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# THE ECLECTICISM OF ROGER MORRIS

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'Dull'. 'Excessively dull . . . Palladian design with extreme assiduity and not a spark of genius.' 'The most ridiculous thing that I ever saw in my life.' 'Expensive and . . . ugly.' 'An ugly . . . duckling.' 'Frozen refinement and miniature-like scale.' 'The aspect of a bottle-glass house.' 'The perfect example of Palladian ideas applied by a man who did not know what on earth to do with them'.<sup>1</sup> Roger Morris has not had a particularly good press. This is a selection of typical criticisms made of specific Morris buildings, and of his architectural style in general. Most of these comments, however, derived from an initial appreciation that Morris's architecture was, as even such a pronounced antagonist as the Duchess of Marlborough acknowledged, 'extremely new',<sup>2</sup> representing an unusually individual and at times surprisingly eclectic approach to a variety of styles.

The sources of Roger Morris's architectural style are surprisingly complex. His architecture was by no means grounded in slavish adaptations of Palladio's buildings, as many of his detractors have alleged. In reality his work represented a synthesis of a variety of English, Italian and personal elements. Most interestingly, Morris deliberately chose to experiment with unfashionable Gothic and Neoclassical forms in a daringly novel fashion, rather than simply rely on the basic, elemental formula he employed for many of his smaller villas.

Morris was far more than simply a hack architect of modest Palladian houses. Undoubtedly the style of Morris's classical villas is well known, and indeed highly recognisable (a factor which has encouraged the attribution to Morris of a number of houses on grounds of stylistic similarity).<sup>3</sup> The majority of his villas can be rationalised in two dimensions into simply polygons: a square topped by a low triangle, often in turn surmounted by a smaller square or octagon. This formula was first developed by Morris – with the probable help of Lord Herbert, and the possible assistance of Campbell – at Marble Hill House in Twickenham (Fig. 1), and was subsequently re-used at a large number of sites. The formula underwent little alteration during Morris's lifetime; Kirby Hall in Yorkshire, begun in 1747 and still under construction at the time of Morris's death in 1749, is a direct descendant of the cubic villa as represented by Marble Hill. It is perhaps the strength and simplicity of this manner which has aroused the ire of Georgian and modern critics alike.

Yet Morris was not content merely to imitate Palladio or Burlington. He certainly followed his contemporaries in borrowing extensively from Italian sources; nevertheless, many of these inspirations were interpreted in a highly imaginative fashion. For example, the design of the famous Palladian Bridge at Wilton of 1736-37 was taken from the penultimate storey of Palladio's reconstruction of the Temple of Fortuna Primigenia in Palestrina. Additionally, the facade of his Council House in Chichester of 1731 (Fig. 2) was not, as has often been alleged, derived from Burlington's alternative design for the same site, but from Palladio's Venetian church fronts. The unusually high attic of Morris's solution does not feature in Burlington's drawing and is more reminiscent of the attic on the facade of *Il Redentore*; 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's facade complete the Palladio-inspired composition, which in its entirety distinctly recalls not



FIG. 4. Roger Morris: Althorp, Northamptonshire – the stable block.

English Neo-palladian precedents but S. Giorgio Maggiore (Fig. 3). The Wilton Lodge design – executed, John Harris suggests, at the exact time of Morris's visit to Italy with George Bubb Dodington in c1731-32 – also betrays the direct influence of Palladio's churches.<sup>5</sup> 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 S. 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 whilst Morris was abroad.

The reinterpretation of Italian Renaissance motifs, however, did not represent the limit of Morris's stylistic ambitions. Unusually for early Palladian architects, Morris exhibited a strong interest in genuinely neoclassical forms. The deep eaves, thick columns and austere, isolated windows of Morris's heavy stable block at Althorp (Fig. 4) have a distinctly antique feeling, the portico itself strongly recalling that at Jones's 'Tuscan barn' of St Paul's, Covent Garden. A similar portico, possibly by Morris, is to be found at the east end of West Wycombe Park (Fig. 5). Stylistic similarities suggest Morris: the portico exactly reproduces those attached to the wings at Mereworth Castle – additions attributed to Morris and very much in his classical manner – while the heavy Doric columns strongly recall Morris's stables at Althorp.

The wings at Mereworth (Fig. 6), of c.1743<sup>6</sup>, are fundamentally cubes with side projections, topped with pyramidal roofs and octagonal lanterns. The similarity of the two porticoes to that at the nearby church of St Lawrence (Fig. 7) provokes the interesting speculation that this astonishing neoclassical church is also by Morris. St Lawrence's antique interior was 'unprecedented in Georgian England', and comprises a coffered



FIG. 5. West Wycombe Park, Buckinghamshire – east end portico.



