, who was an intimate of Henrietta Howard) to commission Morris to rebuild the whole structure; work began in June 1729, and in April 1731 Morris was paid £42 by the Earl '... for surveying and measuring ye work of my new building'.¹ Some fifteen years later he was employed on the opposite face of the square, at number 19. James Paine was consulted in 1746 over alterations to the house for the incoming 2nd Duke of Cleveland, whose mother had recently died whilst in occupation of the house,² but the work was ultimately entrusted to a mason personally known to the Duke. Evan Evans' small-scale scheme, realised after April 1746, revealed structural problems in the house which necessitated bringing in a more experienced architect: in May 1746 Morris was consulted (possibly on the advice of Cleveland's neighbour, Bristol) and a more extensive rebuilding project was effected to his design. By the beginning of 1747, however, Morris had - unusually, given the history of his practice up till this date - fallen out both with Evans and, more importantly, with the Duke - the specific cause of the dispute being allegations of overcharging and incompetence. In January 1747 Morris was summarily dismissed.³ Daniel Garrett was also at the site and, presumably trying to settle an old score (possibly arising from his dismissal from the White Lodge by the Works ten years earlier), wasted no time in denigrating Morris'

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- 1 Ickworth MSS, 'Letters and Verses between the Earl of Bristol and the Countess of Bristol', quoted in Survey of London xxix 104.
 - 2 Paine was later paid ten guineas for 'Drawing March & April 1746' (ex inf. Peter Leach).
 - 3 Raby Castle archives, 'Papers in Case Concerning Alterations to Cleveland House', including letters from Evans to Lady Grace Vane, June/July 1746, and from Morris to Lady Vane 25 July 1746. Designs for the house, probably by Evans, survive in a volume entitled 'Plans for Raby Castle etc. by Mr. Carr 1770-1785...', f. 30.

talents to his patron: drawings for columns, now in the archive at Raby Castle, were annotated by him

This is Mr. Morris's Invention intended to be Dorick but is 9 Inches to Short & 2 Inches to thick and there is 15 Inches & $\frac{1}{2}$ wanting to make a prop[er] Architrave & Freezes

and

Vitruvius says if any One alter this he is a great Block head¹

Morris subsequently took the Duke of Cleveland to the Court of Exchequer for non-payment of bills, and won;² thus it appears that Morris, and not Evans, Cleveland or Garrett, was the wronged party in this dispute.

(7) OTHER COMMISSIONS

While the majority of Morris' work was conducted for a small number of patrons - Pembroke, the Argylls and other members of the Leicester House circle - his practice was by no means exclusively restricted to these clients.

Morris, who had evidently replaced Gibbs at Adderbury and Whitton (q. v.), was also consulted in preference to the Scot at Milton House,

1 Raby Castle archives, 'Plans for Raby Castle etc...', f. 25c: drawings for Doric columns signed by Garrett and dated 16 July 1748.
 2 PRO, Ind. MS 4535, f. 99; also a statement of Cleveland's position in the Raby archives (see note 3, p. 108).

Northamptonshire. Drawings in Morris' hand exist in the Northamptonshire Record Office for a 'new intended HOUSE' at Milton, near Peterborough (and also near to Morris' work at Apethorpe); unexecuted schemes for the same site are also to be found there: these are by Gibbs, are dated 1726, and are for the 2nd Earl Fitzwilliam, who died in 1728.¹ Morris' drawings appear somewhat immature in style - only the low pyramidal roofs, the Diocletian Windows and the oval openings in the side pediments are distinctive of his later, personal style - and thus the drawings may well date from the same period as Gibbs' projects, i.e. relatively early in Morris' career. It is perhaps significant that the 'new intended Gothick Front to the South' of drawing 111, with its battlements, its hooded, pointed windows on the ground floor, and the rectangular, two-light windows on the first floor, bears a distinct resemblance to the design of Clearwell Castle, which Morris was then (c. 1728) just beginning (q. v.). The new building Morris proposed was strongly influenced by Wilton House, both in plan (with its four square corner towers, elements which Morris had recently applied at Combe Bank and which were to become an integral part of his architectural vocabulary) and in elevation. Morris' favourite Diocletian windows appear in the rusticated basement on the side (East and West) elevations, each below a Venetian Window with relieving arch and a pediment with an oval opening inside.² Drawings 109-11 are for simpler alterations, the Gothic South Front in no. 111 being for the eventuality that 'his Lordship alters the

1 Northamptonshire RO, Fitzwilliam (Milton) Drawings, quotation from no. 99; Northamptonshire RO, Gibbs Drawings, 59-77; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage.

2 Fitzwilliam Drawings 104-5.

old Building'; even this limited scheme was not executed, however, and it was Flitcroft who eventually rebuilt the South Front for the 3rd Earl in 1750-1.¹

At the same time as Morris was working on 30 Old Burlington Street for Sir Michael Newton, he was also employed at Newton's house at Culverthorpe in Lincolnshire. In 1734 Newton succeeded to his father's baronetcy; in contrast to what Hussey has suggested,² however, Sir Michael's additions pre-date this succession: Robert Morris was paid for surveying work accomplished during 1731 while extensive building work - which necessitated the hiring of numerous craftsmen and scaffolding from Boston - was being conducted as early as 1730.³ Work was still in progress in 1733, when Roger Morris (who had evidently replaced his cousin as site surveyor) was examining a bill for 'Two Chimney peices sent to Thorp in Lincolnshire',⁴ and even in 1735, when John Boson informed Sir Michael that a mantelpiece was on its way.⁵ Indeed as late as 1742 Matthew Rennyon was still undertaking plastering at the house.⁶ Newton's additions took the form of two cubic wings on the South Front, each punctuated by a large Venetian Window set below a sculptured roundel; additionally the principal facade was remodelled to accommodate a central entrance porch (plate 151). Colonnades leading to side pavilions were also

1 Colvin, 312.

2 See C. Hussey in Country Life, 22 Sept. 1923 and Harris and Pevsner, The Buildings of England: Lincolnshire (1964), 507.

3 Library of Congress, Washington D. C., Halliwell Phillips Collection (Newton papers) vols. 18 and 19.

4 Ibid., vol. 21: bill for work at Culverthorpe and Burlington Street dated 1 June 1733.

5 C. Hussey in Country Life, 22 Sept. 1923, 388.

6 Newton Papers vol. 30: contract for plastering dated 11 November 1741.

planned but not executed, as evidenced by a contemporary painting of the Hall,¹ complete with wings, and the single pair of attached columns, framing a pedimented doorway, extant at either end of the side elevations (plate 152). The additions have been attributed to both Roger and Robert Morris: both were certainly employed to survey work there, and Robert did dedicate his Lectures of 1734 (when work was still in progress at Culverthorpe) to Newton. Given Roger's contemporary involvement with Newton's house on the Burlington Estate it seems more reasonable, however, to credit him with the design of the Lincolnshire work. Moreover, the fact that the wings were originally surmounted by pyramidal roofs² - a device typical of Roger Morris' designs - and the high standard of the Kentian interior does not suggest an amateur architect, unaccustomed to large-scale design, such as Robert Morris.

It is likely that Roger Morris first made the acquaintance of the 2nd Duke of Richmond through the members of the Leicester house circle, of which Richmond was a member. Along with other of Morris' patrons such as Hotham and John Campbell, Richmond was rewarded for his support for the Prince of Wales with a Court position - Lord of the Bedchamber - on the Prince's accession in 1727. Three years later, Richmond was evidently instrumental in securing the commission for the Council House at Chichester, Sussex, for Morris. In 1747 Vertue visited Goodwood House as a guest of the Duke and inspected 'the new great Room for a hall of business or meeting erected by

1 This painting was sold at Sotheby's in March 1986 (ex inf. John Harris).

2 See plate 151..

benefactions - the Duke of Richmond the greatest promoter & Mr. Roger Morris designed the architect'.¹ It is interesting that Morris' design was accepted over that of the Earl of Burlington - a cruciform project whose projecting front was dominated by three-arch forms on ground and first floors and by three Venetian Windows on the attic floor (plate 47).² Much has been made of the resemblance between Morris' and Burlington's designs; however, Morris appears to have gained his direct inspiration not from Burlington but from a specifically Italian source - the churches of Palladio - an inspiration which in terms of chronology corresponds with Morris' visit to Italy (see chapter 2).³ An inscription in the building establishes the date of construction as 1731 ('this Council House...was begun and finished in the year of our Lord God 1731'); at about the same time Morris was travelling in Italy with George Bubb Dodington, and it is highly unlikely that they would have omitted Venice and Vicenza from their itinerary. Thus Morris' inspiration may in this case have stemmed directly from his own first-hand appreciation of Palladio's work. In view of the date of execution, Morris may not have been present at the site himself, but may have simply despatched the design from Italy; this may explain the plainness of the interior

1 Walpole Society, Vertue Note Books, V 144.

2 R. I. B. A. Drawings Collection, reproduced in J. Harris, The Palladians (1981), fig. 62. There is no evidence to confirm that Morris was simultaneously working at Burlington's Foxhall at nearby Charlton.

3 Royal Library Windsor, Consul Smith Collection, Visentini Drawings, 10570. The facade, with its double temple front and unusually high attic supported by four engaged Corinthian columns, is based directly on Morris' contemporary drawing - purportedly for Eastbury - in the Visentini album; this in turn was derived from Palladio's church fronts at Il Redentore and San Giorgio Maggiore; see below, and plates 20-1, 60.

and the general crudeness of execution, which has been remarked on by more recent commentators:

This is the perfect example of Palladian ideas applied by a man who did not know what to do with them. The building is jolly and friendly, but could have been done just as well by the local bricklayer¹

If Morris was abroad at the time of construction, the building may well have been executed by a local craftsman, with Morris merely supplying measurements of the street elevation from Italy.

Evidence also suggests that Morris was the author of Carne's Seat, a small lodge in the grounds of Richmond's house at Goodwood, in c. 1742: two letters regarding work at Westminster Bridge refer to Morris 'just return'd from the Duke of Richmond's' on 10 August 1742 and despatching stone to the Duke at Goodwood on 14 August.²

A further link with Morris can be found nearby: the interior of the Shell House, begun in c. 1739,³ reproduces the parts of architectural decoration exactly as in the shell room in the South Wing at Mereworth Castle - another structure attributed to Morris.

Morris was also extensively employed by another prominent ducal family, that of the Duke of Marlborough. Comments made, in a predictably irascible vein, by the Dowager Duchess (whom Morris was then attempting to mollify at Wimbledon) indicate that he was

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- 1 I. Nairn and N. Pevsner, The Buildings of England: Sussex (1965), . . 172.
 - 2 BL, Add. MS 27587, accounts and letter books of Andrews Jelfe.
 - 3 R. White, etc., Georgian Arcadia (exhibition catalogue, 1987), 32.
HMS Diamond unloaded a shell cargo for the Duchess of Richmond in 1739.

the author of the stable block at Althorp, erected for the 3rd Duke of Marlborough c. 1732-3 (plate ⁵⁴⁺⁵⁵61): 'I find', she wrote, '[the Duke] is dissatisfied himself with Mr. Morris's demands...I found by what he did say that there is a great deal more than the stables, and some [building] in the park'.¹ The Duchess' reference to park buildings presumably signifies the Gardener's House in the grounds, a building very much in Morris' personal style (plate ⁵³60). The letter may also suggest, as does Morris' sacking from 19 St. James's Square in 1747, that Morris was a difficult man to get on with; however, the Duchess herself was a notoriously awkward and demanding patron, quick to denigrate any architect or workman, and it is possibly safer not to draw any general conclusions from her typically acid remarks.

Morris was also employed elsewhere by the 3rd Duke of Marlborough. Two small lodges erected on the Spencer-owned island in the middle of the Thames at Bray (on the Bucks./Berks. border) in the mid-1740s can be attributed to Morris on grounds of style: the Fishing Lodge, an octagonal structure with a low pyramidal roof topped with a chimney, with widely projecting eaves and with large Diocletian Windows on each face, is highly characteristic of Morris' style, the deep eaves and Diocletian Windows strongly recalling the Althorp stables. Other factors point to Morris. The disposition of the Diocletian Windows and the projecting porch on the Lodge, together with the arrangement of the windows and the four columns under the

1 Bedfordshire RO, Woburn MSS, 205, ii 57, dated c. 1733. The 1st Duke of Marlborough had no surviving sons: on the death of his daughter Henrietta (who had, by Act of Parliament, succeeded as 2nd Duchess in 1722) on 24 October 1733 her nephew John Spencer (henceforward styled John Spencer-Churchill), 5th Earl of Sunderland, succeeded as 3rd Duke of Marlborough.

low roof on the Pavilion's south front, recalls plates from Robert Morris' works - specifically, plate 47 of Rural Architecture and plate 3 of The Architectural Remembrancer. Furthermore, the lodge ceiling and walls are covered with singeries by Andien de Clermont, who is known to have been working on similar scenes of a comparative date at Wilton. There is an additional link with Pembroke, suggesting that he was, again, acting as Morris' aesthetic consultant here: the pavilion's facade is very similar to a design by Pembroke for the Houghton Water House (see plates 76 and 18), having a three-arched, rusticated basement supporting a central, pedimented doorway and a pyramidal roof. Recent discoveries by the author demonstrate not only Morris' authorship of these buildings but also Pembroke's substantial role. The Althorp Papers in the British Library include payments to Morris for Monkey Island totalling £8,756, commencing in 1745; they also include regular sums paid to Pembroke between 1745 and 1748, totalling a sizeable £2,277.5.5.¹

One of Morris' last recorded commissions was for Kirby Hall in Yorkshire. Vitruvius Britannicus testifies to the authorship of 'Earl of Burlington and R Morris Archts'. Prior to the executed design, however, the owner, Stephen Thompson, evidently consulted the amateur Colonel James Moyser, who in 1746 produced a scheme which owed much to Campbell's Houghton.² Thompson, having stipulated that he did not want to 'embark beyond my depth' - preferring 'a house to live

¹ BL, Althorp Papers, D45-6.

² Humberside (Beverley) RO, Grimston MSS, DDGR/41/3, letter from Stephen Thompson to Thomas Grimston, 22 November 1746: 'I recid from Col. Moyser a... plan that I like better than any I have seen yet. I sent him some remarks upon it and hope to have a second edition. If I take it right My House will be a perfect model of Ld. Orford's at Houghton'.

in not a house for show' - was not well disposed to such grand conceptions as a second Houghton and soon began altering Moyser's plans.¹ By January 1747 he had decided that 'the true plan I shall execute...will not be unlike Sr C. Hotham's in Beverley excepting the additions'. Given both Moyser's and Thompson's expressed predilections for Campbell's work it is not surprising that by the Spring of 1747 Thompson was, on Moyser's advice, consulting Campbell's architectural heir, Morris (then involved in work at Inveraray).² James Paine's opinion was also sought - referring to a plan of early 1747 Thompson declared that 'Morris nor no architect but Payne has seen it' - but by 1748 Morris was clearly established as the principal architect at Kirby.³ Interestingly, no mention is made of Burlington's participation in the project in Thompson's correspondence, suggesting that either Morris merely consulted the Earl when in London, or that the latter was acting as intermediary between architect and patron as Pembroke had frequently done with Morris.

Thompson's own inclination to influence the design of the house (in December 1746 he was writing that he wished to 'lay before [Morris] as perfect a plan as I could') was, by the evidence of Vitruvius Britannicus and the engraving in the King's Maps, subordinated

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- 1 Ibid., DDGR/41/5; Thompson to Grimston, 3 January 1746/7: 'I perceive that Mr. Moyser does not approve my alterations of his plan...'. (Note that Moyser has by this time lost his military appellation).
 - 2 Ibid.: 'Morris has promised to call at Kirby in May on his way to Scotland with the D of Argyle...'. See also DDGR/41/4, Thompson to Grimston, 11 December 1746: 'You may tell him I shall follow his advice in consulting Morris'.
 - 3 Ibid., DDGR/41/5, Thompson to Grimston, 19 February 1746/7 and 20 May 1748.

to Morris' expertise. Yet the King's Maps engravings do include 'Plans by the Owner S. T.', as well as the appended statement that the house was '...Executed, and the inside furnishings by J. Carr, Architect'.¹ Thompson's plans feature canted bays at either side, as indeed does the plan in Vitruvius Britannicus: on the principal floor canted bays front a small circular dressing room and a semi-circular space attached to a large, rectangular gallery. These canted bays are highly typical of the houses of John Carr (see below, chapter 8), and their inclusion suggests that they were added by the Yorkshireman some time after Morris' death. If, however, they are indeed by Morris, then they represent an unusually early use of this particular motif, yet a usage that was foreshadowed by similar features at Whitton and, possibly, Argyll House (q. v.).

Aside from the projects mentioned above, Roger Morris' name has been more loosely connected with a variety of other houses. One of the more plausible attributions is that for work at Beechwood Park in Hertfordshire. In 1736 Thomas Sebright succeeded to the title of 5th Baronet and to the house at Beechwood of c. 1702.² Before his death in 1761 he commissioned a scheme for completely rebuilding the garden front, a scheme which survives in the form of a drawing for the 'front towards ye Garden', formerly at Beechwood.³ The design is low and long, and completely astylar; it is perhaps this latter feature which has encouraged its stylistic attribution

¹ BL, King's Maps, xlv 24-1.

² The main block of the house is dated 1702 on the rainwater pipes.

³ Photographs of the original drawings at the R. I. B. A. Drawings Collection. My thanks to Mr. John Harris for much help on this and related matters.

to Morris (plate 146). However, the design lacks most of the architectural features usually associated with Morris: the central pedimented projection is without any embellishment, save for a circular opening in the pediment, and the centre block and the wings of four bays (all of two storeys, with square windows at floor level) bear none of Morris' stylistic hallmarks. (In the only portion of the scheme to be executed was the library wing of four bays, completed without the first floor windows of the original drawing (plate 145). Yet the hand of the drawings is most probably Morris'; additionally, the Sebright family's close link with Sir Charles Hotham and, presumably, with the circle of the 9th Earl of Pembroke, suggest that it was Pembroke who personally recommended Morris for the project.¹

Less identifiable as Morris' work (and representing a scheme which was not even partly executed) are designs, of a similar date to those for Beechwood, for Saltram House in Devon (plate 10). In 1743 Saltram passed to John Parker and his wife Lady Catherine, and shortly afterwards plans were laid for remodelling the West Wing and adding to the South and East Fronts.² Lord Clinton was currently rebuilding Castle Hill in the north of the county, and the Parkers may have been sufficiently impressed by Morris' work there to engage him to provide suggestions for Saltram. However, these drawings are not recognisably in Morris' hand, and appear distinctly Campbellian.

¹ Hull University, Brynmor Jones Library, DDHO 4/3, letter from Colonel J. Sebright to Sir Charles Hotham dated Beechwood 12th Aug 1749: 'You would really please me in visiting soon...'; cf. also numerous other letters from Sebright to Hotham and from Pembroke to Hotham in the collection.

² N. Neatby, Saltram (National Trust Guide, 1967); Ronald Fletcher The Parkers of Saltram (1970), 14-16.

One of these features a large tetrastyle portico fronting a typically Morrisian octagonal dome (derived from Chiswick) with Diocletian Windows on each face. The second is a less ambitious design with a central, rusticated archway below a domed cupola and two Wiltonesque towers at either end, each with a large Diocletian Window and pyramidal roof - a design that is evidently based on a rejected scheme by Colen Campbell for Goodwood of 1724.¹

Neither of the designs was executed, however: to save money Lady Catherine aimed to incorporate as much of the old house as she could into the remodelling, and these schemes were deemed too ambitious for such modest intentions.²

Another design possibly by Morris also appears on closer inspection to be the work of another designer. Inside the attic storey of Lydiard Tregoze in Wiltshire an inscribed stone records that the fabric was rebuilt in 1743 by John, Viscount St. John, elder brother of the notorious Tory politician Viscount Bolingbroke. This reconstruction, however, was not completed: the North-West and South-West Fronts were left as a miscellany of blocks of differing ages which pre-dated St. John's occupancy. The rebuilt portions provide a sharp contrast, consisting of sedate, austere elevations to the South-East and the side, North-East angle, with a

¹ Ed. J. Harris, Catalogue of the R. I. B. A. Drawings Collection: Colen Campbell, (1973), fig. 15.
² J. Cornforth in Country Life, 4 May 1969.

central, pedimented projection of three bays and three Wiltonesque towers. (Christopher Hussey has pointed out that these pavilions are actually timber-framed and are merely faced with stone, while the North-West tower is the only one which contains a room). Viscount St. John died prematurely in 1748; this, Hussey suggests, may well be the reason why the house was so suddenly finished. However, Walford Wynn-Jones, on the basis of a letter from St. John of 1743, argues that the work was both begun and finished in 1743, since the Viscountess was expecting a child and would not want any unnecessary disturbances.¹ (Certainly the limited rebuilding work is unlikely to have taken as many as five years to effect; Lady St. John's pregnancy, or some other undisclosed factor, must explain the hasty conclusion of the building works). This letter also demonstrates St. John's keen interest in architecture: the Viscount expresses great enthusiasm concerning recent visits to Studley, Stourhead, Wilton and Doddington (sic; possibly this refers to Dodington Park in Gloucestershire). St. John also states that 'Ireson has left me Yr plans, and has made a Handsome front with a Rustick Basement, attick Windows above, and to ye cellars, Architives and Key Stones to ye Windows and ye like'; this is clearly not the South-East front of Lydiard as executed, and may well refer to a project for The Lawns in Swindon.² The actual additions, however rapidly executed, appear to be in origin rather more than the work

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- 1 Borough of Thamesdown, Lydiard Park Guide; C. Hussey in Country Life 19/26 March 1948; Wootton Bassett Historical Society, Viscount St. John to an unidentified correspondent dated Lydiard 4 August 1743: 'Ly. St J is well, but grumbling at ye Near approach of a disagreeable hour'. I am indebted to Mr. Walford Wynn-Jones for information regarding to Lydiard Tregoze.
- 2 See Colvin, 446-7.

of a local mason: Hussey, for example, praises the 'exquisite simplicity' of the elevations, and the Palladian interiors that survive the later Rococo work - heavy, with repeated characteristically Kentian devices of shells and faces - point to a skilled hand. Hussey has suggested Roger Morris, on the strength of the use of the Wiltonesque towers and the 'early Palladian' quality of the interiors which, although they date from the early 1740s, indicate the work of a craftsman trained in the 1720s. There is no specific evidence to support Morris' authorship, however. The interiors (plates ¹⁵³⁻⁶~~68-9~~) could be by any Palladian designer well-versed in Jonesian and Kentian decoration: the chimneypiece in the Hall is a replica of one at Chiswick; the Drawing Room ceiling is a copy of the simple coffered ceiling with carved ribs at the Queen's House in Greenwich; the State Bedchamber chimneypiece is, excepting the overmantel, also from Jones; the anteroom apse is from Kent's Holkham Hall; and the Library chimneypiece (again, below the overmantel) is taken from that in the Saloon at Houghton.¹ The fact that most of these features are also engraved in Ware's Designs of Inigo Jones... has encouraged Mr. Wynn-Jones to attribute the interiors to Ware. Certainly it is interesting that the date of the rebuilding (1743) pre-dates Ware's publication by fourteen years, i. e. the interiors at Lydiard were hardly influenced by Ware's work, but rather vice-versa. Nevertheless, the Jonesian-Kentian decoration would surely have been familiar to most of the leading designers of the period. It is also conceivable that Ware was simply well-acquainted with Lydiard, and not its architect.

1 I. Ware, Designs of Inigo Jones and others (1757), pls. 4, 13, 22, 51.

Whoever the author of the interior, the plain exteriors - which are in sharp contrast to the rich decoration of the rooms - appear far too austere and amateur in conception to be the work of Ware or of Morris. Walford Wynn-Jones has highlighted the remarkable resemblance between the principal front of Lydiard Tregoze and other houses of the period partially or wholly designed by Thomas Prowse: the Wilton-like corner towers with their high attics and the centralised, astylar three-bay pedimented projection recur prominently at Hagley Hall, Worcestershire (1754-60), Copt Hall, Essex (1753-8) and Hatch Court, Somerset (1755) as well as at Lydiard.¹ Hatch Court in particular is, except for its graceful loggia, much like Lydiard in elevation; a resemblance to the Wiltshire house is also evident in Prowse's Kimberley Park, Norfolk, where he added corner towers and a three-bay centre in the style of Lydiard in 1754-9.² The major obstacle to any confident attribution of the additions at Lydiard to Prowse lies with the comparatively early date of the rebuilding: all of Prowse's recorded commissions date from the 1750s, and thus 1743 appears an unusually early date for him to be working on his own. Nevertheless, during the 1740s Prowse was involved in the machinations over the rebuilding of Copt Hall, and may well have been called in by Lord St. John - who, it has already been established, was a keen observer of architecture -

1 See M. McCarthy, 'The Building of Hagley Hall....' in Burlington Magazine, April 1976, and G. Nares in Country Life, 19/26 Sept. 1957, which reproduces a letter from Lord Lyttelton to Sanderson Miller regarding Prowse's wooden model of Hagley, Lyttelton remarking that '... as to the inside all that is considerable is yours'.

2 M. Girouard in Country Life, 22 Oct. 1964.

as a result of this connection.¹

Other houses can be associated with Morris for stylistic reasons. Cobham Park, Surrey (originally called Downe Place), for example, does appear to have a reasonable claim to Morris' authorship: pen and wash sketches of the house (accompanying statements that imply that the house was built during the 1730s or 1740s) show a distinctly Morrisian villa of the Marble Hill type - of seven bays, with a projecting, pedimented centre of three bays (plate 157). The house is astylar, has a pyramidal roof, features oval panels between ground and first floors, and moreover possesses an octagonal cupola surmounting the roof;² all of these are clear Morrisian signatures (see below, chapter five). The rear also includes elements found in other Morris houses: a large Venetian Window is placed at the centre of the first floor, and below this a three-light, balustraded canted bay of the type built at Whitton (q. v.).

Less obviously in Morris' style, but still conceivably designed by his hand, is Werrington Park in Cornwall (plate 144). Additions were made to an older house for Sir William Morice during the 1730s; in addition, survey plans of 1828 show porticoed stables (since demolished), with the annotation: 'These very like the Althorp stables by R. Morris' - Althorp being a building exactly contemporary with the work at Werrington.³ The new facade was of two storeys, with three

¹ Colvin, 666, 716.

² Manning and Bray, The History and Topography of the County of Surrey (1847), vol. 15, 735 and plates. The text declares that 'this house, about 17... was the property of John Bridges esq. who built a new one, and sold it to Sir John Ligonier about 1750'.

³ Ex inf., Howard Colvin.

bays each side of a central canted bay; the latter includes a pedimented doorway at the front, with sunken circular panels - a motif reminiscent of Morris' other works (see below, p. 155) - between the ground and first floors on the two side facets. Inside a Kentian fireplace survives. While the new construction can be tentatively assigned to Morris, however, the central canted bay with sunken panels recalls a number of designs later published by Robert Morris in 1750-1.¹ Isaac Ware may also have been involved: the disposition of the new front is very similar to the engraving of a house featured as plate 43 in Ware's A Complete Body of Architecture of 1756.

1 Eg. RA pl. 30, AR pls. 13, 34.

4 ROGER MORRIS' ARCHITECTURAL PRACTICE: FINANCE

When he died in 1749 Roger Morris left the sum of £13,240 to be realised from the sale of his estate and to be primarily distributed among his surviving children.¹ Whilst this is not a vast amount - there is evidence to suggest that Morris' funds may have been depleted by unwise speculative ventures during the early 1740s (see below) - it contrasts graphically with the deposit of £20 with which he had opened his account at Hoare's Bank in 1723.² Such an improvement in Morris' financial affairs testifies to his success as an architect and builder. Unfortunately, his success cannot be minutely charted through a thorough examination of Morris' financial transactions, since detailed accounts relating to the majority of his commissions do not, unfortunately, survive. Nevertheless, Morris' professional progress can be traced with some accuracy through those financial records which are still extant.

Roger Morris' career provides an excellent example of the rise of a craftsman who sought to combine his knowledge of his own trade with a mastering of the profession of architect. Some time ago Sir John Summerson pointed out that at the beginning of the

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- 1 PRO, PCC 49 Lisle. £1,500 was to be provided for each of his children, £50 to each of his three executors and to Mary Jackson, and £20 each to his brother Crouch and his sister Sarah. The original will was dated 11 March 1747/8; codicils of 3 August and 3 December 1748 provided additional sums for James and Roger, his sons by his first marriage: £1,000 to James as a 'share of the profits of my Business' and £1,000 to Roger, reversing an earlier decision to subtract the sum given to him to buy his commission in the army.
 - 2 Hoare's Bank, Roger Morris' Account, Ledger 25, f. 127; opened on 8 April 1723.

eighteenth century the building industry was

transforming itself from a homogeneous body of independent craftsmen to a body comprising, at the top, the speculating master-builder, at the bottom the journeyman, and between the two, but on a pedestal of his own, raising him socially above either, the architect. The loss of status to the individual craftsman is obvious. He had to go into business as a speculator or get himself a patron and become an architect, or perish.

Morris' achievement was to become both speculator and architect, both master-builder and designer. In 1723 Morris was still at the bottom of the professional ladder, yet by 1740 he had clearly reached Summerson's 'pedestal'. Acting both as architect and as tradesman, Morris could call on his own experience of the building trades to hire workmen of proven expertise and professional trustworthiness and was, in addition, able to negotiate realistic financial (or exchange) terms with his craftsmen. As a bricklayer and carpenter - at the Ordnance he was engaged solely to perform bricklaying and later carpentry, rather than as an architect² - Morris was clearly in an excellent position to determine, in Summerson's words, 'which tradesmen he could trust'.³ Having discovered proficient craftsmen Morris, like most architects, tended to use them repeatedly, building up a body of workmen which he could call upon at sites where he directed the design or construction.

Six names are particularly recurrent throughout Morris'

1 J. Summerson, Georgian London (1945 & 1978), 72.

2 See Chapter 2, above, and 142 below.

3 Summerson, op.cit., 77.

accounts at Hoare's and Coutts Banks: George Mercer, Alexander Rouchead, Joseph Pratt, George and John Deval, and Richard Heaviside. Mercer and Rouchead's names first appear entered on the opening page of Morris' Hoare's account,¹ and are prominent in the lists of Morris' payments out over the next twenty years.

Rouchead, primarily a plasterer and woodcarver, features intermittently throughout Morris' accounts: the latest date when his name can be linked with Morris' is 1747, when he was paid for a marble chimneypiece and carved woodwork for the dining room at Taymouth Castle, where Morris was also involved (see below, p.355).² Mercer, a mason, was used by Morris with great frequency after 1729. He appears as a workman at the Burlington Estate after 1729,³ at the Royal Ordnance with Morris,⁴ at George Street and at George Middleton's house in the Strand.⁵ In 1737 he joined other of Morris' most favoured senior craftsmen in taking leases on two

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- 1 Hoare's Bank, Roger Morris' account, Ledger 26, f. 127: payments from 8 June to 3 August 1724.
 - 2 SRO, Breadalbane MSS, Lord Glenorchy's Accounts, GD112/21/78, entry for 13 November 1747.
 - 3 U. S. Library of Congress, Halliwell Philips Collection, Newton Papers, vols. 17-19 & 21. He was paid £16.8.4½ on 25 February 1729 for 'Masons work done for Sr Michael newton at his House in Burlington Garden' (vol. 17), and was still working on Newton's house in June 1733 (vol. 21, payment for work dated 1 June 1733, surveyed by Morris).
 - 4 Eg. PRO, WO 48/82, Ordnance Treasurer's Ledgers, p. 70 and passim., bill dated 4 June 1741, etc. by 1745 he was in partnership with Francis Spriggs at the Ordnance: eg. Mercer and Spriggs were paid £107.5.2 for work at Woolwich Warren 1 January - 30 June 1745.
 - 5 Coutts & Co., P/L 1735-55, Morris and Timbrell's account, f. 102 (1740-5) and Account of the Earl of Islay, Andrew Fletcher and Duncan Forbes, f. 114 (eg. entry for 12 November 1742).

houses on the Argyll Street site, 27 Argyll Street and 6 Argyll Place.¹ Joseph Pratt, a bricklayer, worked with Morris on a number of occasions after 1726,² and the two worked together in partnership at the Ordnance during the 1730s (see below); he was also, with Morris (and also with Nicholas Hawksmoor), one of the subscribers to Pembroke's Westminster Bridge scheme,³ although unlike Morris he took no part in the associated housing construction - the two having evidently parted professional company in 1736 (see below, p. 145). George Deval (or Devall), 'yeoman of Ensham, Oxon', worked for Morris at various sites after 1728.⁴ His son, John was not employed by Morris until some years later, although he completed his apprenticeship in 1727. Gunnis records that John Deval worked frequently for Andrews Jelfe - an associate of Morris'

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- 1 John Deval took 21 Argyll Street and 8 Argyll Place; George Deval took 11 Argyll Place; and Morris' favourite timber merchant, Leonard Phillips, took 9 Little Argyll Street, the corner house. Other lessees included Isaac Mansfield, Joseph Pattison and John Boson - all craftsmen used frequently by Morris - and James Gibbs. (Survey of London xxxi, 285-90).
 - 2 The first payments from Morris to Pratt appear in Morris' accounts for 10 February - 6 August 1726 (Hoare's Bank, Roger Morris' account, ledger 27, f. 404). Pratt had been apprenticed to his father - also a 'Bricklayer of London' - in 1711 (Tylers and Bricklayers Company Apprenticeship Books (Guildhall Library), 3045/2).
 - 3 PRO, WORK 6/41, Minutes of the Westminster Bridge Committee of Accounts, I, 257-8.
 - 4 R. Gunnis, Dictionary of British Sculptors 1660-1851 (1951), 128. George and his son may have been living in the same parish as Morris during the late 1720s, i.e. the two families may have been near neighbours. The parish registers for St. Marylebone record the burial of a 'Henry Devall' on 22 June 1729 (City of London (GLC) RO, X23.13). The first payment from Morris to George Deval was made in November 1728 (Hoare's Bank, Roger Morris' account, Ledger 30, f. 249): the name cited here is merely 'Devall', but this transaction corresponds to Works payments to 'Geo.Deval' made in respect to work at the White Lodge (PRO, WORK 5/57, payments dated January 1727/8 (£315.16.5), July 1729 and March 1730).

at the New Park Lodge, the Ordnance and at the Westminster Bridge scheme (q.v.) - but afterwards set up for himself; it was in his capacity as an independent mason that he assisted Morris at the Palladian Bridge at Wilton House (see below, p. 299) and employed by Morris at Sir Michael Newton's house in Burlington Street in 1742-3.¹ In 1760 he became Master of the Mason's Company, and later featured as one of the subscribers to Woolfe and Gandon's fourth volume of Vitruvius Britannicus of 1767.

None of these craftsmen, however, appears to have been as intimate with Morris as Richard Heaviside. Recorded payments from Morris to Heaviside commence in 1742,² and during the subsequent seven years recur with great frequency; only Roger's son James Morris received more of Morris' funds throughout this period.³ Most of the sums paid to Heaviside were large, rounded figures: in March/April 1744, for example, the five payments (all made in the space of only ten days) were all of the scale of £50 and £100.⁴ The size

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- 1 Library of Congress, Washington DC; Halliwell Phillips Collection, Newton Papers vol. 30: payments of £31.10.0 (12 June 1742) and £10.10.0 (5 February 1742/3).
 - 2 Coutts & Co., Roger Morris' account, ledger 1742-4, f. 138. Heaviside may have been working for Morris prior to this date, possibly as early as 1740, since between 1740 and 1742 Morris appears to have experimented with the financial practice of making withdrawals only to himself, and personally paying the workmen and other creditors (directly or via an agent) out of these amounts.
 - 3 Eg. during November and December 1743 Heaviside was paid five times (*ibid.*, f. 239). In 1749 James Morris took over his late father's usual payments to Heaviside, which were then made in continuous fashion - and were generally of large denomination, such as £50, £100 or even £300 - until 1755. (Coutts & Co., James Morris' account, ledger 1749-50, f. 150 and ledger 1754-5, f. 172).
 - 4 Coutts & Co., Roger Morris' account, ledger 1742-4, f. 282. Cf. also ledger 1744-5, f. 224 (June - July 1745): four payments were made to Heaviside at this time, all of very substantial sums - £150, £90, £50 and £150.

and frequency of these amounts suggests that by the 1740s Morris had decided to employ a senior craftsman or professional agent (Heaviside) as his right-hand man - a figure who would be entrusted with paying the lesser workmen at the sites. Certainly by 1742 Morris was wealthy enough to afford a personal assistant; such a move would naturally have served to distance Morris from the building sites where he had first practised his trade and from the craftsmen who had been his erstwhile colleagues. It is likely that Morris had such an end in view when he employed Heaviside: the use of such an assistant would have publicly underlined the extent of Morris' social and professional success.¹

From the evidence available, it appears that in the majority of his projects Morris acted as principal building contractor, negotiating in the traditional fashion with fellow-tradesmen to secure their services.² Whilst engaged at his first major commission

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- 1 That Heaviside was involved in the payment of craftsmen, and not simply with traders and other creditors not of the building profession, is indicated both by the scale of the payments to him and by the physical position of the entries for Heaviside in the Coutts ledgers, where Heaviside's name generally appears alongside those of established artisans such as Isaac Eeles and Morris' son James. This nevertheless does not establish whether Heaviside himself was a trained craftsman or architectural practitioner: given that his name does not appear in any site accounts yet discovered, it seems likely that he was a clerk or senior servant employed by Morris purely in the role of business administrator.
 - 2 Hermione Hobhouse (in Thomas Cubitt, Master Builder (1971), 27) noted that, as a result of this type of contracting, the master builder only received his payment in a few large instalments, being personally responsible for subsequent guarantees of labour or payment to the workmen. Such a system frequently necessitated the raising of bridging loans between the instalments and resulted in high interest debts. There is no evidence, however, that Roger Morris was ever financially embarrassed by such a practice, despite additional risky involvements in building speculation (see below).

Marble Hill House, individual tasks were sub-contracted out not by the patron but by Morris himself. From June 1724 Morris received regular instalments of £100 or, more frequently, £200 from Herbert or Islay, out of which he was obliged to pay his craftsmen; these sums amounted to a contract worth £1,200 to Morris.¹ Whilst sub-contracting jobs such as masonry and plasterwork, however, Morris preferred to put his own carpentry skills to work rather than hire a further craftsman specifically for this task.²

The only surviving contract for work performed by Roger Morris is that for the rebuilding work at Castle Hill, Devon, of 22 February 1728/9.³ By this document, however, Morris was paid for working solely on the exterior masonry; the interior was evidently the subject of a separate contract or contracts (with or without Morris), Morris being on this occasion merely required to sub-contract stonecarving and other related tasks. For this work Morris was to receive £500, £400 to be paid 'at such times & in such proportions as the said Roger Morris shall require...and the remaining one hundred...immediately upon the compleating and finishing' of the work. (In addition, the contract also stipulated that Lord Clinton pay Morris extra sums for 'altering the old Walls and gutters and Roofing of the said House', for 'such carving as

1 Norfolk RO, Hobart MSS, 21 f. 4. Receipts survive detailing payments to Morris dated 20 June 1724 (£200), 25 August 1724 (£200), 1 February 1724/5 (£100), 22 July 1725 (£100), 2 August 1728 (£200), 18 December 1728 (£200), and 4 April 1729 (£200). The gap between 1725 and 1728 suggests that work was suspended during this period.

2 *Ibid.*, bill for carpenter's work performed by Morris, dated 11 October 1725 and totalling £57.18.9.

3 Devon RO, Fortescue Papers, 61/93.

shall be made on the said Entablature', and for the scaffolding and Portland Stone for the cornice).

Considerably more lucrative than the Castle Hill contract was Morris' commission of c. 1733 to finish Eastbury for his friend George Bubb Dodington. Here the task was a reversal of that at Castle Hill: Morris was hired to complete only the interior of Vanbrugh's building - for which, he noted, he had been awarded 'a contract for £9,000', an astonishingly large sum for such a limited commission.¹ In contrast, at George Middleton's house in The Strand, Morris and Benjamin Timbrell were in 1740 paid a total of £1,750 for the entire project - 'Erecting Building and Finishing the House'.²

Accounts also survive pertaining to Morris' work on the houses in George Street, Westminster, for the Charteris trust: payments dating from 1738 demonstrate that between March 1738 and February 1741/2 Morris was paid a total of £2,309.17.4 for repairs and new work here.³ Morris was also paid an additional £75 for surveying the site - a payment which shows that Morris, like other architects of the period, was happy to act as his own surveyor when occasion

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- 1 Royal Library, Windsor, Consul Smith collection (Visentini Drawings), drawing 10571 - complete with annotations by Morris - dated 29 September 1733.
 - 2 Coutts & Co., George Middleton's account, Ledger 1740-2, f. 102, transaction dated 21 November 1740.
 - 3 Coutts & Co., Account of the Earl of Islay, Andrew Fletcher, and Duncan Forbes (the Charteris trust), Ledger 1736-8, f. 128, Ledger 1738-40, f. 149, etc: payments commence with £300, transferred from Islay to Morris on 31 March 1738, and continue with £500 on 18 August 1738, £711.8.0 on 21 October 1738, £200 on 12 July 1740 and 7 February 1741/2, and £398.9.4 ('in full for said Repairs') on 28 February 1741/2.

demanded it.¹ Following completion of the initial work at George Street, however, Morris was re-engaged for further miscellaneous tasks merely in his capacity as a carpenter, being entered in the trust accounts alongside workmen such as George Mercer and James Morris the painter.² This instance suggests that, although Morris was by this time well established as an architect, he was not too proud (or indeed too financially comfortable) to refuse to make use of his craft skills alone.

The instalments of £200 paid to Morris by Islay on behalf of the Charteris trust are, interestingly, of the same magnitude as the amounts, paid by Islay himself to Morris, at regular intervals during the 1730s and 1740s. The first instalment of £200 was paid into Morris' account on 29 April 1731, and similar sums were paid by Islay until 16 June 1748, recurring on average every two months.³ These amounts pose something of a problem. During much of this period Morris was indeed working for Islay at various sites: Whitton Park (c. 1732-9), the Charteris houses in George Street (1738-40) and Inveraray Castle and related Scottish projects (1744-9). The payments of £200 or £300 may, then represent instalments of sums paid for work performed in connection with these specific commissions. If this hypothesis is correct, however, then it necessarily follows

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- 1 *Ibid.*, Ledger 1738-40, f. 149 (£50 paid 26 October 1738) and Ledger 1740-2, f. 124 (£25 paid on 28 February 1741/2).
 - 2 *Ibid.*, Ledger 1742-4, f. 114: payment dated 12 November 1742 to 'Roger Morris carpenter', totalling £33.1.5½. See Appendix entry.
 - 3 Coutts & Co., Earl of Islay's Account, Ledger 1731-2, ff. 101-2, 137, and *passim*.

that Morris was paid the immense sum of £10,101.10.0 for work at Whitton during the 1730s¹ and £4,414.15.0 (considerably less than at Whitton) for work at Inveraray and Argyll's other Scottish homes such as The Whim and Rosneath between 1744 and 1748.² Furthermore, ascribing these payments to services directly connected with individual sites does not adequately explain the payments made between 1740 and 1744: instalments, generally of £200 or £300 and totalling £3,885, continue throughout these four years. Islay's payments may, then, represent instalments of a retainer paid to Morris in a similar vein to those paid to Islay's political adherents in England and Scotland; this retainer would presumably have included payments for Morris' services at Whitton, Inveraray and elsewhere, and would signify that Morris was employed as Islay's personal architect for much of his professional career.

Between his commissions for Islay, however, Morris was also

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- 1 Coutts & Co., Earl of Islay's Account, Ledger 1731-2, ff. 101-2, and passim. There were payments, generally in denominations of £200, totalling £3,626.5.0 between 29 April 1731 and 24 October 1735. From 24 January 1736 (Ledger 1735-6, f. 108) the value of the instalments increased to £300, with some slight variations; between this date and 23 November 1739 Morris received £6,475 from Islay. These totals include payments made by the Countess of Suffolk (formerly Morris' patron at Marble Hill, and an intimate of Islay's) of £400 on 15 April and 31 May 1735 and £200 on 2 November 1739. These payments were clearly made on Islay's behalf, occurring as they did on occasions when Islay's own payments to Morris had been interrupted (possibly on account of Islay's physical absence or his inability to sanction such withdrawals from his account).
 - 2 *Ibid.*, Instalments - again, generally in multiples of £100 - were paid by Islay (by now 3rd Duke of Argyll) between 10 February 1744 and 7 January 1748, totalling £4,414.15.0; in addition, small miscellaneous payments (including reimbursement of Morris for wine importation) were made totalling £78.7.0. The former figure includes £500 paid not by Argyll himself but by his Duchess, on 18 September 1744 (- Argyll making no transfers to Morris between 27 June and 15 December of that year).

regularly employed by other patrons, most notably Pembroke. As previously noted, it was Pembroke who probably encouraged Morris to become involved in the scheme to develop the area to the west of the new Westminster Bridge; the subsequent development was, however, to provide Morris with a useful example of the financial risks run by building speculators such as himself. Morris, acting as chief promoter, principal architect and builder-speculator, encouraged fellow-craftsmen to join his project in order to spread the financial risks. (Such caution was, it transpired, well-founded). Morris and his partners then proceeded to buy the leasehold of the sites they intended to build upon from the ground-landlord, i.e. the Bridge Commission - intending to find purchasers for the houses to be erected on the sites before they had expended too much of their own funds, and preferably before the peppercorn rent levied by the ground-landlord had expired. (The eventual purchaser would, it was hoped, then direct Morris or his fellow-speculators to complete his house in a manner of his own choosing). Thus in 1740 Morris purchased the leasehold of 'that piece of ground between the east side to Parliamt Street and the Passage into New Palace Yard and between New Palace Yard

and Bridge Street' for £1,050.¹ The lease was fixed to last for 72 years, yet for the first two years Morris, whilst searching for prospective buyers, was allowed to lease the property at a peppercorn rent of 1/- p.a.; thereafter the rent would be increased to '£12 per Foot for each front for the Remainder of the Term'.² The obvious danger to the speculator was that he would be left with the properties still on his hands after two years; such attendant risks were amply appreciated by Morris, whose marked anxiety over the progress of the building became readily apparent as the months passed. As early as 24 September 1740 Morris was warning the Commission that 'unless Areas be not allow'd before the Houses, intended to be built in Bridge Street ' - i.e. unless the Commission agreed to make provision for the newly-constructed houses to be set well back from the roadway, behind wide pavements - 'in his opinion the Grount Rents would be diminish'd in their value at least one fifth by reason of

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- 1 PRO, WORK 5/194, Westminster Bridge Account Books, pp. 23, 29. Morris paid for the leasehold in two instalments of £525 each, on 29 July 1740 and 6 January 1740/1; he additionally paid £48.13.4 on 4 March 1740/1 to enable him to use the common sewer in Bridge Street. (WORK 6/51, Westminster Bridge Accounts vol. 2, p. 103). No payments to workmen feature in Morris' accounts at Coutts for 1740-2, suggesting that Morris was entirely reverting to the practice of bartering for services - as opposed to offering cash payments to workmen - at Westminster Bridge and elsewhere. (His payments out for this period are mainly withdrawals of c. £100-£200 to himself, probably for small day-to-day expenses). By January 1743, however, Morris' account again records payments to tradesmen such as Leonard Phillips and William Oldham. (Coutts & Co., Morris' Account, Ledger 1742-4, ff. 138-9. See also Colvin, 20; Summerson, *op.cit.*, 78; and Hobhouse, *op.cit.*, 322. Coutts records *ex inf.* Mary Cosh).
- 2 PRO, WORK 6/39, Minutes of the Westminster Bridge Works Committees 1737-51, memorial to the Treasury dated 5 August 1740.

the darkness of the Cellar floors'.¹ Not only did the Commission stand to lose financially, but also Morris clearly implied that it would inevitably prove difficult to attract tenants if the sites were not made more attractive in this fashion. Two years after the expiry of the Commission's peppercorn rent, however, Morris was still left with many of the newly-built houses on his hands, and was consequently faced with continuing to pay the new, realistic site rents personally. The Commission was clearly sensitive to his difficulties, and shortly after the first two-year term of the new rent had ended on Michaelmas 1744 lowered the rents for Morris' plots to £8 per foot of street frontage.² Yet by 1745 Morris was still incurring heavy costs, which were not being sufficiently compensated by house purchases - 'there not being at present [12 March 1744/5] any one of the thirteen houses Tenanted' in Bridge Street, 'nor any probability of being Lett, not only because the other side of Bridge Street is not built or began, wch if it were few Tenants can be expected till even Parliamt Street is Open'd and Built...'. Morris went on to express his concern that he stood to lose over half of the money he originally purchased the virgin site with, let

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- 1 PRO, WORK 6/39, memorial to the Works Committee entered by Secretary Lediard on 24 September. Morris had originally asked for his properties to be leased rent-free for the first two years of the 72-year term (WORK 6/29, Westminster Bridge Commission Minutes, report by Secretary Lediard dated 28 May 1740).
 - 2 The original rent was fixed at £87.17.0 for the north side of New Palace Yard and £58.8.0 for the south side of Bridge Street, an agreement which was to last only two years from Michaelmas 1742 (WORK 6/52, Westminster Bridge Accounts, Rent Roll 1743-9, pp. 98-9). (The shortness of this period may demonstrate the uncertainty of the Commission at this juncture as to the viability of the new housing). These rents were lowered in 1745 to £58.8.0 for each site (*ibid.*, pp. 166-7; WORK 6/40, Minutes of the Works Committees, memorial from Morris to the Commission read on 12 March 1744/5).

alone be able to realise any profit from the venture.

