



THE
GEORGIAN
GROUP

Richard Hewlings, 'Roger Morris and Lydiard
Tregoze', *The Georgian Group Journal*,
Vol. XIV, 2004, pp. 33-47

ROGER MORRIS & LYDIARD TREGOZE

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Lydiard Park, at Lydiard Tregoze, four miles west of Swindon, is the most important English country house of ‘Palladian’ type whose architect has, until now, been unknown. In the preceding article Carole Fry publishes her discovery of the 2nd. Lord St. John’s payment to ‘Ro: Morris’ on 10 September 1744, which strongly suggests that Roger Morris was its architect. It has, however, been attributed to Morris before, on the basis of its appearance. In 1948, when it had not long been in public ownership, Christopher Hussey published a largely unsurpassed account of it in *Country Life*. His first article (of two) noted the ‘utmost magnificence’ and ‘assured accomplishment’ of the principal rooms, and ‘the exquisite simplicity of the elevations’. In his view ‘a master mason ... alone’ could not have been responsible for this. His second article raised the stakes a little bit further.

... the analogies are definitely with London and not with any provincial centre; the execution is first-rate and the themes are not only consistent in each room but with one another, producing the impression that they were selected and combined by a knowledgeable and fastidious mind

And he was prepared to identify whose mind it was. ‘The general resemblance of the fronts, with their pavilions, to Wilton’, where Roger Morris had worked in 1736–37, and of the internal decoration to Marble Hill House, of which Morris was the architect, led him to attribute its design to Roger Morris.¹

It is difficult to disagree with Hussey’s particular observations, and no one has disagreed with his conclusion. Nonetheless his attribution always

seemed disquietingly facile. In 1948 Morris had only just been identified. He was not one of those architects whose existence had been continuously noted since his lifetime, unlike his relation Robert Morris, whose publications had assured his recorded attention. Five of Roger’s designs had been published, all by Woolfe and Gandon in *Vitruvius Britannicus*, two (New Park Lodge, Richmond, and Combe Bank) in vol. IV (1767),² and three (Wimbledon House, Kirby Hall, and the Palladian Bridge at Wilton) in vol. V (1771).³ All five designs are inscribed ‘R. Morris Arch.’, and were inevitably taken to be the work of Robert.

Roger’s name first appeared in print 195 years after his death, in January 1944, when a letter to *Country Life* distinguished him from Robert for the first time. A brisk exchange of correspondence had established Roger Morris as an architect by the following April. The January letter, from Edith Olivier, identified him only as clerk of works of the Palladian Bridge at Wilton.⁴ In February James Lees-Milne testified that the architect’s drawings for Inverary Castle were clearly signed ‘Roger Morris’.⁵ In March Hussey revealed his discovery that Vertue had clearly called Roger Morris architect of Chichester Council House, and Hussey speculated on what else Morris might have done at Goodwood.⁶ In April W.J. Hemp broadcast Morris’s post as Carpenter and Principal Engineer to the Board of Ordnance, his intimacy with the Duke of Argyll and Earl of Pembroke, his date of death and much of his genealogy.⁷ In March of the following year Hussey enthusiastically attributed Trafalgar House, Standlynch, Wilts., to

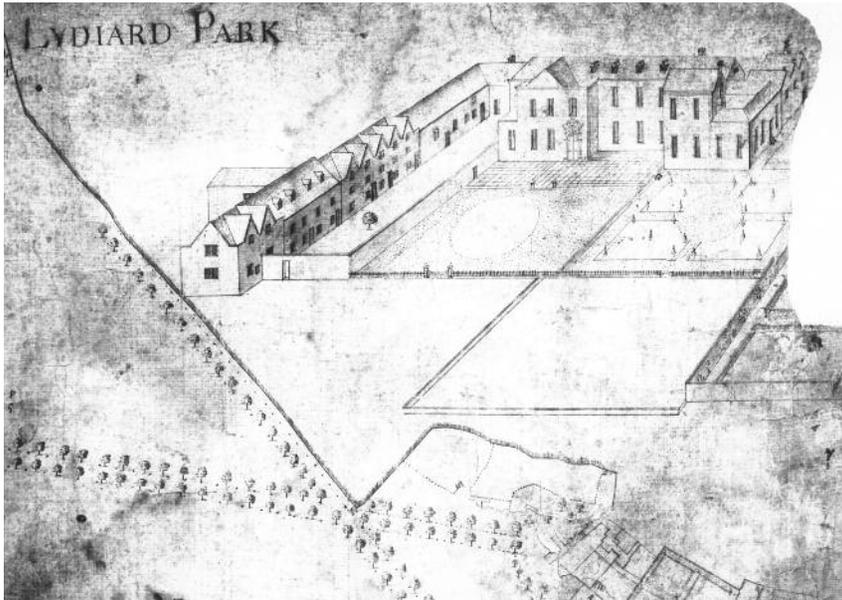


Fig. 1. Lydiard Park, view from the south before the rebuilding of c.1741–3, on an early eighteenth-century estate map.
Ward-Boughton-Leigh archives, Warwickshire Record Office.

Morris on the basis of misinformation—that Morris’s wife, Mary, was the sister of Sir Peter Vandeput, who built the house.⁸ Further information about Morris’s work at Wilton and at Eastbury emerged in 1947 and 1949 respectively.⁹

Thus in 1948 an attribution to a newly discovered architect of such apparent importance may have been more tempting than it would be today. Since 1948 the careers of other previously unknown ‘Palladian’ architects (Daniel Garrett, Stephen Wright, or John Sanderson, for instance) have been established, and now we might wish to consider them too as possible architects of Lydiard Park. Furthermore Hussey’s inclusion of Trafalgar House with the two other buildings in which he saw resemblances to Lydiard diminishes confidence in his attribution; in 1986 this erroneous attribution was corrected, revealing Trafalgar to be the work of John James.¹⁰ There has therefore been some cause to treat Hussey’s attribution with reserve. Although mentioned in the 1978

edition of Howard Colvin’s *Biographical Dictionary*, it had disappeared from the 1995 edition.¹¹

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No accounts or letters have been found to confirm or deny Christopher Hussey’s insight. Date and builder alone are known from a stone inscription inside the attic storey.