FIG. 6. Roger Morris (attrib.): Mereworth Castle, Kent – east wing.



FIG. 7. St. Lawrence's Church, Mereworth, Kent.

barrel vault and Doric nave columns which may possibly have been intended to be wholly without bases.<sup>7</sup> Whether this strikingly original work, which anticipates the advent of the Greek Revival by at least a decade, is indeed Morris's work rests on the rather uncertain basis of stylistic similarities with other works by, or attributed to, him. Certainly the large Diocletian window at the east end of Mereworth Church (Fig. 8) can be identified as a favourite motif of his, recurring at buildings such as the Althorp stables and the Fishing Lodge at Monkey Island, Bray.<sup>8</sup> Additionally, the distinctive semicircular windows at the west end, with their thick, tapering glazing bars, are virtually identical to others used, prolifically, at Mereworth Castle, and at other buildings which can tentatively be associated with Morris: Narford Hall, Norfolk and Apethorpe Hall, Northamptonshire<sup>9</sup> (Fig. 9). More significantly, this type of window – which Morris may well have derived from Palladio's S. Francesco della Vigna following his Italian visit of the early 1730s – appears over the north door of Marble Hill House.

Admittedly the scale of Morris's involvement with neoclassicism does remain largely a subject of conjecture. However, more evidence exists to document his forays into Gothic design, which establish him as a figure of central importance in the history of the Gothic Revival.

Very few architects of the 1720s and 1730s dared to build in what Robert Morris, following in the tradition of Shaftesbury and Campbell, termed 'the rude Gothic way'.

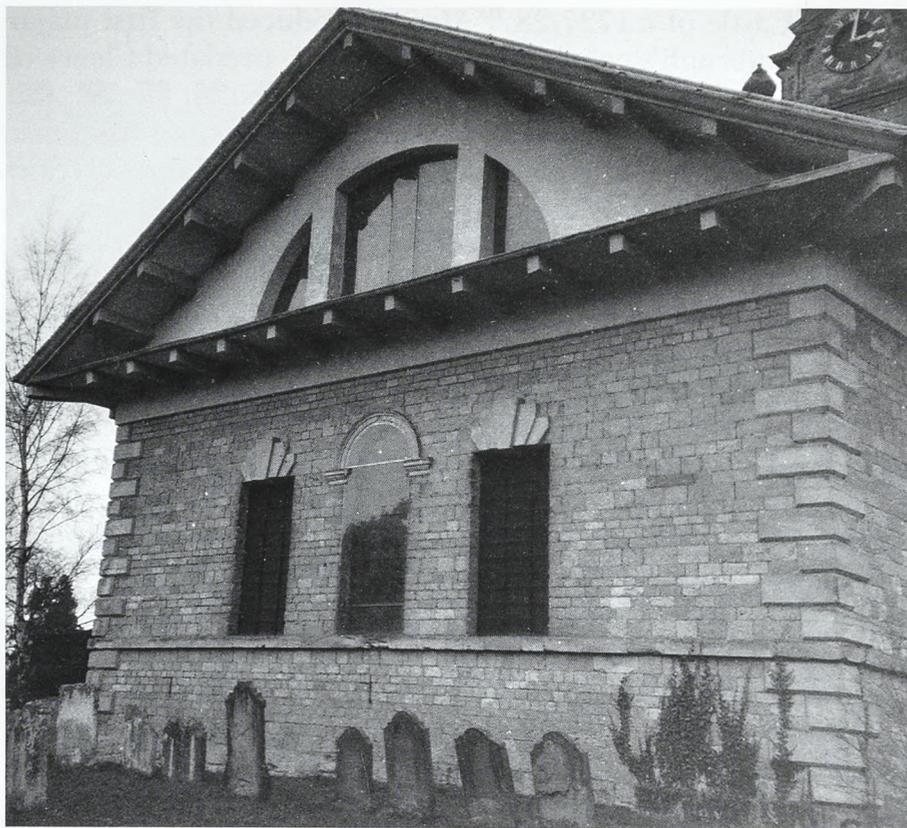


FIG. 8. St. Lawrence's, Mereworth – east end.