It appears that Morris' fears at the Westminster site were at least partly substantiated: at the time of his death in 1749 Morris' name was still featuring on the Rent Roll for Bridge Street and New Palace Yard.¹ It is no coincidence, surely, that his will provided for the immediate sale of this land in order to raise cash for his family, a task fulfilled by James Morris in 1750.² Morris' speculative ventures at the Argyll estate in the West End of London, however, proved a little - though not spectacularly - more successful than his contemporary project at Westminster Bridge. On 6 March 1736 the Duke of Argyll agreed to assign 66-year leases for the houses at the newly-projected development of Argyll Street to three partners - Thomas Phillips, Roger Morris and James Gibbs - when the third floor of these buildings had been reached.³ Leases began to be awarded from July 1737, frequently to nominees of the three speculators - most of whom were craftsmen with whom Morris had worked on numerous occasions.⁴ As was the accustomed practice, the lessees then looked for permanent purchasers to take over the new premises; however, as with the Westminster Bridge site, new tenants were not quickly forthcoming, and the speculators and their nominees were left with valuable - and costly - properties on their hands for

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- 1 PRO, WORK 6/52, Rent Roll 1743-9. Morris' name was still entered for the Roll of 29 September 1749.
 - 2 PRO, WORK 6/33, Westminster Bridge Commission Minutes, 9 January 1749/50: sale by James Morris of 'the Freehold and Inheritance'.
 - 3 Survey of London, xxxi, 290.
 - 4 Isaac Mansfield took on 2 Argyll Street, Joseph Pattison no. 3, John Deval 5, 13 and 21 Argyll Street and 11 Argyll Place, George Deval 10 Argyll Street and 11 Argyll Place, and George Mercer 27 Argyll Street and 11 Argyll Place. Only one of the original speculators - John Jones, at 25 Argyll Street - actually occupied the house he had leased.

some considerable period. It has been pointed out¹ that, while leases given to tradesmen such as Mansfield, Pattison and the Devals date from 1737-8, the entrepreneurs, Morris and Gibbs, only became major lessees during 1740.² Their personal involvement at this late stage suggests that the sales of the new houses were not progressing well, and that the situation was sufficiently sluggish as to discourage tradesmen-nominees from further participation and to require the active intervention of the scheme's originators. Returns were not as poor as at Westminster Bridge, however: by 1745 tenants had been found for virtually all the properties on the development.³ Yet Morris' experiences here and at the Westminster project seem to have dissuaded him from further speculative ventures during the 1740s.

Morris was not required to act as the principal contractor at all the sites with which he was involved. A quite different method of reimbursement was used at the New Park Lodge (later termed the White Lodge) in Richmond Park: here Morris was not hired by an individual patron or trust, but by the Office of Works, who were themselves responsible for payments to the craftsmen who worked under him.⁴ Morris himself was paid a specific fee as Clerk

1 Survey of London, xxxi, 286-90.

2 Ibid. Morris took on the leases of numbers 6, 14, 15, 31 and 32 Argyll Street on 10 April 1740, having already taken that for number 33 on 29 August 1738.

3 Ibid. Morris found an immediate occupier for 33 Argyll Street in 1738 (Lady Rachel Morgan), but it was not until 1743 that he was able to find tenants for numbers 14, 15 and 31 (Richard Wyatt, 'Madam Armstrong' and George Lyttleton respectively), while numbers 6 and 32 were only purchased in 1745 (by the Countess of Granard and Sir Richard Chase respectively). Slowness in completion of the buildings could explain the costly delay.

4 PRO, WORK 5/57-8, Abstract of Accounts. Morris was paid £125 at the commencement of the building work, and £25 in September and December 1728.

of Works at the Lodge: £175 for the first year, 1728, and then £100 p.a., paid at a rate of £8.6.8 per month.¹ This sum clearly did not represent a percentage of the cost of the building, which in March 1727 was estimated at £4,450.10.10½.² Scarcity of sources, however, has made it impossible to determine whether Morris was paid on a percentage basis, or with a flat fee, for his work as designer or contractor at most of his other sites.

Morris was not employed by the Works at any other project, but from 1727 he was regularly engaged by another governmental body, the Board of Ordnance.³ It has already been noted that Morris most likely secured his first commissions at the Ordnance through the influence of Argyll and his brother, and that for the first years of his employment here he worked in partnership with the bricklayer Joseph Pratt. Although by 1728 Morris had already proved himself a competent architect at Marble Hill, and had recently been appointed architect and Clerk of Works at the New Park Lodge, until 1733 the Ordnance employed him merely as a bricklayer - hiring him in piecemeal fashion, rather than employing him as a salaried labourer. The Architect to the Ordnance in 1727 was James Gibbs, who had built

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- 1 WORK 4/3, Minutes of the Board of Works, Warrant from the Treasury received on 30 March 1727. Following Morris' death a new Clerk of Works, Francis Bickerton, was appointed at the same remuneration (WORK 5/61, Works Accounts, February 1748/9). The warrant in WORK 4/3 does not mention the additional £75 paid to Morris during the first year of building; possibly this extra sum represented a designer's fee, or payment for bricklaying or carpentry work.
 - 2 The actual cost of the building proved to be somewhat more than the estimate: £6,483.4.7 1/4 was expended by the Works during January 1728, a figure which includes Morris' fee. In December 1729 further work was done on the 'Terrass Wall', at a cost of £360.3.3 3/4 (WORK 5/57), and small sums continued to be spent on the site during the 1730s, totalling £219.0.5 3/4.
 - 3 PRO W054/204: on 12 May 1727 Morris and Pratt were listed as Ordnance bricklayers at the Tower.

Sudbrook for the Ordnance's Master-General, Argyll, and who had secured this particular sinecure through the offices of his former patron; it is interesting to speculate whether Morris, who evidently replaced Gibbs as architect at Islay's Whitton Park, would have replaced him in the post of Architect to the Ordnance, too, had the Scotsman not outlived Morris.

Morris and Pratt's partnership at the Ordnance was rare, but not unheard of: Andrews Jelfe, for example (a figure who was to subsequently work for Morris at other sites), generally worked in partnership with the mason Samuel Tufnell whilst at the Ordnance.¹ Assuming that he received exactly half of the partnership's income, Morris received a total of £332 from the Ordnance in his first year there, 1728, and thereafter £1,636 and £1,396 during 1729 and 1730 (N.S.).² During 1731, however, Morris began to receive income independently from Pratt (who had already worked on his own at the Tower of London in 1730):³ in that year Morris received £947, of which 51% was income earned independently of Pratt, principally

1 Morris and Jelfe may have made their original acquaintance at Portsmouth in 1734: between 31 March and 30 September of that year Morris was employed on the fortifications at the dockyard, at the same time as Jelfe was there to carry out mason's work (PRO, WO 48/76, ff. 107, 110). Jelfe and Tufnell also worked in partnership at the west end of Westminster Bridge after 1740, under Morris' direction.

2 WO 48/69-71.

3 PRO, WO 48/71, f. 86: Pratt was paid £125.11.0 on 17 March 1729/30 for building the stairs in the Jewel Office at the Tower, a post financed jointly by the Ordnance and the Office of Works.

for work at the Savoy Barracks and Infirmary.¹ During the following four years, however - and even after his appointment as Master Carpenter in 1735 - Morris continued to devote most of his energies at the Ordnance to the partnership, Morris and Pratt still being termed 'Bricklayers to this Office' in the Treasurer's Ledger for 1734.² In 1732 Morris earned only £362.1.1 as an independent craftsman, as opposed to Morris and Pratt's total income for the year of £1,451.1.0; in 1733 and 1734 the balance became even more disproportionate - Morris earning only £68.2.4 and £50.2.3 whilst the partnership netted £2,300.11.4 and £4,818.4.8 respectively.³ The low totals for Morris alone during this period appear to coincide with Morris' journey (or journeys) abroad - absences which invite the speculation as to whether Morris still received half of the partnership's revenues if Pratt was performing most of the work himself.

Until 1733 Morris was employed by the Ordnance exclusively as a bricklayer (as was Pratt). In June of that year, however, Morris was commissioned for some carpentry work at the Savoy, and was additionally made responsible for sub-contracting for plumbing, plastering and ironwork tasks at the same site.⁴

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- 1 WO 48/72. Morris and Pratt were paid a total of £917.5.6, Morris alone £489.10.10. The warrant for 'Building the Infirmary in the Savoy', dated 13 October 1729, is the earliest commission from the Board for work by Morris alone (WO 51/131, Ordnance Treasurer's Ledger: Bill Books, ff. 12-13).
 - 2 WO 48/75, f. 162. The first reference to Morris as 'Carpenter to this Office' occurs one year later, in WO 48/76, f. 223, when Morris was paid £102.14.2 for carpentry work at Sheerness.
 - 3 WO 48/73-5.
 - 4 WO 48/74, f. 126, payments dated 26 June 1733. Both Morris and Pratt were made joint contractors for the plasterwork, for which they were paid £102.11.3.

Morris was reimbursed for similar contract work in March 1734, having been made responsible for a wide variety of tradesmen's activities in addition to carpentry - pumpmakers, masons, glaziers and paviours - at an unspecified site.¹ The following month payment was made for the use of Morris' general skills as an architect as well as for sub-contracted work: £661.10.0 was paid to Morris for building, and presumably designing, the Storekeeper's House at Chatham.² Unfortunately this structure has since been demolished; nevertheless, the large storehouse still extant at the dockyard (pl.140) has architectural characteristics decidedly reminiscent of buildings such as the Althorp stables, which betray the influence if not the hand of Roger Morris.³

Subsequent to his appointment as the salaried Master Carpenter to the Ordnance,⁴ Morris was used almost exclusively for carpentry tasks, although for a few months he continued to perform bricklaying work with Pratt. Yet Morris' new office rapidly became far more lucrative than the partnership with Pratt, which was ultimately dissolved early in 1736. During 1735 Morris earned only £226.12.1 independently of the partnership (which netted a total of £6,214.12.5 during the year), i.e. only 6.7% of his income in this year derived from independent work as Master Carpenter. Some time after

1 WO 48/75, f. 32.

2 Ibid., f. 121.

3 Romer's engravings of 'the Grand Store-house at Chatham' and the Vanbrughian 'New Store-House', both apparently begun in 1717, definitely do not represent the Morrisian storehouse which still stands. (BL, King's Maps, XVI, 42 f, g).

4 PRO WO 55/217, warrant dated 8 January 1734/5.

February 1735/6, however, the partnership ended;¹ throughout 1736 (N.S.) Morris netted £4,809.4.10 for independent work, and only 5% of Morris' yearly income came from the partnership.

From 1736 until his death in 1749 the Ordnance provided Morris with the bulk of his income. During this period Morris earned an average of £3,460 p.a. from Ordnance commissions; this figure, though, conceals the particularly lucrative years of 1738 and 1740, when Morris received totals of £7,289.17.7 and £11,203.6.8 respectively,² and also the lean year of 1742, when Morris received only £442.6.6 for miscellaneous work mending tables, building gun carriages and undertaking other minor chores. (This surprisingly low total may possibly be explained by Morris' absence at other sites unconnected with the Ordnance - most likely his troublesome speculative schemes in the West End (q.v.)). The financial importance of the Ordnance post to him was demonstrated by the fact that in his will Morris preferred to style himself not as an architect, or a gentleman, but simply as 'Master Carpenter to his majesty's Office of Ordnance'.³

Whereas Morris regularly received large sums directly related

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- 1 The last payments to Morris and Pratt together were made on 17 February 1735/6 (WO 48/77, ff. 30-4, 68). Pratt continued to work as a bricklayer for the Ordnance, and was still employed there at the time of Morris' death (eg. WO 48/89, f. 620).
 - 2 The total for 1738 includes £689.1.11 for work at the Tower (where Pratt was also employed although now in a wholly independent capacity), and £1,133.3.3 for carpentry at the Sheerness dockyard (WO 48/79, ff. 63, 338); payments for 1740 include similarly sizeable lump sums: £841.8.10 for work at the Tower, £1,997.7.4 for work at Sheerness, and £936.2.7 for building a new roof for the Savoy Barracks (WO 48/81, ff. 52, 56).
 - 3 PRO, PCC 49 Lisle.

to the tasks he was performing in his office as Master Carpenter to the Ordnance, there appears to be no evidence that the Master Carpenter, and indeed the Master Mason, was actually ever paid a fee by the Office. This, if correct, represents a most unusual situation: an official, government-appointed post which did not bring with it a regular salary. The Ordnance records seem, however, to substantiate such a surprising conclusion. Whereas the Quarter-Books and the Ordnance Treasurer's Ledgers, detailing the quarterly and monthly wage settlements respectively, record the salaries of both the senior officers of the Ordnance and the hired labourers, the Master Carpenter and Master Mason are notable by their omission from the lists, which represent the total wage bill of the Civil Branch of the Ordnance. By 1734 the Master-General, Argyll, received a substantial annual fee of £1,500, the Lieutenant-General £800 p.a., and the Surveyor-General and the Clerk of the Ordnance £400 p.a. each.¹ There is no mention, however, of the senior craftsmen of the Board in these or any other extant Ordnance accounts. Even the Architect to the Ordnance, James Gibbs, is known to have received a small annual fee of £120.² Given that Morris was earning substantial sums - almost £4,000 p.a. on average - for work performed, it is unlikely that he would have been unduly troubled by the absence of a fee or retainer. Indeed, the lucrative nature of his work as Master Carpenter may have been a major factor

1 PRO, WO/54/91, Quarter Books for 1733-4.

2 G. Miège, The Present State of Great Britain and Ireland (1738), II, 46 details the payment to Gibbs, which is not included in the Office's salary lists cited above. Miège does not, however, include the master craftsmen in his table - which was presumably supplied by the Ordnance itself.

in encouraging the Office not to offer an additional fee for the post.¹

By the Autumn of 1748 ill-health (or simply old age) was evidently affecting Morris' ability to fulfil his tasks as Master Carpenter. Demonstrations of his increasing frailty can be found in the fact that all of the account entries in the Treasurer's Ledger from 3 October 1748 include James Morris' name adjacent to that of his father. The last Ordnance payment to the Morrises was made on 31 December 1748, for work performed during the previous three months;² thereafter neither Roger nor James' names appear in the Ordnance accounts, indicating that James did not succeed to his father's post.

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- 1 As early as 1705 the Master Carpenter does not appear to have been paid a salary: neither of the master craftsmen are included in the total Civil wage bill of £23,395.4.6 of that year (which includes 62 labourers as well as the senior officers). (See Hogg, op.cit., II, appendix VII, 1123).
- 2 WO/48/89, ff. 412-15, 615-16, 618-19, 633.

5 ROGER MORRIS' CLASSICAL STYLE

(1) INTRODUCTION

In 1945 Rudolf Wittkower pointed out that not all of the influences on English Palladian architecture were precisely Neopalladian, but derived in part from English traditions in architecture. The Early Palladians, he reasoned, were 'a good deal more English than is generally realized' in their expressions of form and style:

These men could neither ignore the development of the previous hundred years in English architecture nor their own national tradition, and it can be shown that they gave a new meaning to almost all the elements which they derived from Palladio...Moreover, certain recurrent motifs of importance in English academic architecture between 1720 and 1760 are not Palladian at all...¹

More recently, Cinzia Maria Sicca has emphasised the importance to William Kent of Roman - as well as Venetian - architectural and decorative formulae, an influence which she traced to Kent's visit to Italy of 1709-19.² The sources of Roger Morris' style are similarly complex: his architecture was by no means grounded in slavish adaptations of Palladio's own structures, but represents a synthesis of a variety of Italianate and English sources, which he proceeded to combine in a highly personal fashion.

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- 1 R. Wittkower, 'Pseudo-Palladian Elements in English Neoclassicism', reprinted in his Palladio and English Palladianism (1974), 155.
 2 C. M. Sicca, 'On William Kent's Roman Sources', in Architectural History, 1986.

Antecedents for Roger Morris' Classical style can be grouped in four principal categories. Morris certainly borrowed heavily from Palladio and other Italian masters of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; however, his personal manner not only encompassed the works of Inigo Jones (and particularly that architect's use of Antique forms), of the Earl of Burlington and, later, of William Kent, but also owed something to the Baroque tradition of Vanbrugh and Hawksmoor. Elements from the works of these designers were combined by Morris to form a unique and immediately recognisable villa style. Morris' buildings were not merely confined to essays in this one stylistic formula, however; in a number of his works Morris preferred to experiment with Neoclassical and even Baroque conceptions rather than rely simply on the simple solutions he had devised for his villas. Such influences may well have resulted from first-hand experience of the original models: both the buildings of Vanbrugh (most notably Eastbury) and the structures of Ancient Rome (presumably witnessed during his Italian visit of c. 1731-3) were wholly familiar to Morris by the time he reached architectural maturity in the mid-1730s. They are of considerable interest in that English Baroque and true Neoclassical quotations were rarely included in the vocabulary of the English Neopalladians of this period; they, and Morris' more conventional sources, are examined in detail below.

(2) ITALIAN INFLUENCES

While Burlington, particularly in such buildings as Chiswick House and the house for General Wade, preferred to quote directly

from Palladio, Morris' Neopalladianism was tempered by other, more diverse considerations. However, it remains that the ideas of Palladio and his fellow-Italians continued to provide the basis for all of his work.

The double temple front is immediately recognisable as an integral feature of Palladio's architecture, and though it was an element which does not occur frequently in Morris' work, the latter did employ this arrangement for the facades of the Council House at Chichester and the Porter's Lodge at Wilton.¹ The double pediment form was used by Palladio to great effect in churches such as San Giorgio Maggiore, San Francesco della Vigna and Il Redentore - all of which Morris would presumably have seen at first hand during the early 1730s; it was, however, employed infrequently by Early Palladian architects in Britain, possibly out of a reluctance to adapt a style so intimately associated with Catholic ecclesiastical architecture for what were emphatically secular buildings. Kent used the double temple facade at two small estate structures, the Banquetting House at Euston (completed in 1746, and shown in Vardy's engraving of 1755) and the lodges at Esher (of c. 1734); both of these works, however, postdated Morris' designs for the Council house (of 1731) and the Lodge at Wilton (which can be tentatively dated at 1733).² The only English precedent for Morris' use of this Palladian feature can be found, not uncoincidentally, in

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- 1 John Harris has identified Morris' drawing in the Visentini Collection as a project for the Porter's Lodge at Wilton (plate 60), (Royal Library, Windsor, Consul Smith Drawings 10574-5; John Harris in Architectural History, 1984).
 - 2 J. Harris in Architectural History, 1984, 233.

Burlington's own, more ambitious design for the Council House.¹ Clearly Burlington's project was a strong influence on the form of the executed building; however, the unusually high attic of Morris' solution does not feature in Burlington's drawing and is instead more reminiscent of the attic on the facade of Il Redentore (plate 20), while the central round-arched window, with its prominent keystone, and the flanking rectangular windows are straight from Palladio's church fronts and not from Burlington's design. The large niches at either end of Morris' facade complete the Palladio-inspired composition, which in its entirety distinctly recalls not English Neopalladian precedents but San Giorgio Maggiore (plate 21). The Wilton Lodge design - executed, John Harris suggests, at the exact time of Morris' visit to Italy with George Bubb Dodington² - also betrays the direct influence of Palladio's churches. The large, prominent Diocletian window with its single keystone, the round-arched doorway with flanking columns, and the round-headed niches set in rectangular frames all parallel the composition of the facade of San Francesco della Vigna. It seems highly likely that Morris used his first hand experience of Palladio's buildings in these two designs; it also appears possible that both schemes - being for buildings erected around the time Morris was travelling in Italy - were actually conceived while Morris was abroad.

Morris' other specific and large-scale Neopalladian borrowing is more easily traced. The Bridge at Wilton (1736-7) is taken

¹ J. Harris in Architectural History, 1984, 233.

² These drawings are now in the R. I. B. A. Drawings Collection, and reproduced in J. Harris, The Palladians (1981), 77.

directly from the penultimate storey of Palladio's monumental reconstruction of the Temple of Fortuna Primigenia in Palestrina (plate 63); a drawing for this was included in Burlington's purchase of 1719, to which Morris presumably had ready access. By utilising Palladio's own drawings, Morris demonstrated his readiness to follow in the imitative tradition of Burlington and his fellow Early Palladians; as noted below, however, this did not represent the limit of his stylistic ambitions.

While using a specific Palladian model for Wilton Bridge, Morris employed the compositional spirit of Palladio's villas in the majority of his larger works. The simple 1-3-1 rhythm of the facade of the Villa Emo (plate 22) and other Palladian precedents was used by Morris as the fundamental basis for his own villa designs: Marble Hill, Combe Bank, Kirby Hall, South Dalton, Westcombe and the White Lodge are all arranged according to this Neopalladian formula, which was even applied to a town house - Morris' personal residence at 61 Green Street - and to the classical scheme for Inveraray Castle - where the central block was itself closely modelled on Marble Hill.¹ In his unexecuted project for Whitton, as in the Gothic 'castle' at Clearwell, the central three bays of the principal facade are recessed, whereas in the final design the bays at either end are replaced by canted bays one and a half storeys in height.² This former arrangement of a central block recessed behind projecting corner towers is found in executed works such as Combe Bank; more

1 Drawings of Inveraray, in the castle archive, are reproduced in the SNMR Photographic Library, AGD/38/9.

2 Cf. the Whitton drawings (in the Mellon Collection), reproduced in the Library of the Courtauld Institute.

frequently, however, Morris adopted Palladio's approach of projecting the central three bays - a solution to be found in the 'second Design' for Whitton, at 61 Green Street, and at Marble Hill and a number of similar houses. In the south courtyard range at Apethorpe the three-bay centrepiece is set in a more traditionally English Palladian context, in the middle of a long, low range with four bays to either side.

Although many of Morris' three-bay projections - generally based on the pattern of Marble Hill - were astylar and devoid of surface interest apart from window openings, on a number of occasions Morris also made use of another Italian motif, the three-arched form, to punctuate the facade. This type of composition was commonplace in the works of Palladio: three-bay, pedimented central projections at the Villa Marcello and the Villa Saraceno, for example, are both dominated by the triple round-headed arches on the ground floor. However, like the 'three-window drawing' adapted by Burlington for use on the garden front of Chiswick House, this motif was not purely an innovation of Palladio's.¹ Alberti's church fronts frequently incorporated similar triple-arched openings, while the three-arch entrance at Palladio's Villa Godi Porto of 1540 appears to have been at least in part derived from Trissino's use of the same feature in his Villa Trissino of a few years before.² Probably in the erroneous belief that it was an invention of Palladio's, Burlington employed the feature in his design for the Chichester Council House

1 See Wittkower, op.cit., p. 166.

2 See R. Wittkower, Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism (1952), pls. 20a, 21a.

and the scheme (devised with Kent) for a new Parliament building.¹ Morris himself used the three-arch form in the basements at Wimbledon, the White Lodge, the executed design for the Chichester Council House and the Spencer pavilion at Monkey Island, while at Carné's Seat at Goodwood three large, linked arched windows punctuate the first floor of the south-facing projection, placed (unusually) over a basement with three square-headed openings (plate 148). It is possible that Morris' preference for the three-arch group may also have influenced the three-light central tower at Inveraray.

Even more characteristic of Morris' surface patterning was his use of circular panels or openings to provide added visual interest to the otherwise blank areas between the windows. Again, this can be traced to Italian models. Morris' panels were most likely inspired by the circular openings in the spandrels on both floors of Palladio's Basilica and by the panels distributed across the ground floor of the same architect's Casa Civena; both of these buildings were easily reached in Vicenza, and Morris is unlikely to have missed them during his visit to Italy (see plate 68). Once more, however, it is worth noting that the provenance of the circular opening does not commence with Palladio, but stretches back to Alberti (whose church of San Francesco, Rimini - decorated with repeated circular windows - also interestingly inspired Hawksmoor's Christ Church, Spitalfields).

1 Drawings in the R. I. B. A. Drawings Collection, reproduced in The Palladians, pls. 62 and 70. Hawksmoor used three, linked arches in his designs for Worcester College, Oxford; Clarke and Townesend's executed variation on this also included three interconnected, round-arched windows at first floor level. (See K. Downes, Hawksmoor (1969), 150-1).

Certainly Morris used this decidedly Italianate feature with notable enthusiasm. He inserted large, almost Baroque circular openings into the basement at South Dalton and used sunken circular panels much in the manner of the Vicenza Basilica - i.e. on either side of a round-headed opening, just above the springing level of the arch - in his design for a garden building at Adderbury,¹ in the Council House at Chichester (and in the Visentini Collection drawing on which it was clearly based),² and in the Gardener's House at Althorp, where sunken circular panels also appear on each face of the central chimney (plate 53). The use of circular panels is particularly pronounced in his designs for Whitton, regularly appearing between the ground and first floors and along the side walls of his schemes.³

(3) JONESIAN INFLUENCES

As noted in Chapter One, Inigo Jones represented a conveniently patriotic model for the British Early Palladian designers. To Colen Campbell, Jones was a genius more than an equal to Andrea Palladio - 'It is then with the Renowned Palladio we enter the Lists,

1 SRO, RHP 13762.

2 Royal Library, Windsor, Consul Smith Collection, vol. 187, A/13: Visentini drawing 10570. Chichester Council House, as executed, is remarkably similar in elevation to the Visentini drawing - the latter's arched opening being translated into a window in the Chichester building, whilst the attic plinth becomes a lion. Whilst it is true that this design is loosely based on Jones' design for Temple Bar, reproduced by Kent in his Designs of Inigo Jones of 1727 (see Harris in Architectural History, 1984, 234), it has more affinity with the churches of Palladio.

3 Drawings in the Mellon Collection; photographic reproductions in the Courtauld Institute Library.

to whom we oppose the Famous Inigo Jones'.¹ Over thirty years after the appearance of the first volume of Vitruvius Britannicus, Robert Morris was echoing this comparison:

An Age scarce produceth a Corelli or a
Handel; An Angelo or a Raphael, a
Palladio or a JONES.²

Jones' works, having 'so sensible and strong Ideas of the Beauties of the Ancients',³ provided an artistic touchstone that was eagerly quoted by Early Palladian designers such as Burlington, Campbell, and (although perhaps with slightly less enthusiasm) by Roger Morris.

Morris himself frequently employed the Jonesian Venetian window - as interpreted by Burlington (see below), Jones' pedimented windows, and such Jonesian hallmarks as total rustication of an elevation (which Cinzia Maria Sicca has perhaps too readily ascribed to Kent's study of Roman models,⁴ but which Jones had already used to great effect at the Banqueting House). Morris appeared especially fond of two particular features of Jones' work: the East End of St. Paul's, Covent Garden (plate 163), and the corner towers at Wilton House. The stark, Tuscan portico on Jones' church, with its massively projecting eaves and heavy wooden mutules, was reproduced almost exactly at the Althorp stables and in a modified form in

¹ VB, I, Preface.

² AR, Preface, iv.

³ Lectures, III, 42.

⁴ Sicca, op.cit., 144. Morris used similar, comprehensive rustication at Dodington's house in Pall Mall (plate 69) and at the attributed Lodge at Wilton (plate 65).

the East Portico at West Wycombe Park, in the wing porticoes at Mereworth Castle, and in the East End of the church (attributed to Morris) at Mereworth village, where a large Diocletian Window was inserted into the pediment, under the eaves. Significantly, all these examples date from after Morris' visit to Italy of c. 1731-3, suggesting that it was not only Jones' buildings that inspired Morris, but also first-hand experience of ancient Roman architecture in its original setting.

St. Paul's, Covent Garden was undoubtedly a major influence on the surprisingly Neoclassical church of St. Lawrence in Mereworth, Kent (plates 160-3). Here the architect - quite possibly Morris¹ - reinterprets Jones' Tuscan manner in an even more convincingly Antique fashion. The Tuscan porch at the west entrance is an indication of the style of the interior: this resembles a Roman basilica rather than a traditional Gothic cruciform church, and features a coffered, barrel-vaulted roof supported by a flat entablature in place of the more conventional arcade and stark Doric columns. The fact that these columns are without bases has not escaped attention. John Newman has suggested that the lack of bases was unintentional, 'because there was panelling originally up the lowest third of the columns'.² However, it is not certain whether the architect decided to omit a structurally important feature

1 J. Newman, The Buildings of England: West Kent and the Weald (1969), 421-2. Mr. Newman notes that 'It is the outstanding Cl8 church in the county, in scale and ambition and in architectural interest', and that the austere Neoclassicism of the interior is 'unprecedented in Georgian England'.

2 Ibid., 422n.

merely for the reason that the columns were to be masked by
woodwork.¹ More recently, Giles Worsley has put forward an alter-
native suggestion, namely that the architect was consciously
expressing a 'desire to return to primary sources'; in this he was
encouraged by Westmorland himself, who had amateur architectural
interests of his own, and who clearly had concurred with the goal:
a partial recreation of an antique model.² If this is indeed the
case, then the church represents an expression of restrained
Neoclassicism which preceded the advent of the Greek Revival in
Britain by over ten years;³ if Morris was the architect, it also
serves to underline the astonishing eclecticism of his style.⁴

While Morris may have been breaking new ground by seeking
to recreate the Neoclassical ideal of a 'Tuscan barn', his use of
Wiltonesque towers was firmly in the recent tradition of English
Palladianism. Clearly there was an element of implied flattery
in Morris' use of these features, they not only originated (it was
then supposed) from Inigo Jones' hand, but also were a principal
adornment of the ancestral home of Morris' principal patron and
architectural collaborator Lord Herbert, afterward 9th Earl of

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- 1 An unexecuted nineteenth century scheme for the church supports the theory that the columns were intended to be baseless. During the 1880s the Newcastle firm of Hicks and Charlewood proposed to extend the church to the east, with a new east end terminating in a semicircular apse (Kent RO, Mereworth Parish Records, P247, 6/3-4): drawings for this unexecuted project show the columns of the nave and of the new apse to be in a baseless Doric order.
 - 2 Giles Worsley in Burlington Magazine, May 1986. Worsley states that the baseless Doric order employed here was probably derived from Barbaro's edition of Vitruvius.
 - 3 The Neoclassical effect is unfortunately somewhat marred by the disappointingly Gibbsian spire, which may well be a later addition. See plates 46-7, below.
 - 4 The unusual semicircular windows with tapering glazing bars at the west end (pl. 29a) may be a peculiarly Morrisian device, since they also occur at the wings of Mereworth Castle, at Narford and at Apethorpe - all buildings associated with Morris - and at Marble Hill.

Pembroke. This fact may explain the prevalence of the towers in Morris' work: Wiltonesque towers - four at each corner, and capped with pyramidal or domed roofs - appear to Combe Bank, in the stables at Althorp, in the classical designs for Inveraray, and in Morris' designs for Milton House, Northamptonshire, while the distinctive elevations of the towers are imitated at a variety of schemes, such as the office wings at Whitton and in the rejected projects for Saltram.¹

(4) BAROQUE INFLUENCES

While many of the architectural features employed by Morris can be traced to specific antecedents, the Baroque flavour of some of his work is more indefinable; nevertheless, distinct elements of Baroque style - and, more particularly, the style of Vanbrugh - do recur in Morris' buildings. This influence is likely to have stemmed from Morris' professional relationship with Vanbrugh: they may have met while Vanbrugh was working at Eastbury - or they may have been introduced by the 2nd Duke of Argyll (an early patron of Morris, for whom Vanbrugh may have made a sketch for Inveraray, and whose house at Adderbury Vanbrugh visited in 1724) or the Pembrokes, with whom Vanbrugh was also on good terms.² Whistler has suggested that the two made each other's acquaintance while working at the Royal Ordnance; yet, as at Eastbury, Morris'

1 SNMR Photographic Library, AGD/38/9; Northamptonshire RO. Fitzwilliam (Milton) Drawings, 99-107; Bodleian Library, Gough Maps 18, f. 5; R. I. B. A. Drawings Collection.

2 See Laurence Whistler, The Imagination of Vanbrugh... (1954), 159, and Mary Cosh in Country Life, 13 July 1972.

recorded connections with the Ordnance commence some years after Vanbrugh's death.¹ Even if no personal contact between the two architects occurred, Vanbrughian elements can be distinguished at Adderbury and the stables at Studley (both of which were contemporary with Morris' work at Eastbury), in the heavy arcading, and particularly in the stable block at Althorp, which possesses deeply recessed panels in the vein of Vanbrugh and Hawksmoor as well as an overall squat, forceful profile reminiscent of Kimbolton. Strange, Vanbrughian windows - with heavy mouldings, pronounced keystones and elliptical heads - also occur on the ground floor of Morris' Brandenburg House in Hammersmith.²

Less easily definable is the almost Hawksmoorian manner in which Morris treated the majority of his facades. Morris' utilisation of blank wall space, and his emphasis of single, powerful features as dramatically-sited constituents of these plain elevations, recall not only the simplicity of Burlington's Tottenham Park (plate 11), but also the works of the Baroque master Nicholas Hawksmoor. Hawksmoor's use of heavily-moulded circular openings and large Venetian windows to punctuate his otherwise relatively unadorned walls - seen most clearly at his East London churches of Christ Church, Spitalfields, St. Anne Limehouse, and St. George-in-the-East, Stepney (plate 82) - is reflected in Morris' bold use of heavily-

1 Vanbrugh's last recorded connection with the Ordnance was in 1725 and he died the following year, whilst the earliest extant Ordnance contract involving Morris is dated 31 June 1727 (PRO, WO48/69, f. 106: payment of £33.14.7½ to Morris and Pratt for 'Several works' at the Tower made on 5 March 1727/8, according to a debenture dated the previous 31 June).

2 See plate 81. See also Morris' similar (though attributed) Westcombe House (plate 127).

moulded circular openings and large Venetian windows to punctuate his otherwise relatively unadorned walls - seen most clearly at his East London churches of Christ Church Spitalfields, St. Anne Limehouse, and St. George-in-the-East, Stepney - is reflected in Morris' bold use of heavily-accented windows in his villa designs - most particularly Combe Bank (plate 32). Certainly Morris, as a resident of the City of Westminster after 1726, would have been well-placed to observe Hawksmoor's London churches, which were being constructed at the time that Morris' was receiving his first commissions. (There is no evidence, however, that Morris and Hawksmoor were personally acquainted).

(5) BURLINGTONIAN INFLUENCES

Whilst Joseph Rykwert may have been rather overstating the case when he wrote that 'Morris' taste is explicitly derived from Burlington'¹ - it is undeniable that the earl was a major inspiration for Morris. For example, Morris' use of the Venetian window certainly originally stems from Italian practice, but in the context in which the form was most often used - a single, large window dominating a wall - the application is decidedly Burlingtonian. Wittkower was the first to indicate that the Venetian window was not an invention of Palladio, and that Jones' treatment of this motif derived more from Scamozzi.² It was Palladio's use of this feature, however,

1 J. Rykwert, The First Moderns (1980), 195.

2 Palladio and English Palladianism, 158, 164-5.

which had most significance for the English Palladians, as it was Palladio's addition of a relieving arch to the window - derived in turn from Bramante, and employed at the Villa Poiana,¹ in a design for a town house (part of Burlington's purchase of 1719) which Burlington copied in his house for General Wade of 1723-4, and elsewhere - which produced the compact, well-defined form that English architects, including Morris, found most appealing.

Burlington and Kent used this window with notable frequency, and it became a hallmark of the works of later Palladians such as Ware, Paine and Adam. All of the English Palladians, however, (at least until Robert Adam revived the idea of Italianate rhythm in facades) employed the Venetian window not in the fashion of Scamozzi or even Palladio but applied it as Burlington had done, as a central, visually dominant device set not (as had been Italian practice) in the context of columniation or surface patterning but in a blank wall. The change in emphasis can be seen in two of Burlington's works:

General Wade's house - where the Venetian window, after Palladio, is inserted in the centre of a rhythmic succession of round-headed windows of similar size - and the garden front of Chiswick House - where three, well-spaced Venetian windows are the only features within a large area of empty wall surface (plates 12,16,17). Burlington's Chiswick adaptation of the motif was adopted by Morris, although he used it with markedly less enthusiasm than Burlington's protégé Kent. Venetian windows with relieving arches springing from capital level form the centrepiece of Morris' designs for the Porter's Lodge

1 Andrea Palladio, ed. Ware, The Four Books of Architecture (1738), II, pl. 41.

at Wilton and for the unexecuted new building at Milton (whose side elevations owe much to Burlington's Tottenham Park in their general composition),¹ and also dominate the south elevation of the wings at Culverthorpe. However, it is interesting that this feature, which is prevalent in the designs of his contemporaries (and was seized on with particular enthusiasm by later Palladians such as James Paine and Robert Taylor), is absent from Morris' major works.²

Other Burlingtonian elements found more favour with Morris. One of the most frequently used was the Diocletian window - a lunette with two markedly pronounced mullions. Like the Venetian window, this was not an Italian invention: occurring originally in the Roman Baths of Diocletian, it was transplanted by Palladio to a number of sixteenth century designs, both domestic and ecclesiastical. However, while the motif was only sparingly employed by Palladio and his Italian contemporaries, over a century later Burlington and his disciples embraced it with singular enthusiasm. The window became a key element in most of Burlington's buildings - most notably in the entrance facade of the Assembly Rooms at York and in the Council House project at Chichester (plates 13,48,49) - and was in turn used with great relish by Roger Morris. Large Diocletian windows dominate the east end of the attributed church at Mereworth (plates 160-1),³ the internal and external facades of the stables at Althorp (plate 54), the Porter's Lodge at Wilton (plate 66 ; again, an attributed work), and Morris' project for Milton House (plate 126). The Pavilion at Monkey Island, Bray, originally possessed

1 Consul Smith Collection, drawing 10574; Fitzwilliam Drawings 104-5.

2 Except the attributed villa at Cobham Park, Surrey: see below.

3 The church also features the similarly-shaped semicircular 'fanlight' windows found in the wings at nearby Mereworth Castle.

a Diocletian window on the front of the low porch¹ - and this pattern was repeated by Morris in the cupola at Castle Hill, Devon (plate 42'), and in the curious outbuilding adjacent to Carné's Seat at Goodwood. Morris developed this idea in a more miniature form, using Diocletian windows as the major constituent of rooftop lanterns; indeed one of the most characteristic Morris compositions is a pyramidal roof (often punctuated by a single, pedimented dormer) culminating in a square, pedimented lantern with a large Diocletian window on each face.² At the Gardener's House at Althorp (plate 53), the dormers themselves - one on each side of the roof - are enlarged in order to accommodate a single massive Diocletian window.

The pyramidal roof itself was an integral part of Morris' architectural vocabulary. Again, it had been used by both Palladio and Jones,³ and was eagerly espoused by Burlington and subsequently by Morris. Two of Burlington's designs appear to have been particularly influential on Morris in this respect: Tottenham Park - whose Wilton-
esque towers recur in a number of Morris' buildings - and his design of 1727 for Round Coppice, Bucks. (plate 15), whose general proportions form the basis for Morris' Combe Bank, Westcombe House, Whitton and the Gardener's House at Althorp. The wings at Culverthorpe were originally surmounted by pyramidal roofs,⁴ and are strongly suggestive of the wings at Sir Thomas Robinson's Rokeby (plate 31), which itself

1 See the Buckler drawing in the British Library, Add. MS 36356, f. 210.

2 For example, see also Morris' design for 'the coach-houses and stables' for Blair in the SNMR (plate 73 below), which also has this feature.

3 See Jones' plan and elevation for a brewhouse in the R. I. B. A. Drawings Collection (plate 2)

4 C. Hussey in Country Life, 22 Sep 1923. See plate 151.

not only reflects the influence of Burlingtonian structures but also presages the 'cubist' villas of Roger Morris: both Rokeby and Morris' villas adhere to Burlington's expressed preference for square shapes and astylar, blank facades.¹

Equally Burlingtonian was Morris' preference for tall side chimneys, generally used to counterbalance a high pyramidal roof in the manner of Chiswick House. This type of treatment is evident at most of Morris' villas: of those houses in or near London, Westcombe, the White Lodge, Whitton, Marble Hill and Dodington's house in Pall Mall all have tall chimneys applied on each side of the roof.

(6) KENTIAN INFLUENCES

William Kent's architectural practice only began to blossom in the early 1730s; thus Kent's works postdate, or at least are contemporary with, those of Roger Morris. Pyramidal roofs with side chimneystacks, Venetian windows with relieving arches, and Diocletian windows are common to both Kent's and Morris' work, as are the use of wall spaces, a preference for square shapes, and other elements of planning derived from Burlington, Jones and Palladio. However, Kent appears to have had little direct influence on Morris' exteriors, largely since Morris' characteristic style (seen at Marble Hill, Althorp, Combe Bank and elsewhere) had been firmly established by the mid-1730s - the years of Kent's first major architectural

¹ Rokeby was also given a portico of baseless Doric columns in the manner of the nave of Mereworth Church. See Giles Worsley in Country Life, 19-26 Mar 1987.

commissions - and was to change little before his death in 1749. Yet Morris does appear to have borrowed substantially from Kent's interior decorative style, developed under Burlington's aegis under the influence of Jones during the 1720s. Unfortunately very few of Morris' interiors survive or are documented; those that have been maintained are most often within minor buildings, and are as a result plain and uninspiring. The more important classical interiors that survive - principally Marble Hill and the East Wing at Culverthorpe - all indicate that Morris modelled his work on the decorative style of Kent, and in particular Kent's Designs of Inigo Jones.... Chimneypieces at Culverthorpe are markedly Kentian in appearance, with recurring faces and heavy swags and garlands, while the use of scallop decoration on the ceiling of the hall at Combe Bank and in the ceiling of the south range at Apethorpe also strongly echoes Burlingtonian and Kentian precedents. The eight-pointed plasterwork on the ceiling of the dining room at Culverthorpe is very much in Kent's vein - recalling designs published as part of Vardy's volume of 1744¹ - while the octagonal interior of the Pavilion at Monkey Island, with columns set around a central, octagonal interior of the Pavilion at Monkey Island, with columns set around a central, octagonal space, recalls other octagonal rooms at Esher and in the Banqueting Pavilion at Euston, Suffolk - the former predating, and the latter exactly contemporary with, Morris' Pavilion. Certainly the decoration of most of Morris' surviving interiors -

1 See J. Vardy, Some Designs of Inigo Jones and William Kent (1744), pl. 21 and passim. This volume may well postdate the plasterwork at Culverthorpe, but there is no reason to suspect that the designer (possibly Morris: see p. 339, below) was not familiar with Kent's work elsewhere.

most notably the repeated borrowings from Jones and Kent at Marble Hill and Combe Bank, both of which were being constructed at the time of the appearance of Kent's Designs of Inigo Jones, with some Additional Designs in 1727 - suggest that, in terms of interior decoration at least, Morris was content to follow the lead of more talented designers. The result was a surprising contrast between the austerity of his astylar facades and the rich, at times almost ponderous decoration of his interiors. While Morris showed little inclination to innovation in the manner of his decorative schemes, however, in the arrangement of rooms and connecting areas he did display some individuality; this aspect of his work is discussed in the following section.

(7) ROGER MORRIS' PERSONAL STYLE

To those eclectic borrowings noted above, Morris added a number of peculiarly personal motifs and adaptations, and used the resultant vocabulary to create an individual style of unusual consistency, one which underwent little change from the time of his architectural maturity in the mid-1720s to the time of his death in 1749.

In the disposition of his rooms, for example, Morris demonstrates on occasion a tendency to employ an element of surprise in relation to the placing of his principal rooms, and particularly his halls, which, while conforming with English tradition, is inimical to the higher regular interior planning adopted by contemporary Palladian

designers.

The plans of Morris houses such as Wimbledon, Marble Hill, the White Lodge and Kirby Hall (plates 58, 27, 38 and 79) are wholly regular, and clearly owe much to Pembroke's moderating influence. The halls are entered from the centre, and the rooms on the ground and principal floors are arranged as far as possible in a rigidly symmetrical fashion in the manner of Burlington and Campbell. At Combe Bank, however, Morris - unaided by the Architect Earl - produces an unusual, highly eccentric variation on the orthodox, symmetrical Palladian plan (plate 33). The visitor enters what is perceived from the exterior to be a regularly-planned house through the porch at the centre of the east front. However, on entering one discovers that the hall has been placed at right-angles to the entrance, facing to the right (north) rather than into the core of the house. Furthermore, the principal entrance is situated not at the hall's centre, but at its extreme southeast corner. A central vista is preserved through to the centrally-disposed saloon at the rear (most of the principal rooms of this small villa lie on the ground floor), but this travels along the north side of the southwestern room, which has four doorways at each corner. In addition, the principal entrance is also confronted by a doorway immediately on the left, leading to the southwest room and abutting tower.

The effect is original, but it is also somewhat awkward and amateur. The saloon projects from the rear, and the stair projects from the north facade, instead of being accommodated within the line of the four outer walls. Additionally, the tower rooms are, at only

13 feet square, so small as to preclude any imaginative use of these spaces.

Whilst the disposition of rooms at Combe Bank was decidedly irregular and amateurish, however, the device used here of an entrance hall placed at right angles to the main axis of the house, and entered from a corner, was one that was constantly re-used by Morris. It even features, for example, at the far more orthodoxly-planned White Lodge, a building contemporary with Combe Bank. As at the latter, the visitor enters to find the hall placed to the right, facing north, whilst the door to the central saloon is placed directly opposite the entrance, facing west. The hall is additionally divided by a heavy screen of three round-headed arches, on the other side of which ascends the main stair.

This device of an unexpected screen or pair of screens placed in the hall so as to divert one's attention in a lateral fashion immediately upon entering the house became a hallmark of Morris' villa planning. A few years after the White Lodge the architect at Culverthorpe Hall in Lincolnshire - possibly Morris - placed the entrance hall at right angles to the main alignment of the house, which ran north to south across the hall. The lateral axis of the hall is emphasised by the insertion of two screens of four, paired Corinthian columns at either side of the entrance. These serve not only to divide the hall into

three equal aprts, but also divert attention sideways, away from the small door opposite the entrance, which leads only to the back stair and rooms of lesser importance. A similar arrangement to that at Culverthorpe is used by Morris at his own home of 61 Green Street. (This similarity may thus help to attribute Culverthorpe more firmly to Morris.) Again, the visitor enters into the corner of the hall, at the northeastern end, to find it bisected by a rusticated screen of two massive columns and two pilasters (plate 46). This disposition is repeated at the house Morris built for Dodinton in Pall Mall in the mid-1730s (plate 70). Here the main entrance is answered only by a niche on the opposite wall, whilst two screens of two large columns at both sides direct the gaze to the side rooms.

This particular arrangement is made doubly strange by the fact that the Saloon at Dodington's house lies directly behind the entrance hall, and is of roughly the same dimensions; yet the two are only connected by a doorway leading from the right-hand corner of the hall.