This house was Rebuilt AD: MDCCXLIII by John Lord Viscount St. John who Married Anne the Daughter & Coheirress of Sr. Robert Furnese Barronet of Waldershare in the County of Kent

Lord St. John was the second Viscount, and in 1743 he had not long inherited, although still within the life of a very much older and very much better known brother, for which some explanation is required.

Both brothers were the children of Henry St. John (1652–1742), who had been put in possession of Lydiard Tregoze in 1673 by his father, Sir Walter St. John, 3rd. Baronet, although Sir Walter did not die until 1708.¹² An early eighteenth-century view of

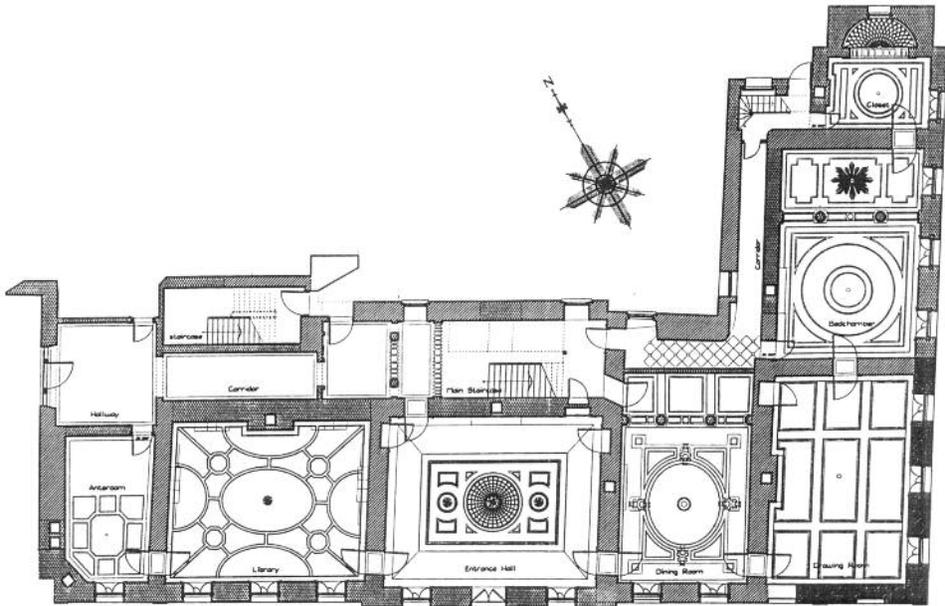


Fig. 2. Lydiard Park, plan, 1999. The room names currently used are, from left to right, ante-room, library, hall, dining room, drawing room, bedchamber and closet.
Crawford and Gray Architects.

Lydiard Park shows a house whose front elevation was styled somewhat in the manner of William Hurlbutt (Fig. 1).¹³ This could have been done for Henry St. John, or even for Sir Walter, who was married to his cousin Johanna, daughter of the Oliver St John who had built Thorpe Hall, Peterborough, in 1654–6.¹⁴

Henry St. John married twice. His only son by his first marriage, also Henry, born in 1678, was the famous Secretary of State in the Tory administration of 1710–14, and subsequent political philosopher, known to posterity as Lord Bolingbroke. He was made a peer in 1712, as Viscount Bolingbroke, with special remainder to the sons of his father by the latter's second marriage. Of these the second son and ultimate heir was John, re-builder of the house in 1743, who was born in 1702, nearly twenty-four years after his famous elder brother.¹⁵

As is well known, Bolingbroke fled the country in March 1715 and was attainted the following

September, the attainder including the loss of his peerage. In France, James III appointed him his Secretary of State and created him Earl of Bolingbroke, but he opposed the rebellion of 1715 and detached himself from James, who dismissed him in March 1716. The first step in his rehabilitation came in the following July, when his father (by then Sir Henry, 4th baronet since 1708) was elevated to the peerage as Viscount St. John, also with remainder to his sons by his second wife. Bolingbroke was pardoned in 1723 and returned to the country in 1725, although his peerage remained abeyant during his life, only coming alive again for his heirs.¹⁶

Beside Lydiard Tregoze, the family had an estate at Battersea, in Surrey, and the 1st. Lord St John lived mainly in London, first in Bury Street, then from 1692 to 1700 in Berkeley Street, and from at least 1704 in Albemarle Street, where he died in 1742.¹⁷ Yet Bolingbroke, although always in need of money, did not take on Lydiard. He had the use of his wife's

house at Bucklebury on the Berkshire Downs (and thus not far from Lydiard) until her death in 1718, when she left it to her sister. By then he was ‘superintending buildings’ at Marcilly-sur-Seine, near Nogent-sur-Seine, in Champagne, the home of his second wife, formerly the Marquise de Villette. From 1720 to 1725 they leased the Château de la Source, near Orléans, where he built a new house and ornamented the grounds which surround the spring from which the property takes its name. In 1725 he bought Dawley House in Middlesex, and engaged Gibbs to alter and enlarge it. But in 1735 he retired to Chanteloup in Touraine, with the later use of a *château* at Argeville, near Fontainebleau (for the hunting), and of a *pavillon* in the convent of Notre Dame at Sens, of which his step-daughter was abbess. He sold Dawley in 1739.¹⁸ In 1744 he returned to England again, and from then until his death in 1751 he evidently had the use of the family manor house at Battersea,¹⁹ although his father’s will, made in 1738, makes it clear that the lease of Battersea was at that date held by the younger son, John.²⁰ An accommodation was probably arrived at after their father’s death in 1742.