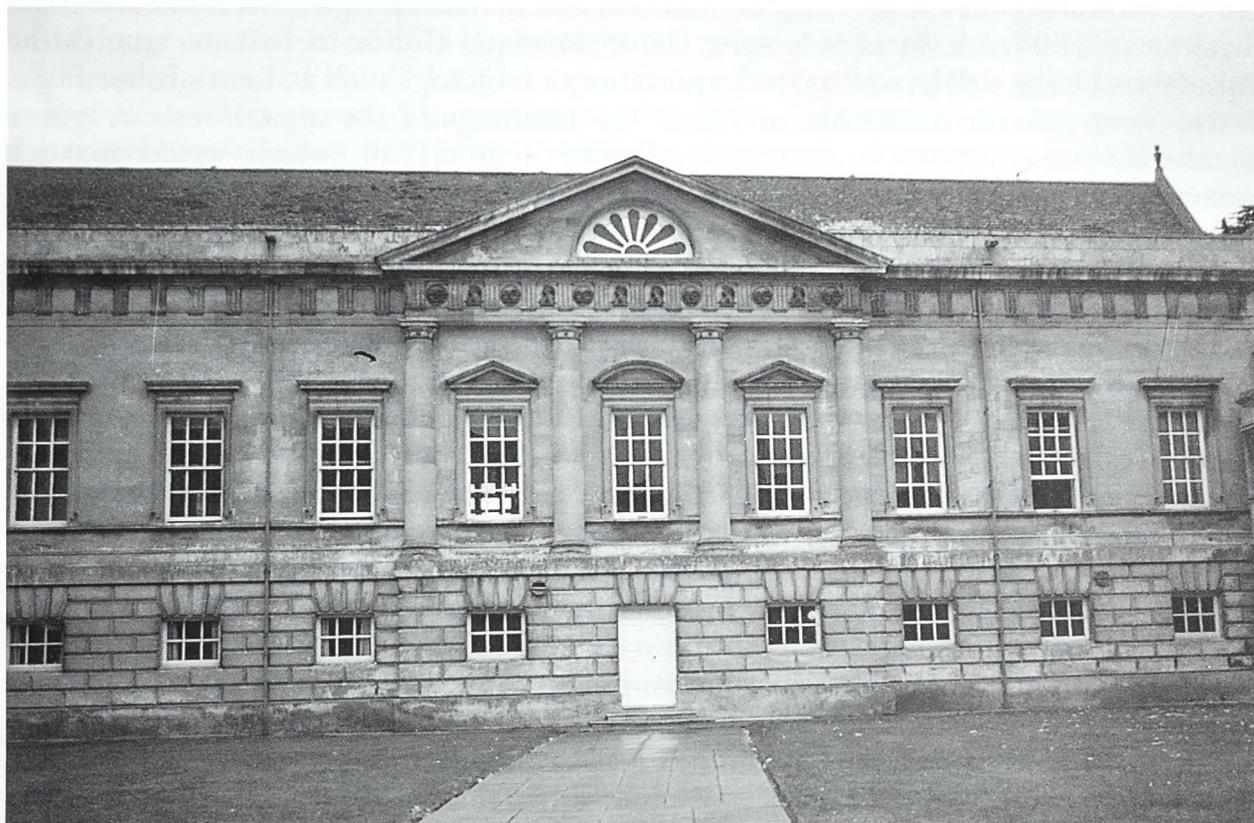


FIG. 9. Apethorpe Hall, Northamptonshire – south range.

Yet in his Clearwell Castle of c.1727-28,<sup>10</sup> Morris produced the first major building of the Gothic Revival. Vanbrugh's own house in Greenwich predated Clearwell by perhaps as much as a decade, but it barely qualifies for the appellation Gothic: the plan is in a decidedly classical vein, including a three-windowed semicircular bay, whilst the elevations feature not a single pointed arch. True Gothic arches are also absent from another early eighteenth century pseudo-mediaeval house, Shirburn Castle in Oxfordshire, which was probably remodelled during the early 1720s.<sup>11</sup> Clearwell in fact 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 unacademic style – whilst 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 (Fig. 10) 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. Indeed the style of Morris's building appears deliberately to reject the language of the Elizabethan mansion Thomas Wyndham demolished prior to building his new castle, suggesting as it does thirteenth or fourteenth rather than sixteenth century precedents.

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'.<sup>12</sup> This statement clearly implies that Walpole's house was the first Gothic product of the century, a generalisation which, whilst 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 dismisses 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'.<sup>13</sup> The reappraisal of Clearwell was prompted by the researches of Dr Alastair Rowan, who published his work in 1970. Although he was unable positively to identify the architect of the house, he praised the 'robust details' of 'this solemn stone-built castle'. His comments were amplified 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'.<sup>14</sup>

The nature of the castle's innovation is apparent when Clearwell is compared to the Gothic domestic architecture of the subsequent three decades. Kent and Langley, followed by numerous imitators, developed a hybrid style of Gothic decoration, heavily dependent on exaggerated motifs from the Late Decorated period, which 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 – surely the most over-used, and ultimately the most tired motif of eighteenth-century Gothic architecture – to suggest a medieval pedigree. Although in Kent's Esher Place of c.1733 frequent use was made of the ogee arch and the quatrefoil opening,