In a similar fashion, the rebuilt entrance hall at Castle Hill opens out not towards the saloon, as might be expected, but to the rooms to the side. The heavy arcade of three arches that frames the small hall to east and west are reminiscent of the arcading at 61 Green Street and the other houses noted above. And they are repeated in the west wing (and thus, presumably, also originally the east wing) at Mereworth Castle. As at Culverthorpe, the presence of this characteristically Morrisian motif may help to credit the wings' design to Morris.

Generally, Morris employed few entirely original forms. The semicircular windows with heavy, tapered glazing bars which appear on a number of houses which can be linked to Morris (q.v.) are certainly, if all his work, a distinctive hallmark. Nevertheless, these features are not particularly unique to Morris, and are in fact commonly-found features of many Baroque and Palladian houses.

Morris' use of oval panels and oval openings for both exterior and interior decoration, however, is almost unique among early Palladian architects, and may denote some Baroque or Rococo influence. T.P. Connor has tentatively attributed the ovals used at Dodington's

house to LePautre, Wren or Archer;¹ of these, Wren and Archer's buildings appear the most likely, given that Morris lived all of his working life in London, and thus was well placed to visit buildings such as Wren's St. Atholin and Archer's St. Paul, Deptford - as well as other Baroque buildings such as Hawksmoor's St. George-in-the-East, Stepney, where ovals feature prominently (plate 82). Oval shapes also recur frequently in Mariette's L'Architecture Française, a work published in 1727 which presumably would have been available to Morris.² Oval panels were used by Morris on the parapet of the Gardener's House at Althorp, and between the ground and first floor windows at both Dodington's house (which appears to have been executed as a subtly altered version of the Althorp Gardener's House) at Cobham Park (plate 157), and at Westcombe House (the prototype for both of these designs, as well as for Whitton Park). An oval, rather than a circular, window is inserted into the pediments of Morris' designs for Milton House,³ while large oval panels feature prominently inside the halls at Combe Bank and Marble Hill, and on the ceiling of the large room to the south-west at the White Lodge.

Another peculiarly Morrisian application was the use of an octagon to terminate the ubiquitous pyramidal roof: this occurs at sites such as Combe Bank, the White Lodge, Westcombe, and the attributed villa at Cobham Park. Octagons were clearly a favourite device with Morris. An octagonal temple-like structure is sited

1 Architectural History, 1984, 111-17.

2 Eg. vol. II, pls. 214 ('la Maison de M. de Moras', J.-J. Gabriel and Aubert); 282 (Lassurance and Giardini's Palais de Bourbon); 348, 350 (the 'maison de campagne de M. Crozat le Jeune...a Montmorency' by Cartaud).

3 Fitzwilliam Drawings 104-5.

close to Morris' Carné's Seat at Goodwood, while at Monkey Island not only does the Fishing Lodge contain a large octagonal space, but the nearby Pavilion is essentially a large octagon with projecting porch. It is interesting that the octagon was also a recurring feature in the designs of Roger Morris' cousin Robert (see ch. 8). Similarly evocative of Robert Morris' plates - most of which postdates Roger Morris' buildings - is Roger's use of small canted bays at Whitton, Kirby (possibly a later addition), and at two houses which can, with varying degrees of certainty, be attributed to Roger: Werrington and Cobham Park. Although these projecting bays are low - being barely above one storey - and are far from prominent in the way that canted bays were later to be in the designs of the 'Second Generation' Palladian designers, they undoubtedly predate the appearance of canted bays in Robert Morris' plates and in the buildings of James Paine and Sir Robert Taylor.

Such components were combined by Morris with forms he had extracted from Neoclassical, Neopalladian and English sources to create an instantly recognisable manner. Morris' villa 'formula' of three bays (with or without corner towers or side projections) topped with a pyramidal roof and lantern forms the basis for the majority of his works, from his first major commission, Marble Hill (1724-9), to one of his later projects, Kirby Hall (begun in 1747). The very individuality of this style is perhaps the key to the objections of Morris' detractors - of whom there have been many. Batty Langley savaged Morris' architecture in his review of James

Ralph's Critical Review of 1734, declaring that Dodington's house had no more than 'the aspect of a bottle-glass house';¹ this criticism of the 1730s was resurrected in 1986 when Cinzia Maria Sicca contrasted the 'frozen refinement and miniature-like scale of the other neo-Palladians' with Kent's work.² Such comments ignore the preconditions shaping the evolution of Morris' villa style: his houses were necessarily compact as they were not, on the whole, devised as Holkham-like Leviathans for vastly wealthy patrons but as modest country residences for men of ample means. Nevertheless, this type of assessment of Morris' work is by no means uncommon. Arthur Blomfield asserted that Morris' originality 'is excessively dull' - an ironic judgement given that such a verdict has been frequently delivered on Blomfield's own work - and that he was typical of the Palladian architects of the period in practising 'Palladian design with extreme assiduity and not a spark of genius'.³ In defending Morris against this charge Kaufmann could only cite Morris' 'definite predilection for plainness',⁴ while the epithet 'dull' also appears in the account of Morris' work at Apethorpe which appeared in Country Life in 1909.⁵ These opinions are perhaps not entirely surprising given the highly individual nature of Morris' formulaic Classicism, and in particular the strength with which he incorporated

1 Grub Street Journal, 7 October 1734. See also Eileen Harris in Burlington Magazine, May 1977. Connor (see above) notes Pope's jibe at the house in his Epistle to Burlington:

sportive fate, to punish awkward pride,
Bids Bubo build, and sends him such a Guide

2 C. M. Sicca in Architectural History, 1986, 144.

3 A. Blomfield, The History of Renaissance Architecture in England (1897), II, 260.

4 E. Kaufmann, Architecture in the Age of Reason (1955), 22.

5 Anon. in Country Life, 27 Mar 1909, 454.

prominent, stark elements into blank, astylar contexts. It is above all the novelty of such an approach to design which seems to have antagonised Morris' critics: probably one of the most revealing contemporary critique's of Morris' work was that of the Duchess of Marlborough - never, it must be admitted, a temperate debater - whose damnation of Westcombe House rested on the acknowledgement that the architectural style of the building was 'extremely new'.¹

Nevertheless, Morris' style has not been without its supporters. John Fleming, in direct contrast to Blomfield, termed Morris' style 'suave and temperate',² while one of Morris' most characteristic works, the stable block at Althorp, has in recent years been described as of more architectural interest than the main house itself.³ Combe Bank has also been praised by a modern commentator, who lauded it as a 'vigorously handled' and 'dignified piece of architecture' which 'deserves full recognition'.⁴

(8) THE INFLUENCE OF ROGER MORRIS

As has already been noted, the compositional technique used in the majority of Morris' buildings derived from the deployment of basic, elemental shapes. The facades of his villas can with little difficulty be promptly reduced to a fundamental arrangement of simple polygons: a square is topped by a low equilateral triangle,

1 Undated letter of c. 1732, quoted in G. S. Thomson, Letters of a Grandmother (1943), 22.

2 J. Fleming, Robert Adam and his Circle (1962), 83.

3 N. Pevsner and B. Cherry, The Buildings of England: Northamptonshire (1981), 81.

4 E. Kaufmann, Architecture in the Age of Reason (1955), 22. John Newman has more recently termed it 'the best expression of second-generation Palladianism in the county' (The Buildings of England: West Kent and the Weald (1976), 554).

which is in turn surmounted by a smaller square. Marble Hill, South Dalton, Kirby Hall, Cobham Park, Whitton Park, Westcombe House, Combe Bank, Dodington's house in Pall Mall, the White Lodge, Brandenburg, Wimbledon House and Morris' designs for Blair all conform to this general pattern. The inevitability that such innately strong and relatively unsophisticated dispositions of elements became so closely and easily identified with Morris prevented his designs from being widely imitated by later architects: not only were Morris' villas simple and stark, but they were all too recognisable as his own work. Admittedly the Bridge at Wilton was reproduced exactly at Stowe during the 1740s and at Prior Park, near Bath, in 1755-6; however, the original design was (unusually for Morris) a direct quote from Palladio, and was a unique composition which had little in common with Morris' other productions.

Four buildings of the eighteenth century directly borrowed from Morris' personal style: Buckland House, Oxfordshire (plate 168), Purbrook House, Hampshire (plate 186), Rokeby (plate 31), and King's Nympton, Devon. The latter was almost an exact copy of Marble Hill, erected by the amateur Francis Cartwright between 1746 and 1750.¹ Rokeby, too, owed much to Marble Hill: its south elevation was a direct crib from the Vitruvius Britannicus plate of Marble Hill (plate 27, below), without the executed pilasters. Buckland, on the other hand, was the work of a professional architect, John Wood the Younger: built in 1755-7, it is contemporary with the bridge at Prior Park, and indeed the two structures may have been designed

1 Colvin, 201.

by the same hand - a supposition which, if true, indicates that Wood was a keen observer and admirer of Morris' work.¹ Buckland as originally built - it was later disfigured by Edwardian additions which, it was claimed in 1915, had 'corrected the extravagances of the eighteenth [century]'² - was an adaptation, rather than a replication, of the Marble Hill format: the tetrastyle portico, pyramidal roof and above all the starkly cubic appearance of the main block all recall Morris' manner. At Buckland the effect of a single, isolated cube was heightened by the placing of the octagonal wing pavilions at some distance from the main house and the insertion of very low walls to connect the constituent parts.³ Sir Robert Taylor's Purbrook House - 'one of Taylor's finest and most elaborate houses'⁴ - was built in 1770, and is perhaps the most Morrisian of all houses of the second half of the century. The main block (as portrayed in Malton's engraving⁵ (plate 186)) had four corner towers with pyramidal roofs and a three-bay, cubic centre; the whole composition is strikingly similar to Morris' Combe Bank as well as to Sir Thomas Robinson's Rokeby and Burlington's earlier Tottenham Park. The wing pavilions are even more in Morris' style: almost exactly cubic in proportion, they are of three bays with (on the principal fronts) three linked

1 Richard Jones built the Bridge at Prior Park but was probably not its designer (see Colvin, 475). John Wood the Elder may have been its architect, having died only shortly before the bridge's execution; alternatively, it could conceivably have been the work of Wood's son, who took over most of his father's practice on the latter's death in 1754.

2 L. Weaver in *Country Life*, 22 May 1915, 705.

3 VB, IV, pls. 90-3. See plate 168.

4 M. Binney, *Sir Robert Taylor* (1984), 52.

5 Reproduced in *ibid.*, pl. 49. The house was demolished in 1829; Malton's three engravings are the only surviving evidence of the house.

arches below three square windows and (on the side fronts) projecting bays of one storey. The pavilions are moreover topped by the characteristic Morris device of a pyramidal roof surmounted by an octagonal cupola. The resultant facades are very similar to Morris' executed design for Whitton, even to the extent of reproducing the low side projections, the three square first floor windows and the low connection walls. It appears likely, in view of these resemblances, that Purbrook represented a conscious attempt by Taylor to recall the style both of early Palladianism in general and of Roger Morris in particular. It is important to note the Purbrook was one of Taylor's later works, and not an early project by an immature hand; thus it was surely conceived not as a reflection of an outdated mode but rather as a deliberate evocation of a style of building greatly respected by Taylor.

Apart from the examples detailed above, it is difficult to determine any influence exerted by specific Morris buildings. Morris' personal style was too idiosyncratic to form the basis of a younger architect's repertoire. Nevertheless, subsequent architects were, if not influenced by the detail of Morris' buildings, at least somewhat impressed by his use of clearly-differentiated and simplified motifs and, in particular, the astylar, restrained environment in which such elements were set. The goal of greater definition within an uncluttered plain facade was especially important to prospective villa designers: houses that were relatively modest in size were clearly less able to accommodate a wide and complex architectural vocabulary which comprehended vigorous rhythms and profuse detailing. The eminent villa designers of the 1750s and 1760s were quick to appreciate Morris' achievements in the field of small-scale building,

and much of their output incorporated features from the compact, astylar residences which represented the bulk of Morris' practice.

Marcus Binney has recently written that Early Palladian villas 'were all closely modelled on Palladio's buildings and designs, with projecting or applied porticoes' and that '[Sir Robert] Taylor's contribution was to dispense with the trappings of columns and pilasters'.¹ However, this ground had already been broken by Morris with such works as Westcombe, Combe Bank and Whitton. Even Marble Hill, one of Morris' first projects, was originally envisaged as a completely astylar building, and only during its execution were four Ionic pilasters applied to the north front.² Marble Hill's stylistic descendants, Kirby Hall and South Dalton, reflected what was perhaps Morris' own intention at Marble Hill (which was possibly frustrated by Mrs. Howard, or indeed Herbert) and were astylar on all fronts.³ It was Morris, therefore, and not Taylor who pioneered the 'Elegance, compactness and convenience' which was to prove so characteristic of the villas of the mid-eighteenth century.⁴ It was possibly the inspiration of his buildings which prompted Robert Morris to advise in the Preface of his Rural Architecture of 1750 that 'profuseness of ornament, especially external, is carefully to be avoided'. For while Robert Morris played a major role in popularising the villa form through his later books (see below, chapter 8). It was Roger Morris who provided executed examples of

1 M. Binney, 'Sir Robert Taylor: Prototypical Architect for Annapolis' (unpublished paper, 1986), 4. (See chapter 8).

2 VB III, pl. 93: see pl. 16.

3 VB V, pl. 71 and IV, pl. 90.

4 C. Middleton, Picturesque and Architectural Views... (1793), quoted in Sir Robert Taylor, 40.

the type for the architects of the second quarter of the century to assess. Certainly the small, compactly-planned house of the kind that Morris had realised at sites such as Combe Bank and Whitton Park recurred with great frequency in the repertoire of James Paine, Isaac Ware, Sir Robert Taylor and other leading architects of the period. Paine's Gosforth House, Northumberland (c. 1755-64) and Axwell Park, County Durham (1758) both possess astylar elevations on both fronts and compact, virtually square plans in the manner of Morris' villas; compositions akin to the Marble Hill and Combe Bank types also feature prominently in Ware's A Complete Body of Architecture of 1765.¹ It is undoubtedly true that James Paine preferred to use niches and panels to adorn wall surfaces in far more profuse a fashion than had been Morris' custom; yet he also evolved a three-bay wing block that owed much to Morris: the wing pavilions at Gosforth, Shrubland Hall and Nostell Priory, for example, are all of three bays and terminated in pyramidal roofs (or pediments) surmounted by a large, central chimneystack.² Paine made this composition more dramatic than any of Morris' works, substituting the dominant chimneys for Morris' small square or octagonal cupolas, but it still nevertheless represented a building type very much in the manner of Morris' house for Dodington or the Gardener's House at Althorp.

Of the generation of architects who followed Ware and Paine,

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- 1 J. Paine, Plans, Elevations and Sections... (1767), I pls. 15-16, 18-19, 56, 58-59; I. Ware, A Complete Body of Architecture (1756), eg. pls. 32, 33 ('house with a balustrade, upon a flat roof'), p. 40 (a villa of 1-3-1 bay rhythm in the vein of Marble Hill).
 - 2 Paine, I pls. 18-19, II pl. 66; VB IV, pls. 72-3. Paine's first major work, Heath House, Wakefield of 1744-5, was closely based on Marble Hill, and it is possible that Morris even knew Paine during this period: Morris' outgoings for 1747 (Coutts & Co, Ledger 1746-7, f.108) include a sum paid to a 'Mrs Paine'.

Robert Mylne (1733-1811) appears to have been most influenced by Morris' architectural style. Mylne may indeed have become familiar with Morris' work whilst engaged on numerous projects at Inveraray between 1774 and 1789;¹ he was also involved in alterations to the Duke of Argyll's house at Rosneath, Dunbartonshire, where Morris may have been the author of additions commissioned during the 1740s (see below, p.327), and at Argyll House in the West End of London, where Morris may well have built the large library (see below, p.357). Mylne's architecture, while eschewing most of the cruder and plainer aspects of Morris' designs, certainly displays the same qualities of compactness and reticence which had been so typical of Morris' output. The Wick on Richmond Hill, Surrey of 1775 was very much in the vein of Morris' architecture, even to the inclusion of Morris-like circular panels between the ground floor windows, and this villa style was also employed at Addington Lodge, Croydon (1773-9) and in a drawing for a house at Bath (reproduced rather poorly in Richardson's biography).² Similarly restrained, astylar houses are to be found in the works of Mylne's contemporaries Henry Holland (1745-1806) and James Gandon (1743-1823). Holland's Southill House, Bedfordshire (remodelled between 1796 and 1800) is, although endowed with Greek detail, in essence merely an astylar villa with a 1-3-1 bay rhythm and a rusticated basement in the Morris mould.³ Similarly, a number of designs by Gandon also recall the plain elevations of Morris' villas, notably Emsworth (1794), Heywood (c. 1771), and particularly Emo Court (begun c. 1790), an unexecuted elevation of

1 Colvin, 574-6.

2 A. Richardson, Robert Mylne (1955), 8.

3 Colvin, 426; D. Stroud, Henry Holland (1966), pl. 94.

which features Wiltonesque towers with pyramidal roofs.¹

Roger Morris' restrained, modest-scale compositions were not, however, to prove a major influence on the leading architectural figures of the last quarter of the century, William Chambers and the Adams. John Adam was known to have been keenly interested in Morris' buildings in his youth: his sketchbooks, now in the R. I. B. A. Drawings Collection, include elaborate notes on and drawings of Combe Bank, sketches of the church at Mereworth (which serves to strengthen Morris' claim to authorship), a plan of the Lodge in Richmond Park, and provide strong indications of visits to both Whitton Park and Wilton House.² Furthermore, in 1748 William Adam sent his son Robert to consult with Morris on matters concerning work at Inveraray and at the Royal Ordnance.³ Yet it is difficult to detect any strong influence that Morris' designs brought to bear on the Adams' work: Robert Adam's rhythmic and elegant compositions betray little of the formal reticence and astylar modesty of Morris' houses, and his pervasive personal style soon eclipsed the achievements of Morris and the mid-century Palladians.

1 E. McParland, James Gandon (1985), pls. 152, 125, 110-111; cf. also the unexecuted astylar three-bay villa design, pl. 156.

2 See. J. Fleming, Robert Adam and his Circle (1962), 83, 85.

3 Ibid., 82.

6 ROGER MORRIS' GOTHIC STYLE

(1) INTRODUCTION

Much of Morris' classical output was, it has already been noted, designed in a remarkably consistent stylistic manner. This manner changed little during his architectural career: thus Kirby Hall, begun in 1747 (only two years before Morris' death), differs little in plan and elevation from Marble Hill House of 1724-9, Morris' first major commission. Small houses built in the vein of Marble Hill, Combe Bank or Dodington's house in Pall Mall comprised the bulk of Morris' individual projects. However, Morris - in sharp contrast to Early Palladian contemporaries such as Colen Campbell - was not content merely to remain within the strictly-regulated boundaries of English Neopalladian style and form. Chapter 5, above, has detailed how Morris experimented with stark, almost Neoclassical elements which were decidedly alien to the undemanding vocabulary of his villa style: buildings such as the stables at Althorp represented a conscious attempt to realise the simplicity and strength of Antique structures and to depart from the manner of Marble Hill and its progeny. Additionally, Morris was further prepared to build in the Gothic style. Most of the Early Palladians had followed Shaftesbury in condemning Gothic as vulgar and barbaric; even the semi-Palladian James Gibbs, who was employed on a number of occasions to 'restore' medieval structures, displayed a distinct lack of interest in original medieval forms (see below, p.222). Yet as early as 1728 - when

Robert Morris was writing that "the rude Gothick way" had been "despis'd" even before the death of Queen Elizabeth I¹ - Roger Morris was beginning work on the astonishingly authentic medieval 'castle' at Clearwell in Gloucestershire, a house which can be viewed as the first example of the Gothic Revival in England.

In the early 1730s William Kent also began to use Gothic forms on a large scale; however, unlike Morris' Clearwell, Kent's Gothic buildings were in a flamboyant but academically spurious Gothick that made no attempt at stylistic accuracy. Ironically, while Pugin and the Gothic Revivalists of the nineteenth century were quick to condemn Kent's playful fantasy-Gothic, it was the Kentian style, not the simple quasi-medievalism of Clearwell, which became the pattern for most Gothic structures of the eighteenth century. This included Roger Morris' Inveraray castle, begun in 1746 and the only other executed Gothic work that can be confidently assigned to him. Yet while Inveraray was more 'Gothick' in manner than Clearwell, erected twenty years before, it avoided the excesses of Kent and Batty Langley, taking as its model forms and conventions of Scottish tradition and anticipating the 'Scottish Baronial' style so prevalent during the nineteenth century.

¹ ED, Preface, xii. Four years later Robert Morris announced that all Gothic was either "irregular, disproportion'd, or deform'd" (Lectures, IV, 48). Yet during the subsequent years he may well have been converted by Roger Morris' more pragmatic approach to the question of Gothic style: one of the designs featured in his Rural Architecture of 1750 - a large church (RA, pl. 45) - actually included a prominent Gothic spire. See below, Chapter 7.

(2) CLEARWELL CASTLE

Clearwell Castle, situated in the Forest of Dean, near the Welsh border, has been attributed to Morris on the strength of his estimates for work there dated 29 December 1727 and 1 January 1727/8.¹ It is perhaps more than coincidence that the family of Morris' second wife, Elizabeth Jackson - whom he married in 1731 - originated from Pontrilas in Herefordshire, a village just over the border with Gloucestershire and only a few miles distant from Clearwell; the Jacksons may have suggested to the owner of Clearwell, Thomas Wyndham, that he make use of Morris - by no means an immediately obvious choice for building a Gothic edifice.²

Whereas Inveraray Castle's importance lies in its substantial influence on the design of subsequent Scottish castles, Clearwell - probably as a result of its remote situation and the relative obscurity of its owner - was not the subject of imitation during the eighteenth century. Yet it does merit serious attention as arguably the first product of the Gothic Revival. Sir John Vanbrugh's home at Greenwich, Vanbrugh Castle (begun c. 1718), predated Clearwell by perhaps as much as a decade, yet barely qualifies for the appellation Gothic: the plan was in a decidedly classical vein (including a three-windowed semicircular bay) and the elevations featured not a single pointed arch in the fenestration.³ Certainly

- 1 National Library of Wales, Dunraven MSS, 347. See page 298, below.
- 2 Elizabeth Jackson's father, Sir Philip Jackson, was born at Pontrilas, the estate here being inherited by his elder brother Edward and subsequently by Elizabeth's cousin, also Sir Philip Jackson. (Ex.inf. Dr. Edmund Carr-Saunders). Alternatively, Morris may have been suggested by Dodington: see page 348, below.
- 3 Nor does the admittedly otherwise medieval-looking Shirburn Castle, Oxfordshire, of c. 1720-5. (See Tim Mowl, 'Early Medievalism...' in ed. R. White, *A Gothick Symposium* (The Georgian Group, 1983)). For Vanbrugh Castle, see plate 132, below.

Vanbrugh appears to have been amused with medieval forms: battlements appear at Kimbolton Castle of 1707-10 and on the Belvedere at Claremont of c. 1720, while a sketch exists for a Gothic castle (never executed) for the Duke of Argyll at Inveraray (see below). Yet it remains that Vanbrugh never erected a full-scale building in the true Gothic manner. And excepting the doubtful claim of Vanbrugh Castle to a place in the Gothic Revival, Clearwell predated all of the major Gothic works of the eighteenth century. Kent's Esher was begun approximately five years after Clearwell had been commenced - and, additionally, was executed in a markedly different, unacademic style - while Walpole's Strawberry Hill (the most celebrated product of the eighteenth century Gothic Revival) and Sanderson Miller's sham ruins and elaborate restorations did not appear until the 1740s.

The significance of Clearwell derives not only from its unusually early date, but also from the peculiarly authentic medievalism of its exterior elevations. The Castle's style, unlike many of the works of Kent, Miller and the other Gothick practitioners of the mid-eighteenth century, was not based on the patterns, rhythms or details of any extant structure on the site.¹ Indeed the style of Morris' house appears to deliberately reject the language of the Elizabethan mansion Wyndham demolished prior to building his new castle, suggesting as it does thirteenth or fourteenth century, rather than sixteenth century, precedents.

¹ Evidence supplied by Mr. Nicholas Kingsley suggests that Morris' house was a wholly new building, and that the original Elizabethan building was sited further down the hill upon which the present castle now sits.

Yet despite its uniqueness, Clearwell has largely been neglected by previous generations of architectural historians. Kenneth Clark, in his influential work on the Gothic Revival, quite overlooked the house whilst drawing on Strawberry Hill as the benchmark for his conception of 'Rococo Gothick': 'Once we have some idea of the fashion for Gothic which preceded it', he declared, 'Strawberry Hill becomes an historical document of great importance'.¹ This statement clearly implies that Walpole's house was the first Gothic product of the century, a generalisation which, while it rightly serves to underline Strawberry Hill's role in popularising the Picturesque Gothic in Britain, ignores the existence of Clearwell as well as the importance of buildings such as Kent's Esher Place. David Verey, in his invaluable survey of the buildings of the area, does not ignore Clearwell, but proceeds to dismiss it summarily: dating it at c. 1740 (which would make it contemporary with Sanderson Miller's Gothic works, as well as with Strawberry Hill and Inveraray), he mistakenly alleges that 'the Baroque fireplaces are typical of the early eighteenth century'.² The reappraisal of Clearwell was prompted by the researches of Dr. Alastair Rowan, who published his work in 1970: although he was unable to positively identify the architect of the house, he praised the 'robust details' of 'this solemn stone-built castle'.³ His comments were amplified

1 K. Clark, The Gothic Revival (1962), 58.

2 D. Verey, The Buildings of England: Gloucestershire - The Vale and the Forest of Dean (1970), 161. The bulk of the Palladian fireplaces - mostly made of plaster, not of marble - were removed and destroyed by a previous owner of the house during the 1970s and early 1980s.

3 A. Rowan, in, ed. Colvin and Harris, The Country Seat (1970), 149.

by Terence Davis, who in 1974 observed that the castle 'might well pass for an ancient house', and that 'in its toughness...it is set apart from all others of its date'.¹ Even a more recent critic, less immediately appreciative of the style of the building, has felt prepared to label it 'an ugly but innovative duckling'.²

The nature of this 'innovation' is clearly apparent when Clearwell is compared to the Gothic domestic architecture of the subsequent three decades. Much of the large-scale Gothic work of this period - and indeed most of the pseudo-medieval garden buildings popularised by the early landscape gardener-architects - was strongly influenced by two architects, William Kent and Batty Langley. The products of these designers reached a wide audience in the 1740s with the publication of John Vardy's Some Designs of Mr. Inigo Jones and Mr. William Kent (which included engravings of some of Kent's Gothic garden pieces) in 1744 and the appearance of Langley's eccentric Ancient Architecture in 1741, reissued in 1747 as Gothic Architecture, Improved. Kent and Langley, followed by numerous imitators, developed a hybrid style of Gothic decoration that was heavily dependent on exaggerated motifs from the Late Decorated period yet was at the same time fundamentally classical in the nature of its application. Both, for example, relied substantially on the employment of multifaceted, column-like piers to compensate for the typically classical horizontality of their facades by providing vertical emphases; they also preferred to follow Wren and Hawksmoor in using the device of the ogee arch -

1 T. Davis, The Gothick Taste (1974), 84.

2 Mowl and Earnshaw, A Trumpet at a Distant Gate (1985), 38. Clearwell was also completely ignored in Michael McCarthy's recent The Origins of the Gothic Revival (1987), which neglected to mention any of Morris' Gothic works.

surely the most over-used (and ultimately the most tired) motif of eighteenth century Gothic architecture - to suggest a medieval pedigree. In Kent's Esher Place of c. 1733 frequent use was made of the ogee arch and the quatrefoil opening, elements which are also abundantly evident in his screens for Westminster Hall (1739) and Gloucester Cathedral (1741),¹ yet the resultant house still possessed the appearance of a Classical flat-roofed box. Langley's preference for the ubiquitous ogee can be seen in the window designs used in his Gothic Architecture...,² while his strange predilection for combining Classical and Gothic elements in a most incongruous fashion can be witnessed in the same publication - particularly in his design for a pyramidal roof surmounting a 'Gothic' portico and, most notoriously, his schemes for a 'Gothic Entablature' and the five 'New Orders of Columns'.³ William Halfpenny proved an enthusiastic imitator of Langley's tortuous pattern-book solutions to the problem of how to assimilate Gothic elements into a Classical environment: his Rural Architecture..., for example, (a work he produced with his son 'John Halfpenny' in 1755)⁴ featured a 'Chinese' temple complete with ogee-arched doorway and oversized finials.⁵ Nor did the more antiquarian-minded Sanderson Miller eschew the prominent use of Langleyesque detail in his facades: the gateway at Lacock Abbey (c. 1754-5), for example, is merely one gigantic ogee arch - a dramatic use of this element

1 Cf. J. Vardy, Some Designs of Mr. Inigo Jones and Mr. William Kent (1744), pls. 48-9. See below, plate 172.

2 Eg. B. Langley, Gothic Architecture, Improved... (1747), pls. xxxvi-xl.

3 Ibid., pl. xxxii, parts I and II.

4 Cf. Colvin, 378.

5 W. & J. Halfpenny, Rural Architecture in the Chinese Taste (1755), pl. 54.

which is totally without medieval precedent.

In comparison with the Gothic exaggerations of such designers, Morris' Clearwell Castle appears surprisingly medieval in elevation. The principal (north) front, with its recessed centre of three bays and its projecting single-bay wings, is reminiscent of numerous small medieval houses. This recession in particular is in sharp contrast to the flat facades of Esher, Stout's Hill and other Gothick buildings of the period; the plan, too, recalls the 'H' plan houses with central halls of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Most significantly, Clearwell's fenestration is designed in a suitably medieval manner: the ground floor window frames are strongly and simply moulded and all provided with concave arches, while the upper levels are provided with plain, unfussy rectangular or square openings. There is no trace of Kent and Langley's much-favoured re-entrant ogee arches either in the window tracery and window mouldings or on the rest of the facades. As Alastair Rowan said of the house: 'the idiom is unfamiliar and totally different to the flimsy angularity of contemporary Rococo Gothic; the architecture is assured and convincing'.¹

Clearwell's detectable influence on later Gothic design was negligible, in stark comparison to the influence of Morris' less revolutionary Inveraray of twenty years later (see below). However, it is possible to speculate that the medieval aspect of the castle did not pass entirely unnoticed by contemporaries. Flat roofs on

¹ Rowan, *op. cit.*, 148. Rowan also notes the medieval thickness of Clearwell's walls: 'on the front block they are four feet thick, or as Grose commented "nearly equal in thickness to those of ancient Gothic Castles"; in the wing and ante-rooms the width is reduced to three feet'.

both Baroque and Palladian houses in Britain had been commonplace since the turn of the century, Talman's Chatsworth and subsequent houses having made the elaborately-gabled and steep Dutch- and French-influenced roofs of the age of Pratt and May obsolescent. However, Gothic buildings were not necessarily erected to Classical specifications or precedents: Strawberry Hill, for example, was provided with a varied roofline which included gable ends. Clearwell may well have served as an example to subsequent Gothic houses, at least those in the geographical vicinity of the site, in the areas of both roofline and general disposition of blocks. It is interesting that during the 1740s Miller (and possibly Hiorne too)¹ was eliminating the gables on the original house at Arbury in Warwickshire - gables whose existence is testified to by an engraving of 1708 - to produce an elevation not unlike that at Clearwell, with a recessed centre and wings. In the same decade the Gothic house at Stout's Hill, Gloucestershire,² was provided with a flat roof unsullied by towers, turrets or gables, in dramatic contrast to the gabled and at times even pyramidal Gothick of the designs in Langley's and Halfpenny's volumes. Both Stout's Hill and a similar house of contemporary date, the garden house at Frampton, were situated in the same county as Clearwell, a fact which may indicate some degree of intimacy of acquaintance between the owners of the three houses. Possibly even Kent's Esher may have derived consciously

1 See Colvin, 420.

2 Macaulay, in his The Gothic Revival of 1974, assigns the house firmly to Halfpenny, but this remains merely a stylistic attribution. The house is dated 1743 on a rainwater head.

from Morris' Gothic precedent: the original structure was rebuilt so that 'Wolsey's Tower' formed a three-bay, two-storey block at the centre of what was now a flat-roofed, battlemented house - a general disposition which recalls Clearwell. It is likely that Kent was on reasonable terms with Robert Morris during this period (see below, Chapter 8); given that Robert was working with his cousin at about this time, it is also quite conceivable that Roger Morris knew Kent. (Roger Morris and Kent's patron and friend, Burlington, may well have met at Chichester in c.1731, i.e. after the completion of Clearwell and before the commencement of Esher (see above, ch.3); it is not beyond the bounds of reason that Morris communicated his ideas on Gothic to the Earl at this time, and that Burlington later informed Kent).

Perhaps the only definite echo of Clearwell's design, however, is to be found not in the eighteenth century but in the nineteenth. Any direct debt owed by Dunninald House in Angus, Scotland, to the Gloucestershire castle appears unlikely; yet the elevation of the former (erected in 1823-4) is low and flat, and is characterised by a ground floor of pointed windows and an upper storey of square-headed openings, all of which resembles the arrangement of the principal front at Clearwell.¹ The architect of Dunninald was James Gillespie Graham, who produced a variant of the Inveraray model at Lee Place;² having based one of his works on a Morris building, it is possible that he sought to emulate another of his Gothic houses at Dunninald - a thesis which presupposes, of

1 A. Rowan in Country Life, 14-21 August 1969; see also Macaulay, op. cit., 244.

2 See plate 112, below.

course, that Graham had seen Clearwell or even that he was aware that Morris was indeed its author.

Despite the fact that Clearwell was of little significance in the development of eighteenth century Gothic, it nevertheless represents a momentous step in the history of the Gothic Revival in Britain. Its quasi-medieval aspect was not recaptured until the churches of William Stark in the early nineteenth century,¹ and the principles of its construction were not wholeheartedly espoused until well into the Victorian era. Its surprising style serves to underline the breadth, eclecticism and scholarship of Roger Morris' architectural practice - qualities which are not generally associated with Morris. That the archetypal Palladian villas of Marble Hill and Combe Bank could be produced by the same architect as Clearwell Castle - moreover, an architect who had started his career as a carpenter and bricklayer - testifies to the hidden depths of Morris' talent.

(3) INVERARAY CASTLE

In the history of the Gothic Revival Inveraray Castle commands a central position. This does not stem from the sheer innovation of Morris' design: contemporary Gothic buildings such as Strawberry Hill (or indeed Clearwell) offer somewhat more in terms of architectural novelty. Inveraray's significance lies rather in the fact that it embodied a highly successful synthesis of traditional

¹ See Colvin, p. 776 for Stark's career.

forms and elements from the vocabulary of Classical architecture. The resultant building provided an invaluable model for castle designers throughout the following century, and indeed proved to be Morris' single most influential work.

Work at Inveraray began in 1746 and continued until well into the 1750s, after Morris' own death. (Drawings at Inveraray signed by, or attributed to, Roger Morris date from 1744; however, a foundation plan signed by Morris is dated 19 June 1746, and is annotated with the statement that the foundations 'will put the Worke into great forwardness for the next year').¹ In contrast to much of the Langleyesque Gothick of the time, in the design of Inveraray Morris consciously attempted to evoke the style of traditional Scottish castle architecture - most especially the 'Baronial Gothic' of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries - while still including popular elements of contemporary 'Gothick'. It is this dependence on pre-Classical precedents which presents perhaps the most interesting aspect of Inveraray's design and which sets the castle apart from other Gothic works of the period, most of which were characterised by the simple expedient of fastening eccentric and overblown Gothic ornament onto what remained a Classical body. Lindsay and Cosh pertinently point out the similarity between Inveraray and the English Great Houses of the sixteenth century. Wollaton Hall, with its central hall lit by clerestory windows, its dominant double staircase and its four corner towers rising above the upper storey of the main body, can

¹ Scottish National Monuments Record, Edinburgh: Photographic Library, AGD/38/72.

be quickly identified as a source for Morris' castle. Other similar influences suggest themselves: Michelgrove, Sussex, for example (with its large central tower and four octagonal angle turrets), and the castles at Lulworth and Ruperra.¹ (Both of the latter, incidentally, could conceivably have been familiar to Morris: Lulworth was owned by the Earl of Suffolk, husband of Morris' patron at Marble Hill, Henrietta Howard, while Ruperra was owned by the Morgans, stewards to the Earls of Pembroke). Inveraray's circular angle towers have a particularly Scottish pedigree, dating from the time of James VI. Kelburne Castle (1581), Rowallan, Dunderave (1596), Castle Fraser (1617), Castle Myres and others all possess prominent circular towers, which dominate the fabric much in the way that the towers at Inveraray do.

Roger Morris' fusion of the traditions of Scottish castle architecture with the regulated canons of eighteenth century English Palladianism was facilitated by the similarities of both architectural approaches. The idea of placing a circular tower at angle, for example, was one which featured in the vocabulary of sixteenth century Scots masons, such as the author of Fyvie Castle, as well as in numerous works of Early Palladianism such as Houghton and Holkham. Admittedly medieval practice frequently produced castles that were asymmetrical in appearance; indeed the standard Scottish medieval plan featured only two circular towers, placed at angles diagonally opposite each other. Yet the

¹ Lindsay and Cosh, Inveraray and the Dukes of Argyll (1973), 38-40.

symmetrical castle was a phenomenon far from rare in both Scotland and the rest of the British Isles - prominent examples being Bodiam in Sussex and Beaumaris in Anglesey. It may have been structures such as Beaumaris which suggested to Morris the solution of placing circular, not square (i.e. Wiltonesque) towers at each corner of a basically square plan. Alternatively, the practice might have been influenced by Longford Castle in Wiltshire, where circular towers abutted a flat-roofed Gothic core of three sides; Morris is known to have worked here (albeit briefly) a few years before his involvement with Inveraray (- see below, p. 370). Additionally, circular towers appear in designs roughly contemporary with those for Inveraray, and probably also by Morris, for Rosneath castle in Dunbartonshire (-see below, section (4)). The most likely immediate source for the towers, however, appears to be Vanbrugh's scheme for the castle of 1720, which is discussed below.

A number of classical precedents have been cited for other aspects of Inveraray's design. Colen Campbell's project for the Duke of Argyll in the third volume of Vitruvius Britannicus has been propounded as the model for Inveraray's raised central clerestory, a claim which acquires added interest in the light of Morris' close association with Campbell during the 1720s.¹ However, the coved roof of Campbell's engraving is low and flat-topped, and while Campbell's plan does feature double staircases placed, as at Inveraray, on either side of the room at the rear of the ground floor, there is no centralised Hall or Saloon in the Scotsman's project and thus no

1 VB, I, pls. 19-20; Lindsay and Cosh, 45. See plate 7, below.

attempt at emphatically centralised planning. William Adam's Duff House in Banffshire of 1735-9 has also been linked to the genesis of Inveraray's design¹ - largely as Adam worked as Morris' assistant and factotum at the latter site. However, while Inveraray does feature a long gallery at the rear of the castle, as at Duff House, the provision of such a gallery by Adam is not an unusually novel usage; nor does Inveraray replicate any other elements of Adam's house. In addition, little use appears to have been made of Dugal Campbell's plan and elevation for Inveraray during Morris' deliberations. While Campbell's eccentric, highly romanticised designs probably precede Morris' own work, there is little resemblance between the two schemes aside from the dry moat, which Morris had already employed at Wimbledon at the behest of the Duchess of Marlborough. More influential was James Smith's Drumlanrig Castle, built during the 1680s: although Classical in manner, its style was firmly in the Scottish baronial tradition and reminiscent of the finished Inveraray - square towers at each corner of the building rising one storey above the height of the core exactly as in Morris' building. Morris need not have travelled to Dumfriesshire to acquaint himself with Drumlanrig: an engraving of Smith's castle was published by Badeslade and Rocque (as plates 45-6 of their 'Volume the Fourth' of Vitruvius Brittanicus) only eight years before the commencement of Inveraray.

Perhaps the single most important influence on Inveraray was the Baroque architect Sir John Vanbrugh. Morris appears not only to

1 See Lindsay and Cosh, 43.

have borrowed directly from Scottish Jacobean tradition, but also in an indirect fashion from English houses of that period, quoting Vanbrugh's individual, monumental Baroque interpretations of the Great Houses of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Inveraray has much in common with large Vanbrughian piles such as Seaton Delaval and King's Weston, even if the precise style of Morris' castle can by no means be termed High Baroque. Seaton Delaval anticipates Inveraray's corner towers, while Morris' central, three-light attic projection is also foreshadowed here. Eastbury appears to have been particularly influential on Morris' executed design, a fact that is hardly surprising given that Morris was employed to finish Vanbrugh's Dorset house in the mid-1730s (- see above, ch.3). The roof-top arcade included by Vanbrugh in the engraving of Eastbury for Vitruvius Britannicus¹ was omitted from the executed house by Morris, who substituted a pedimented portico, but interestingly used by him at Inveraray. It is surely significant that in 1758 the 3rd Duke of Argyll despatched Robert Adam south expressly to visit Eastbury at a time when the Adams were involved with Inveraray.² More directly influential on Morris' final design than Eastbury, however, was Vanbrugh's own scheme for Argyll's castle. In 1720 Vanbrugh made a sketch which was possibly intended for Inveraray:³ although the rough drawing depicts a building somewhat smaller than

1 VB, III, pls. 16-17.

2 See Lindsay and Cosh, 37.

3 See Colvin and Craig, Architectural Drawings in the Library of Elton Hall (1964), pl. xxxvib. The drawing was inscribed by a later hand, 'D. of Argyle's at Inveraray'.

Morris' executed castle, Vanbrugh's project representing a building fifty feet square, it does feature cylindrical angle towers and a central arched and crenellated chimneystack of the type used at King's Weston and Seaton Delaval. It is probably merely coincidence that Vanbrugh's tower roofs are exactly the same as the conical caps added to Morris' towers some time during the nineteenth century (additions which, unfortunately, serve to give the house the air more of eighteenth century Gothick works such as Strawberry Hill than of our sixteenth century Scottish castles). It is not known whether Morris had access to Vanbrugh's scheme (now on loan to the R. I. B. A. Drawings Collection), since on Vanbrugh's death in 1726 these and other drawings passed to his Irish relative Edward Lovett Pearce, who himself proceeded to produce a number of close variations on Vanbrugh's castle; however, given the affinity between the two projects, it seems possible that Morris was afforded at least a brief glimpse of Vanbrugh's sketch.

Morris' Inveraray, like Vanbrugh's unexecuted scheme, was not wholly Gothic in conception. Aside from the clerestory windows, which lit the central hall, most of the interior of the castle was decorated in a classical manner (as had been the case with Morris' Clearwell Castle). Elevations for the house which are entirely in a classical style do survive;¹ these are presumably of an earlier date than the Gothic drawings of 1746-7, and are perhaps concurrent with Morris' first dated schemes of 1744. Yet this does not detract

¹ At Inveraray, reproduced in the SNMR Photographic Library, AGD/38/9.

from Inveraray's importance in the context of the Gothic Revival in Britain. While the Gothic detailing at the castle is sober and often appears in a decidedly classical framework, this is not unusual for buildings of the period. As has already been noted, aside from Morris' impressively neo-medieval Clearwell Castle all previous examples of Georgian Gothic had espoused the free, mannered Gothick popularised by Kent and Langley a style which often had little affinity with genuine medieval forms and practices. Morris' achievement at Inveraray was to produce an essay in the restrained, 'baronial' Gothic that reflected the traditions of Scottish castle construction and eschewed the Rococo fripperies of Langleyesque surface ornamentation.¹ The resultant castle gave subsequent generations of architects with a far more substantial model for large-scale Gothic design than the semi-classical works of Kent or the Halfpenny brothers. The strong Gothic definition of the building is clearly evident when it is compared to more two-dimensional Gothic houses of the period such as Esher, Strawberry Hill or Stout's Hill: in contrast to the fashionable, spidery excesses of buildings such as these, Morris' castle stands as a far more robust and accurate representation of the pre-classical tradition. In only one instance, for example, does Morris utilise the motif so frequently over-quoted by Langley, Kent and their imitators - the ogee arch; aside from the main entrance, all of the arches on the exterior elevations are convex in shape, pointed in the manner of the Early, not Late, Decorated style.

Inveraray's influence on later generations of Scottish architects was considerable. It has already been noted that

1 Aside from the Langleyesque east door: see plate 93, below.

William Adam was closely involved at Inveraray as Morris' assistant; it is not surprising that barely a decade after the completion of Morris' castle William's sons John and James executed what was virtually a replica of Inveraray at Douglas Castle, Lanarkshire.¹ More importantly for Morris' reputation, William Adam's second son, Robert, also found the arrangement of Inveraray appealing, and adapted the design to form the basis of his personal 'castle style'. Inveraray, as Robert Adam's biographer has commented, actually represented 'the prototype Adam castle'.² Most of Adam's castles (which, in the tradition of both Inverary and eighteenth century Gothick, were invariably symmetrical) included variations on Inveraray's angle towers. Octagonal towers rise one storey above the main block in the manner of Morris' building at Adam's Classical yet battlemented Wedderburn Castle, Berwickshire (1771-5); tall turrets are used in a similar fashion at the corners of the central block at Oxenfoord, Midlothian (1780-2), where they are balanced by bartizans at the extremities of the wings; cylindrical towers are also instrumental to the designs of Maudslie (1792-6), Culzean (begun in 1777) and Seton Castle (1790-1), while large, square towers, are placed at the angles of Dalquarran Castle, Ayrshire (1790), Stobs Castle, Roxburghshire (1792-3), and in his unexecuted design for a house in England - The Oaks at Carshalton in Surrey.³

1 Douglas was begun in 1757 but subsequently unfinished, and later demolished. See Colvin, 46.

2 J. Fleming in Country Life, 23 May 1968, 1358.

3 A. Rowan in ed. Colvin and Harris, The Country Seat (1970) McWilliam, The Buildings of Scotland: Lothian (1978), 375. A. Rowan in Country Life, 22 August 1974; J. Lees-Milne, The Age of Adam (1947), 65. See plate 110, below.

The towers are not the only elements of Inveraray to have been imitated in Adam's castles. The majority of his works in this field include a tall, tripartite central feature which owes much to the three-light clerestory-tower at Inveraray. Adam frequently enlarges the scale of Morris' tower and brings it forward to the main facade, or indeed to both front and rear facades; this technique is demonstrated at Culzean, Pitfour and a number of other sites. His Airthrey Castle in Stirlingshire of 1790-1 even utilises a pyramidal roof, of the kind Morris invariably used to surmount his Palladian villas, to top the tripartite central block.

Later Scottish architects, rather than developing Adam's style, tended to follow the pattern of Inveraray even more closely when engaged in castle projects. Archibald and James Elliot's Lindertis, Angus (1813) was square in plan and featured four large, cylindrical angle towers, and indeed much of the Elliots' output was based either directly on Inveraray - for example, Stobo Castle in Peebleshire, built 1805-11 - or on Adam's reinterpretation of Morris' work - for example, Loudon Castle, Ayrshire, of 1804-11.¹ At Taymouth Castle in Perthshire, rebuilt in 1806-10, the similarity to Inveraray is most striking: round towers embrace a symmetrical body with a central, rising feature containing two arched lights.² Alastair Rowan has remarked that Taymouth definitively demonstrates Inveraray's 'remarkable influence on later castles', additionally pointing out that Taymouth's owner, the 4th Earl of Breadalbane, was of the same

¹ Colvin, 287; Macaulay, The Gothic Revival (1974), 223.

² See plate 111 below.

Campbell line as Inveraray's builder, the 3rd Duke of Argyll.¹ And where the Elliots experimented, others followed. James Gillespie Graham made frequent reference to Inveraray in his works: his Lee Castle, Lanarkshire (begun in 1820), for example, not only featured Morris' circular angle towers but also three hooded, arched windows in a rising central projection, exactly as at Morris' castle.² Graham was, interestingly, involved in designing additions to the Elliots' Taymouth whilst engaged at Lee; also employed at Taymouth during this period was William Atkinson, author of another castle heavily influenced by Inveraray - Scone Palace, Perthshire, of 1803-12. Thus a line of descent can be traced from Morris to many of the castle-builders working in Scotland during the first quarter of the nineteenth century.