A letter written in 1745 by Bolingbroke to their sister, Henrietta, Lady Luxborough, reveals what purpose he thought a country house served, and may explain why he did not take the opportunity to live at Lydiard.

I am glad that my Lord St. John has done so much at Lydiard. I abandoned it to him that he might restore that family seat, and that by living there decently and hospitably he might restore a family interest, too much and too long neglected.²¹

The political purpose of display, in this case its architectural form, is plainly expressed here by a potential landowner who was himself a political philosopher. Marcilly, La Source and Dawley are testimony to an interest in architecture on his part. But when he lived in the country, in hunting boxes on the Berkshire Downs or the Forest of Fontainebleau, in a garden built around a spring or

in a *pavillon* in a fashionable convent, he evidently did so only for their recreational opportunities. He was also clearly aware of the expressive possibilities of his residence. He made use of rural retreat as a political stance. He was pleased to know that he was nicknamed ‘the Thracian’ in his absence at Bucklebury, the reference being to Xenophon, awaiting his country’s call.²² As an obviously political gesture he renamed Dawley *Dawley Farm*, and had rakes and spades painted on the walls of the hall.²³ All this suggests a belief that the value of a country seat was solely political. So he may have resigned Lydiard to his brother because, excluded from the House of Lords, he had no political opportunities.

There are indications that Bolingbroke’s resignation of his interest in Lydiard Park took place in 1739.²⁴ He retained the income from the woodlands, the advowson of the church and, strangely, the contents of both Lydiard Park and Battersea Manor House apart from the pictures. These arrangements were evidently complete by the time the old lord made his will on 13 October, which accordingly scarcely mentions John.²⁵ But John St. John would presumably have been free to rebuild from then at least.

Increasing means of doing so became available in 1740. John St. John had two sources of income additional to those of his father and brother. He had married an heiress, Anne, daughter of Sir Robert Furnese, 2nd. Bart., of Waldershare Park, Kent. They married in 1729, and the settlement provided him with £20,000.²⁶ Her father died in 1733, and his only son and immediate heir, Sir Henry, died in 1735, leaving Mrs St. John co-heiress with her two sisters to the Furnese fortune.²⁷ Much of this may have been spent quite soon on the purchase of No. 75 South Audley Street, newly built, but evidently incomplete, for in 1738 John St. John contracted with Edward Shepherd to complete, fit it up and decorate it for £4,000.²⁸ However, another source of income became available in 1740, when he succeeded to the

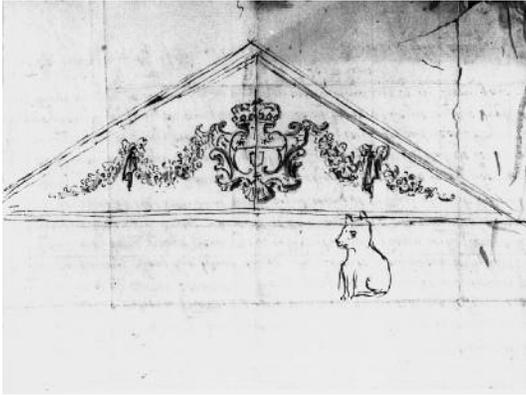


Fig. 3. Sketch of a pediment with the arms of the 2nd. Viscount and Viscountess St. John, doubtless a proposal for Lydiard Park, c.1743. *Wiltshire and Swindon Record Office.*

post of Controller of Customs and Subsidies of the Port of London, worth £1,200 a year, whose reversion had been bought for him by his father from the Duchess of Kendal in 1721.²⁹

The first indication of building at Lydiard can be found in a letter from St. John to his Wiltshire neighbour Goddard Smith of Tockenham, dateable to around May 1741.

I am sure I've been a very great Dupe to the Wotten Brickmakers, they have not only cheated me in the price of Six pence a thousand, but I've reason to think much in the Tale [tally], both of Brick & Lime. As to the Godness of it you are quite sensible of it. This comes of Electioneering, for my part I'll have nothing more to do in it. I am glad I've got rid of Langly, he has been at the bottom of it all. I am some hundreds the worse for him. I've writ to Ralph about the Kiln &c. he need not Dig anymore Clay till I come Down. I really, Please God, Design to sett out next Monday fortnight. In the meantime, desire him to go on Burning, both Brick & Tile, with all expedition.³⁰

'Wotten' is Wootton Bassett, the nearest town to Lydiard before Swindon grew. The electioneering was presumably St. John's unsuccessful contest of the Wootton Bassett election, which was held on 6 May 1741.³¹ It is unclear whether Langly was an

agent, a borough officer or a surveyor; if the latter, he could have been Batty Langley, who would then have been 44.³² Later in the letter St. John told Smith that he had 'Drawn on you to Nat: Ireson or order £40: please to honour it, & take a receipt.' 'Nat: Ireson' was presumably the Warwickshire builder who had been apprenticed to Francis Smith, and who had settled at Wincanton in Somerset in 1726, practising also as an architect there.³³ Two later letters from St. John to Smith (who had obtained a house design from Ireson) reveal that St. John knew Ireson as an architect.³⁴ And in a postscript to the 1741 letter St. John wrote, 'I pray order Osborne to see my lime is well secured from the weather, & kept locked, to sell none but for ready money, except to your Honour.'³⁵