FIG. 10. Roger Morris: Clearwell Castle, Gloucestershire.

elements which are also abundantly evident in his screens for Westminster Hall (1739) and Gloucester Cathedral (1741), the resultant house still possessed the appearance of a classical flat-roofed box.<sup>15</sup> Langley's preference for the ubiquitous ogee can be seen in the window designs used in his *Gothic Architecture . . .*, 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'.<sup>16</sup> The Halfpennys also proved enthusiastic imitators of Langley's pattern-book solutions to the problem of how to assimilate Gothic elements into a classical environment. Nor did the more antiquarian-minded Sanderson Miller eschew the prominent use of Langleyesque detail in his facades. The gateway at Lacock Abbey (c.1754-55), for example, is merely one gigantic ogee arch – a dramatic use of this element which is totally without mediaeval precedent.

In comparison with the Gothic exaggerations of such designers, Morris's Clearwell Castle appears surprisingly mediaeval in elevation. The principal (north) front, with its recessed centre of three bays and its projecting single-bay wings, is reminiscent of numerous small mediaeval 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 also recalls the 'H' plan houses with central halls of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Most significantly, Clearwell's fenestration is designed in a suitably mediaeval manner: the ground floor window frames are strongly and simply moulded and provided with concave arches, whilst the upper levels have 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

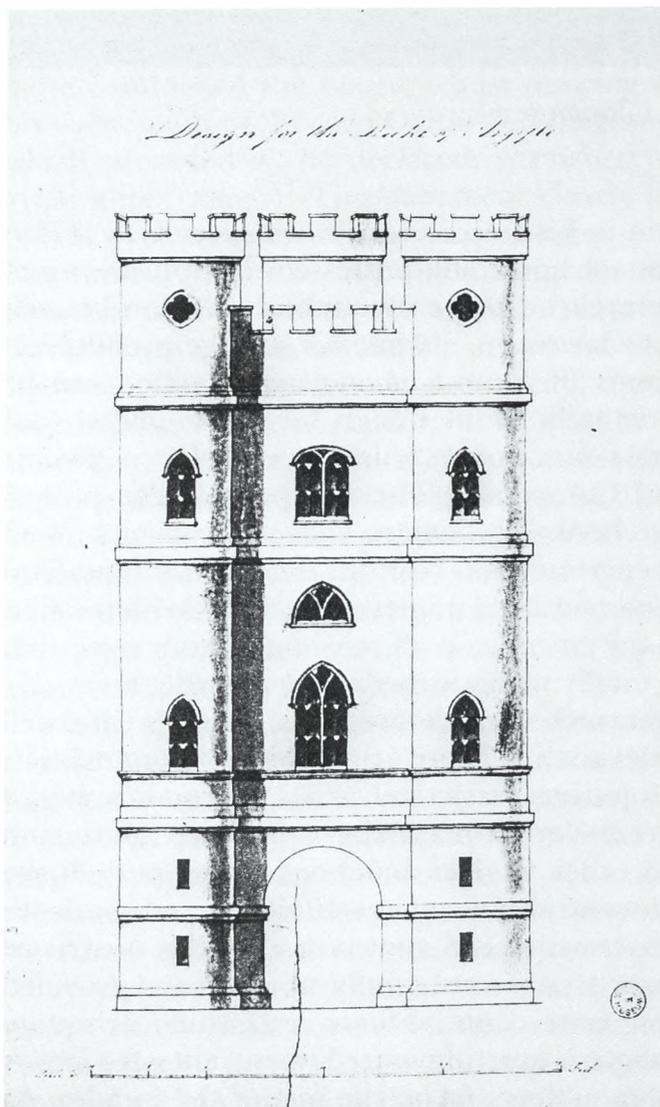
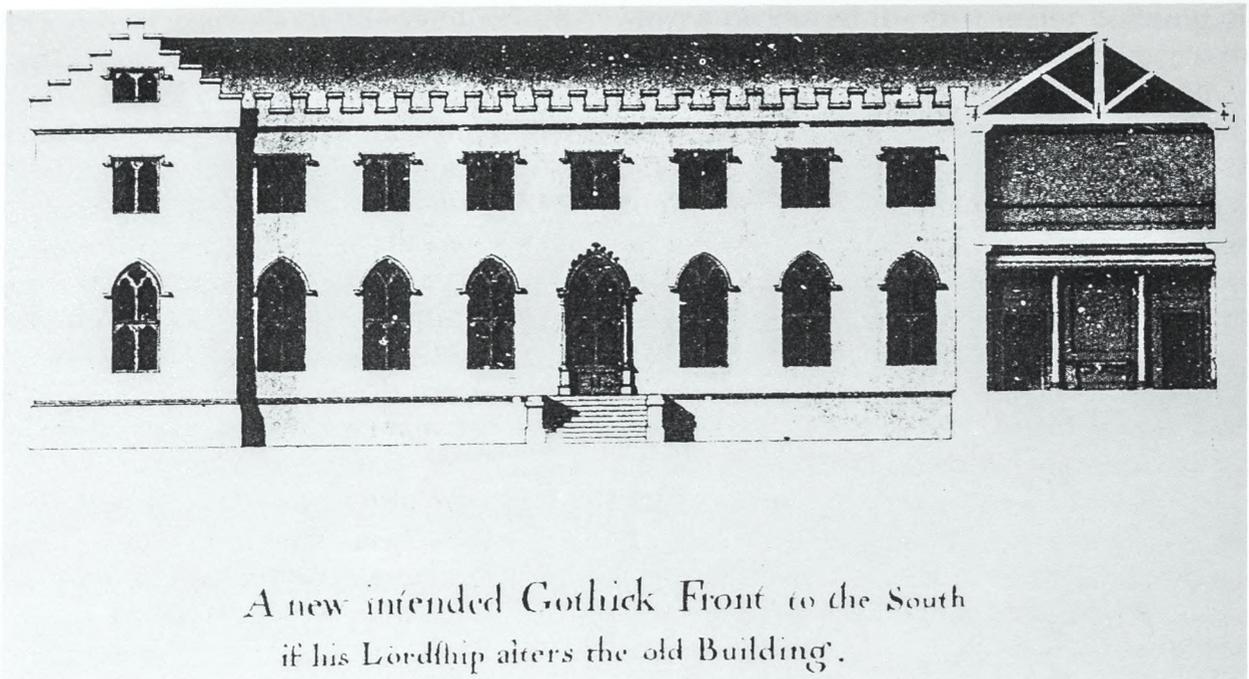