The successful Gothic-Classical synthesis of Inveraray also found admirers outside Scotland. While most of the Gothic architects of the mid-eighteenth century were content to follow the pattern of Kent's semi-classical Esher, as well as Langley's eclectic decorative recommendations, designers working later in the century looked to more authentically traditional models such as Morris' Inveraray. James Wyatt's Ashridge - one of the most significant buildings of the early Gothic Revival, begun in 1808 - owed a clear debt to Inveraray in the form and positioning of the large central tower, which was dominated by three arched windows. It seems unlikely that Wyatt derived his inspiration from sources other than Inveraray, as no

1 A. Rowan in Country Life, 8 October 1964.

2 See plate 112.

building aside from Inveraray and its imitators prior to Ashridge included a central projection of comparable scale or design; even Vanbrugh's rejected scheme of 1720 (which was, anyway, probably not available to Wyatt) featured only a slender, chimney-like structure - similar to that used at King's Weston - pencilled in over the centre of the main body of the house.

Other leading architects of this period also utilised the shape of Inveraray in their designs. Robert Smirke's Lowther Castle of 1806-15 used the device, employed by Morris (albeit in a less grand manner), of central staircases lit by a high central tower, while also including the familiar four corner towers. Smirke obviously considered the result to be successful, since he repeated this formula at Eastnor, begun in 1812;¹ the pattern was also resurrected thirty years later by the architect of Augill Castle, begun in 1841. However, Augill was by no means typical of the castles being erected during the 1830s and 40s. Lowther and Eastnor may represent the most famous of Inveraray's progeny, but they also mark the last generation of classically-inspired Gothic houses: by the time that Augill was being built, architects such as Pugin were rejecting the symmetry and neatness of structures such as Inveraray in favour of medieval authenticity. Morris' castle, however, did not attract the type of vehement condemnation usually reserved for products of the era of 'Gothick'. As late as 1872 Charles Eastlake was citing Inveraray as his sole example of the survival of 'the old baronial type of residence' into the Classical era: while preferring to pass over Morris' authorship of the building, he actively refrained from any criticism of the castle's design - a somewhat uncharacteristic

1 See plate 113, below.

omission by such a keen critic of eighteenth century Gothic.¹ It says much for the durability of Morris' design that Inveraray was accepted without demur by such a vigorous proponent of the Gothic Revival.

(4) OTHER GOTHIC PROJECTS

Clearwell and Inveraray can be confidently assigned to Morris; in addition, however, two other Gothic projects can also be tentatively attributed to him: a rebuilding scheme for Rosneath Castle in Dunbartonshire (possibly never, or at least only partially, executed) and a Gothic tower in the grounds of Whitton Place in Middlesex. Circumstantial evidence also suggests that Morris may have been involved in the building or alteration of two Gothic churches in the South-West: Filleigh Church, near Morris' house at Castle Hill, Devon, and the parish church close to the Morrisian villa at Werrington in Cornwall. Documentation to link Morris with the churches has yet to be unearthed, yet even if Morris' claims to the authorship of these two buildings are dismissed, the existence of the other Gothic commissions at Rosneath and Whitton indicates that Morris' practice was by no means limited to Palladian villas, and that his Gothic work was not merely a professional sideline. Morris emerges from an analysis of his Gothic work as an architect of surprisingly large range: while his villa style clearly owed much to Burlington and the orthodoxy of English Palladianism, and his experiments with a more Antique manner demonstrated his

1 C. Eastlake, The Gothic Revival (1872), 58.

warm appreciation of Inigo Jones and of Classical models, his varied excursions into the area of Gothic design - which range from the eighteenth century 'Gothick' of Inveraray and Rosneath to the contrasting ruggedness of Clearwell and the authentic monumentality of the Whitton tower - display a keen interest in the forms and the revitalisation of Medieval architecture.

Morris was evidently asked by the 3rd Duke of Argyll to prepare schemes for the enlargement of Rosneath Castle whilst engaged at Inveraray. The Saltoun Hall drawings relating to the castle - designs which were originally associated with Saltoun itself - include projects for rebuilding the castle in an essentially Gothic manner which appear to be in Morris' hand. The first batch, dated 1744 but unsigned, outline the reconstruction of three rooms to the South-East of the castle; a subsequent variation on this format involves the provision of a centrally-placed double staircase (recalling Inveraray) and projecting semicircular bays on the North and South fronts in a scheme which, while not exactly Palladian in style, is far more Classical in nature.¹ In both variants, the existing medieval tower at the North-West corner was to be supplemented by Inveraray-style circular towers at the other three angles of the house, each turret culminating in a conical roof remarkably similar to those proposed by Vanbrugh around 1720 (see above). A second group of drawings, dated 1747, proposes a similar

1 SNMR Photographic Library, Saltoun Hall Drawings, DBD/15/5-8 - plates 100-5, below.

scheme in a strangely heavy, Classical style:¹ heavy, pedimented attic windows, stepped gable ends, and semicircular windows with large, rusticated voussoirs all serve to give the impression of weight and grandeur. The existence of this later set of drawings indicates that work at Rosneath did not begin until 1747, or later; presumably the first scheme of 1744 was rejected or shelved by Argyll. The only evidence to suggest that rebuilding commenced in 1747 is a drawing in the Inveraray letter book for a window at Rosneath: this small sketch is dated 9 October 1747 and annotated in Morris' hand 'Directions Given for making 10 Windows of Sashes', thus further cementing Morris' authorship of the alterations here.²

If the projects for the main house are to be credited to Morris, it is also likely that he was the architect of the stable block at the site. This structure, since demolished, possessed many features typical of Morris' style: battlemented turrets on the South Front balanced a central, three-light tower much in the manner of Inveraray, while the two towers on the North Front are topped with characteristically Morrisian low pyramidal roofs.³

The Gothic tower at Whitton Park, Middlesex (also demolished) has long been attributed to Gibbs. Gibbs was certainly responsible

1 For the sake of clarity the 1747 drawings omit the three new towers first proposed in 1744.

2 Inveraray Archives, site letter-book, f. 65. (Information kindly supplied by Howard Colvin). See plate 106.

3 Photographs of the stables survive in the Saltoun Hall drawings reproduced in the SNMR Photographic Library, Edinburgh.

for the greenhouse¹ and the open rusticated loggia on the estate, both designed in the mid-1720s, but his projects for the main house remained unexecuted.² Mary Cosh has suggested that Gibbs devised the Gothic tower, but that it was subsequently built by Roger Morris.³ However, a number of factors point to Morris', not Gibbs', authorship. The tower, as shown in Woollett's engraving of 1757, was triangular in plan, with three tall, cylindrical turrets at each angle. This form was very similar to that of the pre-Classical castle at Longford in Wiltshire, where Morris was known to have been employed during the 1740s (see below, p.370). The tower was also sketched by John Adam, who is known to have been very interested in Morris' Architecture: his sketchbook, now in the R. I. B. A. Drawings Collection, includes sketches of Morris buildings such as Combe Bank as well as drawings of the Whitton tower.⁴ Furthermore, the architectural style of the buildings appears to owe far more to Morris than to Gibbs. James Gibbs was markedly indifferent to Gothic architecture: while visiting Milan Cathedral in his youth he nonchalantly declared that 'I only take notice of modern buildings', and in later life his proposed repairs at Lincoln Cathedral - work that was, interestingly, contemporary with his involvement at Whitton - proved

1 Later in the eighteenth century Gibbs' greenhouse was rebuilt and titled Whitton Place; after the demolition of the main block the following century it was renamed Whitton Park.

2 Cf. Gibbs' Book of Architecture (1728), pls. 59-62.

3 See M. Cosh in Country Life, 20 July 1972.

4 A second drawing of the tower, also in the hand of John Adam, exists in Sir John Soane's Museum, Adam Drawings xxx, 105-6; entitled 'Design for the Duke of Argyle', it has long been attributed to Robert Adam or his son William, but is identical to the sketch to be found in the R. I. B. A. Drawings Collection.

highly controversial. Gibbs sought to replace the Cathedral's famous spires - which made, in his opinion, 'but a very indifferent figure' - with octagonal lanterns; this insensitive scheme aroused the ire of both the Cathedral authorities and the inhabitants of Lincoln, and it prompted Gibbs' co-surveyor, John James, to offer to make alterations 'after the Gothick manner in which the whole church is built' rather than in accordance with the Classical project 'as drawn by Mr. Gibbs'.¹ Gibbs' executed Gothic works betray this contempt for the style. Even his most recent biographer has acknowledged that his Gothic detail was invariably set in a 'stylistically naive framework'² - an approach which contrasts with Morris' attempt at neo-Medievalism at Clearwell Castle. The Gothic arch attributed to Gibbs at Gubbins in Hertfordshire is merely a Gothicised Roman triumphal arch, complete with prominent classical keystone,³ while Gibbs' most celebrated Gothic work, the Temple of Liberty at Stowe, Buckinghamshire (1741-7), is executed in an eclectic style quite dissimilar from that used at the Whitton tower. While the Temple is certainly triangular in plan, like the tower, its large windows bear no relation to the almost archaeologically-correct fenestration of the Whitton building, and the elevation of each side is semi-classical: each face culminates in what appears to be a Gothicised pediment, behind which rise two almost Classical cupolas.⁴

The battlemented Gothic seat at Hartwell, Buckinghamshire - executed some time during the 1720s or 1730s - is the only truly

1 T. Friedman, James Gibbs (1984), 198, 200.

2 Ibid., 200.

3 Buckler's view of 1840, in the Hertfordshire Record Office, is reproduced in ibid., 199.

4 Possibly the work of Sanderson Miller, not Gibbs.

Gothic building Gibbs produced, yet is so small (having only one arched opening) that it can hardly be said to have presaged or reflected the Whitton tower. In contrast, the Whitton tower is of a style which strongly recalls both Inveraray and Clearwell. The three turrets are cylindrical, as at Inveraray and Rosneath, and rise one storey above the central body, as at Inveraray. Additionally there are no Kentian or Gibbsian elements in the Gothic detail: all of the windows are moderately-sized (in contrast to the temple at Stowe) and simply-moulded in the fashion of the Early Decorated style. The only incongruity is the semicircular window, set directly above the two-light opening over the central arch: this feature strongly suggests a Classical Diocletian window - a motif which, it has already been noted, both the Early Palladians in general and Roger Morris in particular used with great regularity. Altogether the form and detail of the tower has far more affinity with Inveraray than with the Temple at Stowe. And like Inveraray, the interior was decorated in a Classical vein, with a chimneypiece (a drawing for which survives in Sir John Soane's Museum)¹ in a typically Palladian - not Gibbsian - style which closely resembles the chimneypiece in the Morning Room at Culverthorpe, alterations for which have also been attributed to Morris (see above, p. 339).² Thus it is perhaps more realistic to credit Morris, not Gibbs, with the design of the Whitton tower.

1 Sir John Soane's Museum, Adam Drawings xxx, 107. The chimneypiece can be confidently linked to the tower since one of the turrets is provided with a space about three feet in diameter (the whole tower being only 30 feet across) which would exactly accommodate the chimneypiece ('For His Grace the Duke of Argyle') catalogued as drawing 107.

2 The Whitton chimneybreast is decorated with Palladian devices of swags emanating from a central mask and two groups of three vine leaves anchored in quatrefoils.

Far more difficult to attribute is the Gothic church at Filleigh, in Devon. Morris was undoubtedly the architect of the nearby house at Castle Hill, and the church does date from the same period as the house, having been rebuilt on a new site elsewhere on the Castle Hill estate in 1730.¹ Given that Lord Clinton was using Morris at the main house after 1728, it is reasonable to assume that he also employed the London architect to work on the church, Morris already being familiar with the Gothic style through his work at Clearwell. A contemporary engraving shows that the church featured - unusually for such a moderately-sized building - two small towers at the east end, which complemented the tower and spire over the west end. The presence of these towers suggests the use of a practised Gothic hand who (as was the case with Morris) was fond of using towers and turrets in his compositions. The two smaller towers were removed during the nineteenth century, when the body of the church was remodelled in a rather inappropriate neo-Norman style; the single large tower, however, survived these alterations, and while it may be presumptuous to instantly associate it with Morris, it is not only redolent of Morris' Clearwell style but also topped by a pyramidal roof - one of his favourite devices.

Another West Country church which can be tentatively linked to Roger Morris is the parish church of St. Martin at Werrington in Cornwall. Here much of the eighteenth century exterior (if not

¹ See K. Woodbridge in Country Life, 4 January 1979. The contract to rebuild the church on a new site was dated 7 January 1729/30 (see R. Fausset in Garden History, Autumn 1985).

the interior) survives intact and can be dated to 1742-3, ie roughly contemporary with the house.¹ Pevsner speculates that the church was 'quite possibly a design by William Kent',² but there is no evidence to support Kent's authorship of either the house or the church. Indeed the most interesting feature of the structure may help to attribute it to Morris. The two small towers placed astride the main tower at the west end strongly recall a similar feature in one of the buildings on the Castle Hill Estate: the 'sham castle' above the main house, previously associated with Sanderson Miller, not only possesses four turrets around a square central body in the manner of Inveraray, but additionally has two square towers at either end of the principal front, both linked to the centre by low walls exactly as at the west end of Werrington Church. The tie to Morris is extremely tenuous, yet the comparison between the two buildings - barely twenty miles apart - is informative.

1 The church was consecrated on 7 September 1743 (J. Rendell, guide to Werrington Parish Church), but much of the Georgian fabric was inevitably transformed by the Victorian Gothicists, in 1891-2.

2 N. Pevsner, The Buildings of England: North Devon (1952), 163. Werrington ceased to be part of the county of Devon following the local government boundary reforms of 1972.

7 THE WORKS OF ROBERT MORRIS

(1) ROBERT MORRIS AND ANTIQUITY

To Morris, beauty in architecture originated with the ancient Greeks. His Essay in Defence... of 1728 stipulated that 'beyond dispute, the Grecians were the first happy Inventers' of true architecture (taking inspiration from trees and other elemental forms or, according to his Lectures, from Ancient Egypt), and the Preface of that work quotes Homer's Iliad to support this Elysian artistic vision.¹ Morris liked to recall an idealised, idyllic pre-Roman past: 'the three Greek Orders are of themselves sufficient to raise the greatest, noblest and most magnificent Structure that mankind can possibly invent, without the least Assistance of the Latin or Roman'. Indeed he frequently stressed how these pure Greek forms had been debased by Roman practice:

I do not find a single Beauty has been, or could be, added to the three Greek Orders...The Romans, indeed added two other, which I wish were nameless Orders: the Tuscan, sunk into Dullness and Heaviness in Composition...[and the] Composite Order, consisting of a Redundancy of Mouldings.²

In emphasising the Grecian origin of eighteenth century English Palladianism Morris neatly avoided any undue enunciation of the connection between the new English 'National Style' and

1 ED, 19 xxiv-xxvii; Lectures, III, 34.

2 ED, 34; RA, Preface.

both the notorious excesses of the Roman Empire (in particular its anti-Christian campaigns) and the Catholic absolutism of contemporary Rome, cradle of the Jesuits and the Inquisition. Furthermore, it diverted attention from the inordinate and hagiographical reliance of English Early Palladianism on the designs of Palladio and the other Italian masters of the previous two centuries. Morris' appeal to a semi-mythical, politically neutral Greek past also helped to emphasise the ties between his vision of rationalist architecture and the Platonic rationalism on which much of contemporary British philosophy was based.

Morris found himself advocating the primacy of Greek forms some time before the revelations of Stuart, Revett and their fellow-Grecians. What this advocacy lacked, however, was a factual basis: until Stuart, Revett, Hamilton and Brettingham arrived in Athens in 1751,¹ architectural theorists and practitioners alike - including Morris himself - displayed a singular absence of interest in actually examining the extant monuments of Ancient Greece. Purity in architecture, asserted Morris in 1750, was 'proved to have existed in Perfection in Greece, above two thousand Years since, and long before the Building of Rome', but over twenty years previously he had flatly stated that such proof no longer stood, and that the use of Roman precedents, however regrettable,

¹ These four left for Naples in 1748, but the first recorded mention of the project to produce The Antiquities of Athens is dated January 1749. The first publication concerning Greek architecture to appear in Britain was Robert Wood's The Ruins of Palmyra, published shortly before Morris' death, in 1753; Antiquities itself appeared only in 1762. See D. Weibenson, Sources of Greek Revival Architecture (1969), 5-12.

was unavoidable:

As no Footsteps of the Grecian buildings now remain, we must of necessity have recourse to the Antiquities of the Romans, who received the Rules¹ and Methods immediately from the Grecians.

Given his earlier pronouncements on the corruption of Greek architecture by the Romans, Morris was surely deliberately blurring the distinction between Greek and Roman in this and similar instances - such as in the Preface to Rural Architecture, where he recalled 'the Grecian Architecture, which Vitruvius and other great Genius's practised in Rome'. By associating the legacy of Vitruvius with Greece, Morris attempted to avoid any excessive identification of English Palladianism with Ancient Rome or the contemporary Papacy. Since Palladianism was almost exclusively employed for domestic building in England, the objection that Ancient Greece was a heathen culture alien to a Christian society was rarely made.

Morris' reliance on the mythical wisdom of Antiquity is readily apparent. In his writings he frequently invoked the architecture of the Ancients - again, a useful term which obscured the distinction between Vitruvius' Rome and Plato's Greece - in order to highlight the indiscipline and overindulgence of contemporary architecture. Only the Ancients, averred Morris, had fully comprehended the underlying principles of building: modern designers merely had to 'divert themselves of modern Error, to trace the Paths of Antiquity', to recreate 'the Beauties of the Ancients'. Nevertheless,

1 RA, Preface; ED, 20.

by 1751 Morris himself was admitting that 'I may seem to have deviated from the Greek and Roman Orders, yet where no established Rules can Instruct, I have observed Proportion'.¹

(2) STYLE AND FORM

To Morris, as to the majority of his peers, the architecture of the Ancients had been debased during the subsequent centuries. Gothic was 'irregular, disproportion'd, or deformed' and masterpieces of the style such as Westminster Abbey 'only a heavy, lumpish, unrefin'd Mass of Materials jumbled together without Design, Regularity, or Order'.² Eighteenth century architects - presumably including his cousin Roger Morris, who had experimented with the style at Clearwell and elsewhere - had no business employing such barbaric forms:

...K--T has no Excuse, to copy these,
Unless he has NO other Way to please³

Baroque classicism was castigated in similarly dismissive terms. Baroque architects had taken the architecture of the Ancients as their original inspiration but had 'rejected its sublime Principles, and treated it with so much malicious Barbarity, that the original

1 Lectures, VIII, 133; ED, 84; AR, Preface, iv.

2 Lectures, IV, 48-9.

3 AA, p. 25. The Art of Architecture was published anonymously in 1742, but the engraving on the title page, of a porticoed villa superimposed by circles denoting the proportions of the facade, is a replica of Morris' 'Double Cube' house which illustrated his Lectures (XI, fig. E). Additionally, The Qualifications and Duty of a Surveyor of 1752 (see ch.2) states that it was written by the same author as both 'The Art of Architecture, a Poem' and Morris' Essay on Harmony.

Beauties of Architecture were almost extinct and lost'.¹ The result was forms such as the Baroque doorway of 1724 illustrated in Chapter Ten of the Essay in Defence... (plate 109):² with its heavy entablature, over-prominent keystone and pilasters (equipped with brackets in place of capitals) tapering towards the base, it provoked Morris to a predictable response:

...how unwarrantable, even from natural Reason,
Proceedings of this nature are.

In Chapter Thirteen of the same work Morris ridiculed a Baroque facade of similar date. The massive, Vanbrughian windows with their flat, elliptical arches and immense keystones are singled out for particular invective: 'how disproportionate they are', he railed, 'with their ill-disposed Pediments...[and] irregular Breaks'. Morris concluded that this facade - with its two cramped bays added on to the right and its central pediment broken in theatrical fashion at the bottom, in two places - was proof that 'there is a daily Application of combined Force to destroy that Beauty, Sweetness, and Harmony united in the Composition of ancient Architecture'.³ Like Campbell and other Palladian apologists of the period, Morris was keen not to allow his criticisms of the Baroque style to interfere with the reputation of England's architectural heritage as a whole. Thus while Wren was rebuked for omitting the attic and superimposing orders at St. Paul's, he

1 ED, 21.

2 This doorway was located in Montpelier Row, Twickenham, near to Morris' own house. See D. Cruickshank in Architectural Review, April 1983, 50 and note 14.

3 ED, 87-8.

was still - in the same lecture - termed 'that great Genius Sir Christopher Wren'.¹ In addition, Morris' own plates do on occasions betray a Baroque influence or nuance. Morris often lauded Gibbs' church of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, and his church designs in Rural Architecture (plates 45 and 48) bear a strong resemblance both to the forms of Gibbs' personal Baroque style and to Hawksmoor's fusion of Gothic and Classicism in the design of the towers (the body, in both cases, having more affinity with a small villa).

Whilst following Burlington and Campbell in condemning Baroque, Morris, in contrast to his Palladian predecessors, was cautious in his praise of Palladio. Morris was very much a follower of Shaftesbury in this context, seeking to represent English Palladianism as a truly national style; to this end he not only suppressed the Roman pedigree of Classicism in favour of Grecian origins, but also preferred to stress the mastery of English architects while underplaying Palladio's own role as the prime inspiration for the movement. Palladio, he insisted, was only mortal: 'he sometimes follows the Caprice or Humour of the Person for whom he built', and 'sometimes deviates from that Nobleness and Grandeur', appearing 'inconsistent with himself'; in particular his use of two superimposed orders was decreed 'contrary to all the stated Rules of Architecture'.² Admittedly Morris adopted Palladio's proportions as the basis for his own system; nevertheless, it is significant that, in contrast to Burlington's approach in his house for General Wade or in his Fabbriche Antiche of 1731, he did not merely aim to reproduce such

1 Lectures, IV, 60, 46.

2 Lectures, IV, 53, 57-8.

designs for an English readership, but was prepared to take such developments further. Morris' formulae of proportionality indeed represent the first major departure from Italian practice in the contest of English Palladianism.

While admonishing Palladio himself, Morris never makes any criticism of 'the British Palladio, INIGO JONES', whose travel abroad had afforded him 'so sensible and strong Ideas of the Beauties of the Ancients'.¹ As noted above, Wren was also warmly commended, although in a decidedly less hagiographical fashion; his pre-eminence as an English architect excused the excesses of his style, and St. Paul's, St. Mary-le-Bow and, more obscurely, St. Dunstan's are singled out for particular adulation in the Essay in Defence.... Gibbs, too, wins approval for 'that beautiful and noble building of St. Martin's Church', and is accordingly awarded the accolade of 'immortable' and a place in the Palladian pantheon:

Learn of PALLADIO, how to Deck a Space,
Of JONES you'll learn Magnificence and Grace:
CAMPBELL will teach, the Beauty they impart;
And GIBBS, the Rules and Modus of the Art.²

Morris' citing of Wren was by no means unique, echoing similar plaudits bestowed by Campbell in Vitruvius Britannicus; his commendation of Gibbs (who appears to have been deliberately omitted from Campbell's volumes) is more unusual - there were many eminent Palladians Morris could have cited, most notably Kent -

1 ED, 25; Lectures, III, 42.

2 ED, 26; AA, 25-6.

and suggests a personal relationship between the two men. Gibbs did design a number of buildings for the area of Twickenham in which Robert Morris lived, and it seems likely that the two met here.¹

Plainness and simplicity of form represent the basis of Robert Morris' own style, as expressed in his engraved plates. The term 'plain' itself recurs regularly throughout his books, echoing the ideals of accessibility and honesty implicit in Shafestbury and Campbell's calls for a national style devoid of foreign excess and licence. Morris' distaste for sullyng surfaces with decoration was clearly decipherable in his lecture of 11 March 1734:

A Plain regular front, without Dress of Ornament, if justly proportion'd, will better satisfy the Taste of the Judicious, and more immediately strike the Eye, than all the gay Dress and Decoration of an ill-proportion'd Design.

Simple adornments were considered permissable - 'Ornaments certainly give a noble Contrast to a Design', he subsequently admitted - but in general Morris' opinions anticipated Neoclassical antipathy to excessive ornamentation, as well as the Bauhaus' twentieth century exhortations to honesty in materials and clarity of function; thus Portland Stone was recommended as preferable for 'Dress', while artificial stucco was definitely to be avoided. Decoration, Morris alleged, was often employed merely to disguise 'ill-proportion'd

¹ See Colvin, . 343. Additionally, the two could have met through Roger Morris, who was Master Carpenter at the Royal Ordnance at the time that Gibbs was engaged as its Architect. (See above, ch. 4).

Fabricks', architects frequently preferring to garnish 'the in-elegant Design, to atone for the Disproportion of Parts'.¹

These tenets were enshrined in Morris' 'Poem in Imitation of HORACE'S Art of Poetry' of 1742:

Luxuriant Decorations fill each Space,
And vast Incumbrance, void of Rules or Grace;
Without Coherence, crowded in each Place.²

Stucco was again decried - 'it fills the fabric', lamented the poet, 'Without Regard to Place' - and Morris reaffirmed that 'The Plainest, Neatest, Method is the best'.³ By the time Morris came to write his guides of the 1750s such exhortations had become commonplace in his books. His cherished goals of 'Purity and Simplicity' - terms that recall English Puritan traditions - were, he insisted, encapsulated in the 'plain little Villa', and not to be found in 'Palaces, glaring in Decoration and Dress'; one of his designs, a small square villa of seven bays, had 'nothing but its Plainness to recommend it'.⁴ The Architectural Remembrancer made this message unmistakably clear: 'Plainness and Simplicity', Morris announced, 'are in some cases more necessary than Dress and Decoration'.⁵

Simplicity of form became a ubiquitous characteristic of Morris' designs: most of his plates derive from irreducible, elementary geometric shapes. The juxtapositioning of complex forms

1 Lectures, VII, 117, 134, 116; VIII, 123.

2 AA, p. 6.

3 AA, pp. 23, 25.

4 RA, Preface and explanation to plate 39.

5 AR, vi.

and decoration so beloved of Baroque architects was, he insisted in his first book, in sharp contrast to the Ancients' uncluttered and simply-defined compositions. Thus many of Morris' building types were constructed from elemental forms, most notably the cube and cylinder; 'the nearer a Room...is to a Square', he declared in 1734, 'the more uniform and commodious [it] will be'.¹ Such an approach was even applied to larger, complex structures: plates 30 and 47 of Rural Architecture (a house and a temple respectively) can, for example, be instantly reduced to their constituent squares, cubes and octagons, while the building portrayed in plate 13 of The Modern Builder's Assistant merely comprises cylindrical corner turrets abutting a cube. Kaufmann, while attempting to fix Robert Morris firmly in the Baroque tradition, acknowledges that his dependence on the cube (which, he points out, was not yet evident by the time of his Essay... of 1728 but was apparent by the time of his Lectures) is distinctly alien to the Baroque.²

In evolving these theories of 'cubist' construction, Morris did not eschew the idea of concatenation. What he was opposed to was grand Baroque gradation - as practised most notoriously by Vanbrugh at Castle Howard and Blenheim - and the use of giant, overdramatic elements. For large buildings Morris proposed arranging the constituent blocks in a form where they only gradually decreased in size as the facade extended - a precept closely followed in such Palladian extravagancies as Prior Park and Wentworth Woodhouse. As his example Morris ironically used 'Chelsea College', which he

1 ED, p. 17; Lectures, VII, 104.

2 See E. Kaufmann, Architecture in the Age of Reason (1955), 23-6.

unfortunately assigned not to Wren but to Jones; nevertheless, Chelsea is far removed in spirit from the Baroque houses of Vanbrugh and Archer, and does serve (albeit rather inadequately) to illustrate his principle. It is important to note that, in contrast to the practitioners of the Baroque, Morris constantly urged a precise differentiation of a building's component parts. 'If the Offices are continued long in a Range with the Front', he declared in his Lectures, 'they should fall gradually away, by Breakings' (my italics).¹ His solution to the evil of dramatic gradation was to limit the sizes of the basic units used: thus the cube was never to exceed 50 cubic feet and a double cube 80 cubic feet. To this end architects should immerse themselves not in grandiose projects during their formative years but 'In small Designs at first'.²

Additionally Morris insisted, much in the manner of the twentieth century Modern Movement, that buildings must be clearly representative of their function ('Your Structure must answer the End for which it was erected').³ Lecture VII dealt with this in some length: staircases should above all provide easy access between rooms; offices were to be plainer than the main block, so as to reflect their purpose; and columns should be used honestly and only where structurally necessary, 'to support the Roof' in the manner of St. Paul's, Covent Garden.⁴ Following Vitruvius, Morris associated each of the orders with sites and functions appropriate to their appearance; he even rejected the use of fluting for exterior columns

1 Lectures, VII, 114.

2 Lectures, V, 75; AA, p. 9.

3 RA, Preface.

4 Lectures, VII, 110, 113-14.

as too 'effeminate' for their function.¹

Window-frames, too, were to be purely utilitarian:

I have often reflected on the useless Frames
of the Windows, which our Moderns shew, to
convince the Thoughtless that they are
necessary to be seen, to inform them that
they are made for Concavities for the Weights.²

However, Morris' commitment to the primacy of function in architectural design was not as consistent as he would have his readership believe. Whilst extolling the virtues of honesty in Lecture VII he also propounded the use of sham doorways merely in order to preserve the illusion of symmetry in a room ('Doors should answer one another, either by real or false'), and Morris was perfectly happy to use his buildings as screens, to 'hide some disagreeable object' or to terminate a walk.³

(3) REASON AND NATURE

The fundamental basis of Robert Morris' architectural theory derived not simply from a Burlington appeal to Antiquity alone, but constituted an imprecation to the operation of mankind's power of reason. Thus to Morris the mind, as the seat of rational judgement, represented the prime arbiter of architectural perfection:

1 EH, 32-4; ED, 81.

2 ED, 91.

3 Lectures, VII, 105; RA, explanation to plate 19; AR, explanation to plate 30. Morris never specified what he envisaged the 'Disagreeable object' would be.

...there can be no Beauty, I conjecture, in whatever...is performed in a reverse Method to the Practice of the Ancients; but more especially when,¹ opposite to the dictates of natural Reason.

This rationalist theory of beauty owed much to contemporary English philosophy, itself founded on the rationalist legacy of Plato.

Plato's works had celebrated the omnipotence of reason, and the necessity of implementing rational judgements over those derived from necessity or circumstance:

And whereas reason governed necessity, by persuading her to guide the greatest part of created things to the best end, on such conditions and principles, through necessity overcome by reasonable persuasion, this² universe was fashioned in the beginning.

Such concepts most likely reached Morris through the works of the Platonist English philosopher the 3rd Earl of Shaftesbury, who died during Morris' lifetime, in 1713. Shaftesbury constantly asserted, following Plato, that the eye and the ear operated solely through the agency of the mind, and that beauty was to be perceived merely as an expression of this rational process and not the result of latent, instinctive emotions. Delight in the beauty of nature, Shaftesbury declared, came only from 'the contemplation of those numbers, that harmony, proportion, and concord which supports the universal nature'.³ Sensuous, Baroque passions were firmly under control in Shaftesbury's rationalist vision of beauty: colour, for

1 ED, 69.

2 Plato, Timaeus, ed. R. Archer-Hind (1888), 48A, 167.

3 Anthony Ashley Cooper, 3rd Earl of Shaftesbury, An Inquiry Concerning Virtue, or Merit (1699), reproduced in Characteristicks (1733), II, 296.

example, was deemed 'plainly foreign and separate' to the ideal of corporal beauty, 'having no concern or share in the proper delight or entertainment'.¹ Nature was to be judged 'beautiful' not merely because it functioned according to predetermined scientific laws - the beauty of nature, he stated, was far more profound than 'mere mechanic beauties'² - but because it was able to be appreciated on a strictly rational basis.

Since Nature itself had been founded and propagated in the principles of rationality, Morris and others held that, in espousing a rationalist approach to their discipline, architects would be able to achieve the ideal goal of imitating the natural environment in their works. Philosophers were indeed already exhorting designers to follow nature's lead. Francis Hutcheson - a significant influence on Morris - celebrated the 'Beauty in Animals, arising from a certain proportion of the various Parts to each other, which still pleases the Sense of Spectators',³ and was echoed, in a rather more lyrical vein, by George Berkeley:

Oh Nature! thou art the fountain, original
and pattern of all that is good and wise...
You wou'd like then to follow Nature, and
propose her₄ as a guide and pattern for your
imitation.

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- 1 Shaftesbury, A Notion of the Historical Draught of Hercules (1713), reproduced in R. L. Brett, The Third Earl of Shaftesbury (1951), 140.
 - 2 Shaftesbury, Essay on the Freedom of Wit and Humour (1709), reproduced in Brett, 142.
 - 3 Francis Hutcheson, An Inquiry into the Original of our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue (1725), 25.
 - 4 George Berkeley, Alciphron, or the Minute Philosopher (1732), 38.

- and by Pope:

To build, to plant, whatever you intend,
To raise the Column, or the Arch to bend,
To swell the Terras or to sink the Grot,¹
In all let Nature never be forgot.

Nature presented Morris with the basic guidelines for his architectural rules: his proportions were, he averred, the logical result of simply observing Nature, 'constant and invariable in her Production'.²

Morris, like Laugier later in the century, advocated the mimicry of elemental natural forms as the surest way to attain artistic perfection. The use of such forms was evident both in the delineation of his general theory as well as in the evolution of his particular system of proportions: 'The nearer we approach to Nature in Form, Colour or Number' he wrote in 1739, 'or from the Nature and Occurrence of Things, the more agreeable will that Harmony be'.³ As 'The Harmony of Nature consists in Proportion' - and humanity, as a constituent of that natural universe, was conditioned to 'tally with those Graces that Nature produceth' - then for Morris, as for Shaftesbury and Hutcheson, it followed that there existed an innate beauty in rationality, and thus also in proportionality. Such concepts reflected contemporary rationalist thought as they placed humanity firmly in the context of the natural environment and did not seek to imply the definition of that Order by the sheer presence of mankind (except insofar as humanity perceived harmony and proportionality through the operation of individual powers of reason).

1 From Pope's Essay on Criticism, quoted at the end of Morris' The Qualifications and Duty of a Surveyor (1752).

2 Lectures, VIII, 122.

3 EH, 10.

Perhaps the most important element in this rationalist notion of Beauty and Nature was the endemic need for Order. Order was the key to Shaftesbury's and Hutcheson's rational environment: 'In the Whole of Things (or in the Universe)...all is according to a good Order, and the most agreeable to a general Interest'.¹ In 1709 Shaftesbury had postulated that

Nothing surely is more strongly imprinted on our Minds, or more closely interwoven with our Souls, than the Idea or Sense of Order and Proportion...What a difference there is between Harmony and Discord! Cadency and Convulsion!²

Shaftesbury's fears of the likely effects of Discord and Convulsion mirrors contemporary society's preoccupation with maintaining social order: arguments demonstrating the primacy of Natural Order in the world could be used to excuse a social system in which, while the Earl of Macclesfield (the disgraced Lord Chancellor, dismissed in 1725) was fined a mere £30,000 for large-scale embezzlement whilst in public office, the 17 year old William Stevens was hanged in 1748 for stealing a half a pound of tobacco and six gallons of brandy, George Anderson was hanged for stealing eight shillings worth of ribbon in 1763, and a woman was reported hanged in 1753 for stealing a pair of stays.³ Propertied society had to be defended at all costs, and Natural Order was invoked to buttress this system. Shaftesbury himself held that 'the mere Vulgar of Mankind' might perhaps 'often stand in need of such a rectifying Object as the

¹ An Inquiry into Virtue..., 9.

² Shaftesbury, The Moralists (1709), reprinted in Characteristicks, II, 284.

³ P. Linebaugh in, ed. Hay, Linebaugh and Thompson, Albion's Fatal Tree (1975), 107, 112.

Gallows before their Eyes', and indeed not one of the capital statutes that served private property so well was repealed until 1808.¹ Shaftesbury and others were quick to defend this Order against attempts to undermine it: thus in 1709 the Earl denounced John Locke - "'Twas Mr. Lock that struck at all Fundamentals, threw all Order and Virtue out of the World, and made the Very Ideas of these...unnatural and without foundation in our Minds' - and proceeded to equate his vision of Order not only with beauty but also with virtue.² To Shaftesbury, Order protected a world which needed no social reform or tinkering with the processes of nature: 'If every thing which exists', he confidently declared, 'be according to a good Order, and for the best, then of necessity there is no such thing as real ILL in the Universe, nothing ILL with respect to the Whole' - sentiments somewhat reminiscent of those later ridiculed by Voltaire in his portrait of Pangloss 'best of all possible worlds',³ itself a satirical echo of Plato's cosmology:

For God desiring that all thing should be good, and that, so far as this might be, there should be nought evil...thinking that this was in all ways better than the other.⁴

1 D. Hay in, ed. Hay, etc., *op.cit.*, 19, 24.

2 Shaftesbury to Michael Ainsworth, 3 June 1709, quoted in R. Voitle, *The Third Earl of Shaftesbury* (1984), 119.

3 *An Inquiry Concerning Virtue...*, 9. Cf. Dr. Pangloss in Voltaire's *Candide* (1947, Penguin ed.), 20, 35: 'It is proved... that things cannot be other than they are, for since everything was made for a purpose, it follows that everything is made for the best purpose'; 'For it is impossible for things not to be where they are, because everything is for the best'.

4 *Timaeus*, 30A.

To early eighteenth century society, as to the Ancient Greeks, order represented an essential cornerstone of all areas of experience - not merely of the legal system:

The spheres of law and justice provide important models of cosmic order. The notion that the world-whole is a cosmos, that natural phenomena are regular and subject to orderly and determinate sequences of causes and effects, [was] expressed partly by means of images and analogies from the legal and political domain.¹

Morris matched the concerns both of Shaftesbury and of contemporary English governments in stressing the predominance of Order in Nature. Such a concept of Order was deemed essential not only to the production of art and architecture but also of music, mathematics and all other intellectual disciplines; what Morris professed to be the principal aim in his writings was above all to demonstrate 'the Beauties of Order'.² Order was, for Morris as for Shaftesbury, closely allied to the goals of social suitability: Morris was no social radical (see above, ch.2), and frequently emphasised the importance of the acceptability of architectural forms. (The word 'proper' often recurs in his prose, to denote an art circumscribed with definite rules and boundaries; thus statues were only to be 'ornamented with proper Drapery' and buildings always afforded 'proper Dress').³ While delineating the 'Beauties of Order' neither Morris nor Shaftesbury, Hutcheson and their philosophical colleagues cared to examine the nature of the sense which perceived beauty;

1 G. E. R. Lloyd, Magic Reason and Experience (1979), 247.

2 Lectures, VII, 103; ED, 30.

3 Lectures, VIII, 129; AA, 9.

neither did they labour to pinpoint the specific source of Beauty and Order - Hutcheson merely alluding to the implicit omnipotence of God ('the AUTHOR of Nature')¹ in this context. Nevertheless, their rational system was inevitably held to be universal in its application. Hutcheson and Shaftesbury were prepared to acknowledge the ubiquity of variety, but insisted that anyone observing the operation of the world 'will be oblig'd to own the UNIVERSAL SYSTEM and coherent Scheme of Things'.² Hutcheson repeatedly stressed 'uniformity amidst Variety' - '...What vast Uniformity among all the Species of Plants and Vegetables in the manner of their Growth and Propagation'!³ - while Shaftesbury depicted what Mackie termed a 'predominantly harmonious system' where each part took its place in, and worked for the benefit of, the overall Whole.⁴ Morris followed Hutcheson's precepts to some extent, being willing to accept the unorthodoxy of Greek and Chinese architectural styles but not the validity of Gothic. More importantly, he used Shaftesbury's concept of a benevolent, universal Whole with diverse but equal components in evolving his theory of the avoidance of extremes of size. Shaftesbury stressed the importance of Balance, while Hutcheson bemoaned the detrimental effect the altering of Nature's proportions, to produce 'a Giant or a Dwarf', would have on the balanced environment;⁵ Morris in turn insisted that designers should ensure that all the constituent parts of a structure were not overly large or small, or indeed dominant in any notable way (see above,

1 Hutcheson, 46.

2 Shaftesbury, The Moralists, in Characteristicks, II, 287.

3 Hutcheson, 17, 22.

4 J. Mackie, Hume's Moral Theory (1980), 13 and passim.

5 An Inquiry Concerning Virtue..., 138; Hutcheson, 25.

ch. 5). A building, he asserted, should be grasped as an entirety, much in the same way as musical notes were able to be perceived as a melodic whole - ocular discrimination ('which the Mind is affected with through the eye') being wholly reliant on the exercise of reason. Whereas the mind was able to focus on the Whole, the eye itself tended to linger on the constituent parts of a structure, a point he illustrated with Pope's lines:

Tis not a hip of Eye we Beauty call,
But the joint Force, and full Result of all.¹

To ensure that architectural order was strictly maintained amidst potential artistic chaos, Morris utilised rationalist ideals of uniformity and order to produce a system of exact architectural proportions. The key for the architect who desired to emulate but was overwhelmed by the sheer immensity of the task was, Morris firmly believed, proportionality. 'Proportion', he advised, 'is the first Principle, and proper Appropriation of the parts constitute true Symmetry and Harmony'.² Again, however, Morris' theories were by no means wholly original. While he did not produce tables to demonstrate the efficacy and application of his scheme, as Morris was later to do in 1725, Francis Hutcheson did suggest that 'Our External Senses may by measuring teach us all the Proportions of

¹ EH, 37, 31.

² AR, Preface.

Architecture to the Tenth of an Inch'.¹ Nor was the fundamental ideal of strict architectural rules a new invention. As recently as 1726 Leoni had produced a translation of Alberti's Architecture, which included a call for the adoption of precise rules and parameters:

By the examples of the Ancients, and the precepts of great Masters, and constant practice, a thorough knowledge is to be gained of the method of raising such magnificent Structures; from this knowledge sound Rules are to be drawn, which are by no means to be neglected by those who have not a mind to make themselves ridiculous by building, as I suppose nobody has...²

Morris provided the means by which such ideas could be practically applied; his 'Universal Rule' was alleged to 'serve for all Manner of Rooms whatever',³ and his proportions were intended to be as relevant to the construction of a country villa as to the design of a London terrace. He devised a scheme of seven proportions, ranging from a square (proportion A), a circle (B), a cube (C) and a cube-and-a-half (D) to the complexity of a cube magnified by 72 (i.e. $6 \times 4 \times 3$, proportion I).⁴ These were first revealed in Lectures V and VI ('...I have laid down Rules, whereby we may distinguish what is Proportion and true Harmony, and have apply'd

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- 1 Hutcheson, 10. A year earlier than Hutcheson Ten Kate set out exact proportions for figures in painting and sculpture, although this work (Ideal Beauty in Painting and Sculpture) was not translated into English until 1732 - significantly, only a year before Morris delivered his fifth lecture, on proportion. Morris' debt to Ten Kate is made explicit in the Preface to the Lectures: 'I must acknowledge the first Hint I receiv'd of the Harmonick Proportions came from that ingenious Gentleman'.
 - 2 Ed. G. Leoni, The Architecture of Leon Battista Alberti (1726), II, bk. VI, 5.
 - 3 Lectures, VI, 98.
 - 4 See plate 198, below.

those Rules to Practice by sundry Examples'),¹ but had been anticipated in his earlier Essay in Defence: '...how inconsiderately some proceed', he wrote, 'without first examining the perfect Distribution of every Room and Apartment'.² This system of proportion was evolved from the works of Ten Kate and Palladio, and ultimately from Plato. Plato made extensive use of the cosmic number seven: both the Zodiacal band around the planets, and the universal 'World-Soul' were divided into seven harmonic intervals, derived mathematically from the progression of two-dimensional, square forms and three-dimensional, cubic forms; from these he produced his final system of seven proportions - 1, 2, 3, 4, 8, 9, 27 - which could, like Morris' system, be indefinitely prolonged in either direction.³ Morris' proportions were merely simpler variants of the Platonic scale, based on progressive additions rather than the operations of squaring and cubing. He also followed Plato, and his own contemporaries, in providing copious musical analogies for his proportional scheme. Plato's proportions corresponded to the relative lengths of string required, in Greek practice, to produce the seven notes of the scale; Morris, too, cited the example of the musical scale in providing a valuable analogy for his 'Harmonick Proportions of Rooms': 'In Music are only seven distinct Notes', he declared, 'in Architecture likewise are only seven distinct Proportions'; an 'affinity of Numbers and Sounds' extended both to solid forms and musical

1 Lectures, Preface.

2 ED, 72. At the same time Berkeley, in his Alciphron (1732), was actually rejecting the idea that beauty was inherent in proportionality. See W. A. Gibson, 'Three Principles of Kentian Architecture...' in Studies in English Literature, 1971.

3 F. M. Cornford, Plato's Cosmology (1937), 66-9, 79.

compositions, while the double cube and cube-and-a-half (his proportions E and D) were to be regarded as the architectural equivalents of the diapente and diapason in music.¹ His comment that 'A Jarring and Discord in Music immediately offends the Ear', as 'a disproportionate Building displeases the Eye' recalled not only Plato, but the more recent figures of Hutcheson, whose work of 1725 had made a number of similar observations, and Ten Kate, who in 1724 had stated that:

...the whole foundations of musick, all that is marvellous therein, admirably corresponds with these agreements and proportions of ideal beauty.²

To a large extent, Morris was content to follow the examples of the writers of Antiquity and of the eighteenth century in forming his artistic theories. As a result, his works were not highly original, but were admirably clear and consistent. Unfortunately, when he did attempt to venture into the field of wholly original artistic philosophy, the resultant produce was not as easily digestible. In his Essay upon Harmony of 1739 he attempted to extend his scheme of proportions, recently developed in his Lectures, further into the realm of theory. Harmony itself is subdivided, first (significantly) into seven categories, and then into three principal subdivisions: 'Ideal, Oral and Ocular' (which presumably represent a deliberate attempt to echo Shaftesbury's own three orders).³ Morris proceeds to use this model as the basis for a pyramidal

1 Timaeus, 36A-B; Lectures, VI, 94; V, 74; see also Lectures, IV, 52.

2 Hutcheson, 27-8; Ten Kate, 49.

3 EH, 7-9; see Brett, 69-70.

structure of observed artistic experience: harmony resolves itself into these three sub-categories, and from the third - Ocular (i.e. that pertaining directly to architecture) - there originate two further stages of subdivision: Art and Nature and (evolving from the latter) 'Animate' and 'Inanimate' (- hills, woods, 'scenes' and so on). Here Morris is on uncertain ground, and merely presents us with a confusing amalgamation of the concepts he so clearly expressed in the Lectures. The ideal of rationality - 'Ideal', the first of the three original subdivisions of Harmony - is physically separated from oral and visual experience, while Morris inexplicably assigns Art and Nature to two unrelated sections of his model. Thus the pyramid appears rather nonsensical and, eventually, quite meaningless.