On the back of a letter to St. John dated 4 June 1743 there is a sketch of a pediment with the arms of St. John with a viscount's coronet, and of Furnese in an escutcheon of pretence (Fig. 3).³⁶ Although a

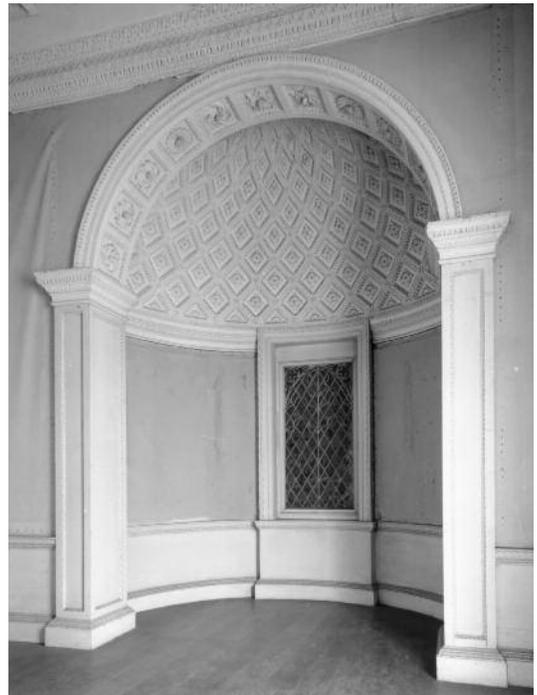


Fig. 4. Lydiard Park, niche in the closet, 1948. *Country Life.*



Fig. 5. Lydiard Park, chimneypiece in the drawing room, 1948. *Country Life*.

sketch, it is reasonably accomplished, and may have been made by an architect. It is, however, a proposal, for the thick foliage swags which flank the arms in the sketch were replaced in execution by fluttering ribbons with the St. John motto (Fig. 10).

Reasonable inferences to be drawn from this contextual information might therefore include the possibilities that Gibbs, his older brother's architect, or Edward Shepherd, architect of his own town house, were John St. John's architect at Lydiard Tregoze; that Batty Langley might have been engaged and dismissed before building began; that St. John certainly engaged a brickmaker called Ralph, and Nathaniel Ireson in an unknown capacity. Building materials were being assembled in May 1741, and the pediment had yet to be carved some time after June 1743.

* * *

But Carole Fry has found slightly more specific information. St. John had an account at Hoare's

Bank from 1736, although it was scarcely used until 1744. On 10 September of that year it records a payment of £42 to 'Ro: Morris', and on 13 November following the first of five payments to 'Nathl. Ireson', totalling £159, of which the last was made on 2 October 1746.³⁷ 'Ro:' could be an abbreviation for either Roger or Robert, the payment is not recorded in relation to Lydiard, nor to any building at all, so it does not confirm Christopher Hussey's attribution absolutely. Nonetheless, taken in conjunction with circumstances unknown to Hussey, it makes his attribution extremely convincing, and it confirms St. John's employment of Nathaniel Ireson.

The first of these circumstances are St. John's own connections. Sir Robert Furnese, his father-in-law, had built the Belvedere in Waldershare Park, probably to the design of Colen Campbell, Roger Morris's master.³⁸ The only two building tradesmen of the Belvedere whose work is otherwise known,



Fig. 6. Lydiard Park, chimneypiece in the hall, 1948. *Country Life*.

George Mercer and John Hughes, both worked under Morris elsewhere.³⁹ Morris, as Campbell's commercial or professional heir, might thereby have been the favoured choice of St. John's wife.

One of the two executors of his will, made in June 1748, was Henry Furnese.⁴⁰ This cannot have been his brother-in-law, Sir Henry Furnese, 3rd. Bart., since the latter died in 1735. It must have been the latter's cousin, Henry Furnese of Gunnersbury Park, Middlesex. Henry Furnese was perhaps a friend and in July 1749 certainly a dinner guest of Lord Burlington's at Chiswick, through whom he might have met Morris.⁴¹ He was also a friend and political ally of George Bubb Dodington; both Furnese and Dodington were leading members of the Prince of Wales's party,⁴² and St. John, who first entertained the Prince at Battersea in 1730, was described as intimate with him in 1737.⁴³ If, as seems likely, he too was a member of this party, he would have found that Morris was its favoured architect, probably working for other members, such as the 7th. Earl of Westmoreland and Sir Francis Dashwood, certainly working for Dodington at Eastbury, Hammersmith and Pall Mall, and accompanying him on a tour of Italy in 1731–32.⁴⁴

Goddard Smith's diary also reveals a little about Lord St. John's social circle in north Wiltshire and west Berkshire, which evidently included Sir Mark Pleydell of Coleshill and Lord Bruce of Tottenham.⁴⁵ Both had benefited from the architectural advice of Lord Burlington,⁴⁶ which might seem to favour the latter as architect of Lydiard, and it is true that there are features at Lydiard which are taken from Chiswick House—the diamond-patterned coffering in the closet niche (Fig. 4), the entire chimneypiece in the drawing room (Fig. 5), and the downward-tapering pilasters of the hall chimneypiece (Fig. 6).⁴⁷ But Lord Burlington was as much a collaborator with Morris as was (more famously) the 9th. Earl of Pembroke. Morris and Burlington together contributed to the design of Castle Hill, Devon, and Kirby Hall, Yorkshire; they were both involved at