FIG. 11. Milton House,  
Northamptonshire – 'A new  
intended Gothick Front'  
(Northants Record Office).

FIG. 12. The Gothic Tower, Whitton  
Park, Middlesex, drawn by John Adam,  
(Sir John Soane's Museum).

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.'

The authentic Gothicism of Clearwell appears in another scheme of the 1720s which may also be by Morris. Projects exist in Northamptonshire Record Office to remodel Milton House for the 2nd Earl Fitzwilliam, schemes that were commissioned shortly before the Earl's death in 1728.<sup>17</sup> The classical elevations depicted in the drawings are unsigned but include many motifs characteristic of Morris's villa style. More interesting is the alternative Gothic project for the site – the 'new intended Gothick Front to the South' (Fig. 11). This bears a distinct resemblance to its contemporary, Clearwell; it features battlements, hooded and pointed ground floor windows, and rectangular, two-light first floor openings which are all very much in the manner of the Gloucestershire castle.

Another important Gothic work of the late 1720s can also be linked to Morris. The Gothic Tower at Whitton Park in Middlesex has long been attributed to Gibbs. (Both the tower and the main house, very much in Morris's style, have been demolished.) Gibbs was certainly responsible for the greenhouse, designed in the mid-1720s and later converted to residential accommodation as Whitton Place, but his projects for the main house remained unexecuted. However, a number of factors suggest Morris as the author of the tower.

The tower, as shown in Woollett's engraving of 1757 and John Adam's subsequent drawing (Fig. 12), was triangular in plan, with three tall, cylindrical turrets at each angle. This form is similar to that of the far larger Longford Castle in Wiltshire, where Morris was commissioned to design as yet unidentified additions in 1742 and 1745;<sup>18</sup> and the tower does appear to be designed in a rather more authentic mediaeval style than was usual with Gibbs, whose executed Gothic works often betray an indifference to true Gothic forms. Even his most recent biographer has acknowledged that Gibbs's Gothic detail was invariably set in a 'stylistically naive framework' – an approach which contrasts with Morris's Clearwell.<sup>19</sup> The 'Gothic' arch attributed to Gibbs at Gubbins in Hertfordshire is merely a triumphal arch, complete with pediment and keystone, whilst Gibbs's most celebrated Gothic work, the Temple of Liberty at Stowe of 1741-47, is executed in a decidedly eclectic style quite dissimilar to that used at the Whitton tower. The Temple is admittedly also triangular in plan, but its copious fenestration bears no relation to the more authentically mediaeval windows at the tower, and each elevation is surmounted by a Gothicised classical pediment. The battlemented Gothic seat at Hartwell in Buckinghamshire, executed during the 1720s or 30s, is the only truly 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. There are no Kentian or Gibbsian elements in the Gothic detail: all 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 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 have 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) 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.<sup>20</sup> Thus it is perhaps more realistic to credit Morris rather than Gibbs with the design of the Whitton tower.