(4) THE VILLA

Perhaps the most significant of Robert Morris' achievements was the definition and popularisation of the small Palladian villa type. His Rural Architecture in particular attempted to counteract traditional bias towards large structures and city residences - all of which, he implied, were devised more as showcases for the abilities of individual architects than as exercises in architectural function. 'So few Persons residing in the Country', he lamented, '...are capable of Designing adequate country villas'.¹

The term 'villa', although it has been applied to houses

¹ RA, Preface.

of the 1720s such as Marble Hill and Chiswick House, was not current until the 1750s, following its repeated use in Morris' later tracts.¹ The Essay in Defence... was in many respects a demonstration of the properties of the smaller, villa style of residence, and indeed the plates facing pages 84-5 of this publication closely resemble the design of Roger Morris' Marble Hill, indicating that the two kinsmen cooperated professionally to further the appreciation of this form. In chapter 2 Morris stated emphatically that 'a small Fabrick...gives the Mind nobler Ideas than one of twenty times the Bulk' - an approach which Professor Wittkower suggested represented a deliberate rejection of the Italian stress on large and important edifices in favour of a more thorough and humanitarian attitude to smaller buildings.² ('Every Cave and Hut' declared Morris in the Preface to Rural Architecture, 'is made to answer some End'). Villas were not designed to be political centres or incarnations of financial success, but simply as diminutive week end or seasonal retreats where the patron could relax in a harmonious, natural setting, 'divested from Care, and the agonizing Pains of Gout, and of all other real and imaginary Maladies'.³ As such, not only was the design of the villa to be closely considered, but also its site, which should as far as possible exploit the calming and rejuvenating influence of Nature. In all his works Morris devoted much space to the problems of siting: as a recent commentator has observed, 'All of Morris's pattern-book designs were intended

1 See J. Summerson in Journal of the Royal Society of Arts, 1959, 70.

2 R. Wittkower, Palladio and English Palladianism (1974), 182.

3 RA, explanation to plate 8. This plate, Morris adds, was dedicated to 'the facetious Mr. Daniel Garrett' a comment which indicates some sort of friendship (or perhaps rivalry) between the two.

for particular situations', and, in imitation of Palladio, Morris judged that each of these sites required different orders and treatments.¹ In particular he advised that villas should always be positioned upon an eminence, 'for the more easily obtaining a Variety of Views': much of the Essay upon Harmony was concerned with recommendations of exemplary sites - such as Shooter's Hill and Richmond Hill, both close to his native London - whilst in his Lectures he pleaded for both convenience and

uninterrupted Vistas and Avenues, an agreeable River, or some opening Lawn, or at least a distant Groupe of Hills and Vales diminishing from the Eye by a pleasing Gradation...²

Morris consistently exhorted his readership 'not to build in Vallies' (which, he concluded tautologically, 'are enclos'd by Mountains or Hills'), since this deprived rural residences of their greatest benefit, 'Prospect'.³ Cliveden was to be admired purely for its excellent site: 'For a spot so elevated, it seems to be the last Degree of rural Perfection'.⁴ While Morris showed himself to be an enthusiastic proponent of the English landscape garden - 'Art never more agreeably pleases us than when she has a Resemblance of Nature' - he stipulated that it should not be so unplanned as to obstruct the vistas: he was sceptical about the advantages of 'a bleak Wild which Nature seems to have deserted' (here rather revealingly equating Nature with Order) and advised that, if the

1 D. Leatherbarrow in Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians (U. S. A.), 1985, 51; Lectures, V, 67-8 and passim.

2 RA, explanation to plate 12; EH, 14 and passim; Lectures, V, 64.

3 Lectures, VI, 87.

4 EH, 20.

villa stood on an eminence and was 'surrounded with Woods, the principal Avenues should be spacious'.¹

Morris' comments were not intended to be directed at substantial landowners. The whole concept of the villa was a retreat which was affordable by anyone of substance; thus in his books, and particularly in his recommendations of the villa form, Morris was attempting to establish general guidelines to be followed by any prospective villa owner. (Morris indeed rarely departed from promotion of the villa type: his two terrace designs contributed to the Modern Builder's Assistant represent an unusual experimentation with this medium). Morris' prime achievement was to successfully plant the idea of a modest country retreat into the minds of the newly-rich upper-middle classes: by the late 1750s architects such as James Paine and Robert Taylor were running practices dominated not by grandiose projects for aristocratic patrons but by villa commissions for businessmen and politicians; the term 'villa' was no longer considered purely a label for small Italian residences but was wholly accepted in English architecture and indeed in English society. Intriguingly, Morris stated on a number of occasions that he intended to supplement his study of villas and smaller rural structures with an examination of buildings in urban situations: presumably he died before this work could be completed.

¹ Lectures, V, 66, 65, 69.

(5) SURVEYOR AND CRITIC

Amid the advice and exhortations of his books, a few glimpses of Robert Morris in his role as a professional surveyor can be divined.

To aid potential patrons of villa-style houses - men who were presumably lacking in many prior experiences of building on a substantial scale - Morris frequently warned his readership of inept or unscrupulous builders and craftsmen. Contractors, he declared, would often employ 'Persons incapable of executing the Performance conformable to the Rules of Geometrical Reasoning', would provide unfit materials, and would prove 'too costly' or would betray 'a Defect of Judgement'.¹ Nor should patrons, he insisted, over-estimate the skills of the architect himself. Even a 'Genius may inadvertently lose sight of Nature',² and by no means all architects were geniuses of the calibre of Jones or Wren: one might have the decided misfortune, for example, to employ the then Comptroller of the Royal Works:

R----y, in Rustick heavy Buildings still,
Attempts in Vain to please, or shew his skill;
How far he strays from the pure Roman Stile,
And labours on in DULNESS all the while.³

In this satire of Ripley, Morris, as on many other occasions, followed the lead of his poetical model, Alexander Pope:

1 ED, pp. 101, 106, 104; see also RA, Preface.

2 RA, Preface.

3 AA, p. 17.

This man [Ripley] was a carpenter, employ'd
by a first Minister [Walpole], who rais'd him
to an Architect, without any genius in the art;
and after some wretched proofs of his
insufficiency in public Buildings, made him
Comptroller of the Board of Works.¹

Morris' books were not designed as elevated architectural discourses in the manner of Ware's Palladio, nor simply as collections of plates, such as Gibbs' Book of Architecture or Burlington's Fabbriche Antiche. He was constantly giving practical advice to help the prospective builder; indeed he revealed that his intention with The Architectural Remembrancer ('this little Monitor') was to present it as a 'Pocket Companion' for patrons.² The principal goal of his publications was to express sound architectural advice in a clear, plain manner, and this goal was realised both by his engraved plates - which were generally simple and small-scale - and by his written commentary. His English (aside from that in his poetical works) is rarely high-flown and, in comparison to the tortuous prose of Langley or Castell, is remarkably concise and to the point. In Rural Architecture he carefully avoided confusing the non-professional reader by omitting technical elements, notably most of the measurements for the accompanying plans; Select Architecture improves on this format by including the costings for each design. Cruickshank noted that the Palladianism of Rural Architecture was indeed highly pragmatic and directed almost solely towards the prospective house owner - all of the rooms, for example, being

1 Alexander Pope, Epistle to the Earl of Burlington (1731) note to l.18.

2 AR, v.

first 'proportioned to the dignity of the principal inhabitant'.¹

Morris' published works unfortunately say little about Morris himself. The author targets most of his comments to his readership, and rarely allows himself the luxury of much personal reflection. Thus we learn almost nothing about his career as a surveyor, and only occasional remarks hint at the level of his relationship with Roger Morris (see above, chapter 2); and other leading architects of the day. Only when he turns to verse does he permit any degree of self-description, and even this is sparse and barely amounts to satisfactory autobiography. In the Preface to The Art Of Architecture - in which he does confess that he is seeking 'to avoid the Crowd' of architectural writers with his poem - he calls himself 'a Poetical ARCHITECT, or an Architectural POET'; An Enquiry After Virtue... reveals his political sympathies as well as his debt to Argyll (see above, chapter 2), but elsewhere little evidence is available regarding his political or social views or his professional career. The Qualifications and Duty of a Surveyor of 1752 ironically affords little insight into either of the title's subjects.

1 D. Cruickshank in Architectural Review, April 1983, 58; RA, Preface.

(6) PRINTING AND SALES

The identity of Morris' printers provides some indication of the financial success of his books.¹ In 1728 Morris used a variety of printer-distributors for his Essay in Defence...: Browne at Temple Bar, Bickerton at Devereaux Court, Pote at Suffolk Street, and a local man, Walthoe of Richmond. Some explanation of Morris' background was necessary on the title page, where he was described as 'ROBERT MORRIS of Twickenham'. Yet the London printers he used were by no means obscure, being responsible for the distribution of a large number of distinguished artistic and literary works such as More's Utopia and Swift's satires. The first series of the Lectures, however, was printed 'for the AUTHOR'. This indicates that Morris put up his own money for the project (in this case probably aided by the named distributor, Brindley), which enabled him to sell or dispose of the copyright as he saw fit. Clearly, then, by 1734 Morris must already have had substantial means, sufficient to finance his own publications. This wealth is further testified to by the fact that neither the Lectures nor any of his subsequent works necessitated prior subscription from members of the public. It also implies, however, that the print run of the original Lectures was not vast.

1 I am indebted to Eileen Harris for her advice on this section.

By 1739, however, Morris was either in financial difficulties, or the success of Lectures parts 1 and 2 required a more professional system of sales and distribution. For in that year Morris turned to the leading printer-distributor Robert Sayer to produce the 1739 edition of the Lectures. Sayer was an important figure in the London publishing world, retailing maps and prints as well as books, and specialising in the areas of art and architecture. After Morris' death Sayer evidently bought the copyright to Morris' plate-books, reissuing his Rural Architecture as Select Architecture in 1755,¹ and The Architectural Remembrancer as Architecture Improved in 1757. In the latter year he also produced the Morris-Halfpenny-Lightoler collaboration, The Modern Builder's Assistant.

Smaller printers continued to handle Morris' pamphlets and minor works. Thomas Cooper of Paternoster Row, for example, printed the Essay upon Harmony of 1739 and the anti-government pamphlets of 1740, whilst C. Corbett of Fleet Street printed the Enquiry of 1752.

The plate-books Rural Architecture (1750) and The Architectural Remembrancer (1751) inevitably involved far more expense than any previous publications. However, the former was, again, 'Printed for the AUTHOR', and no distributor at all was named on the title-page - the book being only 'had of him [Morris] at his House in Hyde-Park Street'. The Architectural Remembrancer was likewise financed solely

1 Select Architecture failed to mention Morris' recent death, indicating either that the project was too far advanced by November 1754, or that Sayer was simply reluctant to make any typesetting changes.

by Morris, although in addition to being sold from his home in Mayfair it was also distributed by W.Owen of 'Homer's-Head, near Temple Bar'. Morris' eschewing of printer-distributors, and especially his reliance on his personal funds, for his two pattern-books suggests that his finances were in a remarkably healthy state by the last years of his life.

It is impossible to determine the precise extent of the sales of both Morris' plate-books and his more theoretical and political publications. Londoners were able to purchase the books from the local distributors; those in the provinces generally had to trek to the capital, to these same outlets (or even to Morris' own house). Clearly the presence of Morris' books in key private and public libraries in London and around the country would help to establish just how deeply Morris' ideas were able to permeate literate England. However, the boom in the creation of provincial public libraries postdates Morris' death,¹ whilst there are few extant records of other collections.

1 Book clubs did not really become popular until the 1780s, although clubs were set up in Birmingham and Halifax during the 1740s. (Birmingham also saw one of the earliest provincial libraries, established there in 1778. See P. Kaufman, Libraries and their Users (1969), 39-43, 210.) Public libraries were only inaugurated in Bristol in 1773, in Norwich in 1784, in Newark in 1777, and in Sheffield in 1771; other county towns such as Maidstone and Nottingham had to wait until the mid-nineteenth century for similar institutions. (P. Kaufman, op.cit.; Trevor Fawcett, 'The Founding of the Norfolk and Norwich Literary Institute' in Library History, Autumn 1967, 46; John Morley, 'Newark Book Society' in Library History, Spring 1968, 77; S.E.Joyes, 'The Sheffield Library' in Library History, Spring 1971; D.F.Keeling, 'British Public Library Buildings' in Library History, Autumn 1968, 116-18.)

Even where these records do exist, Morris' works seem to be sadly absent from the shelves. None of Morris' books were borrowed from the Bristol Library between 1773 and 1784, for example. The eighteenth century registers of the Cathedral libraries at York, London, Exeter, Winchester, Gloucester, Durham, Carlisle and Canterbury do not include anything by Morris (although Durham Cathedral Library did purchase works by other architects such as Aldrich and Ware). And Morris does not even appear in the 1785 catalogue of the London Library.¹

Few architects, too, appear to have bought Morris' books. There is no mention of Morris in the library sale catalogues of his contemporaries Gibbs (1754) or Hawksmoor (1740); nor in later figures such as Chambers (1796) or Robert Adam (1818-21). The younger Dance, however, did possess a copy of Morris' Essay... of 1728 (as revealed in the sale of his library of 1837, 12 years after his death).² More importantly, Robert Taylor owned parts 1 and 2 of the Lectures,³ whilst John Carr's significantly annotated copy of Select Architecture survives in the Soane Museum (see chapter 8). Thomas Jefferson, too, is known to have purchased a copy of Morris' Select Architecture in c.1771.⁴ The influence of Morris' books is clearly shown in the works of all three of these architects - an influence which is discussed below. Unfortunately, the library of another architect obviously influenced by Morris' plate-books, James Paine, remains as yet undiscovered.

1 P.Kaufman, Borrowings from the Bristol Library 1773-84 (1960); Kaufman, Reading Vogues at English Cathedral Libraries of the 18th Century (1964); quoted in Kaufman, Libraries and their Users (1969).

2 T. Friedman, James Gibbs (1984), 327-30; ed. D. Watkin, Sale Catalogues of Libraries of Eminent Persons IV (1972).

3 D.J.Gilson, Books from the Library of Sir Robert Taylor (1973).

4 W.H.Adams, Jefferson's Monticello (1983), 25.

8 THE INFLUENCE OF ROBERT MORRIS

(1) INTRODUCTION

While Robert Morris' system of proportions was not directly espoused by any major architect of the period (aside from his cousin Roger), other elements in his books, particularly his engraved plates, proved decidedly influential. In many areas of both general architectural planning and specific building design Robert Morris certainly followed the current Palladian orthodoxy. He imitated Palladio, Burlington and Roger Morris, for example, in making great use of pyramidal roofs (frequently superimposed over central pediments in the manner of the Villa Rotonda and Marble Hill) and emphatic circular panels and niches in his engravings.¹ His debt to Roger Morris is particularly evident in the plates of Rural Architecture and The Architectural Remembrancer; villa designs analagous to the former's Marble Hill type appear in both volumes, for example (in plates 2 and 37 respectively), while Whitton Park, even down to its octagonal cupola, is mirrored by plate 3 of Rural Architecture. His stressing of the importance of correct siting, too, was not unusually novel in itself - Vitruvius had, after all, given similar advice centuries before; yet whereas Vitruvius and later writers had concentrated largely on the mechanical practicalities of siting a building, Morris also took great pains to advocate the necessity of carefully choosing an aesthetically pleasing location for the projected house. 'Beauties of Situation have some influencial Force over the Faculties of the Soul' he commented in

¹ Eg. AR, pls. 1, 2, 3 and passim; RA pls. 3 (a design remarkably similar to Roger Morris' designs for Whitton Park), 12, 13 and passim.

one of his most eloquent passages,¹ and both in the Lectures (V and VI) and in the Essay upon Harmony he put forward many specific instances of excellent sites - many of which bore a marked resemblance to that section of the Thames beside which he had grown up. Morris echoed Vitruvius in recommending the application of different architectural orders for different varieties of situation; yet such Vitruvian aestheticism, Morris suggested, needed not only '...the Additions of a healthy and fertile soil' but also:

uninterrupted Vistas and Avenues, an agreeable River, or some opening Lawn, or at least a distant Groupe of Hills and Vales diminishing from the Eye by a pleasing Gradation.²

It is difficult to determine whether such exhortations may have helped to encourage the development of the Picturesque or the careers of such masters of landscape architecture as 'Capability' Brown. The publication of Morris' volumes, however, was bound to have come to the attention of the contemporary artists such as Kent and Bridgeman, and it is likely that this repeated invoking of 'rural Perfection' in sites would have struck a chord with these designers. It may be more than coincidence that Kent's garden at Rousham, Oxfordshire, which exactly encapsulated Morris' ideal vision of 'many fine Picturesque Views, rather in Appearance romantick than real', was constructed barely five years after the appearance of Morris' Lectures and at the same time as his Essay upon Harmony was published.³

1 EH, 22

2 Lectures, V 64.

3 EH, 20-1.

Whereas the effect of Morris' recommendations for situations is difficult to gauge, the influence of two of the most distinctive elements of his planning is far easier to define. The small, compact villa so prevalent during the 1750s and 1760s, particularly characterised by its canted bays (and corresponding large, octagonal rooms) and astylar facades, was partly if not largely a product of Robert Morris' books. The development of these two motifs, and of the villas of which they were so important a part, is examined in detail below.

(2) THE OCTAGONAL ROOM AND THE CANTED BAY

It has previously been noted that the three-sided, canted bay was a much-used motif in the houses of many of the 'Second Generation' Palladian architects such as John Carr, James Paine and Sir Robert Taylor.¹ In The English Vision, Dr David Watkin suggests that Morris was pointing the way to 'the picturesque potentiality of bay windows' in his plates,² citing in particular Morris' 'Structure overlooking a valley' where three-sided bays project on every side of a square block.³ The influence of Morris' plates in this regard is undeniable; however, whilst Morris can be credited with having popularised the canted bay, generally applying it to front an octagonal room, the original concept seems to have its source in earlier English and Continental precedents. Certainly many of the houses of the mid-18th century, most notably those of Sir Robert Taylor, owe much to Morris' illustrated designs of the early 1750s. Nevertheless, the canted bay,

1 See M. Binney, Sir Robert Taylor, (1984), 17.

2 D. Watkin, The English Vision, (1984), 99.

3 RA, pl. 30.

perhaps the most characteristic constituent of the villas of Taylor and Paine, was in turn borrowed by Morris from earlier precedents - Baroque as well as Palladian, Gothic as well as Classical.

The basic octagonal shape (a device particularly beloved of Taylor)¹ was well established as an integral part of the vocabulary of English Classicism by the middle of the 18th century. While infrequent in 16th century Italian theory and practice, Palladio did make use of the octagon in his plan for a temple in the fourth book of Il Quattro Libri...,² generating a plan formula which was adopted by Kent at the Hermitage in Richmond Park (1730) and at the Euston Banqueting House (1746), by Robert Morris in numerous plates for his Rural Architecture of 1750, and even by Vanbrugh for his pavilions at Eastbury.³ James Gibbs' Book of Architecture of 1728 represents the first large-scale espousal of the octagon in England, with two pages illustrating eight variants on the basic octagonal temple.⁴ Kent, however, remains the only Early Palladian architect who translated the octagon directly into stone - at the Hermitage, at Euston,⁵ and at the garden building in Shotover Park, Oxfordshire, built in c.1729

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- 1 Binney, 19. Octagonal glazing and octagonal panelling are devices highly typical of Taylor.
 - 2 A. Palladio, Quattro Libri..., (1570), IV, pl. 42. See plate 173, below.
 - 3 J. Vardy, Some Designs of Mr. Inigo Jones and Mr. William Kent, (1744), pl. 32; RA, pls. 12, 24, 31, 50; VB, III, pl. 16.
 - 4 J. Gibbs, Book of Architecture, (1728), pls. 80-1; cf. also pl. 69 (one of two pavilions proposed for Down Hall, Essex) and pl. 71 ('The Plan, Upright and Section of a Room built by the honourable James Johnston Esq., at Twickenham').
 - 5 Attributed to Kent, although the engraving from which this is taken is signed 'J Vardy, 1755'. See Oswald in Country Life, 24 Jan 1957.

and engraved for Ware in the early 1730s.¹ Nevertheless, such structures merely comprised variations on a single octagonal element; the result was an interesting polygonal shape expressed as a solitary architectural unit which, predictably, was in the majority of cases deemed employable only as a temple or other peripheral garden building. Kent's, and later Morris', achievement was to take the octagonal shape and reinterpret it as a key constituent in large-scale domestic design. This was not effected simply by inserting octagonal rooms into the centre of a house as a substitute for a square or circular central hall - a solution utilised by Gibbs and, most celebratedly, by Kent's patron Burlington at Chiswick - but involved the designer daring to thrust the octagon through the external wall to form a canted bay on the outside, thus giving the house more visual and spatial interest.² Unlike Gibbs, Kent (at Esher) and Robert Morris (in his later written works) were seeking to use the octagon not just as a decorative eccentricity to be banished to the garden but as a central element in villa planning.

The concept of a canted bay - more specifically, of an octagon or half-octagon projecting through a wall - appears to have originally derived from 17th century Continental models. Montano, in his Li Cinque Libri of 1684, not only placed octagonal forms at the centre of his designs but also employed half-octagons, fronting in this case circular rooms, projecting from the main body of the building.³

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- 1 I. Ware, Designs of Inigo Jones and William Kent, (undated), pl. 38; cf. also Daniel Garrett's 'Kentian Gothic', octagonal pavilion at Aske Park, Yorks. of c.1735, reproduced in Watkin, op.cit., 99. (Ware's volume, while undated, was being advertised in 1731).
 - 2 J Gibbs, Op.cit., pl. 44, plan; cf. also the plan to pl. 43.
 - 3 G. Montano, Li Cinque Libri, (1684), II, pls. 9, 34, III, pl. 4.

Perhaps more influential for the Palladians of the 1720s and 30s, however, was Mariette's collection of French designs of the 17th and early 18th centuries, published in 1727 and thus presumably quite accessible to Kent and his contemporaries. Mariette's plates not only included internal octagonal rooms but also featured a profusion of elliptical and three-sided canted bays, and it is possibly more than coincidence that only a few years after the appearance of Mariette's volume William Kent was experimenting with similar projecting octagons in his designs for Esher (see below).¹

Kent was not the first Englishman to use the canted bay: the device appears to have been first utilised in England not by the Palladians but by exponents of the Baroque. The demolition of Panton Hall in Lincolnshire in 1960 revealed that John Carr had only added the wings to the house. John Harris has recently assigned the authorship of the central portion of c.1719 to William Talman, citing the resemblance of the plan to the large, projecting oval saloon of the latter's Castle Howard scheme (which itself was derived from 17th century precedents such as the Château de Turny).² William Angus' Select Views of Seats of 1792, however, credits the Hall to Hawksmoor, and the application of canted bays on all four arms at Ockham Park, Surrey - refaced in 1729 by Hawksmoor³ - certainly suggests that

1 J. Mariette, L'Architecture Francaise, (1727), I, pl. 154 (the house of M. Paris at Bercy), I, 170 (Tannevot's Pavillon de Bois at the Château de Bagholet), II, 202 (Courtonne's Hotel de Matignon), II, 282 (the Palais de Bourbon) and II, 312, 317, 318 (Sceaux).

2 J. Harris, William Talman, (1982), pp. 41-2, pls. 44, 76, 77. See plate 81.

3 See L. Whistler in Country Life, 29 Dec 1950. (These bays were not featured in the sketch map of the Jacobean house made in 1706). I am grateful for the help of Richard Hewlings in this matter.

this attribution seems the more likely and that Hawksmoor (either through his study of foreign texts or his observations of Gothic bays and oriel windows) was indeed acquainted with the concept of the three-sided bay. The canted bays at Ockham are particularly interesting for two additional reasons: firstly, the bays at the front, in contrast to later Palladian practice, are pierced in the centre by strong vertical divisions (Laurence Whistler's 'unorthodox centre mullions'); secondly, Ockham is only a few miles away from the first full-blooded application of the canted bay in classical England, Kent's Esher. Talman, nevertheless, may also have used, or at least intended to use, the form: a sketch for the Duke of Bolton's house at Abbotstone, putatively by Talman, features strongly-formed canted bays - internal dividing walls springing from each angle of the bay, on each side of a square block.

Early Palladian architects failed to exploit the spatial potential of the canted bay. Two architects of the period - both Scots - inserted three-sided bays into their facades: Colen Campbell at Compton Place, Sussex (1726) and William Adam at the rear of his Cumbernauld House of 1731.² It was William Kent who became the first British architect to use a canted ^{bay} to front an octagonal room, establishing a formula which was to recur frequently in the works of Robert Morris and subsequently in the buildings of mid-century architects Kent's designs for Esher, now in the Victoria & Albert Museum,³ feature an astonishing multiplicity of canted bays, most of which front rooms of a regular or extended

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- 1 Ashmolean Library, Gibbs Collection II/28 and Bodleian Library, Gough Maps 10 f.37. In the former Talman's name is appended but crossed out.
 - 2 Ed. J. Harris, Catalogue of the R.I.B.A. Drawings Collection: Colen Campbell, (1973), fig. 4; W. Adam, Vitruvius Scotius, (1812), pl. 126.
 - 3 See plates 169-71 (on loan to the R.I.B.A.).

octagonal shape; one highly eccentric scheme includes ten such bays attached to the main body of the house (four at the front, four at the rear, and two at the side), in addition to the canted bays on each of the four facets of the forward-projecting, cruciform wings.¹ Three-sided bays subsequently appeared on other buildings by Kent - for example, at the terminations of the wings at Rousham (1738-41) and at the house designed for Henry Pelham in London, 22 Arlington Street (begun in 1741)³ - and indeed became a feature of Gothick constructions of the 1740s, most notably Walpole's Strawberry Hill and Sanderson Miller's Gothick restorations.

While Kent pioneered the use of the canted bay fronting an octagon, however, it was Robert Morris who popularised Kent's bays in a classical form that was easily accessible to contemporary architects. In his unpublished work on James Paine, Peter Leach alleges that Gibbs provided the source for Paine's octagons and canted bays; yet it has already been noted that the octagons from Gibbs' Book of Architecture either took the form of isolated, temple-like structures or were used as central halls. Leach declared that Kent was 'unlikely... as one of Paine's sources of inspiration' since designs such as the Euston Banqueting House were not published during the century and thus not available to other artists.² Nevertheless, the fact that Kent's drawings were not published does not necessarily

1 J. Harris in Country Life, 14 May 1959, and drawings in the Victoria and Albert Museum (reproduced in the R.I.B.A. Drawings Collection). I am very grateful to Mr John Harris for information on Esher and other related subjects.

2 P. Leach, 'The Life and Work of James Paine' (1975; unpublished D.Phil. thesis, Bodleian Library, Oxford).

3 See plate 174,

indicate that they were unknown to contemporaries. A number of the Esher drawings have been attributed to the hand of Stephen Wright, who appears to have succeeded Henry Flitcroft as the principal draughtsman of the Burlington circle; his hand suggests that Kent was running a formal office, with Wright as his draughtsman, by the early 1730s. If this is the case then drawings in the office would surely have been readily accessible to fellow architects and other architectural experts such as Robert Morris - Kent's office presumably being sited within the artistic mecca of Burlington House.¹ It is, perhaps, significant that in the writings of Robert Morris that precede the Esher drawings - his Essay in Defence of Ancient Architecture of 1728 and the Lectures of the early 1730s - no octagons or canted bays appear, while in his later works, most notably The Architectural Remembrancer of 1751, canted bays are remarkably common.² It may also be of some significance that Esher was not far from Morris' own house at Twickenham; furthermore, at the same time that Esher was being built small canted bays were appearing at the Duke of Argyll's house at Whitton, Middlesex, which was not only very near Twickenham but was also by Robert Morris' cousin, Roger Morris.

While Kent may well represent the prime inspiration for Robert Morris' canted bays, Morris himself could possibly be the immediate source for James Paine's use of this motif. According to Peter Leach, Paine was in London by 1750, so would have been in the capital at the

¹ Information kindly supplied by Mr John Harris.

² AR, pls. 13, 18, 20, 34; cf. also The Modern Builder's Assistant, (1757), pl. 35 and RA pls. 2, 30 and passim.

very time Morris was publishing the designs of Rural Architecture (1750) and The Architectural Remembrancer. (By this time Kent was dead).

While Paine's architectural practice was largely limited to Northern England he was, as Leach persistently points out, by no means a provincial in terms of both style and output (hence the oft-repeated remark of Hardwick's that Paine and Taylor 'nearly divided the practice of the profession between them...till Mr Robert Adam entered the lists'),¹ and he was soon introducing newly-fashionable elements such as Morris' canted bays into his villas. Three-sided bays feature prominently at the termination of the wings at Serlby Hall, Notts. (begun in 1754), on the front of the two compact wing blocks at Stockeld Park, Yorks. (begun in 1758), at Moor Park in Surrey (begun in 1770), on the Temple of Diana at Weston Park, Staffs., (begun c. 1765), at Wardour Castle, Wilts. (begun c. 1770), and elsewhere.² Paine even uses canted bays in an asymmetric fashion: one is applied to the corner of the south front at Sandbeck Park, Yorks., and two at different levels on the side elevations of Brocket Hall, Herts. (- a treatment which parallels what Binney termed Taylor's 'asymmetrical, even rococo' use of the same device).³

Paine was not the only architect of the mid-18th century to make use of Kent and Morris' canted bays; indeed, during the three decades

- 1 W. Chambers, ed. Gwilt, Treatise on Civil Architecture, (1825), Introduction.
- 2 M. Binney, "The Villas of James Paine" in Country Life, 20 and 27 Feb., 6 Mar. 1969, 409, 468. Cf. J. Paine, Plans, Elevations and Sections..., (1767), I, pls. xli, lxx, xxxi and Leach, op.cit, fig. 57.
- 3 J. Paine, op.cit, pls. xlvii, liii; M. Binney, Sir Robert Taylor, 41. (The asymmetrical bay at Sandbeck interestingly echoes that at the rear of one of Kent's Esher schemes).

following the appearance of Morris' last works they were commonplace. The pavilions at Isaac Ware's Wrotham Park, Middlesex (begun in 1754) have half-octagon fronts, and indeed bear an uncanny resemblance to Morris' half-octagonal 'tower-room' in The Architectural Remembrancer, a publication which appeared only three years before Wrotham Park's commencement.¹ Two canted bays project from the wings at Henry Keene's Hartwell House, Bucks. of 1759-63; while The Modern Builder's Assistant of 1757 not only features posthumous engravings by Morris with this motif, but plans by Timothy Lightoler which mirror those in Morris' earlier works.²

Three-sided bays appear on the pavilions of Carr's Oakland House (1760-70),³ and Carr's personal copy of Morris' Select Architecture, now preserved in Sir John Soane's Museum, includes a number of sketches by Carr for buildings with canted bays which are much in the manner of the plates of that volume.⁴ As David Watkin has remarked, at Kirby Hall in Yorkshire even Burlington, in partnership with Roger Morris, appears to have added canted bays to a house; the fact that Kirby was not finished until some years (Colvin suggests a date of 1755) after the death of both Burlington and Roger Morris, however, implies that the house was completed, and the bays affixed, by another hand -

1 VB, V, pl. 46; AR, pl. 14. See plate 167 below.

2 Bodleian Library, Top. Gen. b. 55; William Halfpenny, etc., The Modern Builder's Assistant, (1757; see p. above), pls. 35 (Morris), 53-5 and 61 (Lightoler).

3 VB, V, pls. 18-19. See plates 178-80, below.

4 John Carr's copy of Morris' Select Architecture, (1755) in Sir John Soane's Museum, London: drawings to the rear of Morris' pl. 1 (plan and elevation), opposite pl. 4 (plan of Aston House) and opposite pl. 5 ('Design for...Errington Esq.', i.e. for Chesters of 1771).

- probably Carr's.¹ Nevertheless, other instances can be found where Roger Morris was definitely known to have employed canted bays - a usage which suggests a close professional relationship between the two Morrisises (see above, ch. 2). As well as the 1½-storey bays at Roger Morris' Whitton (c. 1732-9), bows similar to those executed on the south front of Saltram, Devon, around 1750 are apparent in the trompe l'oeil drawing of the house, done for Lady Catherine Parker in the late 1740s; this in turn is remarkably similar to a Roger Morris drawing of the same period currently at the R. I. B. A. Drawings Collection.² Canted bays also appeared on Gothick buildings at this time, although it is difficult to determine whether they were directly inspired by Esher, by Morris' engravings or by medieval Gothic examples; they feature at Horace Walpole's Strawberry Hill, and are prevalent in the works of Sanderson Miller, such as Radway Grange, begun in 1744, Arbury, begun in 1748, and Honington Hall, where Miller was employed as 'consultant' between 1755 and 1760.

The mid-century Palladians' treatment of the canted bay did not merely involve the application of a three-sided bay or half-octagon on to the exterior of a building: to emphasise the aesthetic effect of the octagon motif, as well as to produce a more spatially compact design, architects, following Kent and Robert Morris, frequently placed an octagonal room behind the corresponding bay, creating the impression

1 Watkin, op.cit., 99. Cf. attributions to both Morris and Burlington in British Library, King's Maps, xlv, 24-1, and in VB, V, pls. 70-1; The King's Maps drawing is inscribed 'Executed, and the inside furnishings by J. Carr Architect'. See plate 78 , below.

2 See J. Cornforth in Country Life, 27 April, 4 May, 11 May 1969 and H. A. Tipping, English Homes, VI, 167. The drawings in the R. I. B. A. Drawings Collection were kindly brought to my attention by Mr John Harris.

of a room thrust dramatically through the wall's surface. This idea not only features conspicuously in Morris' Rural Architecture (plate 2 has a central, three-windowed canted bay at the rear of the house fronting a large, octagonal room which in turn leads onto a circular central hall, while plate 30 has four projecting octagonal rooms within a square plan); the concept is also evident in the architecture of Carr, Paine and especially Sir Robert Taylor. Carr employed the exact formula of plate 2 of Rural Architecture on two occasions: a large octagonal room projects from the rear of a basically square block in his plan for Thoresby, Notts. (1767-71), while the plan of Aston Hall, Yorks. (1771-2) also has a corresponding canted bay at the front in place of Morris' rectangular entrance porch.¹ (The link between Carr and Morris is further cemented by Carr's sketch, in his own copy of Select Architecture, of a plan for 'Aston House' (opposite Morris' plate 4), a drawing that very closely resembles Morris' design two plates earlier in the same book).² James Paine used projecting octagonal rooms at South Ormsby - his plan in the Lincolnshire record office features both a projecting room at the front and simple canted bays at the sides³ - while Taylor employs a similar formula at his exceedingly compact Asgill House, where a dominating octagonal room pierces the rear wall in a three-sided, three-windowed bay, and is reflected by canted bays on the side walls.⁴ Many of Taylor's other houses follow the same Morrisian pattern: three-sided rear projections flanked by two regular canted bays at

1 VB, V, pl. 11. See plates 181, 179 below.

2 Select Architecture, pl. 2 - plate 181, below.

3 Lincolnshire Record Office, Massingberd-Mundy MSS. See plate 176 below.

4 See plates 187-8, below.

the sides dominate the plans of Danson Hill (1760-5), Purbrook (1770), Sharpham (1770), Mount Clare in Roehampton (convincingly attributed to Taylor by Anne Riches) and Barlaston Hall, Staffs (1756-8), where the rear projection is metamorphosed into an elliptical bay.¹ All of these examples correspond closely to the plans illustrated by Morris in plates 2 and 30 of Rural Architecture.

(3) ROBERT MORRIS AND THOMAS JEFFERSON

Robert Morris' role in popularising the octagonal room and the canted bay was not limited to the British Isles: Thomas Jefferson, Third President of the United States and America's first major native-born architect, made extensive use of Morris' works in his domestic architecture.²

In Professor Doreton Nichols' opinion, Jefferson's architectural sources merely comprised 'the Roman revival, as interpreted by the French classicists and by Palladio', which he believed Jefferson synthesised into a peculiarly American style based on 'native American materials and traditions of craftsmanship'.³ However, Professor Nichols and other American architectural historians have perhaps been too ready to relate Jefferson's architectural development to the Anglophobe bias of his politics. Certainly Jefferson did not seek to base his designs on the works of late eighteenth century British contemporaries such as

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- 1 VB, IV, pl. 74; Sir Robert Taylor, 49-50 and pls. 40, 50, 51; plan (redrawn) in A. Riches, "Mount Clare, Roehampton" in Architectural History, vol. 27, (1984), 257; Sir Robert Taylor, pl. 37. See pls 186, 190.
 - 2 See S. Parissien, "Thomas Jefferson and English Palladianism" in Apollo, Oct. 1986.
 - 3 Ed. F. D. Nichols (and Massachusetts Historical Society), Thomas Jefferson's Architectural Drawings, (1960), 5.

Chiswick House, or single, temple-like features.¹ Certainly Jefferson does make use of the Book of Architecture design for a pavilion at Down Hall, a feature which is not originally Gibbsian but was in turn borrowed from Palladio² (and was subsequently used by Kent at the Richmond Gardens Hermitage and the Euston Banqueting House and by Robert Morris on numerous occasions in his Rural Architecture);³ the drawing in the Massachusetts Historical Society collection for a garden temple (dated c. 1778) is actually inscribed 'Gibbs Architecture plate 69'.⁴ Nevertheless, this single octagon with two adjoining square rooms represents merely a single, simple unit, and does not correspond to the more sophisticated contexts of Monticello and other Jeffersonian houses; both in planning and execution these houses are far more to the engraved plates of Robert Morris than to James Gibbs.

The projecting, dominating octagonal rooms so common in Jefferson's domestic architecture have rarely been assigned definitive sources. Most writers have followed Adams in tentatively suggesting a link with Robert Morris - (plate 2 of Select Architecture, Adams admits, 'may have suggested to Jefferson the octagonal saloon that projects from the middle of Monticello's rear facade') while affirming Jefferson's own role in developing this feature. 'Jefferson's use of the octagonal form in the planning of space', declared Adams, 'became a kind of Jeffersonian signature and appears earliest in the

1 Eg. J. Gibbs, Book of Architecture, (1728), pls. 44, 69, 80, 81.

2 Palladio, IV, pl. 42.

3 Eg. RA, pls. 12, 24, 31, 50.

4 Cf. also Jefferson's (attributed) study for the Governor's House at Richmond, Virginia, of c.1783: Massachusetts Historical Society, Coolidge Collection, drawing 104, reproduced in F. Kimball, Thomas Jefferson, Architect, (1916). See plates 191-3, below.

Adam, Chambers and Wyatt; instead he turned for inspiration to the solid, plainer and less fussy English Palladianism of Robert Taylor, James Paine, and in particular of Robert Morris. Jefferson's debt to Morris, while noted by W. H. Adams and others,¹ has been generally somewhat overlooked. As recently as 1983 W. H. Adams cited Jefferson's ownership of a copy of Robert Morris' Select Architecture of 1755 - which 'had been acquired in 1770 or 1771' - yet still implied that the influence of English models was slight, insisting that 'in [Jefferson's] rejection of the dominant English architectural style there was an unacknowledged effort to discover a building style expressive of the American experience itself'.² Architectural historians have rather preferred to attribute the origin of the Jeffersonian octagon to Gibbs. Much has been made of Gibbs' somewhat limited influence on Jeffersonian Palladianism, while Morris and the later English Palladians have been to a large extent ignored. Nichols, for example, stated that Gibbs' Book of Architecture and (more obscurely) his Rules for Drawing were instrumental in the evolution of the early Monticello designs, and that 'Jefferson's fondness for the octagon shape may have been inspired by Gibbs' Book of Architecture plates 67 and 69, from which he made sketches for garden temples for the terraces at Monticello'.³ However, Gibbs never used the octagon in the context of Monticello and other Jeffersonian houses, where it thrust through the wall in dramatic fashion: Gibbs' octagons were either central rooms, in the vein of Burlington's

1 Ed. W. H. Adams, Jefferson's Monticello, (1983), 52: Adams notes that pl. 37 of Select Architecture '...appears to be the source for an early study of Monticello'.

2 Ibid., p. 23, 25.

3 F. D. Nichols in ed. W. H. Adams, Jefferson and the Arts (1976), 164-5.

final plan of the first Monticello'.¹ What Adams and others fail to note is that the device of a large, projecting octagon had already been popularised by Kent and Morris and thirty years before it became a 'Jeffersonian signature' it was already, or has been noted, a characteristic hallmark of the houses of Sir Robert Taylor. Plans for a house at Poplar Forest, Virginia (Coolidge Collection drawings 185-90) both resemble plate 30 of Robert Morris' Rural Architecture and are strikingly similar to the compact, octagon-dominated arrangement used by Taylor at Asgill House. Indeed, as built, Poplar Forest, with its four internal octagons and square central room, owes much to Kent and particularly to Robert Morris in plan ('novel in America and distinctive at any time')² and elevation:³ the plan derives from plate 17 in book II of Kent's Designs of Inigo Jones; plate 30 of Rural Architecture/Select Architecture may have suggested the four octagons set round a square; while the elevation (Coolidge Collection drawing 195), with its high attic over a pedimented portico, closely resembles a number of Morris' designs.⁴ Plans for the Governors Houses at Williamsburg and Richmond (see plate 191) are remarkably similar to various examples of Morris' plates,⁵ while the design for Barboursville (plate 191) closely follows the plan of Taylor's Morris-inspired Asgill House and Jefferson's sketch for Edgemont⁶ replicates the plan for Taylor's Purbrook. Only rarely, and in his later drawings, does Jefferson depart from the Morris/Taylor pattern,

1 Jefferson's Monticello, 52, 26; see plates 192-3.

2 F. Dumas, The Sage of Monticello, (1971), 15.

3 Coolidge Collection drawing 194.

4 Eg. AR, pl. 24; RA, pls. 17, 32, 43.

5 Eg. AR, pls. 15, 34; RA, pls. 2, 18, 27.

6 Reproduced in Guinness and Sadler, Mr. Jefferson, Architect, (1971), 90.
See plate 187, below.

and generally these deviations simply include a greater number of large octagonal rooms. In a late sketch for Poplar Forest Jefferson reflected the Asgill plan about its principal front, creating projecting octagons at both front and rear,¹ while octagonal rooms protrude from every side of the building in the designs catalogued as Coolidge Collection drawings 199 (designated as a project for the McRae House in Richmond, Virginia of c. 1809 by Kimball), 216-17 ('a retreat') and 219-20 ('urban dwellings').

Even Thomas Jefferson's most renowned design - the house at Monticello, Virginia, which he built for himself - is firmly rooted in the style of Robert Morris and his fellow-Palladians of the period. The stepped octagonal dome of Jefferson's house distinctly resembles both engravings in Robert Morris' Rural Architecture² and Burlington's Chiswick House - a building Jefferson is known to have visited in 1786, when, with some irony, he publicly condemned the dome for contributing 'an ill effect'. In addition, the dome is highly reminiscent of two plates (49 and 53) in Isaac Ware's A Complete Body of Architecture of 1756.³ Professor Kimball acknowledged 'a family resemblance' between the plans for Monticello and Morris' engravings,⁴ while Professor Nichols has associated the dome of Jefferson's home with plate 43 of Morris' Select Architecture; yet W. H. Adams, while mentioning that the latter plate 'has many elements in common with Jefferson's design for the west front of Monticello', notes merely that the 'pedimental enframing of the central door' is identical to that in Morris' project and prefers to concentrate on comparisons between the Virginia house

1 See plate 193, below.

2 RA, pls. 32, 47.

3 See plate 167.

4 F. Kimball, op.cit., 25.

and Gibbs' garden temples.¹ However, it does appear that the majority of the early versions of Monticello (Coolidge Collection drawing 139 and passim), as well as the house as ultimately executed, are based on formulas originally evolved by Morris in plates 2 and 30 of Rural Architecture. Adams does at one point indicate that the corner octagonal projections at Monticello 'may have been inspired by a similar plan of a villa designed by Robert Morris',² but once again fails to note the undoubted debt to Taylor. Elsewhere Nichols does remark, however, that the solution adopted for the interior of the Rotonda at Jefferson's University of Virginia is not unlike that suggested by Morris in plate 30 of Rural Architecture, four oval rooms replacing Morris' four octagonal spaces.³

It must be remembered, though, that at the same time as Jefferson was employing Morrisian plans for his villas, in Britain itself Robert Adam was beginning to take the concept of the projecting room and resultant bay in a different direction, experimenting with more harmonious elliptical and semicircular shapes, which he used to front not octagonal but oval or lozenge-shaped rooms. John Fleming has hinted that Robert Morris was an early influence on the Adams: he mentions Robert Adam breakfasting with Morris and alleges that the latter's literary products were a key influence on James Adam (while also mistakenly attributing to Robert Morris a role at Inveraray).⁴ Nevertheless, following his sojourn in Italy Robert Adam evolved a style which owed little to Morris and which utilised

1 Jefferson's Monticello, 97, 92.

2 Ibid., 84.

3 Jefferson and the Arts, 166.

4 J. Fleming, Robert Adam and his Circle, (1962), 89, 111,

Italian rhythms and Neo-classical motifs. Adam's design for Luton Hoo (begun in 1766), for example, with its repeated three-windowed, elliptical bays and multiplicity of aspidal terminations, neatly encapsulates the widening gap between Adam and Morris and his fellow-Palladians of two previous decades.¹ (See plate 194.)

(4) ROBERT MORRIS AND SIR ROBERT TAYLOR

Another of Morris' major achievements in the area of practical design was the popularisation of the concept of the small, astylar villa. As has already been noted, Morris deliberately avoided undue concentration on celebrating the great house in his later works, preferring to emphasise the benefits of the 'plain little Villa'.² In this, again, Morris appears to have been heavily influenced by his cousin; his plates in turn, were to influence architects such as Sir Robert Taylor. Roger Morris' preference for astylar facades and smaller building units, exhibited in such buildings as Marble Hill House, Combe Bank and Kirby Hall, was reflected in Robert Morris' engravings: many of the designs in Rural Architecture and The Architectural Remembrancer were devoid of columns or pilasters and bear a marked resemblance to the villas of Roger Morris in their compact cubism.³

1 The Works in Architecture of Robert and James Adam, (1773), Vol. I, section III, 'Plan of the principal Story of Luton Park House...'.
 2 RA, Preface.

3 EG. RA, pls. 2, 13, 16 and passim; AR, pls. 13, 18, 20, 22, 34.

After the death of Roger Morris and the appearance of Robert Morris' last works it was Sir Robert Taylor who fully realised the latter's ideal of the astylar villa. His great rival, James Paine, was more conservative in approach than Taylor, and tended to specialise in larger houses; with some notable exceptions (for example, Stockeld Park in Yorkshire),¹ these houses generally had a large portico applied to one of the principal fronts. Taylor was more daring in design, and was responsible for the further development of the type of villa Morris had advocated in Rural Architecture and The Architectural Remembrancer. In his biography of Taylor, Marcus Binney merely emphasised the architect's 'ingenious and original development of the Palladian villa';² however, many of Taylor's plans and elevations do bear a remarkable affinity to Morris' designs, which were appearing in print just at the time that Taylor was beginning his first full-scale commissions.³ Not only does the plan of Asgill House, for example, closely resemble Morris' printed models: in addition the elevation of the villa is in the form of a double pediment, a visual device favoured not only by Palladio but also by Morris.⁴ Similarly, Mount Clare not only possesses a plan based on that suggested by Morris in plate 30 of Rural Architecture, but also a garden front remarkably similar to that provided by Morris for the same design.⁵ Most significantly,

1 J. Paine, Plans, Elevations and Sections..., (1767), I, pls. xliii-xlvi.

2 Sir Robert Taylor, pl. 39.

3 Eg. RA, pls. 1-3. 11 and passim.

4 VB, iv, pl. 74; AR, pls. 10-12.

5 Cf. A. Riches in Architectural History, (1984) (plate 189, below).

Taylor's first major work - Harleyford Manor, near Marlow in Buckinghamshire (built in 1755) - demonstrates that its author was well acquainted with Morris' recent publications. Undoubtedly many elements of the house were original, for example the exceedingly compact plan, the single, asymmetrical canted bay, and particularly the novel and ingenious arrangement of rooms around a central staircase (two of which, while oval in shape, open excitingly onto the windows of the large, elliptical bay). Nevertheless, the general conception of Harleyford owes much to Morris, both in the planning of the first floor (which again echoes plate 2 of Rural Architecture) and particularly in the arrangement of the elevations, which distinctly resembles the five-bay, astylar elevation of the 'house commanding a view of the Park or Gardens, from the Arcade' engraved as plate 29 of Rural Architecture, even down to the horizontal banding on the projecting, pedimented centre of three bays.¹

1 Sir Robert Taylor, 41-2 and pls. 26-8. For Harleyford, see plate 185, below.

9 CONCLUSION

Both Roger and Robert Morris have been somewhat neglected by architectural historians. Very little was known about either figure prior to the Country Life correspondence on the Morrises of 1944, and even in recent years the two have been confused, Roger's buildings being on many occasions assigned to Robert. Robert Morris' books have in general been rather cursorily examined, and frequently judged as being of only limited value. Modern commentators have tended to view Robert Morris in an architectural vacuum, ignoring in particular the sizeable influence his works exerted on the subsequent generation of British architects. Roger Morris has been similarly undervalued: he has been depicted as a second-rate architect, as a designer markedly inferior to contemporaries such as Colen Campbell and William Kent, and as a simple craftsman who merely provided the technical prowess necessary in realising the architectural schemes of the 'Architect Earl', the 9th Earl of Pembroke.