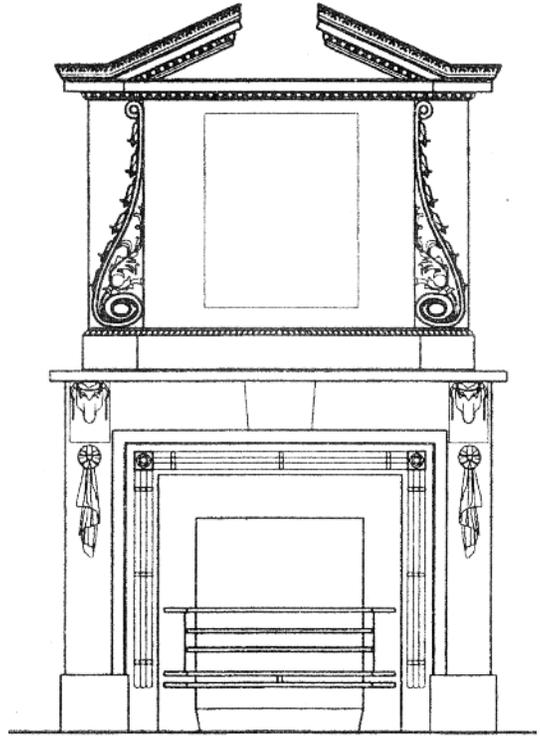


Fig. 7. Lydiard Park, chimneypiece in the ante-room, 1999. *Crawford and Gray Architects.*

Goodwood and Chichester for the 2nd. Duke of Richmond;⁴⁸ and in different ways they contributed to the school and almshouses at Sevenoaks.⁴⁹ Lord and Lady Bruce also had direct knowledge of Morris's work; in 1739 they were married at Combe Bank in Kent, designed by Morris for her father, Col. John Campbell, and the next day they announced their immediate intention of visiting Col. Fane (the future Lord Westmoreland) at Mereworth, where Morris succeeded Campbell as architect.⁵⁰ So Lord St. John might well have found that Morris was recommended by his north Wiltshire neighbours; should he have mixed with Lords Pembroke and Folkestone, respectively at Wilton House and Longford Castle in the south of the county, he might well have received the same advice.⁵¹

If he had sought similar advice from his



Fig. 8. Lydiard Park, chimneypiece in the dining room, 1948. *Country Life*.



Fig. 9. Lydiard Park, chimneypiece in the bedchamber, 1948. *Country Life*.

neighbours in South Audley Street, he would have found Roger Morris's work prominent among them. Morris's own house in Green Street was one of the biggest and most distinctive on the Grosvenor estate in Mayfair;⁵² he had built stables and a riding house for the 2nd. Troop of Horse Guards in Park Street, one of the few public buildings on the estate;⁵³ he was paid by Lord Clinton (his patron at Castle Hill, Devon) for work of some kind at No. 11 Grosvenor Square in 1728,⁵⁴ and by Lord Guilford (subsequently Lady St. John's brother-in-law) for work at No. 50 Grosvenor Square in the 1730's;⁵⁵ and No. 50 Grosvenor Square, built in 1727-8 for John Aislabie (his patron at Studley Royal), has been attributed to him.⁵⁶

Even Lord St. John's brother had first-hand knowledge of Morris. In 1728 Morris had built the column commemorating the Duke of Marlborough in Blenheim Park.⁵⁷ Bolingbroke had composed the inscription on it.⁵⁸ One of Bolingbroke's friends, the 2nd. Earl of Marchmont, had also employed Morris to survey a house for him in Grosvenor Square in 1731.⁵⁹

It is thus not surprising to find that when Lord St. John wrote to Goddard Smith in August 1743, discussing architectural drawings made for the latter by Nathaniel Ireson, Roger Morris was associated in some way with the four country houses which he also chose to discuss in the same letter. Smith had been to Ripon, where Morris had built the stables at Studley Royal under Campbell's direction, and



Fig. 10. Lydiard Park, front door, 1948. *Country Life*.

probably more by himself. St. John wrote: ‘I am glad you find Studley as Beautifull as I discribed it’. St. John, on the other hand, had

been at Wilton, Doddingtons and Mr Hoares, all three delightfull in their different ways, the 2d is Magnificent past all description, it’s a Gold Palace not the house of a Subject. Mr Hoare’s is the very Counterpart of Studley, 40 Acres of Clear Water in a Valley & the hills Nobly planted with trees & Temples, falls of water, Obolisks, &c without End.⁶⁰

At Wilton Morris had designed the Palladian Bridge in 1736–37, and had made further alterations to the house in 1742.⁶¹ ‘Doddingtons’ was presumably Eastbury in Dorset, which Morris had completed c.1733–38 for George Bubb Dodington.⁶² ‘Mr Hoares’

was presumably Stourhead, built for Henry Hoare by Colen Campbell c.1720–24, with Ireson as principal contractor, and further developed by Morris in 1726 and 1734.⁶³

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The *corpus* of Morris’s known work having been enlarged since 1948, Morris’s design idiosyncrasies are better known now than they could have been to Christopher Hussey. At least six of these are visible at Lydiard. One of the most distinctive is the treatment of chimney breasts in the hall, ante-room, dining room and bedchamber (Figs. 6, 7, 8 and 9). Although these project into the room, they are not continued up to the ceiling as was customary, with the ceiling cornice breaking forward round them.



Fig. 11. Lydiard Park, hall, 1948. *Country Life*.