One more Gothic building of this period may be linked tentatively with Morris. The new house at Castle Hill in Devon, begun in 1728, is undoubtedly by Morris – a contract for the new work survives in Devon Record Office. It is conceivable, then, that the nearby parish church at Filleigh, rebuilt at about the same time, also involved the London architect. A contemporary engraving shows that the church featured – unusually for such a moderately-sized building – two turrets at the east end, which complemented the tower at the west end. Their presence suggests the use of a practised Gothic hand fond of using towers and turrets in his compositions. The two turrets 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 associate it instantly with Morris, it is not only redolent of his Clearwell style but is also topped by a pyramidal roof – one of his favourite devices.

Morris's most celebrated documented Gothic project – Inveraray Castle (Fig. 13), begun in 1746 – was certainly not as radical in its conception as either Clearwell or the attributions detailed above. But this does not detract from Inveraray's importance in the context of the Gothic Revival in Britain. Whilst 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, most previous examples of Georgian Gothick apart from Clearwell 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's achievement at Inveraray was to produce an essay in the restrained, 'baronial' Gothick that reflected the traditions of Scottish castle construction and, except for the east door, eschewed the Rococo fripperies of Langleyesque surface ornamentation. The resultant castle gave subsequent generations of architects 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 at Uley, Gloucestershire. In contrast to the fashionable, spidery excesses of buildings such as these, Morris's 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 ogee arch; apart from the east door all 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. William Adam was closely involved at Inveraray as Morris's assistant; and barely a decade after the completion of the castle William's sons John and James executed what was virtually a replica at Douglas Castle, Lanarkshire (begun in 1757). More importantly for Morris's 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.'<sup>21</sup> Most of Adam's castles (which, in the tradition of both Inveraray and eighteenth century Gothick, were invariably symmetrical) included variations on Inveraray's angle towers.

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

FIG. 13. Roger Morris: Inveraray Castle, Argyllshire.