Following an examination of their work, however, the Morrises appear not as supporting but as leading figures in the Palladian movement. Roger Morris was not purely the designer of small, uncomplicated Palladian villas, but an architect unusually skilled in both bricklaying and carpentry who was able to function both as a craftsman and the author of buildings which owed much to sources other than strict Neopalladianism. He was not merely the designer of highly individual villa-style houses but also of some of the earliest examples of the Gothic Revival in Britain; not a 'minor Court architect' but a figure who by 1727 was firmly established as the principal architect to the

Court adherents of the new monarch, George II; not merely Master Carpenter to the Office of Works, but a man of relatively humble social origins who employed his craft and designing skills to achieve considerable financial and social success; and not solely an architect or craftsman, but also a speculative builder and aspirant businessman. Indeed, one of the most important conclusions to be made is that Roger Morris was a figure of central importance in the history of the Gothic Revival in Britain.

Robert Morris, too, emerges as a figure of surprising importance. In particular, his development of such themes as the compact villa, the canted bay and the octagonal room in his works proved a major influence on subsequent British and American architects, and provided an invaluable bridge between theoretical artistic philosophy and practical design.

Clearly, then, neither Roger nor Robert Morris should remain largely relegated to footnotes. Both deserve to be hailed as primary elements in the Palladian pantheon.

APPENDIX 1:CHRONOLOGICAL CATALOGUE OF THE WORKS OF ROGER MORRIS

A: SUMMARY

(1) EXECUTED WORKS

Marble Hill House, Twickenham, Middlesex, 1724-9
 Combe Bank, Kent, c.1725
 11 Grosvenor Square, Mayfair: completion of house, 1726
 The White Lodge (New Park Lodge), Richmond Park, Surrey,
 1727-30
 Clearwell Castle, Gloucestershire, begun 1727
 Castle Hill, Devon, begun 1729
 Studley Royal, Yorkshire: outbuildings, begun 1729
 61 Green Street, Mayfair, 1730
 The Council House, Chichester, Sussex, 1731
 Adderbury House, Oxfordshire, begun 1731
 6 St James's Square, St James's: rebuilding, 1731-2
 Althorp House, Northamptonshire: stables and gardener's
 house, c.1732
 Wimbledon House, Surrey, 1732-3
 Eastbury Park, Dorset: completion, begun 1733
 Wilton House, Wiltshire: the Palladian Bridge, 1736-7
 Park Street Stables, Mayfair, 1738
 George Street, Mayfair: repairs, 1738-42
 59 Strand, Westminster, 1739-40
 Westminster Bridge site, Westminster: speculative housing,
 begun 1740
 The Whim, Peeblesshire: outbuildings, 1744
 Monkey Island, Berkshire: Fishing Lodge and Pavilion, 1745-8
 Inveraray Castle, Argyllshire, begun 1746
 19 St James's Square, St James's: remodelling, 1746-7
 Rosneath Castle, Dunbartonshire: outbuildings, c.1747
 Kirby Hall, Yorkshire, begun 1747
 Brandenburg House, Hammersmith, Middlesex: remodelling,
 c.1748

(2) UNEXECUTED WORKS

Blair Atholl, Perthshire: designs for outbuildings, 1742
 Floors Castle, Roxburghshire: alterations, 1745
 Taymouth Castle, Perthshire: alterations, 1747

(3) ATTRIBUTED EXECUTED WORKS

Goodwood House, Sussex: unexecuted designs, c.1725
 12 Grosvenor Street, Mayfair, 1727-8
 Milton House, Northamptonshire: designs for rebuilding,
 c.1728
 South Dalton House, Yorkshire, c.1728
 Argyll Street and Little Argyll Street, Mayfair: housing,
 c.1729-40
 30 Burlington Street, Westminster, c.1729-33
 Culverthorpe Hall, Lincolnshire: wings, c.1730-5
 Westcombe House, Blackheath, Kent, c.1730
 Werrington Park, Cornwall, c.1730
 Filleigh Church, Devon, 1730
 Foxhall Lodge, Sussex, 1732
 Whitton Park, Middlesex, begun c.1732
 Dodington's house, Pall Mall, Westminster, c.1732-6
 Wilton House, Wiltshire: Colonnade Room, c.1735
 Cobham Park, Surrey, c.1735
 Marford Hall, Norfolk: internal alterations, c.1735
 15 Savile Row, Westminster, 1736
 Argyll House, Mayfair: remodelling, c.1737-42
 Goodwood, Sussex: Shell House, c.1739
 Wilton House, Wiltshire: Porter's Lodge, c.1740
 Beechwood House, Hertfordshire: library wing, c.1740
 Apethorpe Hall, Northamptonshire: alterations, c.1740
 Mereworth Castle, Kent: wings, c.1740-3
 Goodwood House, Sussex: Carné's Seat, c.1742
 Mereworth Church, Kent, c.1744-6
 West Wycombe Park, Buckinghamshire: east portico, c.1754

(4) ATTRIBUTED UNEXECUTED WORKS

Goodwood House, Sussex: designs, c.1725
 Milton House, Northamptonshire: remodelling, c.1728
 Longford Castle, Wiltshire: unidentified designs, c.1742-5

B: EXPOSITION**(1) EXECUTED WORKS**

MARBLE HILL HOUSE, TWICKENHAM, MIDDLESEX

For Henrietta Howard (later Countess of Suffolk), 1724-9

Marble Hill was built as a residence for the mistress of George Augustus, Prince of Wales, later George II (see above, chapter 3). The form of the house established the cubic villa style that was to become so characteristic of Morris' work. It is uncertain, however, whether this building - Roger Morris' first identified commission - was wholly Morris' own design.

Marie Draper has traced the influence of Jones' architecture on Marble Hill, translated via Campbell's Compton Place and Burlington's Chiswick, while Stutchbury has noted the debt to Palladio - in particular his Villa Emo (plate 22) and his project for the Palazzo Capra (plate 25) - and to Scamozzi - the Villa Maldeva.⁽¹⁾ Most importantly, Marble Hill's elevations (plates 27-8) closely resemble the principal front of Campbell's Pembroke Lodge (plate 4). This suggests the influence of Campbell at an early stage in the project. Campbell may indeed have helped to 'discover' Morris through the agency of the Prince of Wales' Leicester House circle (see above, chapter 3). In the Wilton archives there is a design for Pembroke Lodge (P2/1) signed by Morris down the side - indicating either that it was a drawing exercise commissioned by Campbell or an early attempt at draughtsmanship by the young Morris. There is additionally at Wilton a drawing of Marble Hill itself, possibly in Campbell's hand.

Colen Campbell, then, was clearly involved in the Marble Hill scheme to some degree. However, his role seems to have remained a minor one, and he cannot be called the principal architect. The receipts in Norfolk Record Office show that Morris was the sole recipient of funds from Henrietta Howard, generally via the intermediaries Lords Herbert or Islay (see above, chapter 4); Campbell's name never appears in these accounts. (The receipts also demonstrate that building work began in 1724 and ceased in 1729.) Equally significant is that no name is entered as architect for the plans and elevations in Campbell's third volume of Vitruvius Britannicus (plate 27). It is likely that, given Campbell's nominal control over the composition of the Vitruvius Britannicus volumes, and generous evidence of his tendency to self-publicity, he would have not have shrunk from introducing his own name under the Marble Hill design if such an inclusion had been pertinent. It seems probable that Campbell, increasingly irked by the involvement of Morris at Marble Hill and by his gradual supercession as architect to

¹ Marie Draper and W.A. Eden, Marble Hill House and its Owners (1970), 25, 28-9; Howard Stutchbury, The Architecture of Colen Campbell (1967), 130.

the Leicester House circle at the hands of the young Englishman, deliberately omitted Morris' name from the plates.

Lord Herbert also appears to have been a major influence on the design of the house. Horace Walpole attributed Marble Hill solely to him,⁽¹⁾ and the orthodox, symmetrical regularity of the floor plans of Marble Hill and other Morris-Herbert collaborations such as the White Lodge and Wimbledon, when compared with the eccentric room dispositions at Morris' own, contemporary Combe Bank, suggest the presence of a guiding hand other than Morris'. At Marble Hill the Hall (plate 30), the Great Room above it (plate 29) and the northeast and northwest corner rooms are all square in shape, indicating a high degree of conservative Palladian planning. The screen of two columns dividing the bed from the rest of the room in what is now (since 1767) Lady Suffolk's Bedchamber, and the cubic Great Room itself, both recall Jones' interiors at Herbert's own Wilton. Interestingly, the gallery across the eastern side of the house was not, as was the custom, placed on the first floor, but situated on the attic (second) storey. However, the Breakfast Parlour on the ground floor retains an alcove putatively designed by Herbert himself (plate 29) - although it could equally as well have been the work of the carver James Richards.⁽²⁾

The interior decoration is characteristically and unremarkably Early Palladian, with heavy entablatures and much use of weighty egg and dart mouldings in the cornices and architraves. It is possible, though, to detect Morris' personal influence. Oval panels (with reliefs of unknown subjects) are used in the Hall, whilst octagonal panels appear in the ceilings of Lady Suffolk's and Miss Hotham's bedchambers. Whilst by no means unknown in the works of other Palladians, these motifs both appeared with great regularity in Morris' later works. Similarly, the characteristic Morris decorative device of three acanthus buds, each suspended from acanthus flowers, also occurs here, in the frieze of the Breakfast Parlour and on the chimneypiece in the Great Room. (The latter room is notable for its heavy gilt decoration, and particularly for the panels featuring Roman landscapes and the ponderous gilt swags by Panini.)

1 Walpole's attribution is inscribed on drawings now in the Metropolitan Museum of Modern Art in New York, reproduced in John Harris, A Catalogue of British Drawings... in American Collections (1971), pls.88-9; it also features in Walpole's Correspondence, VIII, 324, entry for September 1773.

2 The latticework wallpaper which now adorns this is a reproduction of an eighteenth century pattern originally on the walls.

Alexander Pope, Mrs Howard's neighbour at Twickenham, played a leading role in designing the garden at Marble Hill. In September 1724 Bridgeman was asked to provide a plan for the garden, but later appears to have been working under the direction of the poet.⁽¹⁾ In 1727 Pope lavished sycophantic praise on the house: messrs. Pope and Gay, he informed Mrs Howard, "think your hall the most delightful room in the world except that where you are".⁽²⁾ And in the same year Swift was utilising it - together with another of Morris' works, the White Lodge - as a stereotype of the new Palladian fashion in his satire, A Pastoral Dialogue between Richmond-Lodge and Marble Hill. (The subsequent influence of Marble Hill is discussed above, in chapter 5).

In 1750-1 Matthew Brettingham was employed to make alterations to the house, which included removing the balconies - the model for which may have been Leicester House itself - and combining two of the southwestern ground floor rooms to form the Dining Room. Brettingham may also have been the author of the Countess' 'China Room', a small closet. Andien de Clermont is reported to have decorated this room, although there is no documentary evidence to substantiate the traditional claim; his putative presence is, however, interesting in the light of the evident link between him and Morris at Monkey Island, at Wilton and (possibly) at Narford. The room was demolished in 1909.

Lady Suffolk died in 1767, and the house was occupied by a succession of tenants including, in 1795, Mrs Fitzherbert, notorious as the Catholic 'wife' of the Prince of Wales.³ In 1824 it was sold to Jonathan Peel, later a Lieutenant-General, Surveyor-General of the Ordnance in the administration of his brother Sir Robert Peel, and Secretary for War under the Earl of Derby. On the death of General Peel's widow in 1837 the house stood empty and rotting for some years. In 1900 it was bought by William Cunard, who made preparations to demolish the house and rebuild on the site. Fortunately, considerable pressure and financial aid from local authorities enabled Marble Hill to be permanently vested in the LCC in 1902.

1 M. Brownell, Alexander Pope and the Arts of Georgian England (1973), 160. At the same time Pope was rather optimistically telling William Fortescue that "Marble hill waits only for its roof - the rest finished", when this plainly could not have been the case, whilst declaring that "My gardens improve more than my writings" (ed. G. Sherburn, The Correspondence of Alexander Pope (1956), II 255).

2 Sherburn, II 436.

3 This and subsequent information from Marie Draper, Marble Hill House, Twickenham (1932).

Considerable additions were made to the house during the nineteenth century, including the provision of two decidedly mediocre wings. A stable block was added to the west by Peel in 1825-7, which still survives. At the same time the south front windows of the main house were lengthened and the decorative scheme modernised. In 1965-6 and again in 1981 the admirable Historic Buildings Division of the GLC reversed all of these accretions, adhering where possible in their sensitive restoration to the original appearance or to the inventory of 1767. More recently, Pope's grotto to the south of the house has been successfully excavated.

COMBE BANK, KENT

For Colonel John Campbell (later 4th Duke of Argyll). c.1725

Evidence for Morris' authorship of the house derives from the inscription citing Morris in Vitruvius Britannicus IV (plates 32-3) and on sketches of details of the interior attributed to Morris, now in the R.I.B.A. Drawings Collection. Combe Bank established the peculiarly Morrisian cube-with-wings formula later repeated at Westcombe, Dodington's Pall Mall house, Morris' own 61 Green Street and elsewhere. The approximate date of 1725 is based solely on annotations to a drawing of 1805 by John Carter, where elements in the entrance hall are described as being of "1726 or 27 by an Italian".

The plan of the house (plate 33) is somewhat eccentric, and suggests that - unlike, for example, at Marble Hill and the White Lodge - Morris was working solely on his own, and was as a result uncertain as to how to combine a number of complex elements into a small, symmetrical villa body. Whilst the house appears wholly symmetrical from the principal front (plate 34), the visitor actually enters into the southeast corner of the entrance hall - a singularly Morrisian effect (see above, chapter 5). The saloon projects uncomfortably from the main square, as does the principal stair on the north side, while the four towers create impossibly small rooms of only 13 feet square. All of this points to Morris' lack of experience - and possibly his desire for innovation - in matters of internal planning.

Substantial additions to the house have been paralleled by alterations to Morris' original facades. The attic windows in the towers had been removed by 1787 - the Wheatley engraving of that year omits them, as does a view of 1819 (1) - but they were evidently replaced some time after, possibly at the same time that the roof balustrades, the heavy chimneys and the new cupolas were added. Morris' heavy, pedimented entrance, with rusticated keystone, voussoirs and columns, has been substituted by a tamer projecting porch, connected to the eastern towers by a Corinthian colonnade (plate 34). The west front has been more comprehensively remodelled, the central three bays being brought forward of the towers and rebuilt with large pediment and deep ground floor windows. This facade has also been disfigured by the addition of a glass-fronted porch to the northwest tower (plate 35).

The entrance hall possesses elaborate niches and unusual oval panels which, while attributed by Carter to an unknown Italian, are reminiscent of Morris' later predilection for oval shapes. Although much of the rest of the interior, aside from the Hall, has been comprehensively altered since the 1720s, Mary Cosh alleges that the square, top-lit chamber at the top of the house recalls Morris' (or Herbert's)

1 BL, King's Maps, xvii, 33a/b.

contemporary parlour alcove at Marble Hill.⁽¹⁾ The top-lit staircase, however, (plate 36) probably postdates Morris' work, featuring as it does a large octagonal window more characteristic of 'Second Generation' Palladian practice.

The major feature of the nineteenth century is Walter Crane's breathtaking redecoration of the Saloon, of c.1879-80. During the following ninety years the house was unsympathetically extended far to the north (plate 38b), so that Morris' villa forms only a vestige of what is now the main block of Combe Bank Catholic girls' school.

¹ See Mary Cosh in Country Life, 13 July 1972, 80.

11 GROSVENOR SQUARE, MAYFAIR
Completion for Lord Clinton, 1726

In 1726 Morris was brought in to work on the Grosvenor Estate by his friend Robert Andrews, the Grosvenor agent. The completion of number 11 Grosvenor Square was assigned "to the direccion and approbacion of Mr Roger Morris, bricklayer"- a contract surviving for this work in the Devon Record Office.(1) The patron, Clinton, was a member of the Leicester House set and soon after engaged Morris at his Devon seat of Castle Hill (q.v.).

No detailed record survives of Morris' interiors, which were almost wholly altered during the nineteenth century.² In 1924 Mewes and Davis (who also subsequently 'restored' the fine Adam work at 20 St James's Square) destroyed what little was left of the eighteenth century work. The house, along with no.12 adjacent (see below), was demolished in 1961 to make way for a block of frightening banality by Fitzroy Robinson and Partners, the character of the square having already been irremediably spoilt by Saarinen's vast and out-of-scale American Embassy of 1956-60.

1 Devon RO, 1262 H/TM 2.

2 Survey of London, XL 127.

THE WHITE LODGE, RICHMOND PARK, SURREY

For King George I and King George II, 1727-30

In his Anecdotes of Painters Horace Walpole assigns the White Lodge to Herbert: "Marble Hill and Richmond Lodge", he declared, "are incontestable proofs of Lord Pembroke's taste".(1) However, both Vitruvius Britannicus IV (plate 37, below) and the accounts from the Office of Works mention only Morris. On 15 March 1726/7 the Treasury issued a warrant "for Building a Lodge for His Majesty in Richmond Parke. Estimated at £4450.13s.10d... appointing Mr Roger Morriss Clerk of the Works and Dan'll Garrett to be employ'd as Labour'r in trust".(2) (Building work continued into 1729, although payments to Morris and Garrett for specific work did not cease until late 1730.(3) Whilst Morris was clearly in charge of the site, it is possible that, as at Marble Hill, Herbert was the guiding hand here. Certainly the plan of the house was, in contrast to the roughly contemporary Combe Bank (q.v.), entirely orthodox and symmetrical in the Palladian manner.

Stylistically the exterior of the building is very typical of Morris' work, with a cubic body, tetrastyle portico and pyramidal roof with lantern and side chimneys all much in the vein of Marble Hill and the attributed house at South Dalton, also of a similar date. The principal elevation was, with a few amendments, used by Robert Morris as the illustration of his "Pavillion, or Banqueting-Room" in The Architectural Remembrancer of 1751.(4)

The wings featured in the Vitruvius Britannicus plates (see plate 37, below) are additions of 1751-2 by Stephen Wright, formerly Burlington's draughtsman.(5) James Wyatt made minor alterations in 1801, linking Wright's wings to the main house with semicircular corridors, and in 1816 Repton remodelled the grounds and introduced the wrought iron staircase. Substantial alterations have been made during the twentieth century, including the provision in 1922 of stairs below the west front portico (plate 39).

The house was occupied by members of the Royal Family throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; George V's son Prince Albert, later Edward VIII and the Duke of

1 Quoted in James Lees-Milne, Earls of Creation (1962), 66.

2 PRO, WORK 4/3. Garrett was sacked in 1737 for neglecting his duty: see ed. Colvin, History of the King's Works V 103.

3 WORK 4/3. In 1729 £360.3.3 was expended on the "Terrass Wall", indicating that the house itself was virtually complete.

4 AR, pl.33.

Windsor, was born here in 1894.(1) In 1953 Marshall Tito slept here - a seemingly obscure visit still commemorated by the Tito Room dormitory.

In 1955 Sadler's Wells Ballet School - shortly to become the Royal Ballet School - moved into the house, and what little remained of Morris' interiors were destroyed in the conversion to classrooms. The house is still owned by the Crown, however, and it is probable that the School - very overcrowded here, despite additions such as the sunken Ashton Studio of 1970 - will soon be leaving.

1 Ex inf. the Royal Ballet School.

CLEARWELL CASTLE, GLOUCESTERSHIRE

For Thomas Wyndham, begun 1723

In 1716 Thomas Wyndham inherited the Elizabethan house at Clearwell, through his first wife (and cousin) Jane; Jane was the neice of the previous owner, Francis Wyndham, who had bought the estate in c.1700, and was of the Dunraven branch of the Wyndham family (Thomas being of the Cromer branch).(1)

Thomas Wyndham was a lawyer with distinct political ambitions, who in 1722 secured the parliamentary seat of Truro through the agency of Walpole's supporter Lord Falmouth. In 1727, however, he suddenly moved to join the Opposition, and abandoned Truro for the rotten borough of Dunwich in Suffolk.(2) In 1723 his wife Jane died, and it was possibly to mark his remarriage to Anne Edwin in 1728 that he pulled down the existing house at Clearwell and had Roger Morris build a new structure.(3) This new castle can truly be called the first real expression of the Gothic Revival in England. (See above, chapter 7.)

Clearwell can be assigned to Morris on the basis of estimates for his work, now in the National Library of Wales, dated 29 December 1727 and 1 January 1727/8.(4) The choice of Morris is possibly explained by the Wyndhams' close connections with George Bubb Dodington, Morris' patron and future travelling companion. In 1734 Dodington helped Thomas' cousin Charles to a seat in Bridgwater,(5) and another cousin, also Thomas (M.P. for Poole) became a close friend of Dodington's and an habitue of the latter's house at Hammersmith (also probably by Morris).(6)

Wyndham was pleased with the new house, which, he declared, far exceeded "the family nest at Cromer".(7) The castle as

1 H.A.Wyndham, A Family History 1688-1837 (1950), x.

2 Ibid., 63.

3 National Library of Wales, Dunraven MSS, 308. The original Elizabethan mansion was most likely sited further down the hill to the south, and was not incorporated into the new house as the recent publicity for the castle suggests. I am indebted to Mr Nicholas Kingsley for his help in this and other matters relating to Clearwell.

4 Dunraven MSS, 347.

5 Wyndham, 93. At the same time Thomas Wyndham lost his seat at Dunwich as a result of his opposition to Walpole's Excise of 1733. He subsequently retired to Clearwell and became active as a J.P..

6 Ibid., 106.

7 Ibid., 117.

originally built did not include the two storey range at the rear - as evidenced by the straight masonry joint between the two sections. Dr Rowan has argued that this rear projection was probably added before Wyndham's death in 1753.(1) Thus it is possible that this, too was Morris' work. It certainly predates 1775, when it appeared in Grose's engraving (plate 83). And whilst there is no evidence to link Morris with the adjacent entrance complex, the style of the latter is identical to that of the main house, and it is therefore reasonable to assume that the two structures were built at the same time.(2)

Wyndham died in 1752,(3) and was succeeded by his eldest son Charles, who himself died in 1801. During the 1860s Caroline Wyndham employed the Cheltenham architect John Middleton to refit the interior. He supplied the house with nine chimneypieces of a chronologically appropriate derivation - designs featured in Gibbs' Book of Architecture of 1728. Most of Middleton's work, together with what Morris interiors (which were never recorded) survived, was swept away in the disastrous fire of 1929. Following this the new owner, Colonel Vereker, restored the house in a somewhat piecemeal and unacademic fashion, and on his death it was sold to a housebreaking firm, who removed the roof and floors in 1948. Fortunately the house was saved from almost certain destruction by Mr Frank Yeates, who lovingly restored the house (albeit in a rather personal fashion). Yet after its sale in 1981 Clearwell was ruthlessly stripped of many of its fittings by its new owner, who removed most of the surviving Middleton chimneypieces, substituting them with pseudo-Carolean examples of Brazilian mahogany. The enormity of his actions was only discovered when some of the smashed plaster overmantels were found on a local dump. Prompt action by Gloucestershire County Council halted this rape, and in 1983 the County arranged for the resale of the castle. The new owners, Mr and Mrs Russell-Steele, have begun a more sensitive restoration, converting the house to serve as a Country House Hotel.

1 Alastair Rowan in ed. Colvin & Harris, The Country Seat (1970), 145-9.

2 Tim Howl and Brian Earnshaw, in their A Trumpet at a Distant Gate (1985), 39, declare that this entrance suggests "the gate towers of an authentic medieval castle" and that it gives the site "a sense of organic fitness".

CASTLE HILL, DEVON

For the 1st Baron Clinton (later 1st Lord Fortescue), begun 1729

Lord Clinton, a Whig politician who owed both his peerage (of 1719) and his subsequent career to Robert Walpole, advertised his political and financial success by rebuilding his family seat at Filleigh in North Devon. He began by pompously renaming the site Castle Hill - a title which clearly proclaimed his seigneurial ambitions - and in 1723 hired the architect he had used to finish his London house in Grosvenor Square, Roger Morris (q.v.). The contract for the exterior stonework, however, specified that Morris was to work under the supervision of two aristocratic intermediaries, declaring that the work "shall be made as the Earl of Burlington and Lord Herbert shall direct".(1) Once again, then, Morris was subject to the aesthetic strictures of the leading Palladian patrons.

The executed design (plate 40) can be seen in an engraving by Rigaud of 1747, itself based on an earlier view by Wootton.(2) The centre block had been remodelled to include a Morrisian octagonal cupola (plate 42), a central pediment, and Gibbs surrounds on all of the ground floor openings. The cupola is topped by a ball finial, exactly as on the roof of Marble Hill. Characteristically for Morris, the exterior remained astylar; this fact has been rather overlooked in more recent years by Quinlan Terry, who in 1981 added a clumsy portico to the north. Morris also added low lateral wings with pedimented and heavily rusticated three-bay centres; at the extreme ends low towers in the manner of Houghton were applied, with rusticated basements and small domes.

During the 1840s Edward Blore removed the dormer windows from both the main block and the wings, eradicated the Gibbs surrounds, and inserted circular windows in place of Morris' square openings at first floor level. Most importantly, he installed a heavy mansard roof in place of Morris' more gently sloping example (plate 42). This was all recorded by Country Life in its issues of 17 and 24 March 1934 - coverage which only just preceded the disastrous fire which gutted the buildings and destroyed most of the post-Morris Rococo interiors.

After the fire the decision was made to restore the house as nearly as possible to its mid-eighteenth century state, i.e. almost as envisaged by Morris, Herbert and Burlington. The rebuilt entrance hall was placed at the rear (north) front of the house, which was subsequently disfigured by Quinlan Terry's inappropriate Doric portico (plate 43). Inside, the

1 Devon RO, Fortescue MSS, E1/93, contract dated 22 February 1723/9.

2 BL, King's Maps, XI/96.

hall opens out not to the Saloon ahead but to the side rooms - the heavy arcades of three arches framing the hall to left and right representing a particularly Morrisian device also seen at 61 Green Street and other sites (see above, chapter 5). The saloon, which lies across the south wall, retains some Kentian decoration; the doorcases have heavy entablatures, with urns surmounted by scallops set in broken pediments. A marble chimneypiece which survived both the later alterations and the 1934 fire is to be found in the southwest room; again, the style is recognisably Kentian, with bearded terms and a central motif of face mask, crescent and sunburst.

In the dining room is Wootton's view of the house, painted in 1747 (plate 44). As John Harris has remarked,⁽¹⁾ the two figures in the left foreground of the picture may be identified as the gardener (Bridgeman?) and the architect (Morris), with a sheaf of papers or drawings in his hand. If this is indeed the case, then this is the only pictorial representation of Roger Morris yet discovered.

The layout of the gardens has been attributed to both Bridgeman and Kent. Certainly some of the garden buildings have a distinctly Kentian aspect: the Hermitage, for example, is a direct quote from - or possibly antecedent of - Kent's Richmond Hermitage of 1730, whilst the triumphal arch set on a hill to the south recalls that at Rousham. The sham castle sited above the castle - which replaced the circular, domed temple shown by Rigaud - may also be by Morris, resembling as it does the subsequent composition at Inveraray: four turrets set around a central, square block. The disposition of the principal front of the castle also recalls the west end of the church at Werrington in Cornwall (see below).

The Fortescue estate villa at nearby Clatworthy can also be attributed to Morris on stylistic grounds. The inspiration for the building is decidedly Jonesian: the composition of the large pyramidal roof (long since replaced) and the tetrastyle portico strongly recalls both Jones' Queen's House and John Webb's lodge at Hale Park in Hampshire. The villa - which a recent commentator has noted "has the air of coming from Burlington's circle"⁽²⁾ - is also very reminiscent of Marble Hill and South Dalton.

In c.1900 the panelling from one of the principal rooms at Castle Hill - possibly the Dining Room - was inexplicably removed and left to decay in the stables. It was then purchased by a dealer, who sold it to the Huntington Art Gallery in San Marino, California, whence it arrived after

1 John Harris, The Artist and the Country House (1979), 223.
2 Kenneth Woodbridge in Country Life, 4 January 1979.

a particularly hazardous journey in February 1941.(1) This room (plate 44) - the only original Palladian work to have survived the fire of 1934 - includes a fine Kentian chimneypiece with terms, heavy swags and an elaborate broken pediment linking the top of the overmantel with the cornice.

1 My thanks to Shelley M Bennett, the Associate Curator at the Huntington Gallery, for this information. I am also indebted to Lady Margaret Fortescue for the free access to, and much information concerning, her home.

STUDLEY ROYAL, YORKSHIRE

Outbuildings for John Aislalie, 1729-30

In 1728 Morris succeeded the recently-deceased John Simpson as mason at Studley, where he was working under the supervision of the ailing architect Colen Campbell. That Morris was additionally responsible for the actual design of the stables here is testified to by a letter from Campbell to Aislalie of 26 August 1729, in which Campbell sharply criticised Morris' drawings and opinions.(1) The elevation of the stables in the R.I.B.A. Drawings Collection (plate) may well be in Morris' hand, and certainly features Morrisian stylistic elements. The heavy, Vanbrughian piers recall those used by Morris in the wings at Adderbury. (Interestingly, the Aislalies were well acquainted with Vanbrugh.(2)) Additionally, the repeated circular niches and the four corner turrets, each topped with a pyramidal roof, strongly suggest Morris' hand, with particular parallels in Morris' Althorp stables and the Morris-influenced office court at Inveraray (q.v.).

The stables were evidently finished in 1730, since payments to Robert Doe, the mason used by both Morris and Campbell, cease then. The main house was destroyed by fire in April 1946; during the subsequent decade the stables were converted into living accommodation, the seven arched openings being filled in.(3)

Morris was probably also the author of the fishing lodges, the cascade and the East Gate of c.1729. Plans of these features in the R.I.B.A. Drawings Collection appear to be in Morris' hand.

1 Leeds District Archives, Studley Royal MSS, VR 256, letter dated 25 August 1729.

2 See Geoffery Beard in Country Life, 10 August 1961, 285.

3 G.L.M. Goodfellow in Burlington Magazine, April 1969.

61 GREEN STREET, MAYFAIR, LONDON
For himself, 1730

In December 1727 Roger Morris bought a sub-lease for 180 feet of frontage on the south side of Green Street from Thomas Barlow and his friend, the lawyer Robert Andrews, who had in turn secured the lease from the original freeholder Sir Richard Grosvenor in March 1725.(1) This site was conveniently near his current residence on Oxford Street to the north (see chapter 2, above). Morris kept a large plot of 75 feet in frontage for himself by an agreement of 1730 (2), and sublet the remainder to builders and craftsmen, all of whom figure frequently in his subsequent bank transactions as recipients of sums for work performed at various Morris houses - William Gray, John Brown, Richard Oakman, the carver and plasterer James Richards (who took no.60, next door to Morris) and the carpenter Robert Umpleby (see chapter 4, above).(3) In 1730 he is first recorded as a resident at no.61 in the parish ratebooks.(4)

The planning of the house reflects the form of Morris' Combe Bank, built about five years previously, and it has often been pointed out that no.61 represents Morris' favoured cubic country house design, adapted for a London street. At Green Street Combe Bank's towers became two wings with closely-spaced windows - although the original spatial effect has since been spoilt by the 1908 extension of the central three bays over the recessed attic (see plate 45). The main entrance (plate 46) mirrors an unusual planning device also employed by Morris at Combe Bank: the visitor enters what appears from the exterior to be a wholly symmetrical house into the northeast corner of the long entrance hall, which extends to the south (the visitor's right) through a screen of two rusticated Doric columns and two similar engaged pilasters.(5) The curious motif of a screen of columns at right angles to the entrance is one that Morris uses on a number of occasions (see chapter 6, above).

The proportions of the exterior facade and of the internal rooms interestingly reflect those soon propounded by Robert Morris in his Lectures, delivered from 1730 and published four years later in 1734.(6) It is noteworthy that Robert's

1 Greater London RO, MLR 1731/5/13.

2 MLR 1730/4/178.

3 MLR 1730/4/128-9, 139, 179.

4 UCL, parish ratebooks of St George's, Hanover Square, Grosvenor Street ward.

5 This screen was unfortunately dismantled soon after 1939, but can be seen in the RCHM photographs now in the possession of the present owners, the BSI.

6 See Dan Cruickshank in AR, April 1983.

Preface to his second set of lectures, published in 1739, notes the author's 'erudition' at the hands of his kinsman Roger; thus it is quite possible that Robert was studying with or under Roger at the time of the design of no.61.

Virtually no original interiors survive from the time of Morris' occupancy, all of the current rooms being decorated in a later fashion or in modern copies of eighteenth century models. The house is unusual, however, in retaining a substantial, square garden to the rear - although the facade which faces this is a creation of the nineteenth century (q.v.).

In his will Morris directed that his house should be disposed for the benefit of his children, his second wife having already died. In 1750 his executors thus sold no.61 to John Carmichael, 3rd Earl of Hyndford for £1,250.(1) In January 1756 it was resold, to the Hon. Robert Hampden, subsequently the 4th Baron Trevor (1764) and the 1st Viscount Hampden (1776).(2) In 1773 Hampden also purchased no.60 next door, and the two houses were henceforth known as Hampden House. At the same time he added a two-storey block at the rear of no.60.(3)

By 1828 the rear elevation had been extended back six feet, a development testified to by internal structural evidence. On the death of the 2nd Viscount's widow in 1853 the site was sold to the 11th Earl of Kinnoull, and passed via a number of short-term owners to the 1st Duke of Abercorn in 1869. Abercorn made a number of alterations, executed by the office (if not by the aged person) of William Burn; this work included the heavy entrance portico of 1869-70. The current plate-glass sashes date from 1879.

In 1919 the 3rd Duke sold the house to the immensely wealthy 5th Duke of Sutherland, who in 1939 presented the house - by then in a very poor state of repair - to the government. For over twenty years it has served as the conference centre of the British Standards Institution.

1 PRO (Chancery Lane), PCC 49 Lisle.

2 MLR 1756/1/133; DMB.-

3 This and much subsequent information is taken from the RCHM's draft survey of the house. I am much indebted to Pamela Brockwell of the BSI for her great help regarding the history of this house.

COUNCIL HOUSE, CHICHESTER, SUSSEX

For the 2nd Duke of Richmond and others, 1731

In 1747 Vertue visited the town of Chichester as Richmond's guest and named Morris as the architect of the new Council House there.(1) Richmond was probably instrumental in securing the commission for Morris, who may have been consulted some years previously over projected additions to the Duke's Goodwood (see above, chapter 3) and who was most probably working at the Duke's estate during the 1740s (c.v.).

The facade of the building (plate 47), with its double temple front and unusually high attic supported by four engaged Corinthian columns, is based directly on a Morris drawing, purportedly for Eastbury, now in the Visentini album at the Royal Library.(2) This in turn was derived from Palladio's church fronts of Il Redentore and San Giorgio Maggiore (plates 20-1). (See above, chapter 5.)

Nairn and Pevsner were clearly not impressed with this simple building.(3) It is worth noting, however, that not all past critics have agreed with their dismissive verdict. Vertue, for example, declared that the Council House "has the same consummate qualities of design and finish as the Palladian Bridge at Wilton"(4) - a comment which indicates that the author was well acquainted with Morris' work elsewhere.

Although the interiors have been altered to serve municipal purposes, the exterior of the building remains largely as built.

1 Walpole Society, Vertue Note Books, V 144.

2 Royal Library, Windsor, Consul Smith Drawings 10570. See below, plate 59.

3 Ian Nairn and Nicholas Pevsner, The Buildings of England: Sussex (1965), 172. See above, chapter 5.

4 quoted by Christopher Hussey in Country Life, 17 March 1944, 472.

ADDERBURY HOUSE, OXFORDSHIRE

Wings and stables added for the 2nd Duke of Argyll, c.1731

Morris' involvement at this house - the main block of which was erected, possibly to the design of James Gibbs, in the early 1720s - is testified to by drawings in the Buccleuch Collection in the Scottish Record Office. Drawings for these additions (1) include a signed drawing by Morris for the 'new gallery' dated 28 February 1730/1 (plate 50).(2)

Both of Morris' wings were apparently fronted by an arcade of nine arches, executed in a Vanbrughian style decidedly reminiscent of the wings at Seaton Delaval (plate 52). (Shortly after this work Morris was commissioned to complete Vanbrugh's own Eastbury: see below.) Following the demolition of most of the wings in 1808, however, all that survives of Morris' work is a remnant of the north wing arcade (plate 51).

The richly-ornamented gallery has also been completely altered. The Buccleuch drawings show it as a 200 feet in length and richly ornamented, with two elaborate Jonesian chimneypieces and a pedimented niche. The stable block (plate 51) was remodelled by Chambers in 1758.

The Buccleuch drawings also contain a chimney design annotated with an estimate for walling, dated 13 June 1741. This is patently not in Morris' hand, and suggests that Morris' association with the house terminated after the construction of the wings and stables.

On the death of the 2nd Duke of Argyll in 1743 Adderbury was one of the properties which did not pass to his brother, the 3rd Duke. Instead it passed to the 2nd Duke's eldest daughter, Caroline, Lady Dalkeith, who in turn sold it in 1750 to the 3rd Duke of Buccleuch. Buccleuch hired Chambers in 1758 to remodel both the interior and the stables, and at about the same time employed Capability Brown to landscape the park. Much of the fabric was lost in the 1808 demolition, although an Ionic porch was added in 1891.(3) No eighteenth century interiors survive; the house is now a retirement home.

1 SRO, Buccleuch Collection, RHP 13732 and passim. See also Mary Cosh in Country Life, 13 July 1972, 81.

2 Buccleuch, RHP 20693.

3 Jennifer Sherwood and Nikolaus Pevsner, The Buildings of England: Oxfordshire (1974), 417.

6 ST JAMES'S SQUARE, WESTMINSTER

Rebuilding work for the 1st Earl of Bristol, 1731-2

In January 1729 the stables at no.6 St James's Square collapsed, and in June of that year the owner, the Earl of Bristol, began remodelling the whole house.(1) Progress on the house was obviously slow, for only in 1731 was Bristol authorising payments to Morris for "surveying and measuring".(2) Payments were also made to the craftsmen William Blakersley the bricklayer, James Collishaw the painter and Francis Sanders the plasterer; these are all names which recur frequently in Morris' bank accounts at Hoare's and Coutts. The finished house was, from the exterior, a wholly unremarkable two-bay town house (see plate 71).

In 1741 the 1st Earl gave his eldest son Lord Hervey the use of the house; after Hervey's death in 1743 it passed to Bristol's grandson, later the 2nd Earl. It was this latter Lord Hervey - not the former, the famous diarist and Court wit - who was involved in the dispute with his neighbour the Earl of Strafford over the party wall of 5/6 St James's Square in 1748; this dispute was adjudicated by Robert Morris, on the advice of the 1st Earl. Robert may have been chosen through Roger's earlier involvement at the house. certainly he was preferred to Henry Flitcroft, whom the 1st earl judged "as extravagant an overvaluer of his skill and time as any of his brother pick-pockets".(3)

In the early nineteenth century the 4th Earl asked George Dance the Younger to prepare designs for a new house, but subsequently hired John Field to rebuild the house in 1819-20. What little remained of Morris' work disappeared in 1953 when the house was pulled down to make way for the brooding and highly unsympathetic new London headquarters for Rio Tinto Zinc.

1 Survey of London, xxix, 103.

2 Ickworth MSS, reproduced in ibid., 104.

3 BL, Add. MS 22254, ff.17-19, and ed. S.H.A. Hervey, Letter Books of John Hervey, 1st Earl of Bristol (1894), 348-9, 351-2, 355.

ALTHORP HOUSE, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

Stables and Gardener's House for the 5th Earl of Sunderland (later the 3rd Duke of Marlborough), c.1732

These two buildings derive their approximate dating and their attribution from the evidence of an undated letter of 1732 or 1733 by the 1st Duchess of Marlborough, in which she mentions the architect by name:

I find he [Sunderland] is disatisfy'd with Mr Morris's demands... I found by what he did say that there is a great deal more than the stables, and some in the park... whatever the expense may bee I am sure Althorp is much the worse for it.. but I believe that there is now built stbales for a hundred horse or near it.(1)

The Duchess' characteristically caustic remarks surely owe more to her then current antagonism with Morris and Pembroke at her own Wimbledon House (see below). Sunderland himself does not appear to have been wholly "disatisfy'd" with Morris, since he used him again a decade later when, as 3rd Duke of Marlborough, he built a retreat from the Dowager Duchess on Monkey Island (see below). The Duchess' reference to park buildings has been taken to relate to the highly Morrisian Gardener's House to the southwest of the stables. Sadly no other documentary evidence of Morris' work here has come to light in the recently-deposited Althorp or Elenheim Papers at the British Library.

The stables (plates 54-5) have been acclaimed as the finest piece of architecture at Althorp.(2) They reflect Morris' favourite form for such large structures: they are symmetrical, with four, dominating corner towers with pyramidal roofs extending one storey above the main block of two storeys. This arrangement was repeated by Morris in his designs for Milton House in the same county.(3) The portico (plate 54) is clearly modelled on the east end of Jones' St Paul's Covent Garden (plate 163). Morris' favourite Diocletian windows are also used with great frequency.

The Gardener's House (plate 53) is a small dwelling with three large arched openings - recalling Palladio's Basilica at Vicenza - and a pedimented dormer with Diocletian window inset into a pyramidal roof. This latter composition, together with the oval panels on the exterior, was re-used by Morris at Dodington's house of c.1736 (plate 69).

The Brinton Lodges at the park's south end (plate 56) are

1 Bedfordshire RO, Woburn MSS, 205 vol.II, 57.

2 Nikolaus Pevsner and Bridget Cherry, The Buildings of England: Northamptonshire (1973), 31-2.

3 Northamptonshire RO, Fitzwilliam (Milton) Drawings, 104-7. See section B, below.

less identifiable as Morris' work. Mowl and Earnshaw attribute them to Morris largely through a process of elimination, since they are missing in the Knyff view of the park of 1707 (when there is only a cottage on the site).(1) However, they are stark and primitive in composition, with disproportionately high pediments (without entablatures) and overlarge side doors with heavy Gibbs surrounds. These features contrast so sharply with Morris' sophisticated Italianate and Jonesian references at the stables and the Gardener's House that it is difficult to imagine they are the work of the same architect.

1 Tim Mowl and Brian Earnshaw, A Trumpet at a Distant Gate (1985), 27-9.

WIMBLEDON HOUSE, SURREY

For the 1st Duchess of Marlborough, 1732-3

Wimbledon House was built on the estate bought in 1723 from Sir Theodore Janssen, a former director of the South Sea Company who fared badly following the Bubble of 1720. The house built for the Duchess has as a result been frequently confused with Janssen's own mansion, which he actually managed to buty back and which he lived in until 1748.(1) In 1814 Manning and Bray, in their History and Antiquities of the County of Surrey, not only confused the two houses, but stangely attributed the Duchess' residence to Burlington, alleging that she "pulled down what Sir Theodore had built and erected a new one on the north side of the knoll on which the present house stands, after a design of the Earl of Burlington". Brayley and Britton elaborated on this version in their History of Surrey of 1850

When the Duchess became owner, she pulled down the unfinished house which Sir Theodore Janssen had raised (and on which nearly £4,000 had been expended) and built a new mansion upon the north side of the eminence... but not liking its aspect, she caused it to be taken down and had another built in a far preferable situation on the south side...

In 1906 Herbert Ellis' Bygone Wimbledon not only named Burlington as the architect but further alleged that the Earl "had to design two houses for her before she was satisfied".

1 The History (volume 20) includes "An exact survey of the house, gardens, etc at Wimbledon" made in c.1720, which shows "a house to be built by Sir Theodore Janssen" to the west of the church. This is also mentioned in the anonymous Particulars and Inventories of the late... Directors of the South Sea Company of 1721 (vol.2). Prosser (Select Illustrations of the County of Surrey (1828)) wrongly claims that the house was "built by Sir Ellis Cunliffe, from the materials of the Duke of Leeds' house in Wimbledon park", but more recently R.J.Milward (Wimbledon's Manor Houses (1902), 5) has pointed out that Cunliffe did not arrive in Wimbledon until the 1760s, and that on Rocque's map of Wimbledon of 1746 Janssen is noted as the owner of an adjacent property whilst a Mr Rush is the owner of this house. Similarly erroneous is the edclaration by Manning and Bray (later followed by other authors) that Janssen's house - a large, five-bay main block with flanking wings of three bays - was pulled down by the Duchess of Marlborough when only half finished. By the mid-nineteenth century it appears to have been transformed into Belvedere House, which survived until c.1900 (Milward, 5; also information kindly supplied by John Harris and Norman Plastow).

All of these accounts, however, blatantly ignore the attribution of Woolfe and Gandon, which is solely to Roger Morris (see plates 57-8). Additionally, the evidence of letters by the Duchess, first published in 1943 (see below), proves that Herbert was again advising Morris at the site, as he had done previously at Marble Hill and the White Lodge.

Morris and Herbert's house was not a particularly novel or ambitious design either in its external elevations or its interior planning. This may, as at the White Lodge, reflect the orthodox Palladian conservatism of Herbert; certainly the house is dramatically different to Morris' own, roughly contemporary houses at Combe Bank and Clearwell. The central block reflects the house at Marble Hill, and is placed between two projecting bays. The house burnt to the ground in 1735 and was replaced by an entirely new building designed by Henry Holland.

Given the notorious irascibility of the Duchess, it is hardly surprising that Morris and Herbert soon fell out with her. Her initial demands were not too onerous: having viewed her granddaughter's house at Woburn, she resolved in July 1732 "to have not fret work in my ceilings at Wimbledon, but only very handsome cornices". She evidently desired a simple residence as an alternative to the monstrously expensive and inhospitable Blenheim; she was, she wrote on 2 September 1732, "determined to have no one thing carved in the finishing of my house at Wimbeldon". As early as 21 July 1732, however, she was already showing distinct signs of irritation, observing that at Westcombe Herbert and Morris seemed "to dislike extremely windows in a room and yet at Blackheath... made a wall of glass". She subsequently demanded that Morris actually site the house in a hollow, so that she would not have to ascend steps to reach the principal rooms on the first floor. And during the Autumn of 1733 she brought in her own workman, "Mr Smith" (possibly Francis Smith of Warwick) to survey the house, slighting Morris and Pembroke.

The Duchess' letters of 1734 testify to a situation much like that encountered by Vanbrugh and Hawksmoor at Blenheim some years earlier. She ridiculed Morris' experienced mason George Deval for his stone carving - "which was said to be well done" - and heaped derision upon the heads of the two architects, one of whom was a fellow-peer:

... what the great architects did for me at Wimbledon was ridiculous. For they put real stone upon the shafts of my chimneys, which was expensive and a great weight only to make them ugly.(1)

1 G.S.Thompson, Letters of a Grandmother (1943), 36, 54, 70, 133.

The alleged cheapness of the original site, added to the Duchess' protestations that Pembroke and Morris had gravely overcharged her, subsequently made Wimbeldon and its architects an easy target for contemporary satirists. An anonymous pamphlet of c.1747, The Downfall of Westminster Bridge (datable on account of the chronology of the bridge scheme), included the following attack on Pembroke:

... since she's dead, all that can now be said,
Is he built her a House and for it she paid;
But the Price matters not: 'twas enough, to be sure,
From building more Houses the D--ss to cure.

Its Name I've forgot; but at present shall call
It, only for Rhime sake, by W--don Hall.
A House most commodious! and surely it ought,
As it cost dear in Building tho't cheaply 'twas bought.

And thou, great Architect, O! project not in vain,
To prop up what' sinking; but let it remain...

An interesting footnote to the account of Wimbeldon is the possibility that Morris employed the celebrated sculptor Michael Rysbrack at the house. Morris' bank account at Hoare's includes a single payment of £50 to a 'Risbrack', made on 15 June 1732.⁽¹⁾ The size of the sum suggests it was payment for carving of a chimneypiece or some other minor element of interior decoration. No site is mentioned, and it is conceivable that Rysbrack could have been used at any of the sites Morris was working at in 1732. Nevertheless, Rysbrack had recently completed a bust of the late Duke for the Duchess of Marlborough, and at the time Wimbeldon was being erected was working on the ambitious, Kent-designed monument to the Duke in the Chapel at Blenheim, a commission which suggests he was currently much in the Duchess' favour.

¹ Hoare's Bank, Roger Morris' account, Ledger 33, f.228.