Instead the chimneybreast is curtailed above the overmantel, leaving the wall plane above it and the ceiling cornice uninterrupted. This treatment may have been pioneered by Campbell, who used it at Mereworth Castle and Compton Place, Eastbourne, houses where Morris succeeded him as architect.⁶⁴ Leoni also used it, at Lathom and at Clandon, and there is a case for believing that Leoni was another disciple of Campbell.⁶⁵ But Morris used it more than any one else—at Marble Hill, Combe Bank and Adderbury, and in other buildings which are merely attributed to him.⁶⁶

The fanlight above the front door is also distinctive (Fig. 10). It has radiating glazing bars connected at their outer ends by semi-circles instead of the more usual segments. Morris used this design at Marble Hill, and it can also be seen on buildings attributed to him at Apethorpe, Mereworth Castle, Mereworth Church and Narford.⁶⁷

The larger plaster panels on shorter walls of the hall at Lydiard have intruded top corners, with *paterae* placed in the intrusions, and swagged wreaths suspended from masks at the top of each panel (Fig. 11). This almost duplicates the treatment of the larger panels in the saloon at Marble Hill, save for the number of swags.⁶⁸

The coved ceiling of the hall at Lydiard, although not unique to Morris, is also characteristic of his style (Fig. 11). Examples can be found in the hall at Althorp, the saloon at New Park Lodge, Richmond, in Morris's drawings for the gallery at Adderbury, for the saloon at Beechwood Park, Hertfordshire and in those for the Bank of England.⁶⁹

The screens of columns at Lydiard, Ionic in the dining room, Corinthian in the bedchamber, are also characteristic of Morris (Figs. 12 and 13). Corinthian screens are found in the bedchamber at Marble Hill, and Ionic screens in the hall of No. 9 Clifford



Fig. 12. Lydiard Park, dining room, 1996. *Crown copyright NMR.*



Fig. 13. Lydiard Park, bedchamber, 1996. *Crown copyright NMR.*

Street.⁷⁰ Like the overmantels, they appear to have been formerly a partiality of Colen Campbell's, who used the Ionic version in the long gallery at Compton Place and in Sir Robert Walpole's bedchamber at Houghton.⁷¹

Although the diamond coffering pattern in the niche of the closet at Lydiard (Fig. 3) is similar to the coffering in the niches of the gallery at Chiswick, diamond coffering was not an invention of Lord Burlington's. Wren, for instance, had used it in St. Paul's and in St. Clement Danes. It was an ancient Roman pattern, conspicuously used in the Temple of Venus and Roma in Rome, and recorded there by Palladio.⁷² Morris used it too, in the shell grotto at Goodwood and in his designs for the Bank of England, so its use at Lydiard is not really an argument for Lord Burlington as architect.⁷³ It is equally an argument for Roger Morris, and, taken with the features listed above, it is a better one.

Carole Fry's discovery of the bank payment may imply that Morris was the architect of Lydiard Park. In conjunction with patronal connections, and with visual affinities to buildings now known to be by Morris, but not so known in 1948, that implication is very convincing.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to Warwickshire County Record Office for permission to reproduce the drawing illustrated in fig. 1, to Wiltshire and Swindon Record Office for permission to reproduce the drawing illustrated in fig. 3, and to Messrs. Crawford and Gray, architects, for permission to reproduce their drawings in figs. 2 and 7. I am grateful to the Rev. Canon Brian Carne, Ms. Anna Eavis and Mrs. Sarah French-Crisp for their help in obtaining prints. Canon Carne, Sir Howard Colvin and Mr. John Neale read drafts of this article and made helpful observations.

NOTES

- 1 Christopher Hussey, 'Lydiard Tregoz, Wilts', *Country Life*, CIII, March 19 and 26, 1948, 578–81, 626–29.
- 2 John Woolfe and James Gandon, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, IV, London, 1767, 1–4 (New Park Lodge) and 75–7 (Combe Bank).
- 3 *Ibid.*, V, London, 1771, 20–2 (Wimbledon), 70–1 (Kirby) and 89 (Palladian Bridge).
- 4 Edith Olivier, 'Wilton House 1544–1944, and the Earls of Pembroke—I', *Country Life*, XCV, January 28 1944, 157–58.
- 5 James Lees-Milne, 'The Inveraray architects', *Country Life*, XCV, February 25 1944, 342.
- 6 Christopher Hussey, 'Roger Morris, architect', *Country Life*, XCV, March 17 1944, 473.
- 7 W.J. Hemp, 'Who was Roger Morris?', *Country Life*, XCV, April 7 1944, 604.
- 8 Christopher Hussey, 'Trafalgar House, Wiltshire', *Country Life*, XCVIII, July 13 1945, 68.
- 9 Christopher Hussey, 'Palladian Bridge Architect', *Country Life*, CI, June 20 1947, 1168–9; F.J.B. Watson, 'Roger Morris and Eastbury', *Country Life*, CV, February 11 1949, 317.
- 10 Sally Jeffery, 'An architect for Standlynch House', *Country Life*, CLXXIX, February 13 1986, 404–6.
- 11 Howard Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600–1840*, London, 1978, 562.
- 12 Elizabeth Crittall (ed.), *The Victoria History of the Counties of England, A History of Wiltshire*, IX, 79.
- 13 Warwick, Warwickshire Record Office, Ward-Boughton-Leigh archives, CR 162/714; reproduced in John Bold with John Reeves, *Wilton House and English Palladianism*, London, 1988, 145, fig. 214.
- 14 *Dictionary of National Biography*, XVII, Oxford, 1888–9 (hereafter *DNB*), 619.
- 15 GEC[okayne], *The Complete Peerage*, II, London, 1912, 205; *ibid.*, XI, London, 1949, 331–3.
- 16 *Burke's Peerage*..., London, 1959, 247–8.
- 17 Brian Carne, 'John, 2nd Viscount St. John (1702–1748)', *Friends of Lydiard Tregoze Report* (hereafter *FLTR*), XXXIII, 29 and 33.
- 18 *DNB*, *cit.*, 625 (Bucklebury), 627 (Marcilly and La Source), 628 and 629 (Dawley), 629 (Chanteloup, Argeville and Sens); Sheila Radice, 'Bolingbroke in France', *Notes and Queries*, CLXXVII, 1939, 309; Terry Friedman, *James Gibbs*, New Haven and London, 1984, 315–6.
- 19 H.T. Dickinson, *Bolingbroke*, London, 1970, 247, 278, 279, 295.