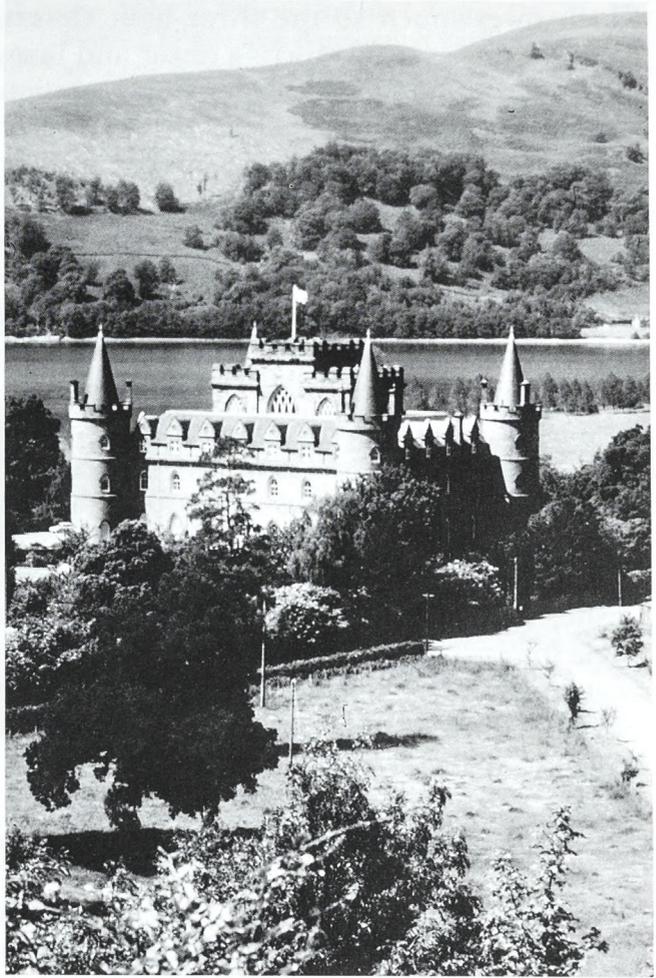
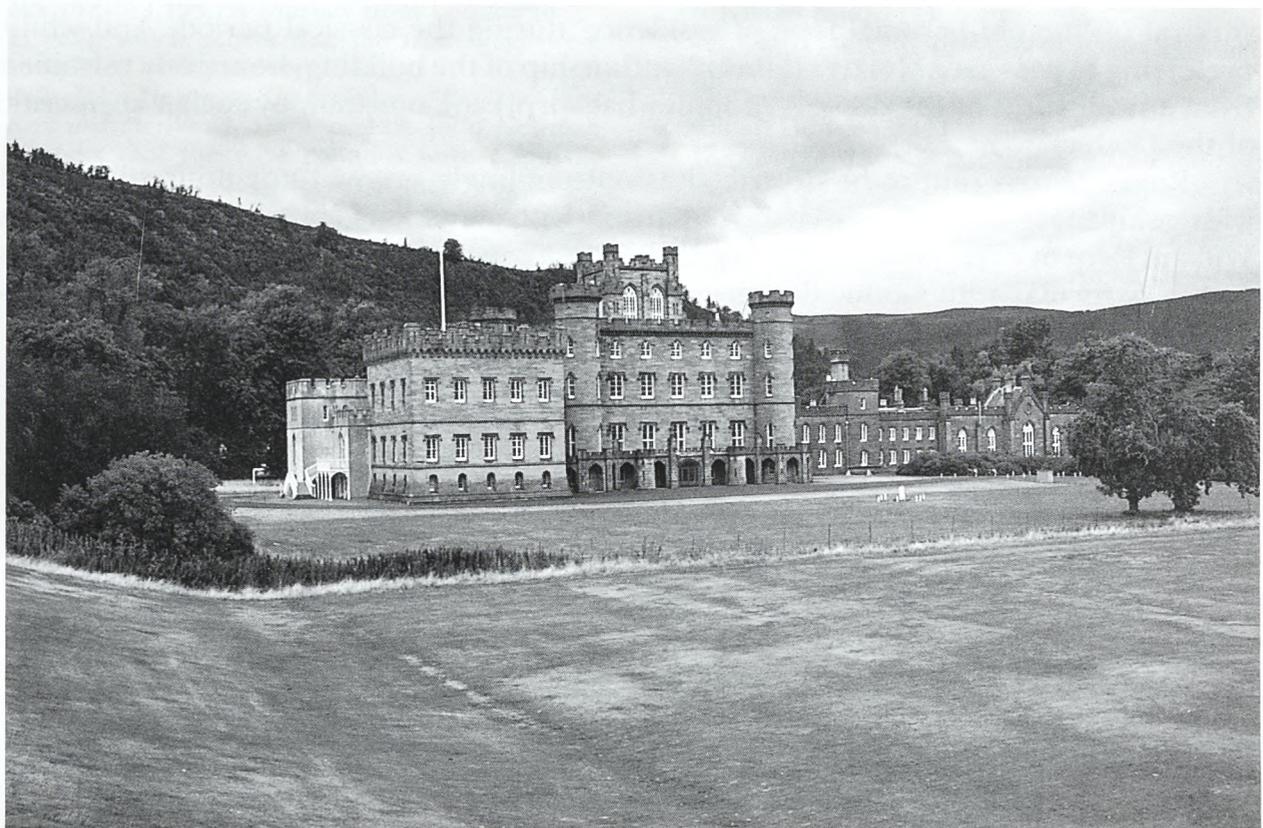


FIG. 14. Archibald and James Elliot: Taymouth Castle, Perthshire.



which owes much to the three-light clerestory-tower at Inveraray. Adam frequently enlarges the scale of Morris's 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 1790-91 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's work (for example, Loudoun Castle, Ayrshire, of 1804-11). At Taymouth Castle in Perthshire, rebuilt in 1806-10 (Fig. 14), the similarity to Inveraray is most striking; round towers embrace a symmetrical body with a central, rising feature containing two arched lights. And where the Elliots experimented, others followed. James Gillespie Graham made frequent reference to Inveraray in his works: his Lee Castle, Lanarkshire (begin in 1820), for example, not only featured Morris's circular angle towers but also three hooded, arched windows in a rising central projection, exactly as at Inveraray. Interestingly, Graham was 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.

It is perhaps somewhat revealing that Inveraray, despite its classical symmetry and classical interiors, did not attract the type of vehement condemnation that the Gothickists of the later nineteenth century usually reserved for the Gothick products of the preceding century. As late as 1872 Charles Eastlake was citing the castle as his sole example of the survival of 'the old baronial type of residence' during the classical period. And whilst preferring to pass over Morris's (known) authorship of the building, he actively refrained from any criticism of the design – a somewhat surprising omission by such a keen critic of the Gothick.<sup>22</sup>

Roger Morris cannot be described as outstandingly original nor unusually gifted with genius. He does not survive comparison with illustrious contemporaries such as William Kent or even James Gibbs. Nevertheless, his experiments with neoclassical forms and in particular with Gothic design – at a time when both were generally eschewed – mark him as an architect of surprising invention and eclecticism.

Photographic credits: 4, 9, 10, 15 Roger White; 1 HBMC; 7 St. Lawrence, Mereworth; 2, 5, 8, 14 author.