EASTBURY PARK, DORSET

Completed for George Bubb Dodington (later 1st Baron Melcombe), 1733

Morris is known to have accompanied his patron George Dodington on a visit to Italy in c.1731-2 (see chapter 2). Shortly after this tour Dodington evidently commissioned Morris - by now, according to Pope, a good friend - to finish his house at Eastbury, begun for his father to Vanbrugh's designs in 1718. Morris' involvement is testified to by the annotated, signed and dated sketch of the house now in the royal Library at Windsor (plate 59).

In addition to finishing the interiors, Morris may also have made changes to Vanbrugh's exterior. Certainly the rooftop arcades shown in Vitruvius Britannicus both in 1717 and 1725 (1) have by 1733 been substituted by a more orthodox Palladian solution (see plate 59). Laurence Whistler also suggested that the piers of the side entrances "are reminiscent of Kent and could very easily be Morris".(2)

No records of the interiors survive. Dodington was created Lord Melcombe Regis in 1761; most of the house, however, disappeared when it was literally blown up soon after Dodington's generally unlamented death in 1775.

1 VB II, plates 52-3, and III, plates 15-17. Whistler (Country Life, 31 December 1948) alleged that Morris may have added the two large Venetian windows in the side towers, which do not feature in Vanbrugh's sketches but were evident in the engraving of 1725. However, Vanbrugh used similar openings in a comparable position at Grimsthorpe; additionally, 1725 was both a year before Vanbrugh's death and eight years before Morris' documented involvement.

2 Laurence Whistler, The Imagination of Sir John Vanbrugh... (1954), 175. See also G. Nares in Country Life, 7 January 1949.

WILTON HOUSE, WILTSHIRE: the Palladian Bridge
For the 9th Earl of Pembroke, 1736-7

The Palladian Bridge (plate 64) is another structure which has often been credited to the Earl of Pembroke. However, Woolfe and Gandon (plate 61) attribute the bridge to Morris alone. Furthermore, the drawings at Wilton (plate 62)(1) feature the hands not of Pembroke but of Morris and, presumably, the mason John Deval. If Woolfe and Gandon are held to be accurate - and there appear to be very few instances in the plates of Vitruvius Britannicus IV-V where they have been demonstrably wrong in their attributions (despite, for some houses, a considerable passage of time since the construction) - then it seems reasonable to assign the bridge's design to Morris - who was, however probably once more guided the by Architect Earl. Deval was clearly in charge at the site itself, as evidenced by the inscription "JD 1737" on the keystone of the bridge, an incision which also helps to date it firmly.

The source of Morris' design was Neopalladian, being taken from Palladio's idealised reconstruction of the Temple of Fortuna Primigenia in Palestrina (plate 63). (See above, chapter 5.) A drawing of this latter scheme - now in the R.I.B.A. Drawings Collection - was part of Burlington's purchase of 1719, and was thus easily accessible to Morris.

The bridge proved one of the most immediately popular of Morris' designs. Even Horace Walpole, who held that Palladio's own bridges were "only fit to be used in an opera", judged the example at Wilton to be more "beautiful than anything of Lord Burlington or Kent".(2) Morris' bridge was subsequently copied at Stowe, in Buckinghamshire, and at Ralph Allen's Prior Park, outside Bath.

1 Wilton archive, W3/8: elevations of the bridge ends, and sketch plans of the piers.

2 Ed. P. Toynbee, The Letters of Horace Walpole (1903), V 374 and II 421.

PARK STREET (now Hyde Park Street), MAYFAIR

Stables for the 3rd Duke of Marlborough and house (attributed) for Robert Morris, 1738

Early in the 1730s Roger Morris had been working for the 5th Earl of Sunderland, after 1733 the 3rd Duke of Marlborough (q.v.). In 1738 Marlborough again turned to Morris, using him to erect stables on land very near to Morris' own home in Green Street for the 2nd Troop of Horse Guards, of which he was Colonel.(1) These stables, of which no view survives, were, from the evidence of contemporary maps, evidently ranged around a central courtyard off Park Street.(2)

In 1784 the stables were taken over by the coachmaker Murdoch Mackenzie, who used them for his carriage sales; on his death in 1810 they were divided between private tenants, and finally demolished in 1914 to make way for the Green Street Garden.(3)

In 1738, Robert Morris moved to a new house adjacent to the stables.(4) Given the previous connections between the two Morrisses (see above, chapter 2), it seems likely that Roger Morris designed or at least erected a house for his former pupil. As with the stables, however, all trace of this residence has long since disappeared, the area having been comprehensively redeveloped by the 1st Duke of Westminster during the 1880s and 90s.

Also involved in Park Street from 1739 was Morris' sometime partner, the builder Benjamin Timbrell;(5) possibly the two collaborated in some fashion on the new housing being erected here.

1 MLR 1738/3/78, 1739/5/29.

2 Cf. John Rocque, A Plan of the Cities of London, Westminster and Borough of Southwark (1746).

3 Survey of London, xl, 185-6.

4 Westminster City Library, parish registers of St George's Hanover Square, Grosvenor Ward ratebooks, C84-5, C270. (See chapter 2, above.)

5 Survey of London, xl, 255.

GEORGE STREET area, MAYFAIR

Repairs to houses for the Earl of Islay, for the Charteris Trust, 1738-42

The accounts of the Trustees of Francis Charteris - among whom was the Earl of Islay, later 3rd Duke of Argyll - show that in 1738 Morris was paid a total of £1561.3.0 for repairs to the seven Trust houses in George Street, off Hanover Square.(1) It is reasonable to assume that Islay secured this work for Morris, given his frequent use of the architect elsewhere (see above, chapter 3).

In February 1740/1 Morris was paid a further £498.9.4 for "Further Repairs", and an additional £25 for surveying the houses.(2) On 12 November 1742 he received £33.1.5 for his work as a carpenter for yet more repairs to Charteris houses in Great George and New Bond Streets, where he employed his usual tradesmen such as George Mercer, the mason, and John Lloyd, the bricklayer.

1 NLS, MS 17713, f.62v. The seven houses were subsequently insured for £5,000 on 24 November 1738.

2 Ibid., f.122v.

59 STRAND, WESTMINSTER

For George Middleton, 1739-40

In 1739 the banker George Middleton initiated payments for a "House built for me by Roger Morris and Benjamin Timbrell where the New Exchange in the Strand stood".(1) The last account entry regarding this building was for 17 September 1745, when Morris was paid for "laying the floors and altering the back rooms"; yet on 21 November 1740 Morris and Timbrell had been paid £1750 for "erecting Building and Finishing the House".

The resultant house was a simple, three-bay structure, its exterior notable only for the Tuscan portico, which strongly recalled the stables at Althorp.(2) By 1800 the window in the centre of the ground floor of the Strand front had been converted into a second doorway and provided with an elaborate Rococo fanlight. By 1905 the portico itself had been removed and replaced by a heavy Greek doorway, flush with the street front; at the same time the other openings on the ground floor were swept away to make room for a new shopfront.

In 1923 the whole group of houses along this part of the Strand (nos.56-9) were demolished as part of a road widening scheme. One room, however, was rescued, and can now be seen in the Geffrye Museum in Shoreditch (plate 72).

1 Coutts & Co., George Middleton's account, ff.95,102.

2 Survey of London, XVIII, plates 57b (view, c.1800) and 62 (photograph of Strand elevation, c.1905).

WESTMINSTER BRIDGE site (west end), WESTMINSTER
Speculative housing, begun 1740

As part of the Earl of Pembroke's new scheme for Westminster Bridge, Morris, acting both as developer and architect, purchased and built on an area at the western end of the new bridge, between Parliament Street and New Palace Yard. In August 1740 he bought the leasehold of this area,(1) but thereafter found it difficult to attract tenants, swiftly blaming the ineptitude of the Bridge Commission (see above, chapter 4).(2) On the expiry of his peppercorn rent in 1742 many of Morris' newly-built properties were still vacant; even in March 1745 he was declaring that in Bridge Street there were "not... at present any one of the thirteen houses Tenanted". By the time of his death in 1749 Morris' own name was still featuring on the Rent Rolls for Bridge Street and New Palace Yard, indicating that some new properties on these sites were still empty.(3) In 1750, as directed by Morris' will, his son James sold the entire plot.(4)

During the nineteenth century all of Morris' development was swept away to enable the construction of the Victoria Embankment and the plethora of government offices and small shops on the east side of Parliament Street. (These in turn are currently (1988) being redeveloped as part of the scheme to provide Parliament with modern new office space.) Unfortunately no drawings or views of Morris' terraces survive.

1 PRO, WORK 5/94, Westminster Bridge Account Books, 23,29.

2 Eg. WORK 6/39, memorial to the Works Committee, 24 September 1740.

3 WORK 6/52, Rent Roll 1743-9.

4 WORK 6/33, Westminster Bridge Commission Minutes, 9 January 1749/50; Coutts & Co., James Morris' account Ledger 1749-50, f.150.

THE WHIM, PEEBLESSHIRE

Lake and garden buildings for the 3rd Duke of Argyll, 1744

From 1729 Islay was attempting to reclaim and improve the land of a "barren morass" on his land southwest of Leadbury in the border county of Peeblesshire. A model farm and agricultural experiments were initiated, but although Islay visited the area annually the actual day-to-day running of the site was left to Lord Milton.(1)

In 1731 Islay commissioned William Annan to build a house in the middle of this desolate moorland; here he worked under the supervision of William Adam and Alexander MacGill - both of whom were to work under Morris at Islay's Inveraray.(2) Although situated close to the hamlet of Blair Bogg, the house was eccentrically named 'The Whim'.

Drawings in the National Library of Scotland - one of which (plate 84) is dated October 1744 and endorsed "Mr Morris" - testify that in 1744 Morris was commissioned to design both an oval lake and estate buildings near to the house.(3) Certainly a signed elevation for a small garden building survives. All of these features, however, have been long since destroyed, and the lake is merely a dry bed.

1 RCHM, Peeblesshire (1967), II.

2 Cf. Mary Cosh in CL, 20 July 1972, and Lindsay and Cosh, Inveraray and the Dukes of Argyll (1973), 17.

3 NLS, Saltoun MSS, box 422.

MONKEY ISLAND, BRAY, BERKSHIRE

Fishing Lodge and Pavilion for the 3rd Duke of Marlborough, 1745-8

Monkey Island, originally 'Monk's Eyot', was in the eighteenth century a part of the Spencers' Whiteknights estate in southern Berkshire.(1) In 1738 the 3rd Duke of Marlborough - Morris' patron at Althorp and the Park Street stables in London - was unceremoniously ousted by his mother-in-law (the cantankerous Dowager Duchess) from the Little Lodge in Windsor Great Park, and subsequently took refuge on this small island in the middle of the Thames.(2)

The Duke was notoriously bad at managing money - indeed this had been one of the causes of the rift with the Dowager Duchess, who earlier in 1745 had been claiming that the Duke was "insinuating I had cheated [him] of about £40,000 by not allowing him 3 and one half per cent for all the Money his Grand-father [the 1st Duke] left at his death".(3) For some years prior to 1745 the 3rd Duke's estates had been in the hands of sympathetic trustees; among these was John, Lord Fane, subsequently Earl of Westmorland and Morris' putative patron at Mereworth and Apethorpe (q.v.). The Fane connection, in addition to Morris' proven ability at Althorp, probably secured Morris the Duke's commission for two new lodges on the island. Furthermore, the Dowager Duchess' well-publicised criticisms of Morris and Pembroke's work at Wimbledon would have served as an excellent recommendation for the Duke.

Marlborough's trustees paid a total of £8,756 for the two lodges; at the same time the Earl of Pembroke was a total of £2,277.5.5 during 1745-8.(4) This suggests that, once again, Pembroke was acting as the Duke's, and Morris', architectural consultant. Payments to Morris ceased in 1748: owing to the catastrophic state of the Duke's finances, Morris had only received £2,707 of the whole £8,756 due to him as the principal contractor by the time of his death in January 1749. The remainder was paid to his executor, Robert Andrews, in instalments of between £160 and £320 every three months until November 1755.(5) The workmen employed were largely those customarily favoured by Morris, among whom were the mason George Mercer, the carver William Perritt, the painter Thomas Morris, and his own son James.

1 Roger White, ed., Georgian Arcadia (The Georgian Group exhibition catalogue, 1987), 20.

2 David Green, The Churchills of Blenheim (1985), 85.

3 BL, Blenheim Papers, Add. MS 61451, f.170.

4 BL, Althorp Papers, D45, ff.3-4.

5 Althorp Papers, D46, f.23. Payments began on 22 July 1745 and ceased on 12 November 1755.

The two buildings (plates 76-7) are markedly Morrisian in their design.(1) The Fishing Lodge recalls the Neoclassical simplicity of the Althorp stables - also for Marlborough - and indeed re-uses the Althorp Diocletian windows on each face of the octagonal centre. The interior of the porch is decorated with singeries by Clermont, clearly intended as a reference to the island's corrupted name. These echo Clermont's earlier work at Wilton and Narford, both sites where Morris may also have been involved (q.v.). Clermont's work here is indeed the most visible expression of a potential partnership between the two figures, who were probably introduced to each other by Pembroke around 1735, when they were both working at Wilton. Clermont's scenes in the Lodge are based on Raphael's Triumph of Galatea and Caracci's Galatea, and feature various summer pastimes being performed by monkeys. Between the eight main panels are small grisaille infills depicting satyrs and nymphs.(2)

Clermont's work immediately became the principal attraction of the island. It was not, however, to everyone's taste: in 1748 Lady Newdigate visited Monkey Island and recorded that Marlborough had spent £8,000 on "only two disagreeable buildings one of which consists of a parlour and a kitchen, ye parlour painted all over with monkeys".(3) At the time of writing the singeries are in dire need of cleaning and restoration.

The Banqueting House originally possessed an open arcade on the ground floor. The room above, with its central, octagonal space, has plaster decoration of a later date featuring river and sea subjects. The two buildings now form part of a hotel complex: the Lodge is attached to the bar area, having been sufficiently mutilated to blend with the characterless modern work, whilst the Pavilion is connected on its west side to a decidedly unsympathetic and unscaled reception range (plate 77).

1 Cf. Buckler's drawings of the buildings, dated 22 February 1844 (Bl, Add MS 36536, f.210).

2 Clermont's career is described by Ingrid Roscoe in "Andien de Clermont, decorative painter to the Leicester House Set" in Apollo, February 1986.

3 Warwicks. RO, Lady Newdigate's Diary, quoted in Roscoe.

INVERARAY CASTLE, ARGYLLSHIRE

For the 3rd Duke of Argyll, begun 1746

During the lifetime of John, 2nd Duke of Argyll, attempts were made to modernise the old castle at Inveraray - a medieval structure dominated by a high tower which dated from the fifteenth century. Alexander MacGill built a small tower with connecting wings for the Duke in 1720-2, and during this period Sir John Vanbrugh appears to have been asked to put down his thoughts for a new castle (plate 89). (1) This project was, however, never executed. The 2nd Duke died on 4 October 1743 and was succeeded by his brother Archibald, who was already well acquainted with Roger Morris (see above, chapter 3). Following schemes prepared in 1744 and 1746 - which included both Gothic and Classical models for the castle (plates 90-1) - work was begun to Morris' Gothic design in October 1746.

Morris was clearly in charge at the site from the beginning of the work, despite the fact that the veteran architect William Adam was also being employed there. In December 1746 Adam assured Argyll that he was striving to make "everything agreeable to Mr Morris' Plan and Directions", and the following month Morris was requesting Adam to send him copies of all of his communications with the Duke. Whilst the day-to-day running was left in Adam's hands, Morris being generally absent in England, this did not mean that Morris abrogated responsibility for the details of the castle. In a letter to Adam of 17 March 1746/7, for example, Morris elaborates with great precision the system to be adopted for the construction of the window frames and door jambs.

Morris additionally designed the bridge over the Garron water at the entrance to Glen Shira, the execution of which he entrusted to William Adam's son John. This is testified to by both a drawing of the bridge in Morris' hand (plates 95-6) and by a letter from William Adam currently in the Inveraray archive. Drawings, apparently in Morris' hand, also survive in the archive for the estate dovecote and the tower on nearby Duniquaich Hill (plate 94), both dated 2

- 1 SHMR Photographic Library, AGD/36/91-2; Colin and Craig, Architectural Drawings... in the Library of Elton Hall (1964), pl. xxxv.
- 2 Inveraray archive, Inveraray Letter Book: Adam to Argyll, 6 December 1747; Morris to Adam, 15 January 1747/8.
- 3 Ibid.: Adam to Morris, 5 February 1747/8. "I Received you Design for the Bridge of Garron. It is Exceedingly neat and well-done, and... when finished must have a very fine appearance. John is not a Little vain of the confidence you Repose in him, as to the fixing the proportions, and if any doubts arise will communicate his thoughts to you."

October 1747. The dovecote terminates the view north from the castle; as of August 1987, however, both buildings were in a very poor state of repair.(1)

Morris also appears to have exercised a substantial influence on John Adam's later buildings for the Inveraray estate. The Old Courthouse in the town of 1755 (plate 99), which now houses the local government offices, is a variant on Morris' Marble Hill formula, with additional two-storey wings on either side. The Cherry Park offices of 1760-1 (plate 98) are remarkably similar to Morris' Althorp stables of thirty years before (plate 54); both the Diocletian windows and the squat corner towers distinctly recall both the style and the form of Morris' block.

Disastrous fires in the main house have ensured that none of Morris' original interiors survive in any form.

1 I am very grateful to Dr Lucy Raymond for her enormous help in this and other matters regarding Inveraray.

19 ST JAMES'S SQUARE, WESTMINSTER

Remodelling for the 2nd Duke of Cleveland, 1746-7

In 1720 the 1st Duke of Cleveland bought one of the seventeenth century houses on the west side of St James's Square. In 1746 his widow died in residence there, and plans were immediately laid to effect alterations for the incoming 2nd Duke.(1) Work was begun in April 1746, and in May of that year Morris was consulted and a more ambitious plan of reconstruction was implemented. By January 1747, however, Morris had been replaced by Daniel Garrett, following an acerbic disagreement with Cleveland.(2) (See above, chapter 3.)

Behind the King Street frontage Morris introduced a new entrance hall, with a Great Room above it on the site of the old main stair, and inserted a spacious new staircase behind this.(3) Bowles' view of the square of c.1752 (plate 71) shows that Morris had changed little externally.

The elevation to the square was of five bays, with a heavy cornice between the ground and first floors and a central doorway that was blocked up some time before 1836 in favour of a new entrance, with projecting Tuscan portico, on the King Street side.(4) The Survey of London points out that the impressively substantial walls at the rear of the rooms facing the square indicate that the seventeenth century plan had not been greatly altered.(5) When the main entrance was moved to King Street, this side facade was rebuilt to comprise 4 bays, the unusual length of the first floor windows emphasising that this elevation did not date from the eighteenth century. The nineteenth century also saw the installation of the attic parapet, which by the 1890s had replaced the cornice shown in Bowles' engraving and had virtually hidden the seventeenth century pedimented dormers.

After the death of the 4th Duke in 1891 the new owner, the 9th Lord Barnard, let the house fall into disrepair, pulling it down completely in 1894. The present heavy and uninspiring replacement dates from 1898-9, and is by Rolfe and Matthews.

1 A.Dasent, The History of St James's Square (1895), 102.

Dasent recorded the appearance of the house prior to its demolition.

2 Raby Castle archives, 'Plans for Raby Castle etc....' and 'Papers in Case Concerning Alterations to Cleveland House'.

3 Ex inf. Dr Peter Leach.

4 Survey of London, xxx, pl.130; Dasent, 99.

5 Survey of London, xxix, 163.

KIRBY HALL, YORKSHIRE

For Stephen Thompson, 1747-c.1755

Roger Morris' joint authorship, with Burlington, of the original design for Kirby is testified to by the annotation to the engraving of the house in Vitruvius Britannicus: "Earl of Burlington and R Morris". It is also substantiated by documentary evidence specifically naming Morris. Stephen Thompson had previously consulted Colonel James Moyser, who produced a rather unambitious scheme and subsequently, in the Spring of 1747, suggested calling in Morris.(1) No mention is made of Burlington's role in Thompson's correspondence, despite the Woolfe and Gandon credit; quite possibly, then, Burlington was merely consulted - by Morris alone? - on more general matters.

According to an annotation on the King's Maps engraving of the house John Carr actually executed the house - "and the inside furnishings" - following Morris' death and Thompson's own adaptation of the house plan.(2) Certainly the canted bays at the house are highly typical of Carr's work. (See chapter 3, above.)

The house was a five-bay block with a projecting, pedimented three-bay centre (plate 73), surmounted by a pyramidal roof much in the Morrisian manner. A Greek portico was added in c.1771 by James 'Athenian' Stuart,(3) and minor additions made to the house before its total demolition in 1920.

1 Humberside (Beverley) RO, Grimston MSS, DDGR/41. Cf. DDGR/41/5: "Morris has promised to call at Kirby in May....".

2 BL, King's Maps, xlv 24/1.

3 Colvin, 795n.

ROSNEATH CASTLE, DUNBARTONSHIRE

Stables and projected additions to the main house for the 3rd Duke of Argyll, c.1747

The Saltoun Hall Drawings for Rosneath (plates 100-5) include 18 designs of 1744 and 1747 for rebuilding the castle. Eight of these are actually dated 1744 and four 1747; the rest remain undated. Two of the former are annotated "with the Towers" in Morris' hand. Additionally, a drawing annotated and signed by Morris in the Inveraray archive letter book features a window for Rosneath, dated 9 October 1747 (plate 106). If all of the work was actually executed, then it is reasonable to assume this took place after the second batch of drawings were executed, in 1747.

It is not known, however, if Morris' proposals for substantially enlarging the main block, creating a sizeable castle with four, symmetrical corner towers in the manner of Inveraray, were ever enacted. There remain no engravings or drawings of Rosneath from the second half of the eighteenth century which can testify to the execution of Morris' schemes. And on 31 May 1802 a disastrous fire destroyed the entire fabric of the castle, which was subsequently rebuilt by Joseph Bonomi for the 5th Duke of Argyll in 1803-5. This in turn was demolished in 1961, the castle having lain derelict since a further fire of 1947.

The eighteenth century stables, however, survived intact until 1961. Although none of the Saltoun Hall drawings (photographic reproductions of which can be found in the SNMR) include proposals for this feature, photographs taken in 1961, also in the SNMR, show a building which includes many elements of Morris' personal style (plates 108-9).

BRANDENBURG HOUSE, HAMMERSMITH, LONDON

Remodelling for George Bubb Dodington, c.1748

In 1748 Dodington bought Brandenburg House from the Duke of Athol - for whom Morris had provided designs for Blair six years earlier (q.v.). Morris had accompanied Dodington to Italy in the early 1730s, and their friendship had been remarked upon by Kent on their return (see chapter 3, above). Morris may also have been the architect for Dodington's villa in St James's (q.v.). Thus it is not surprising that Dodington turned to Morris to rebuild Brandenburg. Direct evidence for Morris' authorship comes again from Vitruvius Britannicus', in Woolfe and Gandon's caption to the engraving of the house in volume IV, plates 26-7 ("R.Morris Archt."); while Woolfe and Gandon are not entirely infallible, circumstantial evidence of the close links between Dodington and Morris may help to confirm the annotation in this case.

Morris' redesigned house (plate 81) was a simple villa - though, according to Woolfe and Gandon, "finished in a very magnificent and expensive manner" - very much in the vein of Westcombe House (- compare plates 31 and 137). A three-bay central portion, surmounted by a high attic, was flanked by two single bays, each punctuated by a large, round-headed window.

Following Morris' death Servandoni added a large gallery in a French Neoclassical manner; John Harris suggests this may have been a substitute for a previous gallery design (as yet undiscovered) by Morris. On Dodington's death the house interestingly passed to Thomas Wyndham, owner of Morris' Clearwell Castle. This connection may hint at some social link between Dodington, well known as a patron of Morris, and the wholly unknown Wyndham.

In 1820 the house was bought by the Crown for its most famous occupant, Caroline of Brunswick, the highly controversial Queen of England. She was residing here at the time of George IV's Parliamentary attempt to effect a divorce, but let the house fall into such disrepair that in the Spring of 1821 the King was informed by a servant-spy that "Brandenburgh House is now in that state that it is not habitable".(1) As a result the Queen moved to Cambridge House in South Audley Street, rarely visiting Hammersmith. A few months after her death in August 1821 the house was wholly demolished - probably since it served to remind the King of his loathed consort.

1 Quoted in Christopher Hibbert, George IV (1976), 609.

(2) UNEXECUTED WORKS

BLAIR ATHOL, PERTHSHIRE

Designs for stables and other outbuildings for the 2nd Duke of Athol, 1742

Drawings at Blair include a signed design by Morris for the "Plan of elevation of the coach-houses and stables... for Blair 1742" (plate 73). (See below, Appendix 2, and also chapter 6 above.) Also in the collection are sketches for a small temple for the summit of a hill known as the Broomknow, signed and dated 1742 (plate 74), and an unsigned elevation for a square, rusticated garden house.⁽¹⁾ None of these schemes were evidently executed by the Duke, however.

1 Reproduced in the SMNR Photographic Library, PTD/127/19,22,33.

FLOORS CASTLE, ROXBURGHSHIRE

Unidentified design or designs for the first floor and roof for the 2nd Duke of Roxburgh, 1745

Whilst engaged with the project at Inveraray for the 2nd Duke of Argyll, Morris was apparently consulted by William Adam, on behalf of the Duke of Roxburgh, about alterations to the Duke's vast castle at Floors. Morris advised retaining the Wiltonesque towers and instead rebuilding the first floor as "garettts with a slated penthouse roof".(1) Morris' advice, however, was clearly never followed, and he seems to have had no further connection with the castle.

1 Floors Castle archive, bundle 558; ex inf. Howard Colvin. The house was engraved by William Adam for his Vitruvius Scoticus, appearing as plate 49.

TAYMOUTH CASTLE, PERTHSHIRE

Alterations for the 2nd Earl of Breadalbane, 1747

In c.1742 William Adam was employed by the Earl of Breadalbane to remodel Taymouth.(1) Four years later Breadalbane's son John, Lord Glenorchy - now running the estate for his ageing father - brought in another Scots architect, John Douglas, to rebuild the entrance and the Dining Room.(2) In 1747, however, Glenorchy clearly decided to involve a fashionable London architect: on 27 November 1747 a payment of £10 was made "To mr. Morrice an Architect" for unspecified work. This sum could conceivably have represented payment for a design for, or other work at, Breadalbane's house in Jermyn Street, St James's. However, the Breadalbane accounts make no mention of this London residence and cite only Taymouth; furthermore, one of the masons employed at Taymouth, Alexander Routhead, was one of Morris most favoured craftsmen (see above, chapter 4).(3)

Morris' employment most probably derived from clan ties. He was, of course, working intermittently at Inveraray during 1747, and could have visited Taymouth or at least despatched drawings from Inveraray. Breadalbane himself was head of the junior branch of the Campbell family, of which Argyll was the chief. It is probable, then, that either Argyll, or perhaps William Adam, suggested the Englishman. However, although the payment to Routhead indicates that some minor work was conducted at Taymouth - possibly under Douglas' direction - there is evidence in contemporary drawings or accounts to show that any of Morris' thoughts were actually executed.

Between 1806 and 1810 the castle was totally rebuilt by James and Archibald Elliott; ironically, Morris' Inveraray was the model they chose for their new house (plate 111). The castle still stands, but access is severely limited, as it is now (ostensibly, at least) a Civil Defence School run by the Home Office.

1 Colvin, 59. The house as remodelled by Adam was illustrated as plate 51 in Vitruvius Scoticus; this shows a typically 'Scottish Baronial' residence, complete with square towers and bartizans projecting one floor above the cornice.

2 SR0, Breadalbane MSS, Lord Glenorchy's Accounts, GD112/21/78. The 2nd Earl died in 1752, when Glenorchy succeeded as the 3rd Earl.

3 Lord Glenorchy's Accounts, entry for 13 November 1747: £25.7.7 "To Routhead a Stonecutters Bill for a Marble Chimney Piece and the woodwork carved for the dining room at Taymouth". This was only two weeks prior to the single payment to Morris.

(3) ATTRIBUTED EXECUTED WORKS

12 GROSVENOR STREET, MAYFAIR
For John Aislable, 1727-8

Aislable is known to have been employing Morris as Campbell's junior (or indeed replacement) at his Yorkshire retreat of Studley Royal in 1729 (q.v.). Additionally, it can be positively proved that Lord Clinton was using Morris in the late 1720s not only at Castle Hill in Devon but also at his new London house of no.11 Grosvenor Square, in 1727-8 (q.v.). Thus it seems highly probable that Aislable turned to Morris to finish his own London residence, next door to and contemporary with that of Clinton's. The original exterior of 12 Grosvenor Square also points to Morris' involvement: as evidenced by contemporary engravings, no.12 was a pedimented, five-bay house similar in elevation to Marble Hill.⁽¹⁾ If Morris was indeed the architect, no.12, like Morris' own 61 Green Street of two years later, is an example of Morris' consciously attempting to bring the scale and drama of the country villa into the London streetscape.

By 1786 the pediment had been removed, and other minor alterations made. The house's most famous nineteenth century occupant was the novelist Lord Lytton, who inhabited the house between 1868 and 1873. A later owner, Lord Wynford, employed Lutyens to remodel the rear in 1895, and under the ownership of the famous American banker John Pierpont Morgan (1902-43) much of the eighteenth century work was swept away and the house almost completely rebuilt. In 1957, however, Pevsner still noted "much stucco-work in the Kent style on the ceiling" of the main stair, and "Other rooms with later C18 ceilings in the Adam taste".⁽²⁾ Having survived World War Two, however, the house was, together with much of the square, ruthlessly swept away in 1961 to make way for the astoundingly insensitive American Embassy - an ironic fate for the one-time home of J.P.Morgan.

1 Survey of London, XL, 127-9. The date '1728' was originally inscribed on a lead water-hopper.

2 Nikolaus Pevsner, The Buildings of England: London 1 - The Cities of London and Westminster (1957), 513-14.

SOUTH DALTON HOUSE, YORKSHIRE
For Sir Charles Hotham, c.1728

South Dalton has been convincingly linked with Morris by W.A. Eden, whose speculation on Morris' connection with Colen Campbell again underlines the former's position as the latter's natural successor.(1) Certainly the house is very much in Morris' villa manner.

Sir Charles' father, the 4th baronet, had already commissioned a house from Campbell at Beverley, which had been finished in 1721. The pavilion at South Dalton, which still stands, has been attributed to Campbell on the basis of its close similarity with Campbell's famous gateway to Burlington House (itself based on Gerbier's York House Water Gate, then believed to be a work of Jones'). Then again, Morris - who had learned his trade under Campbell - could have simply copied his former master's work as an act of homage. The house itself appears in elevation to be a variant of Marble Hill, which suggests both Morris' hand (and possibly Campbell's guidance) and a date roughly concurrent with the building of Mrs Howard's villa, i.e. c.1728. Certainly the house must have been completed by 1737, at which date it was engraved by John Rocque (plate 123). Examination of the Hotham MSS, however, have not brought to light either the architect or the precise date of the house.(2)

As originally intended at Marble Hill, the principal elevation of South Dalton was astylar and of five bays, with a three-bay pedimented projection. The pyramidal roof was surmounted by a typically Morrisian device - an octagonal lantern; Mr Eden also points out that the three circular basement windows are identical to those at Westcombe House, also attributed to Morris (plate 137). The general form was retained when the local Yorkshire architect Thomas Atkinson rebuilt the house in 1771-5;(3) however, none of the original Palladian interiors survive. Further additions were made in the nineteenth century, including the provision of a new entrance and porch in 1870.

- 1 W.A. Eden in ed. Colvin and Harris. the Country Seat (1970), 117-19. Eden says of Morris and Herbert that "it begins as if we must regard them as a self-constituted 'School of Campbell'", and suggests that Campbell's appointment to the sinecure of the Greenwich Surveyorship in 1726 is evidence of either his loss of favour or his increasing ill-health.
- 2 Hull University, Brynmor Jones Library, Hotham MSS, DDHO/4/3-4.
- 3 Nikolaus Pevsner, The Buildings of England: Yorkshire - York and the East Riding (1972), 349.

ARGYLL AND LITTLE ARGYLL STREETS, MAYFAIR

Housing for the 2nd Duke of Argyll, c.1729-40

In 1729 Morris was excused from serving in his capacity as the parish of St Marylebone's Overseer of the Poor as he was now "employ'd in his trade of building for his Grace the Duke of Argyle".(1) This probably refers to the finishing of Argyll's own house, and possibly of some of the adjacent properties, in newly-built Argyll Street on the Argyll estate to the south of Oxford Street. Whatever work Morris had been called upon to perform at Argyll's residence did not, however, last very long, since in 1736 Little Argyll Street was driven through the site.(2) The wings of Argyll's house survived as 9 Little Argyll Street and 25 Argyll Street; these are still standing today, but are wholly altered from their early-eighteenth century form. No.9's first occupant, Admiral Stapleton, only took up residence in 1747,(3) indicating that the altered wing was (as were Morris' new houses at the west end of Westminster Bridge) somewhat difficult to dispose of. In the customary fashion of bartering for trade services, Morris had assigned the lease of this house to the mason Leonard Phillips, whom he was to use repeatedly throughout his professional career. Similarly, another craftsman, one John Jones, took the leasehold for 25 Argyll Street; he, however, remained in the property himself, being the only original leaseholder at the site to do so.

Morris' continued close links with Argyll and his brother (see chapter 3) ensured that he was additionally involved with the building of the Little Argyll Street development. He was definitely one of the three builder-contractors here, together with James Gibbs and Thomas Phillips; however, it is not known whether he actually designed or personally finished any of the "New Street of dwelling Houses" built on the site in 1739-40.(4) Inevitably, as at Argyll Street nothing remains of the original work at Little Argyll Street: all of the houses except numbers 8 and 10 have been entirely rebuilt in the intervening two-and-a-half centuries.

Morris may also have been involved at the 3rd Duke of Argyll's own, large house at 7 Argyll Street; this is discussed below.

1 Greater London RO, Middlesex Calendar of Sessions Books, 1727-9, 122.

2 Cf. The Westminster Poll, 23 September 1736. (See chapter 3.)

3 Survey of London, XXXI, 285.

4 Ibid., 290.

It is quite possible that Morris - known to have been employed in some capacity by Newton at Culverthorpe - also had a hand in finishing Newton's London residence. It is certainly interesting that the chimneypiece of no.30 was copied by John Boson at Newton's Lincolnshire house.

Newton died in 1743, and the house remained relatively unaltered until the 1830s, when an attic storey was added (see plate 131). In 1836 the house was combined with no.29 next door, formerly Burlington's celebrated house for General Wade (plate 12), to form the Burlington hotel. Florence Nightingale and Cecil Rhodes both lived here during 1857-61 and the 1890s respectively. In 1935 it was demolished to make way for a block of mundane LCC flats by Gordon Jeeves.(1)

The outstanding great stair was removed to Buxted Park in Sussex, and other features including the Ionic screen in the entrance hall were re-erected at Godmersham Park. One of the principal rooms may well have ended up in a museum in Memphis, Tennessee; it is reported that the panelling of this room recalls that of the 1730s at Wilton - another factor which may indicate Morris' hand.(2)

1 Survey of London, xxxii, 506-8.

2 Ex inf. John Harris.

30 BURLINGTON STREET, WESTMINSTER
For Sir Michael Newton, c.1729-33

In 1725 Sir Michael Newton acquired the lease of a house on the Burlington Estate originally intended for the Earl of Mountrath, in what is now Old Burlington Street.(1) Morris may have been surveying the site as early as 1726: a contract dated June of that year, for joiner's work executed at the site by John Lane, corresponds with payments to Lane from Morris' account.(2) Certainly Morris was working here in 1729: the Newton Papers in the U.S. Library of Congress include surveyor's estimates signed by Morris for "Various work Done for the Honble Sr Michael Newton... before the house in Burlington Gardens", dated 3-4 December 1729. Such estimates continued to be made until 4 June 1733.(3)

Morris, then, appears to have been the mason-contractor at Newton's town house. He was in charge of payments to workmen, the majority of whom he used at many other of his buildings - figures such as Umpleby, Deval, Mercer, Routhead and Mansfield - whilst receipts survive at Welford Park for moneys paid directly to Morris by Newton.(4) However, there are no extant drawings or other documents which indicate that he was the actual designer of any part of the house. The facade was orthodox English Palladian, with 5 bays, a heavy cornice, a round-headed central window on the first floor and a portico with rusticated Ionic columns from Kent's Inigo Jones. This was most probably the work of Burlington himself: a sketch of the principal elevation (plate 130) survives in the R.I.B.A. drawings collection in the hand of Henry Flitcroft, Burlington's draughtsman. The facade certainly displays none of Morris' characteristic motifs.

Morris may, however, have been involved with the design of the interior. Like many of Morris' interiors, no.30 was decidedly Jonesian: the balustrades, for example, were copied from Coleshill, and the chimneypiece (now at Godmersham) taken from the Designs of Inigo Jones.

1 Survey of London, xxxii, 451,505.

2 Welford Park archive, Matthew Lamb's Accounts, contract dated 11 June 1726; Hoare's Bank, Roger Morris' account, f.27/164,404.

3 U.S. Library of Congress Washington DC, Halliwell Phillips Collection, Newton Papers, vols. 17-19,21.

4 Welford Park archive; Hoare's Bank, Roger Morris' account, ff.31-2 and passim. Eg. Welford Park archive, receipt for £100 paid to Morris "under Sr Michael's hand". My thanks to Captain and Mrs. J.P.L. Puxley for their kind help at Welford Park, and to Mr.P.D. Brown and Messrs Brakspear & Co. for their invaluable research assistance.

CULVERTHORPE HALL, LINCOLNSHIRE

Additions for Sir Michael Newton, c.1730-5

The Newton Papers, now in Washington D.C., testify that both Roger and Robert Morris were employed at Culverthorpe during the early 1730s.(1) It is impossible to discern, however, whether either acted as a designer, or simply in a surveying capacity. No drawings or accounts exist which point directly to the author of Sir Michael's additions at the house; the latter can only be attributed to Roger Morris on purely stylistic grounds.

Work on the house began in 1730 and was still in progress in 1733, when Roger was examining a bill for "Two Chimney Pieces sent to Thorp in Lincolnshire" - presumably destined for the new Morning and Drawing Rooms.(2) As late as 1735 John Boson was informing Newton that a mantelpiece was on its way to the house.

The new wings to east and west and the new entrance were certainly in Roger Morris's style. As evidenced in the Badeslade and Rocque engraving (plate 151), the wings were originally surmounted by pyramidal roofs; nor does the high standard of the Kentian interior decoration indicate an amateur hand. The entrance hall is of the pattern used frequently by Morris: the visitor cannot walk straight on, but must turn left or right through screens of heavy Corinthian columns which bisect the hall into equal portions. The plaster decoration in the Dining (formerly the Morning) Room is of a form which recurs throughout Morris' houses, featuring sunflowers and groups of three acanthus buds. Unfortunately little original decoration remains in the Drawing Room, which accommodates the full height of the Venetian window on the south wall (whereas the Dining Room ceiling, owing to the height of the bedroom above, abuts the eastern Venetian window below the arch). Nevertheless the present owners are maintaining those interiors which do survive in the principal rooms in an encouraging fashion.

At the same time as work was progressing at Culverthorpe, either Roger or Robert may have been employed by the

1 U.S. Library of Congress, Halliwell Philips Collection, Newton Papers, vols. 13, 19: contracts for plastering at "Thorp Hall" dated 8 June 1730 and 12 March 1730/1.

2 *Ibid.*, vol.21: bill for work at Culverthorpe and at Newton's house in Burlington Street, London, dated 1 June 1733.

Corporation of Boston, presumably on Newton's advice - Newton having a small house in the town. Corporation payments for 1731-2 include sums to "Mr Morrice ye architect for his advice abt ye Cross".(1) Given the probability, however, that Roger was absent "beyond the seas" in Italy for much of this time (q.v.), the 'Morrice' here was most likely Robert.

On Newton's death in 1743 Culverthorpe was inherited by his nephew Michael Eyre-Archer, who assumed the name of Newton. On his death in 1803 the house passed to his distant relatives the Blundells, who proceeded to sell off nearly all of the original furnishings in a space of six years.(2) In 1810 it was inherited by Susannah Eyre-Archer-Houblon-Newton, whose family also owned Welford Park in Berkshire.

The house was allowed to fall into neglect during the nineteenth century, a process that had only partly been reversed by the time of the Country Life feature in 1923. The owner was then a Brigadier-General Adlercron, who had bought the house from the Eyre-Archers about 15 years previously. Deterioration continued until the 1970s, when the present owners, Mr and Mrs G.A.D.Emerson, began restoration. Interestingly, the Emersons are cousins of the current owners of Welford Park, Captain and Mrs J.P.L.Puxley; thus these two houses are once more in the same family.

1 Lincolnshire RO, ex inf. Richard Hewlings.

2 Christopher Hussey in Country Life, 23 September 1923.

WESTCOMBE HOUSE, BLACKHEATH, KENT

Rebuilding for Lord Herbert (later 9th Earl of Pembroke),
c.1730

Shortly after Sir Gregory Turner of Ambrosden, Oxfordshire had purchased the estate of Westcombe in August 1724, he granted the lease of the house there to Captain Galfridus Walpole, younger brother of Sir Robert and Treasurer of Greenwich Hospital 1715-21. Walpole pulled down the existing house and began work on a replacement; this "afterwards came to the Earl of Pembroke", (1) then Lord Herbert, who, given his own architectural inclinations, no doubt substituted Walpole's scheme for one of his own choosing. The exact date of this sale is uncertain. Certainly Pembroke was in occupation at the time of Buck's engraving of the house in 1739; the date of Walpole's death, 1726, suggests that Herbert purchased the lease from Turner during the late 1720s.

There is no precise evidence as to the architect used by either Walpole or Herbert. Walpole may have secured the services of figures connected with his brother the Prime Minister; Campbell and Gibbs, for example, both worked for Sir Robert at Houghton during the mid-1720s - as did Herbert himself at the end of the decade. And it is likely that after his acquisition Herbert himself played a significant part in the rebuilding. Certainly the Duchess of Marlborough implied that the house was wholly or partly the work of Herbert in her notorious censure of 1732. (2) However, given the close relationship between Herbert and Morris already witnessed at Marble Hill and the White Lodge, and subsequently to be seen at Wimbledon House and at other sites, it is reasonable to assume that Morris was also involved at Westcombe. The principal elevation (plate 137) is of the form that Morris later used at Brandenburg House (plate 81); it also reflects that of its contemporary Whitton Park (plate 116), which is attributed to Morris (q.v.). Many elements of the exterior are characteristic Morrisian devices (see above, chapter 5), whilst the "low-roofed" room with four large columns (3) distinctly recalls the low, tetrastyle hall of the first Morris-Herbert collaboration, Marble Hill House (plate 27).

1 Ed. H.H. Larking, Hasted's History of Kent (1886), I 53.

2 In a letter of c.1732 (quoted in G.S. Thomson, Letters of a Grandmother (1943), 21-2) the Dowager Duchess described Westcombe as "the most ridiculous thing I ever saw in my life... One cannot help thinking soon after one gets into the house that it must have been built by somebody that is mad." This was written at the time that Morris and Herbert were designing her new house at Wimbledon.

3 Ibid.: "And one of the rooms [the Hall?...] is low-roofed and not much bigger than one of the Duke of Bedford's tables... [and] has four great stone pillars."

Pembroke later sold the lease of Westcombe to the 3rd Duke of Bolton, who installed here the celebrated actress Lavinia Fenton - Gay's original 'Polly Peacham' - as his mistress (and, most scandalously, as his wife after 1751). The house was demolished in 1854, but four landscapes of the estate by George Lambert, with figures by Hogarth and ships by Samuel Scott, survive in the Upper Cloisters at Wilton House.

WERRINGTON PARK, CORNWALL

For Sir William Morice, c.1730

Sir William Morice - the 3rd baronet, who died in January 1750 - was a Cornish landowner and politician who had the gift of the rotten boroughs of Launceston and Newport.(1) Some time during the 1720s or 1730s he commissioned an as yet unknown architect to rebuild his principal seat at Werrington.

No evidence exists to link this house (plate 144) firmly with Morris. Pevsner attributed the building to Kent,(2) but whilst the inclusion of a prominent canted bay on the principal front certainly recalls Kent's bays at Esher (q.v.), the astylar, restrained nature of the design seems to point more to Morris. The house is small - as were most of Morris' buildings - and simply conceived: a wide, lateral corridor on the ground floor separates the three principal rooms on the south side from the smaller rooms to the north. The large rooms have fine plasterwork of c.1730-40, which John Cornforth has speculated was the work of Bristol, and not Flemish, craftsmen.(3) The Dining Room in the southwest corner also retains an undistinguished Palladian chimneypiece of Morris' time.

The nearby Gothic church of Werrington may also conceivably be Morris' work. Its design certainly suggests the sham castle at Castle Hill in Devon, with which Morris may also have been associated (q.v.).

1 DND

2 H. Pevsner, The Buildings of England: North Devon (1952), 163. (Werrington was in the county of Devon prior to the boundary changes of 1972.)

3 Ex inf. Mrs R. Williams. I am most grateful to Mrs Williams for her hospitality at Werrington, and to Dr Lucy Raymond for her invaluable help and insights.

FILLEIGH CHURCH, DEVON

Rebuilt for Lord Clifford, 1730

The original medieval church at Filleigh was demolished to make way for Clinton's new house of Castle Hill (q.v.), and on 2 January 1730 a contract was signed - though, alas, the architect was not specified - to rebuild the church on a site about half a mile to the west.(1)

Although substantially remodelled in 1876-7, the west tower of 1730 remains (plate 136). This is in a definably eighteenth century Gothic style akin to Inveraray Castle, and possesses a pyramidal roof of the type Morris used at many of his villas. Since Clinton had recently employed Morris to rebuild his house, it seems logical that he should also use him to work on the estate church at the same time.

1 Devon RO; see R. Fausset, "The Creation of the Gardens at Castle Hill" in Garden History, Autumn 1985, 104.

FOXHALL LODGE, CHARLTON, SUSSEX
For the 2nd Duke of Richmond, 1732

In 1732 Richmond erected a plain, two-storey banqueting house for the Charlton Hunt (of which he was Master) on his Goodwood estate at Foxhall (plate 150).(1) Morris had recently (1731) had the Council House in Chichester built to his designs, at which site the Duke was substantially involved; additionally, stylistic and circumstantial evidence points to Morris as the author of various outbuildings at Goodwood a decade later (q.v.). Thus, whilst Howard Colvin suggests the hand of Burlington - who also made designs for the Council House - at Foxhall,(2) it is quite possible that Morris was the architect of the small lodge. However, aside from the recessed circular panel - in the manner of Morris buildings such as the Gardener's house at Althorp - on the side of the chimneystack, there are no other stylistic features which may help assign the building to Morris.

1 Charles Lennox, Earl of March, Records of the Old Charlton Hunt (1910), 5. See also Country Life, 31 October 1936.
2 Colvin, 131.

WHITTON PARK, MIDDLESEX

For the Earl of Islay (later 3rd Duke of Argyll), begun c.1732

During 1724-5 James Gibbs was employed by Islay to build a five-bay greenhouse at Whitton, to the west of London. However, Gibbs appears to have been rapidly eclipsed in the earl's affections by another architect - probably Roger Morris. Payments totalling £1,842.10.0 from Islay to Morris between 25 March 1732 and 2 November 1733 seem to correspond with Sir John Clerk's comment of 1733 that Islay was intending to front his new office court at Whitton "with a building of 108 feet in length".(1) This suggests that Morris was the author of the new main house here.

Designs now in the Mellon Collection may well represent the architect's first thoughts for the house. And in stylistic terms they appear distinctly Morrisian, featuring elements Morris was using at approximately the same time at Combe Bank (built for another of the ducal Campbell clan). Although the Mellon drawings (plates 114-15) are for a noticeably larger house than the one ultimately executed at Whitton, the general pattern of the elevations - a square central block with lower side projections - is essentially the same as the erected design. In one of the schemes four corner towers are placed around a rectangular body of three bays, in a manner very reminiscent of Combe Bank; furthermore, Morrisian devices such as circular panels above the ground floor and a pyramidal roof with cupola are prominently featured. Other designs in the collection are more sedate but still characteristic of Morris. "A Second Design" retains the pyramidal roof and lantern, and includes large wings which curve outwards from the principal front. Further variants on this basic formula include a flat roof surmounted by a domed cupola, and wings terminating in Hiltonesque pavilions.