- 20 Carne, *op. cit.*, 47, Appendix 2.
- 21 Romney Sedgwick (ed.), *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1715–1754*, London, 1970, II, 403; Carne, *op. cit.*, 35.
- 22 Dickinson, *op. cit.*, 316, n.24.
- 23 *Ibid.*, 212; *DNB, cit.*, 628.
- 24 Carne, *op. cit.*, 35, quoting a letter from Bolingbroke to St. John of 4 April 1743: ‘I said you and your children were to keep up the family, and in that view I put you four years ago into possession of the Seat of it’.
- 25 Carne, *op. cit.*, 47.
- 26 Carne, *op. cit.*, 34 and 49.
- 27 Carne, *op. cit.*, 34; John Bernard Burke, *...Extinct and Dormant Baronetcies...*, London, 1844, 211.
- 28 Carne, *op. cit.*, 34; F.H.W. Sheppard (ed.), *Survey of London, XL (The Grosvenor Estate in Mayfair)*, London, 1980, 311.
- 29 Carne, *op. cit.*, 34; Sedgwick, *loc. cit.*
- 30 Carne, *op. cit.*, 40, citing Devizes, Wiltshire Archaeological Society, Library, W.J. Parsons collection (hereafter Parsons), Book 4 (‘Old Letters No. 75’), p. 36.
- 31 Carne, *op. cit.*, 40; Sedgwick, *op. cit.*, I, 353.
- 32 Howard Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600–1840*, New Haven and London, 1995 (hereafter Colvin), 597.
- 33 *Ibid.*, 529.
- 34 Carne, *op. cit.*, 43, citing Parsons, Book 5, no page ref. .
- 35 Carne, *op. cit.*, 40, citing Parsons, Book 4, p. 36. Osborne is unlikely to have been a building tradesman; he may have been either Thomas Osborne of St. Andrew, Holborn, steward of Lord St. John’s Battersea estate, or George Osborne, vicar of Battersea, both identifiable in the 1st. Lord St. John’s will [Carne, *op. cit.*, Appendix 2, 47–8].
- 36 Trowbridge, Wiltshire and Swindon Record Office, 3430/3.
- 37 London, C. Hoare and Co., Customer Ledger 44, fol. 434 (‘Ro: Morris’); *idem*, and *ibid.*, Customer Ledger S. fols. 62 and 243 (‘Nathl. Ireson’).
- 38 Richard Hewlings, ‘The Belvedere at Waldershare Park’, forthcoming. The attribution of the Belvedere to Campbell is based on the draughtsmanship of a proposal drawing for it at Chatsworth, Devonshire Collection, Boy [19].
- 39 Maidstone, Centre for Kentish studies, U471/A17. Mercer also worked under Gibbs [Friedman, *op. cit.*, 291, 304, 306 and 307], and Hughes worked under Campbell [H.M. Colvin, *The History of the King’s Works*, V, London, 1976, 258; Sheppard, *op. cit.*, XXXII (2), London, 1963, 400; Geoffrey Beard *Decorative Plasterwork in Great Britain*, London, 1975, 224]. But Morris is the only architect under whom both are known to have worked [For Mercer, see Richard Hewlings, ‘Adderbury House’, in Malcolm Airs (ed.), *Baroque and Palladian; the early eighteenth-century great house*, Oxford, 1996, 131, 138; Steven Parissien, ‘Monkey Business’, *Country Life*, CLXXXVIII, November 8 1990, 110; Christopher Storr, *Landguard Fort*, unpublished report for English Heritage, 1987. For Hughes, see T.P. Connor, ‘Architecture and Planting at Goodwood’, *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, CXVII, 1979, 188–89].
- 40 Carne, *op. cit.*, Appendix 3, 50–1.
- 41 Romney Sedgwick, *The House of Commons 1715–54*, London, 1970, II, 55. For Furnese’s friendship with Pulteney, see *ibid.*, 56, and for Pulteney’s with Burlington, see Eveline Cruickshanks, ‘The Political Career of the Third Earl of Burlington’, in Toby Barnard and Jane Clark (eds.), *Lord Burlington: Architecture, Art and Life*, London, 1995, 207. For Furnese’s work at Gunnersbury, see Roger White, ‘“As finely finished as anything”’, Gunnersbury Park, West London’, *Country Life*, CLXXII, November 11 1982, 1480–82. For his presence at Chiswick, see London, British Library, Althorp MSS, B8, Lady Burlington to Lord Hartington, 6 July 1749.
- 42 John Carswell and Lewis Arnold Dralle (eds.), *The Political Journal of George Bubb Dodington*, Oxford, 1965, xiv, xvi–xxii.
- 43 Carne, *op. cit.*, 34, without citing source.
- 44 Morris’s work for Westmoreland and Dodington is noted in Colvin, *op. cit.*, 668–69; and the attribution to him of drawings for Dashwood is made by [Gervase Jackson Stops], *West Wycombe Park, Buckinghamshire* [National Trust guidebook], London, 1978, 11, 12; and Steven Parissien, *The Careers of Roger and Robert Morris*, unpublished D.Phil. thesis, Oxford, 1989, 366.
- 45 Carne, *op. cit.*, Appendix 1, 44, 45, and 47 (Pleydell), and 45 (Bruce), citing Parsons, MS transcription of the diaries of Goddard Smith.
- 46 Colvin, *cit.*, 150 and 151.
- 47 Richard Hewlings, ‘Chiswick House: appearance and meaning’, in Toby Barnard and Jane Clark (eds.), *Lord Burlington: architecture, art and life*, London and Rio Grande, 1995, 58 and figs. 23a and