## NOTES

1. A judgement on Morris's work at Apethorpe, Northamptonshire, in *Country Life*, 27th March 1909, p.454; Sir Arthur Blomfield, *The History of Renaissance Architecture in England*, 1897, II, p. 260; Emil Kaufmann, *Architecture in the Age of Reason*, 1955, p. 22; the 1st Duchess of Marlborough on Westcombe House, Kent (from a letter of c1732) and on Wimbledon House, Surrey (from a letter of 6th July 1734), quoted in G. S. Thomson ed., *Letters of a Grandmother*, 1943, pp. 21, 133; Tim Mowl and Brian Earnshaw on Clearwell Castle in *A Trumpet at a Distant Gate*, 1985, p. 38; C. M. Sicca in *Architectural History*, 1986, p. 144; Batty Langley on Dodington's house in Pall Mall in the *Grub Street Journal*, 7th October 1734; Ian Nairn and Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Sussex*, 1965, p. 172.
2. G. S. Thomson ed., *op. cit.*, p. 22
3. For example, two houses for which no architect is documented – Cobham Park, Surrey (illustrated in Manning and Bray's *The History and Topography of the County of Surrey*, 1847, XV, p. 735) and Whitton Park, Middlesex – both adhere closely to the Morrisian villa format, being cubic, astylar, and featuring characteristic motifs such as oval panels and octagonal cupolas.
4. A drawing of this, now in the RIBA Drawings Collection, was part of Burlington's Italian purchase of 1719.
5. Drawings now in the RIBA Drawings Collection; reproduced in John Harris, *The Palladians*, 1981, p. 77.
6. The building can be dated on the evidence of an anonymous traveller (British Library, Add. MS 15776, f.198, 'A Journey from London to . . . Lewes'), which proves that the new wings were completed by September, 1743.
7. John Newman, *The Buildings of England: West Kent and the Weald*, 1969, p. 422. John Newman suggests that the nave columns were originally panelled over the lower third of their length. See Giles Worsley, 'The Baseless Doric Column . . .' in *Burlington Magazine*, May 1986. The church's Gibb'sian tower, which rather mars the antique effect, was probably a later addition by a different architect, as evidenced by the jointing between the two portions.
8. The buildings at Monkey Island can be firmly assigned to Morris on the evidence of accounts in the Althorp Papers (British Library, D45-6). The Fishing Lodge and Banqueting Pavilion were constructed between 1745 and 1748, although by his death Morris had only received a fraction of the £8,756 due to him from the patron, the 3rd Duke of Marlborough.
9. Narford Hall and its putative connection with Morris has been discussed in S. Parissien, John Harris and Howard Colvin, 'Narford Hall, Norfolk' *The Georgian Group Journal*, 1987. Drawings of the alterations to Apethorpe survive at Northamptonshire Record Office, 'Collectanea Apethorpeana', W (A), Misc. Vol. 37. These are copies, of c.1830, of the original drawings for the remodelling of the house; they are assigned to Campbell by the copyist, but he was dead by the time of the alterations (which postdate John Fane's inheritance of the Earldom of Westmorland in 1736), and the designs do bear many Morrisian characteristics.
10. The National Library of Wales, Dunraven MSS, 347: estimates for work by Morris dated 29th December 1727 and 1st January 1727/8.
11. Cf. Tim Mowl in R. White, ed. *A Gothick Symposium* (The Georgian Group, 1983).
12. Kenneth Clark, *The Gothick Revival*, 1962, p. 58.
13. David Verey, *The Buildings of England: Gloucestershire – The Vale and the Forest of Dean*, 1970, p. 161. Several of the nineteenth century neo-Gibb'sian fireplaces were removed and destroyed by a recent owner of the house.
14. Alastair Rowan in Colvin and Harris ed., *The Country Seat*, 1970, p. 149; Terence Davis, *The Gothick Taste*, 1974, p. 84; Mowl and Earnshaw, *A Trumpet at a Distant Gate*, 1985, p. 38.
15. John Vardy, *Some Designs of Mr Inigo Jones and Mr William Kent*, 1744, plates 48-9.
16. Batty Langley, *Gothic Architecture, Improved*, 1747, plates xxxvi-xl and xxxii.
17. Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam (Milton) Drawings, 111.
18. Longford Castle Archive, Lord Folkestone's Accounts, payments to Morris for designs of £10, dated 31st May 1742, and £42 on 29th March 1745.
19. Terry Friedman, *James Gibbs*, 1984, p. 200.
20. Sir John Soane's Museum, Adam Drawings, xxx 107.
21. John Fleming in *Country Life*, 23rd May 1968, p. 1358.
22. Sir Charles Eastlake, *The Gothick Revival*, 1872, p. 58.