The executed elevations (plate 116) reverted very much to the manner of Marble Hill and Combe Bank; the building was described by one Georgian commentator as a "regular, handsome building".(2) A main block of three bays was topped by a pyramidal roof and Morris' favoured device of a pedimented lantern with Diocletian windows on each face. Low walls with sunken circular panels (again most Morrisian) linked the main body to the offices, whilst the lateral axis of the house was emphasised by a gallery, as at the later Inveraray Castle (also for Islay). Like Combe Bank, the finished house was remarkably miniature in scale - the main block being only 45 feet square.

1 Coutts & Co, Earl of Islay's account, Ledger 1731-3, ff. 137, 139, 207, 355. See also Mary Cosh in Country Life, 20 July 1972.

2 Anon., Principal Seats and Gardens of Twickenham (1775), 35.

The Gothic Tower in the grounds of the house may also be Morris' work. This feature can be seen in Woollett's engraving and also in John Adam's sketchbook (plates 117-13), and whilst it has often been assigned to Gibbs, its style seems to owe more to Morris. Gibbs' Gothic works, such as the Temple of Liberty at Stowe, appear uncertain and naive. In contrast, the Whitton tower recalls Inveraray and Rosneath in its cylindrical angle towers and, most particularly, Morris' Clearwell Castle in its simple, Early English fenestration. Additionally, the semicircular window suggests Morris' villas, while the chimneypiece (plate 119) is almost identical to one of approximately the same date at Culverthorpe (see above). There is also an unsubstantiated claim that Clermont, who was known to have worked elsewhere with Morris, was employed at the house (see below).

During the 1770s Gibbs' greenhouse was converted into living accommodation and confusingly named Whitton Place.⁽¹⁾ In c.1840 both the main house and the Gothic Tower were razed, and Gibbs' building - also subsequently demolished - was renamed Whitton Park.

1 Gascoigne and Ditchburn, Images of Twickenham (1981), 35-7.

DODINGTON'S HOUSE, PALL MALL, WESTMINSTER
For George Bubb Dodington, c.1732-6

Morris' association with Dodington at "Bubo's House" in Pall Mall has been recently examined in some detail.(1) Drawings of the house in Norfolk Record Office (plate 69) are not signed, but bear all the hall marks of Morris' personal style. An entry in the daybooks for the site dated 31 December 1736(2) notes a 'Mr Morris' in connection with the design of the house's windows and, whilst Morris is by no means an uncommon name, the resemblance of the finished building - with its sunken oval panels and its pyramidal roof, topped with a pedimented dormer with Diocletian windows - to other Morris villas is striking. Furthermore, Morris is known to have accompanied Dodington to Italy in c.1731-2, after which Pope famously noted that "Morris and He continue to admire each other", and after 1733 Morris was working for Dodington at his house at Eastbury in Dorset (q.v.).

Construction was evidently begun soon after the Italian trip, since in the Grub Street Journal of 7 October 1734 the house was savaged by an unsympathetic Datty Langley. Langley seized on its omission from James Ralph's recent Critical Review, dismissing it as little more than a "bottle-glass house". Surprisingly, however - in view of his well-publicised antipathy to Dodington so cruelly expressed in his Epistle to Arbuthnot and The Master Key to Popery - Pope sprang to the building's defence:

But this Gentleman's Taste is fully vindicated [since the building of Eastbury] by what has been built on his own Directions, that most Genteel Pile in Pall-Mall, which is the Admiration of all Beholders.(3)

This may perhaps not betoken a sudden change of heart by Pope towards Dodington, but rather signify the poet's respect for Morris, with whom Pope would have collaborated at Marble Hill.

In 1761 Dodington was raised to the peerage by Bute's controversial government as Baron Melcombe Regis, and the house was accordingly renamed Melcombe House. The following year, however, Dodington died, and the house passed to the Dowager Princess of Wales - Dodington having been a crony of her late husband, Prince Frederick. It was absorbed into Carlton House by her grandson, Prince George, who in 1825 (as George IV) authorised its demolition to make way for Nash's grand new Carlton House and adjoining terrace.

1 T.P.Connor in AE, 1984, 111-17.

2 PRO, C109/25/7.

3 Ed. G.Sherburn, The Correspondence of Alexander Pope, (1956), IV 432.

WILTON HOUSE, WILTSHIRE

The Colonnade Room, for the 9th Earl of Pembroke, c.1735

Shortly before Pembroke commissioned Morris to build the Palladian Bridge in the grounds at Wilton, the state bedroom in the house was remodelled into what became known as the Colonnade Room, on account of the substantial screen of four Corinthian columns (plate 64). This screen suggests the entrance hall screens beloved of Morris (see above, chapter 3), and may well, given the known intimacy of the two, have been Morris' work - particularly in view of the fact that the Earl's gift of a silver cup in 1734 emphasised Morris' virtual role as Pembroke's house architect and builder. An additional factor which may help to point to Morris is the room's decoration: the ceiling was painted with singeries by the French artist Clermont, who is known to have worked with Morris at Monkey Island in the 1740s and who may have been collaborating with Morris at Narford Hall in the mid-1730s (see below).

The remodelling of the bedroom appears to have assuaged Pembroke's passion for modernisation. In 1732 the Duchess of Marlborough (never, it must be admitted, the most reliable of commentators) noted that:

I believe you will think Wilton a very fine place, and might easily be made everything that is agreeable, but I hear my Lord Herbert (who is often mad and always very odd) talks of pulling it down when his father dies.(1)

It is interesting to speculate that, if Pembroke had indeed demolished Wilton, Morris would have doubtless been called upon to assist with, if not to design, its replacement.

The room survives in a reasonably intact condition, although with later decorative additions by Wyatt.

1 Duchess of Marlborough to Lady Russell, 21 July 1732, quoted in G.S.Thomson, Letters of a Grandmother (1943), 52. The 3th Earl died in 1733.

COBHAM PARK (formerly Downe Place), SURREY
For George Fox, c.1735

Although no documentary evidence has been found to connect this house with Morris, the elevations illustrated in Manning and Bray's 1847 volume (plate 157) are remarkably Morrisian in style.(1) They owe much to Marble Hill, and include elements frequently used by Morris: a pyramidal roof, an octagonal cupola, oval panels between the floors, and a central projection of three bays.

Manning and Bray declared that the house had been "the property of John Bridges Esq. who built a new [house], and sold it to Sir John Ligonier about 1750". More recently, however, Bernard Pardoe has convincingly suggested that Bridges was merely an agent or lawyer for the estate, which after 1729 was actually the property of George Fox. It was only sold to Ligonier after 1757 - the General being created a Viscount on 31 December of that year. Fox was related to Burlington(2) and, distantly, to Pembroke, and either of these may have suggested Morris as an architect.

Fox changed his name to George Fox Lane in March 1752 following an inheritance, and in 1762 was created Baron Bingley. Prior to his death in 1773 he must have leased or sold the house to Ligonier, who was entertaining William Pitt there during the later 1750s.(3) Fox's house was renamed Cobham Park early in the nineteenth century, and was demolished in the 1860s. It was replaced by a "very ugly French renaissance" chateau by E.M.Barry of 1870-3.(4)

1 Manning and Bray, The History and Topography of the County of Surrey (1847), IV 735.

2 Fox was the heir of James, 2nd Viscount Lanesborough, whilst Burlington was Baron Clifford of Lanesborough. My thanks to Bernard Pardoe and John Harris for allowing me access to their research in this matter.

3 D.C.Taylor, The Book of Cobham (1982), 66.

4 I.Hairn and N.Pevsner, The Buildings of England: Surrey (1962), 143.

NARFORD HALL, NORFOLK

Additions for Sir Andrew Fountaine, c.1735

A visit by the author (together with Howard Colvin, John Harris and Roger White) to this enigmatic house in 1988 brought to light a number of hitherto undiscovered drawings. These included the outline of a scheme for a new house, in which a three-sided office courtyard described as 'Old Building' occupies the same site as the existing courtyard containing the library, and an elevation, also unsigned, which corresponds to the front of the existing house of 1702-4. (A memorandum preserved in the library records that the first stone was laid on 29 June 1702, whilst the date 1704 appears carved in the cornice of the main staircase.) This design, with its conventional, three-bay centre projection (plate 139), is a simple building much in the style of late seventeenth century architects such as Henry Bell of nearby King's Lynn. It seems quite credible that when the first Andrew Fountaine (who died in 1706) sought in c.1700 to build a new, classical house to replace the existing Tudor building, he should turn to his neighbour, East Anglia's foremost architectural amateur.

In 1706 the second Andrew Fountaine (identical nomenclature being a notable feature of the Fountaine family) succeeded to his father's estate, and soon after his return from his second tour of Italy in 1716 he embarked on a series of extensions to the north and east sides of the house.(1) It is these Palladian additions which continue to present the most vexing problems of date and authorship. An account of the house drawn up by Benjamin Ibbots(2) for Horace Walpole some time during the late eighteenth century declared of Fountaine that:

At his return the lease of Narford being expired he began adorning his house there by adding a sort of wing or quadrangle to it consisting of his library, large dining room, bed chamber, &c. Mr Roger Harrison an ingenious bricklayer who had been foreman at the works of Grosvenor & Hanover Squares was here director and

1 For Fountaine's Grand Tour, see A.W.Moore, Norfolk and the Grand Tour (Norwich, 1985), chapter 2, and Brinsley Ford, "Sir Andrew Fountaine" in Apollo, vol.cxxii, November 1985. Fountaine, born in 1671, was knighted in 1698, and received a mark of especial royal favour when in 1701 he was entrusted with the carriage of the vital Act of Succession to the Court of Hanover.

2 Ibbots was "a great collector of prints" according to J.C.Robinson in The Times, 18 April 1884. Robinson erroneously transcribed the foreman's name as 'Roger Harris'. The original text is now lost, but a transcription survives inside the Narford Family Book compiled by the present owner's grandmother.

worked himself at it, and one Mr Laurence and his workmen were carpenters and joiners... this was done in 1718.(1)

A survey made some time before 1725, illustrated as plate 95 of the third volume of Colen Campbell's Vitruvius Britannicus (plate 138), clearly shows the three-sided court on the eastern side of the main house (see below). In 1728 Sir Matthew Decker saw the newly-created library and kitchen (both in the old courtyard) and noted that stables and other 'out offices' were being contemplated.

From the evidence of Ibbots, Morris has been cited as the possible architect of this work. Morris certainly worked as a bricklayer, and did on a number of occasions act as both architect and tradesman at a site. However, aside from the obvious discrepancy in surnames, Ibbots' account as recorded also contains a number of other inaccuracies. Morris was not involved in the project at Grosvenor Square until 1726, when he acted as mason-contractor, not as foreman. Additionally, whilst he was involved in a building scheme close to Hanover Square (in George Street) after 1738, there is no evidence to connect him with building work in the Square itself. (Ibbots may have been confusing this episode with Morris' own residence, which, after 1730, was in the parish of St. George's Hanover Square.) Ibbots also states that Andrew succeeded Isaac Newton as Warden of the Mint in 1732 or 1733, instead of the actual date of 1727. Thus the name of the 'director' may itself be wrong, as indeed may the date of the new work. Certainly 1718 would be unduly early for Morris' involvement as a designer, if not as a workman; his first recorded commission, Marble Hill House in Twickenham, was begun six years later, in 1724.

If not Morris, was Colen Campbell possibly the author of the additions? From 1719 until the mid-1720s Campbell was firmly established as the principal architect to the Prince of Wales. Fountaine, Vice-Chamberlain to the Princess of Wales after 1725, was a key member of this circle, whilst in Vitruvius Britannicus Campbell compliments Fountaine on the "good taste and affection for Architecture" he had shown "in several pieces lately erected" at Narford. However, from the evidence of the other plates of Campbell's Vitruvius Britannicus, it appears very doubtful that Campbell, a practised self-publicist, would have published one of his own designs without claiming the credit for it.

It is quite probable, then, that the architect of the additions of c.1718 was, in fact, Sir Andrew Fountaine

1 An Andrew Laurence worked at Golden Square in London as a mason-contractor in the early 1700s (see Survey of London, xxxi, 141 and passim). As yet, however, no other trace of an Edward Laurence or Lawrence has been found.

himself. The dedicatee of Robert Morris' Essay in Defence of Ancient Architecture of 1728, he was described by Morris, in company with the amateur architect-earls Burlington and Pembroke, as a "practitioner of architecture". William Halfpenny, George Vertue and Horace Walpole also testify to Fountaine's predilection for architectural design. It may be significant that Sir Matthew Decker, for whom Fountaine had designed a room at his house in Richmond, noted in 1728 that the library at Narford was painted and gilded "as our room".(1)

Sir Andrew does, however, appear to have sponsored two distinct phases of rebuilding at Narford: c.1718, and c.1735. At some point after the Vitruvius Britannicus survey the gap between the two arms of the east wing was filled with a four-bay block, now the Music Room (as illustrated by Buckler, plate 141). A date of c.1735 would certainly correspond with the handsome Kentian fireplace in this room. Moreover, a letter discovered in the library at Narford, from the Earl of Pembroke to Fountaine, demonstrates that at some point Fountaine was consulting Pembroke on additions to the Hall; this letter must date from some time after 1733, the year in which the ninth Earl succeeded to his titles. If Pembroke was involved at Narford, it seems probable that his architectural collaborator, Roger Morris, was also consulted. Thus Ibbots may have been confusing Morris' involvement in the 1730s with the construction of the library some years earlier. Certainly Fountaine was an intimate friend of Pembroke: the former retained a permanent room at Wilton until his death in 1753.(2)

A date of c.1735 for the Music Room and related works may also help to explain the evident presence at the house of the renowned French artist Andien de Clermont. Clermont, active in England as a decorative painter between 1716 and 1734, is principally known as the author of singerie ceilings, featuring monkeys and other exotic animals and birds, which he appears to have derived from Watteau's singerie scheme of 1709 for the Chateau de Marly.(3) The singerie ceiling in the Queen Anne Room (Buckler's Dining Room) beyond the Music Room is a typical example of this genre, being adorned with one of his favourite motifs - the hoopoe (plate 143). The closet to

1 Now in the Wilton archive.

2 John Bold, Wilton House and English Palladianism (1983).

3 For an account of Clermont's career, see Ingrid Roscoe, "Andien de Clermont, Decorative Painter to the Leicester House Set" in Apollo, vol. cxxiii, February 1936. When Whitton was sold in 1796 "Mounsr Claremount" was specifically mentioned in the sale particulars (see John Harris, Sir William Chambers (1970), 178-81; Clermont's name has also been linked (without any documentary substantiation) with the porcelain room at Marble Hill, made for Henrietta Howard in 1739.

the north of the library also has a ceiling painted by Clermont al antica featuring buildings connected with the Emperor Titus, who is depicted in the central medallion astride an eagle. And although the central medallion on the ceiling of the octagonal china closet (see below) is not Clermont's work, the ribs and border - including numerous representations of the Fountaine elephant crest - are clearly by the Frenchman.

It seems likely that Clermont was hired as a result of Fountaine's consultation with Pembroke of c.1735, since during this period Clermont was also working for Pembroke at Wilton House. Clermont's presence may also help to substantiate the claim for Morris' involvement at Narford. Not only was Pembroke a major patron of both figures, but they were employed simultaneously by the Earl in the Colonnade Room at Wilton in the mid-1730s. In addition, Clermont is definitely the author of the painted panels in the octagonal Fishing Lodge built by Morris at Monkey Island, on the Thames near Bray in Berkshire, in 1745, and may also have been employed at two other houses associated with Morris - Whitton Park and Marble Hill House, both in Middlesex.

The work performed during the 1730s included the interesting octagonal china closet projecting added to the north side of the new house (plate 143). In 1735 the antiquary Jeremiah Milles described the new closet as follows:

In the third room amongst many others is remarkable the picture of Vandyke painted by himself. Within this room is a closet with a glass door before it, which is full of vases, pots, plates, and all sorts of earthen ware; which seem to be put there as having all something curious...(1)

Another observer of the 1730s noted its unusual lighting:

China Closet is lighted by 3 cupola windows which has a surprizing pretty Effect as the china which is dispos'd extreamly well is viewed thro the glass door.(2)

This closet could well be the work of Morris, who is known to have used octagonal spaces at the Monkey Island Fishing Lodge and elsewhere. A second china room, mentioned by both Decker and Milles, was made beneath the library; this still exists today, although without its original contents, which were disposed of in the Christies sale of June 1884.

1 BL, Add.MS 15773, ff.66-9.

2 From an anonymous travel diary in Sir John Soane's Museum, 4759. The mention of a glass door provides another link with Pembroke, who was recorded by the Duchess of Marlborough in 1732 as having installed a similar feature at Westcombe Park in Kent.

The closet or cabinet to the north of the library may also be by Morris, since, as has already been noted, it contains both a ceiling by Clermont and also a small angle fireplace much in the Palladian style of the 1730s. This closet was evidently used to house small ornaments - in particular a collection of brass objects, mentioned by most of the eighteenth century visitors. The oddly angled doorway between this room and the library appears to be proof that the closet, whose west wall corresponds to the brick wall of the pre-classical courtyard, postdates the library of c.1713.

Whilst the examination of the archives at Narford has so far failed to provide any documentation for the Palladian additions, it has brought to light evidence of the nineteenth century work at the Hall. An elevation exists featuring the south front remodelled to include two slightly projecting wings of two bays each; this is signed 'J.C. and G. Buckler' and is dated 1840. The Bucklers' scheme, however, was clearly never executed. Instead, at the end of the 1850s the then Andrew Fountaine (the present owner's great-grandfather) brought in Robert Ketton of Norwich to design substantial new additions to the house. The Family Book testifies that Fountaine

... redecorated the house, throwing the drawing rooms there into one with connecting arches; laid down library floor made at Bruxelles. Formed the park, & made a lake artificially wh. cost £1200, with bridge &c, in /60 the fire proof room for china was constructed, then added bedrooms over dining room, making extra bow with car and ketton stone casing... also refronted the library to match... I next built tower and entrnace hall... In 1860 the clock tower, conservatory and screen walls were completed.

This account is substantiated by the existence at Narford of a number of signed drawings by Ketton. Two of these feature an ambitious project for remodelling of the east wing, a scheme which was never carried out. Ketton's name ('R.Ketton Architect') also appears on the cupola of the stables, with the date '1853'.

Ketton's executed wing (plate 142) totally unbalances the original composition. (Ketton was also employed by Fountaine in the early 1870s to design farm buildings for the Fountaine estate village of Tunstall.) It has been further altered in the last few years, when the present owner, also Andrew Fountaine, extended the kitchen - housed in a cubic projection abutting the library - a few feet to the north. Little, incidentally, survives of the eighteenth century interiors on the first floor, excepting a fine room to the west of the staircase which contains a heavy Palladian ceiling dominated by a large moulded oval.

15 SAVILE ROW, WESTMINSTER

For the Countess of Suffolk, c.1736

Morris had, of course, built Henrietta Howard's villa at Marble Hill; six years after its completion in 1729 Mrs. Howard - by now Countess of Suffolk - was employing him again, at her new London house on the Burlington Estate north of Piccadilly. In 1735 Morris was paid £800 for surveying the site, and in January 1735/6 he certified the contract with the builders Gray and Fortnam.⁽¹⁾ Part of the price was actually paid by Pembroke on the Countess' behalf - suggesting that, as at Marble Hill, not only Pembroke but also Morris were involved with the design to some extent.⁽²⁾

The finished house was, unlike 30 Burlington Street or Morris' own house in Green Street, merely a typical three-bay town house. The Countess died in 1767, and during the nineteenth century the house was hugely altered and all of the original work destroyed. The street elevation as it now stands has a heavy neo-Baroque doorcase with hood, massive and elaborate mid-nineteenth century window surrounds, cast iron balconies and a twentieth century attic storey.

1 Survey of London, xxxii, 518, 563.

2 M. Draper & W. Eden, Marble Hill House and its Owners (1970), 39.

ARGYLL HOUSE, MAYFAIR

Remodelling, for the Earl of Islay, c.1737-42

In 1737 work began on alterations and extensions to the early eighteenth century house in Argyll Street - no.7, subsequently renamed Argyll House - which was occupied by the Earl of Islay, later the 3rd Duke of Argyll.(1) According to Islay's correspondence, this work was evidently complete in 1742.(2)

The major part of this work was the addition of a larger library which, according to a plan of the 1770s (plate 132), abutted the south end of the main house, which itself was set back from Argyll Street. The two, large canted bays recall the low projections on the main block at Whitton Park, which had been recently built for Islay, probably to the designs of Roger Morris (q.v.). Thus Morris may well have been involved at Argyll House, too - a hypothesis reinforced by Islay's use of Morris later in the 1740s at both The Whim and Inveraray Castle.

The house was apparently extremely austere - reflecting Islay's notorious thriftiness, perhaps. No engravings or records of the interiors survive, but in 1806 the 6th Duke's mistress termed it a "dismal chateau".(3) A sketch of 1854 show an extremely plain principal facade, the pedimented front door having been moved two bays to the right since the plan of c.1770.(4)

During the late eighteenth century alterations were made by Mylne, and in 1808 the 6th Duke of Argyll sold it to the 4th Earl of Aberdeen, later to become Peel's Foreign Secretary and ultimately Prime Minister. Aberdeen died there in 1860, after which it was auctioned by his son and demolished in 1864.

1 Greater London RG, MLR 1737/5/240.

2 NLS, Saltoun MSS, letters from Islay dated 3 July and 30 October 1742.

3 Survey of London, xxxi, 297.

4 Survey of London, xxxii, plate 133a.

GOODWOOD HOUSE, SUSSEX

The Shell House, for the 2nd Duke of Richmond, c.1739

Near Carne's Seat in the grounds of Goodwood (q.v.) is a small garden building with profuse and elaborate shell decoration in the interior (plate 149). In 1739 HMS Diamond unloaded a shell cargo for the Duchess of Richmond,⁽¹⁾ and it is reasonable to assume that this represented the basis of the shell house. Morris' authorship is suggested not only by the fact that the shell work reproduces architectural elements in the same vein as found in the east wing of Mereworth Castle - also another putative Morris work; Morris' frequent links with the Duke of Richmond - at the Chichester Council House in 1731, and possibly also at Foxhall Lodge and Carne's Seat - also aid such an attribution.

¹ Ed. R.White, Georgian Arcadia (The Georgian Group, 1937), 31-2.

WILTON HOUSE, WILTSHIRE

The Porter's Lodge, for the 9th Earl of Pembroke, c.1740

John Rocque's Exact Survey... of 1754 (plate 67) shows a gate and lodge to the east of the main house at Wilton which were not present in an earlier view of 1728.(1) Drawings in the Royal Library at Windsor Castle (plates 65-6) include a plan and elevation for a building very much like Rocque's lodge (since demolished). The elevation features Morrisian motifs such as the double temple front - as used at the Chichester Council House - and a large Diocletian window. This elevation was later adapted by Robert Morris in his Architectural Remembrancer of 1750;(2) furthermore, a sketch of Eastbury in the same Visentini collection is annotated and signed by Morris. These factors, together with Morris' known intimacy with the Earl, all point to Morris as the architect, or at least as Pembroke's architectural consultant.

1 See John Harris in AH, 1984, 234.

2 AR, plates 11,27.

BEECHWOOD PARK, HERTFORDSHIRE

Library wing, for Sir Thomas Sebright, c.1740

Some time after Sebright inherited Beechwood in 1736 he evidently commissioned substantial alterations - designs for which survive in the Mellon Collection. The new scheme (plate 146) bears few of Morris' stylistic hallmarks, but the draughtsmanship may be his - largely in view of the fact that the printed captions, while not in Morris' informal hand, are of a bold, serif type found both in Morris' Inveraray drawings and on other projects ascribed to him. (See Appendix 2, below.) Certainly the Sebright family were closely linked with Sir Charles Hotham, the owner of South Dalton, and with the circle of the 9th Earl of Pembroke.

The only portion of this scheme which was executed, however, was the library itself. This four-bay addition (plate 145) now sits rather uneasily beside the rest of the house, which was successively remodelled by Chambers in c.1761, William Burn in 1851-4, and by less skilled hands in the 1920s and 1960s.(1) In 1804 the interior of the library itself was rebuilt by Thomas Cundy;(2) presumably it was at this time that the three Palladian windows were extended down almost to ground level. The house is now a Boys' Preparatory School.

The simple wing blocks (plate 147) have been tentatively attributed to 'Capability' Brown, who was employed to landscape the park in the 1750s. These, too, might possibly be by Morris: like the majority of the latter's works, they are astylar, and the three-bay centres and the square first floor windows do resemble elements in the library wing scheme.

1 N.Pevsner and D.Cherry, The Buildings of England: Hertfordshire (1977), 92-3. See also Country Life, 12 November 1938, 438.

2 Colvin, 245.

APETHORPE HALL, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

Alterations for the 7th Earl of Westmorland, c.1740

In 1735 John Fane succeeded to the title of the Earl of Westmorland, and shortly afterwards an architect submitted designs for the remodelling of his house at Apethorpe. These designs survive, but unfortunately only in the form of copies dating from the 1830s (plate 120).(1) No indication is given as to the precise identity of the architect; the copyist suggests Campbell, on the strength of his authorship of Mereworth, but Campbell died in 1729. However, the corner towers, pyramidal roofs and large Venetian windows suggest Morris, or a similarly Campbell-influenced designer. Also of interest is that the semicircular window on the executed south block (plates 121-2) recalls similar features in the wings of Mereworth Castle and at the west end of Mereworth Church - all projects which may well be connected with Morris (see above). As in the Mereworth wings and Narford (plate 122), the Apethorpe window has seven tapering glazing bars radiating from the centre.

In the event, only the north and south ranges of the principal courtyard were rebuilt (plate 121). These alterations necessitated the remodelling of the White Stair in the southwest corner and the demolition of the existing chapel. Also of the same date is the circular dovecote, for which a drawing exists amongst the nineteenth-century copies.(2) Notes of this rebuilding derive from an MS account which, according to the Victoria County History of Northamptonshire of 1900, was at the turn of the century in the ownership of Lady Rose Weigall. Unfortunately all traces of this MS appear to have vanished; neither the County Record Office nor the Fane family have been able to rediscover it.

Most of the original Palladian interiors have been swept away - some very recently, by an insensitive film crew shooting Another Country. A simple Kentian fireplace, with scallop and swag decoration, still survives in the southern range, and the White Stair retains its heavy Gibbs surrounds and plasterwork featuring apples, pears and other fruits. The northern range, now the library, has been completely altered except for simple window mouldings on the exterior.

The future of the house is now in some doubt. In 1981 it was bought by a wealthy Libyan, but on learning of the niceties and obstructions of English planning law he returned to his native country, leaving two workmen to keep up the entire house and its extensive gardens, whilst at the same time refusing to sell.

1 Northamptonshire RO, 'Collectanea Apethorpeana', W(A) misc. vol.37.

2 Ibid., drawing 7 kv.

MEREWORTH CASTLE, KENT

Wing pavilions for the 7th Earl of Westmorland, c.1740-3

The wings adjacent to Campbell's main block at Mereworth can only be assigned to Morris on stylistic grounds. They are of decidedly Morrisian form - an essentially cubic body with a pyramidal roof and lantern. The Tuscan porticoes recall both the west end of the nearby church (q.v.) and Morris' Althorp stables, which itself was taken from Jones' church at Covent Garden (plates 158,159,163). The semicircular windows with heavy, radiating glazing bars are also found in the church, and additionally at Apethorpe (see above) and Marble Hill.

Almost none of the original interiors remain, having been altered by successive owners. (The house remains in private hands; the current owner is His Excellency Sayed Mohammed Mahdi al Tajir, formerly the United Arab Emirates' ambassador to Britain.) In the drawing room to the right of the stairs in the east wing, however, the original shell decoration survives: here shells are used to reproduce architectural details and to create fish and other aquatic forms. The effect is much the same as found at the roughly contemporary Shell House at Goodwood (see above), a site which also has links with Morris. A diary of 1743 testifies to this shell work, and to the fact that the wings were complete by August 1743:

- There are very handsome offices... on each side of the house... In the offices on the right hand there is a room, most beautifully adorn'd with shell-work, and I think in a taste and wth an elegance far surpassing any work yt I have ever seen of that kind.(1)

1 DL, Add.MS 15776, f.198: "A Journey from London to Tunbridge Wells, Rye.... and Lewes", 20 August - 2 September 1743 (anonymous).

GOODWOOD HOUSE, SUSSEX

Carné's Seat and adjacent outbuilding, for the 2nd Duke of Richmond, c.1742

Documentary evidence for Morris' authorship of Carné's Seat - a small, temple-like building to the northeast of the main house - is slender, resting on two letters regarding work near Westminster Bridge. In the letter books for the latter site Morris is described as "just return'd from the Duke of Richmond's", and on 10 August 1742 despatches a good quantity of stone from Westminster to Goodwood.(1) Carné's Seat is the only building of that approximate date on the estate whose construction corresponds to the stone shipment.

The executed building (plate 148) is certainly reminiscent of Morris' style, particularly in the three-windowed arrangement of the southern projection. The octagonal glazing, however, is in the manner of Sir Robert Taylor; 1742 is, nevertheless, far too early a date for Taylor's participation. The interior is very plain, and leads on to an Ionic porch on the north side.

Nearby is a small garden seat, now very overgrown and in dire need of repair. Built of brick and with no exterior decoration, its octagonal form, the Diocletian windows on each face, and the pyramidal roof all suggest Morris' involvement.

1 BL, Add. MS 27587, accounts and letter books of Andrews Jelfe: letters sent from Westminster, 10 and 14 August 1747.

MEREWORTH CHURCH, KENT

For the 7th Earl of Westmorland, 1744-6

What ensures St. Lawrence's position as "the outstanding eighteenth century church in the county, in scale and ambition and in architectural interest" is its Neoclassical interior, "unprecedented in Georgian England".(1) This surprising church can be tentatively linked to Morris; however, examinations of local records have so far failed to establish any documentary proof of authorship.

The old church was still standing in August 1743, although in a parlous condition.(2) In 1744, however, the Earl of Westmorland secured diocesan permission to re-erect the church half a mile away, so as not to interfere with the new wings being built at Mereworth Castle.(3) The work appears to have been finished by June 1746, when licence was granted for relocating the tombs from the old site to vaults under the new church.(4)

Westmorland may well have been Morris' patron at Apethorpe and at the nearby castle; however, there is no factual evidence to affirm this hypothesis. The semicircular windows at the west end (plates 151) are also found at the castle wings (plates 159, 122), indicating that the two, roughly contemporary buildings were by the same hand. Such windows - with thick, tapering glazing bars radiating from the centre - also appear at Marble Hill and at other sites vaguely linked with Morris, such as Apethorpe and Narford. (These windows may have been taken from Palladio's San Francesco della Vigna in Venice, which Morris probably visited in c.1732 and possibly saw again in 1744.)

Additionally, the heavy Tuscan portico at the west end and the large Diocletian window at the east end (plate 151) strongly recall not only Jones' St Paul's, Covent

- 1 John Newman, The Buildings of England: West Kent and the Weald (1969), 421-2.
- 2 The anonymous diarist who travelled through Kent and Sussex in August-September 1743 (BL, Add.MS 15776, f.198) recorded that "unluckily enough ye parish church which is a very bad as well as ancient building stands just before the offices on ye left hand, and almost entirely hides them; but Lord Westmorland has a design to remove it further into the village".
- 3 Diocesan faculty granted 29 January 1742/3 (Kent RO, Rochester Diocesan Records, DRb/Acl/Af 12); licence to pull down the old building issued by the Bishop of Rochester 8 June 1744 (Kent RO, Fane MSS, U282/U4/1).
- 4 Fane MSS, U282/U4/3: charge of £4.17.0 for the removal of the bodies, dated 14 June 1746.

Garden but also Morris' Althorp stables (plate 54). The heavily Neoclassical interior has, admittedly, no precedent in Morris' documented works. Moreover, the Gibbsian tower (plate 160) appears to be a subsequent addition; a clear joint separates its masonry from that of the nave. However, Morris does seem to be one of the strongest candidates for authorship of this advanced building. (See above, chapter 3.)

WEST WYCOMBE PARK, BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

East portico, for Sir Francis Dashwood, executed c.1754

The north front of West Wycombe (plate 164) has long been associated with Morris. Its actual execution can be dated at the mid- or late-1740s, since it appears in Hannan's painting of the house of 1751. However, its close resemblance to Ware's design for Amisfield House in Lothian,(1) and Ware's probable involvement at Dashwood's London house in Hanover Square, point to Isaac Ware as the architect. (See above, chapter 3.)

Three drawings at West Wycombe(2) have also been linked to Morris. One of these (plate 133) is clearly not in Morris', but in a more delicate, hand; it is, however, a rather ill-proportioned variant of the small house depicted elsewhere (plate 134). The heavy wash is reminiscent of Morris' projects, and although the accompanying caption is not in Morris' hand, this may be a later addition. Whoever is the author of this, is clearly also the designer of the temple shown below as plate. Nevertheless, this does not have to be Morris; it could even be Dashwood himself, an enthusiastic artistic amateur.

It is conceivable, however, that Morris was the architect of the east portico (plate 165). Whilst a letter from a stone agent dates its erection at 1754, after Morris' death,(3) this date is also too early for the involvement of the two architects responsible for work at West Wycombe during the 1750s and 70s, Revett and Donowell. Furthermore, the form of the portico exactly reproduces the porticoes at Morris' Althorp stables and at the wings of Mereworth Castle (q.v.). Westmorland, patron at Mereworth, was Dashwood's uncle and guardian. Thus the east portico may indeed represent a posthumously-erected, Neoclassical work by Morris.

1 Isaac Ware, A Complete Body of Architecture (1756), plate 45.

2 Drawings kindly brought to my attention by Mr Charles Hind of Sotheby's.

3 See A.Oswald in Country Life, 6 May 1933.

(4) ATTRIBUTED UNEXECUTED WORKS

GOODWOOD, SUSSEX

Unexecuted designs for the 2nd Duke of Richmond, c.1725

The R.I.B.A. Drawings Collection includes an album of 7 designs originally at Goodwood House, featuring new designs for a relatively modest new main house. These are very Campbellian in style, and can thus be tentatively dated at c.1725, about which time Campbell was known, on the evidence of signed drawings for Richmond, to have been working for the Duke. John Harris has suggested that these drawings are in fact by Morris, as is a copy of the signed Campbell elevation (plate 10). There is nothing to specifically indicate Morris' authorship, however, and the attribution thus remains very tenuous. If the separate elevation can be positively identified as a copy by Morris, this lends further weight to the hypothesis, involving Morris' signed copy of Pembroke House, that in the mid-1720s Morris was either using Campbell's schemes as drawing exercises, or that Campbell was using the younger man as his draughtsman.

MILTON HOUSE, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

Unexecuted drawings for the 2nd Earl Fitzwilliam, c.1728

A collection of 13 drawings for a "new intended HOUSE" at Milton, near Peterborough, survives in Northamptonshire Record Office (plates 124-9). There is no firm evidence to link them with Morris, however, aside from stylistic indicators - and the interesting coincidence that Milton was not far from Apethorpe, another house with which Morris may have been involved.

These schemes include a number of Morris' favourite motifs - Diocletian windows, Venetian windows, four corner towers, low pyramidal roofs and oval openings. The immaturity of the drawings suggests that, if they are indeed by Morris, they date from some time during the 1720s. The striking resemblance of the "new intended Gothick Front to the South" - the only Gothic elevation of the set - (plate 124) to Morris' contemporary Clearwell Castle may suggest a date of c.1728, at which time Clearwell was being erected.

The Fitzwilliam Drawings also include designs for Milton by James Gibbs, dated 1726, for the 2nd Earl Fitzwilliam, who died in 1728. This, then, may indicate that the drawings attributed to Morris may date from slightly earlier than 1728; possibly both Gibbs and Morris were asked to submit designs - at the same time as they were evidently competing at Whitton Park (q.v.). In the event, however, neither of these schemes were executed, most probably due to the 2nd Earl's death in 1728. The rebuilding of the house was ultimately entrusted by the 3rd Earl to Henry Flitcroft in 1750-1.

LONGFORD CASTLE, WILTSHIRE

Unidentified design or designs for Sir Jacob Bouverie (later 1st Viscount Folkestone), c.1742-5.

Sir Jacob Bouverie(1) was a close neighbour of the Earl of Pembroke, and it seems possible that the latter effected an introduction between Bouverie and Morris when alterations to Longford Castle were being contemplated. An entry in the accounts at Longford for 31 May 1742 - a payment of £10 with the note, "Gave Mr Morris for drawing a design of the building at Longford" - demonstrates that Morris was certainly called in. However, there is no indication as to the identity of this 'building'; possibly it was the long gallery, rebuilt at about this time. It appears, however, that Morris' suggestions were rejected, since no further payments were made to him for the next three years.

In 1745 Morris was apparently again consulted. An entry in Bouverie's London housebook for 1723-45 (still in the archive at Longford) includes a payment of £42 to Morris dated 29 March 1745 and the comment "gave Mr Morris for drawing designs of the cupola to the Building". It is unlikely that this refers to Bouverie's London residence in Burlington Street, since the latter was not large enough, nor sufficiently isolated, to include such a grandiose feature. (Morris' favoured craftsmen - Mansfield, Phillips, Deval - were, nevertheless, employed at Burlington Street, according to the housebook accounts; this suggests that Morris was used in some advisory capacity here.) The phrasing of the entry, however, suggests that the cupola was not to be added to the original, triangular castle, but to a separate, new building, possibly in the grounds.

No other evidence exists pointing to the extent or the subject of Morris' designs. It is conceivable, however, that whereas this 'building' was never executed, Morris was at least called upon to add the balustrade across the west front of the castle. This feature is evident in the Vitruvius Britannicus view, but not in the earlier (undated) drawings of the castle by Thacher, now in the muniment room at Longford, which feature the original Jacobean gable flanked by two small sections of balustrade.

1 Bouverie was M.P. for Salisbury 1741-7. He succeeded to his brother Edward's baronetcy in 1736, and was created Viscount Folkestone by Pelham in 1747.

APPENDIX 2: THE EXTANT DRAWINGS OF ROGER MORRIS

A chronological list of surviving, original drawings firmly identified as, or attributed to, Roger Morris' hand.

Each entry is arranged as follows:

- description
- date
- evidence for Morris' authorship
- source of document
- plate number of drawing, or part of drawing collection, if included in thesis plates

(A) DOCUMENTED DRAWINGS

- 1
sketch of Pembroke House, Whitehall
undated (c.1723/4)
signed "Roger Morris Delt" at the side
Wilton House archive
- 2
plan of Marble Hill House, Twickenham
undated (c.1724)
signed by Morris
Wilton House archive
- 3
drawings of details (chimneypiece and tabernacle) for
Combe Bank, Kent
undated (c.1725)
annotated in Morris' hand
R.I.B.A. Drawings Collection
- 4
27 drawings for the exterior, interior and garden buildings
at Adderbury House, Oxfordshire
'new... gallery' dated 28 February 1730/1
'new... gallery' signed by Morris
Scottish Record Office
plate 50
- 5
elevation of Eastbury House, Dorset
dated 29 September 1733
annotated in Morris' hand
Royal Library, Windsor Castle
plate 59

- 6
 sketch of triumphal arch
 undated (c.1733)
 annotated in Morris' hand
 Royal Library, Windsor Castle
 plate 60
- 7
 side and end elevations for the bridge at Wilton House,
 Wiltshire
 undated (c.1736)
 in Morris' hand (compare nos. 5 and 6 above) and annotated
 in his hand on the left
 R.I.B.A. Drawings Collection
 plate 62
- 8
 elevation of the stables at Blair Athol, Perthshire
 dated 1742
 signed by Morris
 SNMR
 plate 73
- 9
 elevations and plans of outbuildings for Blair Athol,
 Perthshire
 Broomknow garden building elevations dated 1742 and signed
 by Morris
 SNMR
 plates 74-5
- 10
 plan of garden at The Whim, Peeblesshire
 dated October 1744
 endorsed 'Mr Morris' on the back
 National Library of Scotland
 plate 84
- 11
 10 plans and elevations for Rosneath Castle, Dunbartonshire
 8 dated 1744; 4 dated 1747; rest undated
 2 elevations of 1744 annotated "with the Towers" in Morris'
 hand
 SNMR
 plates 100-5
- 12
 half-elevation of south front of Inveraray Castle,
 Argyllshire
 undated (1744-7)
 printed by Morris - compare (B) 3,10 below - although
 annotated in another hand (Adam?)
 Inveraray Castle archive
 plate 91

- 13
13 drawings for Inveraray Castle, Argyllshire
c.1744-7; foundation plan dated 19 June 1746
foundation plan signed by Morris
Inveraray Castle archive
- 14
sketch of window for Rosneath Castle, Dunbartonshire
dated February 1747
annotated in Morris' hand
Inveraray Castle archive
plate 106
- 15
elevation of Kirby Hall, Yorkshire
undated (c.1747)
inscribed: "Elevation by R. Morris Archt. and the Earl of
Burlington"
BL, King's Maps
- 16
two designs and sketch for the Garron Bridge, Inveraray
Castle estate
undated (1747)
annotated by Morris (sketch in top left-hand corner)
Inveraray Castle archive
plates 95-6

(B) ATTRIBUTED DRAWINGS

- 1
7 designs for Goodwood: 4 office plans, 3 elevations
undated (c.1725)
no evidence for Morris' authorship aside from stylistic
similarities with Campbell's signed designs for
Goodwood of 1724 and other Campbell-influenced
projects; it is possible that these 7 were also by
Campbell, or were merely Morris' copies of Campbell
drawings devised as an exercise
R.I.B.A. Drawings Collection
plate 10
- 2
drawings for Whitton Park, Middlesex: 2 ground/first floor
plans, 2 elevations of Court front, 2 alternative
designs (plan and elevation), south front elevation
undated (c.1725)
stylistic evidence: see above, p. 346
Mellon Collection (reproductions in the Library of the
Courtauld Institute)
plates 114-15

3

13 drawings for Milton House, Northamptonshire
 undated (c.1728)
 stylistic evidence: see above, p. 369
 Northamptonshire RO
 plates 124-9

4

elevation of the stables at Studley Royal, Yorkshire
 undated (c.1729)
 documentary evidence: see above, p. 303
 R.I.B.A. Drawings Collection

5

estate plan of Studley Royal, Yorksnire
 undated (c.1729)
 documentary evidence: see above, p. 303
 R.I.B.A. Drawings Collection

6

elevation of Westcombe House, Kent
 undated (c.1732)
 documentary and stylistic evidence: see above, p. 348
 Wilton House archive
 plate 137

7

3 plans and elevation of Dodington's house in Pall Mall
 undated (c.1736)
 stylistic and documentary evidence: see above, p.146
 Norfolk RO
 plates 69-70

8

elevation and section of new garden front at Beechwood
 House, Hertfordshire
 undated (c.1740)
 printed in Morris' (?) hand - compare printing with nos.
 10 and 12, below
 private collection (photographs: Mr John Harris)
 plates 146

9

plan and elevation of the Porter's Lodge at Wilton House,
 Wiltshire
 undated (c.1740)
 stylistic evidence: see above, p. 359
 R.I.B.A. Drawings Collection
 plate 65

10

classical design for Inveraray Castle, Argyllshire
 dated 1744
 printed by (?) Morris - compare no.8 above - and
 documentary evidence (see above, p.323)
 Inveraray Castle archive
 plate 90

11

album of 46 drawings of Italian subjects and studies for
 houses
 Villa Madama elevation (not in Morris' hand) dated 1744
 majority printed by (?) Morris (see above); 4 in other hand
 (? James Morris); inside cover of album has bookplate
 with the name of James Morris and latter's (bogus)
 Netherby Morris crest
 Christie's/private collection
 plates 200-4

12

elevation and sections of the dovecote and Duniquaich Tower,
 Inveraray Castle estate
 dated 1747
 documentary evidence, although annotated in another hand
 Inveraray Castle archive

13

plan and section of temple and elevations of garden
 buildings, probably for West Wycombe Park,
 Buckinghamshire
 undated
 stylistic evidence: see above, p. 355
 West Wycombe Park
 plates 133-5

APPENDIX 3: THE EXTANT LETTERS OF ROGER MORRIS

A list of the currently extant letters by Roger Morris, either in his personal hand or surviving in the form of a later transcript.

The source of the document is given in square brackets.

To John Aislabie, 11 August 1729 [Leeds City Archives]
 To Lord Marchmont, 3 June 1731 [Scottish Record Office]
 To Lord Milton, 30 August 1744 [Inveraray Castle archive]
 " , 1 August 1745 (clerk's transcript)
 [Inveraray archive]
 To William Adam, 15 January 1746/7 (clerk's tr.) [Inveraray]
 " , 17 March 1746/7 " "
 To Lady Grace Vane, 25 July 1746 [Raby Castle archive]
 To Captain Peter Trelson, (with William Adam) 17 September
 1747 (clerk's tr.) [Inveraray]
 To Walter Paterson, 16 January 1747/8 (clerk's tr.)
 [Inveraray]
 To William Adam, 24 February 1747/8 (clerk's tr.)
 [Inveraray]
 To William Adam, 5 March 1747/8 " [Inveraray]
 To William Adam, 8 March 1747/8 " "

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Birch Collection, letters to Dr Birch (Add MS 4314)
Blenheim Papers, correspondence of the 1st Duchess of
Marlborough (Add MS 61451)
Buckler Drawings (Add MSS 36356, 36371)
James Essex, Gothic drawings (Add MSS 6760, 6765, 6770-6)
Letter Books of Andrews Jelfe (Add MS 27587)
King's Maps XI, XVI-XXX, XLV
Newcastle Papers, Bishopstone correspondence (Add MSS
32690, 33065)
Correspondence of Henrietta Howard, Countess of Suffolk
(Add MS 22626)

Courtauld Institute, London: Photographic Library
Drawings in the Mellon Collection

Coutts & Co, London
Account of Roger Morris, and related accounts (ex inf. Mary
Cosh)

Devon RO
Contracts for Lord Clinton: Castle Hill (Foretscue Papers,
E1/93), 11 Grosvenor Square (1262 M/TM 2)

Floors Castle archive, Roxburghshire
Bundle 558 (ex inf. Howard Colvin)

Greater London RO
Middlesex Calendar of Sessions, 870
Middlesex Land Register, 1726-49
Parish records of St Martin-in-the-Fields
Parish records of St Marylebone

Guildhall Library, London
Apprenticeship Books, Joiners Company
Apprenticeship Books, Tylers and Bricklayers Company

Hoare's Bank archive, London
Account of Roger Morris, and related accounts

Hull University: Brynmor Jones Library
Hotham Papers, correspondence of Sir Charles and Beaumont
Hotham (DDHO 4)
South Dalton drawings (DDHO 16)

Inveraray Castle, Argyllshire

Inveraray Letter Books (ex inf. Howard Colvin)

Kent RO

Fane MSS (U282)

Mereworth Parish Records

Rochester Diocesan Records, Mereworth parish (DRb/Acl)

Leeds District Archives, Yorkshire

Correspondence of Colen Campbell (UR 286)

Lincolnshire RO

Massingberd-Mundy Papers, South Ormsby drawings (MM4/13)

Newton Papers, Culverthorpe accounts (7/11/33-4)

Longford Castle archive, Wiltshire

Lord Folkestone's Accounts 1740-9

Narford Hall, Norfolk: library

Correspondence of Sir Andrew Fountaine and the 9th Earl of Pembroke

Uncatalogued drawings and letter books, c.1700-1870

National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh

Saltoun MSS (16601)

National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth

Dunraven MSS

Norfolk RO

Hobart MSS, Marble Hill drawings and receipts

Henrietta Howard's accounts (NRS 21140)

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Plans for Raby Castle, etc.

RIBA Drawings Collection, London

Designs for Adderbury House
 Designs for Beechwood House
 Designs for Esher Place
 Designs for Saltram

SNMR Photographic Library, Edinburgh

Blair Drawings (PTD 127)
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