- b (diamond coffering), 43 and figs. 16c and d (chimneypiece), and 43 and figs. 16h, i and j (downward-tapering pilasters).
- 48 Colvin, *cit.*, 150, 151, 667 and 668.
- 49 Richard Hewlings, 'The School and Almshouses at Sevenoaks', *Georgian Group Journal*, XI, 2001, 220.
- 50 Colvin, *cit.*, 667. For their marriage and the Mereworth visit, see Chatsworth, Archives, Letter 162.5.
- 51 Colvin, *cit.*, 668.
- 52 Sheppard, *op. cit.*, 190–1.
- 53 *Ibid.*, 185.
- 54 *Ibid.*, 127; Colvin, *cit.*, 667.
- 55 Sheppard, *op. cit.*, 164. Lord Guilford married Lady St. John's sister in 1751 [Burke's *Peerage*, London, 1959, 1012].
- 56 Sheppard, *op. cit.*, XXXIX, 106 and fig. 2A.
- 57 Colvin, *cit.*, 667; David Green, *Blenheim Palace*, London, 1951, 278.
- 58 Dickinson, *op. cit.*, 317, note 35.
- 59 Parissien, *op. cit.*, 112, citing Edinburgh, Scottish Record Office, Marchmont MSS, GD 158/1380. For Bolingbroke's friendship with Marchmont, see Dickinson, *op. cit.*, 221 and 237. Bolingbroke regarded the 3rd. Earl (the 2nd. Earl's son) as his political heir, and let him live at Battersea Manor House [*Ibid.*, 278 *et al.*].
- 60 Carne, *op. cit.*, Appendix 1, 43, citing Parsons, Book 5, no page ref. .
- 61 Colvin, *cit.*, 668; Parissien, *op. cit.*, 89, citing Wilton, Pembroke MSS, 2057/E/3.
- 62 Colvin, *cit.*, 668.
- 63 Christopher Hussey, *English Country Houses Mid Georgian*, London, 1955, 235.
- 64 Christopher Hussey, *English Country Houses Early Georgian*, London, 1955, 61 (fig. 73), 62 (fig. 75), 63 (fig. 77) illustrate examples at Mereworth, and 92 (fig. 129) illustrates one at Compton Place.
- 65 I do not know of an example at Lathom that has been published; a photograph of one, however, is at Swindon, English Heritage, National Monuments Record Centre, BB74/1518. Hussey, ... *Early Georgian*, *cit.*, 101 (fig. 147) and 103 (fig. 152) illustrate examples at Clandon. The dependence of Leoni upon Campbell is suggested in Richard Hewlings, 'James Leoni', in Roderick Brown (ed.), *The Architectural Outsiders*, London, 1985, *cit.*, 36–8.
- 66 For examples at Marble Hill, see Marie P.G. Draper and Peter Eden, *Marble Hill House and its owners*, London, 1970, plates 24, 30, 34, 36 and 37. For an example at Combe Bank, see John Harris, *The Palladians*, London, 1981, 84, fig. 75. For examples at Adderbury, see Hewlings, 'Adderbury... ', *cit.*, 148 (fig. 4), 152 (fig. 12), 161 (fig. 29), 162 (figs. 30 and 31), and 163 (figs. 32 and 33).
- 67 For the Marble Hill example, see Draper and Eden, *op. cit.*, plates 15, 20 and 22. For that at Apethorpe, see John Heward and Robert Taylor, *The Country Houses of Northamptonshire*, Swindon, 1996, 67 (fig. 79). For those in the wings of Mereworth Castle, see Parissien, *op. cit.*, 362. For that at Mereworth Church, see Terry Friedman, *The Georgian Parish Church*, Reading, 2004, plate 12. For Narford Hall, see Steven Parissien, John Harris and Howard Colvin, 'Narford Hall, Norfolk', *The Georgian Group Report and Journal*, 1987, 49–61. The fanlight type was first identified as such and discussed in Parissien, D.Phil., *cit.*, 108.
- 68 Draper and Eden, *op. cit.*, plates 16, 30 and 33.
- 69 For Althorp, see Hussey, ... *Mid-Georgian*, *cit.*, 207 (fig. 419). New Park Lodge is described in Colvin, *King's Works*, *cit.*, 230–33, but the saloon is not illustrated in any publication known to me. For Adderbury, see Hewlings, 'Adderbury... ', *cit.*, 148 (fig. 4), 152 (fig. 12), and 153 (fig. 13). For Beechwood Park, see Parissien, *op. cit.*, 360 and fig. 146. For the Bank of England, see Richard Hewlings, 'Roger Morris and the Bank of England', *Georgian Group Journal*, VIII, 1998, 22 (figs. 4–7).
- 70 For the example at Marble Hill, see Draper and Eden, *op. cit.*, plate 35. For that at Clifford Street, see Sheppard *op. cit.*, XXXII, 481 (fig. 87) and plate 99b.
- 71 For the example at Compton Place, see Hussey, ... *Early Georgian*, *cit.*, 93 (fig. 130). For that at Houghton, see *ibid.*, 81 (fig. 111).
- 72 Hewlings, 'Chiswick House... ', *cit.*, 58.
- 73 Christopher Hussey, 'Goodwood House—II, Sussex', *Country Life*, LXXII, July 16th., 1932, 69; Hewlings, 'Roger Morris and the Bank of England', *cit.*, 22 (figs. 6 and 7).