

CAKE AND COCKHORSE



Banbury Historical Society
Winter 1969

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40p.

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The Society was founded in 1957 to encourage interest in the history of the town of Banbury and neighbouring parts of Oxfordshire, Northamptonshire and Warwickshire.

The Magazine "Cake & Cockhorse" is issued to members four times a year. This includes illustrated articles based on original local historical research, as well as recording the Society's activities. Publications include "Old Banbury - a short popular history" by E.R.C.Brinkworth (2nd edition), "New Light on Banbury's Crosses", "Roman Banburyshire" and "Banbury's Poor in 1850", all 3/6d, and a pamphlet "History of Banbury Cross", 6d. A Christmas card has been a popular annual production.

The Society also publishes an annual records volume. These have included "Oxfordshire Clock-makers, 1400-1850"; "South Newington Churchwardens' Accounts, 1553-1684"; "Banbury Marriage Register, 1558-1837" (3 parts) and "Baptism and Burial Register, 1558-1653". "A Victorian M.P. and his Constituents; The Correspondence of H.W. Tancred, 1841-1859", and the second part of the Banbury Baptism and Burial Register, 1653-1723, will shortly be published. "Banbury Wills and Inventories, 1591-1650", "Bodicote Churchwardens' Accounts, 1700-1822", "Wigginton Constables' Accounts, 1691-1804", and "Banbury Politics, 1830-1880" are all well advanced.

Meetings are held during the autumn and winter, normally at 7.30 p.m. in the Conservative Club. Talks on general and local archaeological, historical and architectural subjects are given by invited lecturers. In the summer, excursions to local country houses and churches are arranged. Archaeological excavations and special exhibitions are arranged from time to time.

Membership of the Society is open to all, no proposer or seconded being needed. The annual subscription is 40/-, including the annual records volume, or 20/- if this is excluded. Junior membership is 5/-.

Application forms can be obtained from the Hon. Secretary or the Hon. Treasurer.

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The magazine of the Banbury Historical Society. Issued to members four times a year.

Volume four

Number Six

Winter, 1969.

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Banbury and the country round have produced few architects or artists of importance, and not many have featured in past issues of "Cake and Cock Horse". But this issue is entirely devoted to Sanderson Miller, and Miller, squire of Radway between 1737 and 1780, was what would today be unthinkable - an amateur, gentlemen architect.

In earlier ages an architect had been a mason, or a builder with a talent for design. By 1800 the architect was emerging as we know him today: someone whose specialised training gave him the status of a man of the professional classes. But the 18th century was the age of the gifted amateur, and though lack of systematic training led sometimes to architects' designing buildings that were both incompetent and dull, it also meant that flair was almost sufficient qualification in itself. Sanderson Miller, like Vanburgh and Lord Burlington, was a self-taught architect whose independence freed him from the need to submit his taste to the whims of clients, but also left him free to build for himself and to produce designs for those of his friends who might find them congenial. Men such as Miller could afford to be what they often were - style-setters.

The two papers in this issue illustrate how this was possible. Mr. Wood describes the setting of Miller's 'practice' - if it can be called that - the squire of a modest fortune whose position in society brought his peculiar talents to the notice of friends with money. Mr. Hawkes, by describing the work done by Sanderson Miller for Lord North at Wroxton, shows the relationship of architect and client against this background.

But perhaps as unthinkable these days as an amateur architect is the eighteenth century's attitude to architecture itself - a double standard that revered the hallowed precedent of classical example but was also ready to enjoy the light-hearted fantasy of Chinese temples and the artificial gloom of mock ruins. In some ways people were more self-conscious than we are now, with their rules for the classification of scenes and buildings as 'picturesque', 'beautiful' or 'sublime'. But in other ways they were more carefree, and took themselves (and their architecture) less seriously. Sanderson Miller could produce a suitably dignified Shire Hall for his native county, and he could also build sentimental sham castles in the parks of friends. We may have gained immeasurably in expertise and sophistication since his time, but we have perhaps lost some of the art of doing things for fun.

National Monuments Record

Nicholas Cooper

Our Cover: shows Sanderson Miller's tower on Edge Hill, now the Castle Inn. It is taken from an engraving made in 1862 published in "The History of Banbury", by W.P. Johnson.

Winter and Spring Programme

Thursday 26th February, Mr. G.H. Starmer of Northampton will speak on "Local Maltings and Breweries". This is our annual industrial archaeological lecture and again it explores a new field of this recently established area of research. Mr. Starmer, like the majority of industrial archaeologists, is an amateur in the best sense of the word and we look forward to some enlightenment on what has always been a prominent local industry.

Thursday 26th March, Dr. E. A. Wrigley of Cambridge University will lecture on "Population patterns in Banbury's Part". This is probably a very inadequate title for a lecture which will outline one of the most extensive pieces of research ever concentrated upon Banbury. We have endeavoured to secure Dr. Wrigley as a speaker for over two years, knowing that his team of researchers at Cambridge were working on demographic patterns, using the sources of this area. His lecture will be a fitting culmination to our programme in Banbury.

Please Note. The January meeting is at 19 North Bar (on the left, near Warwick Road, traffic lights). The February and March meeting are back again in the Town Hall. All are at 7.30 p.m.

Advance Note. Tuesday, 28th April. Village meeting to be held in Wroxton, at Wroxton College.

Other Publications

The second "Archaeological and Historical Newsletter" published by the Oxford City and County Museum includes useful surveys of museums in Oxfordshire, some work in progress, local historical activities and recent publications. The next issue due in January 1970, will deal chiefly with archaeological matters. The latest volume of the Victoria History of the County of Oxford, Vol. IX, which deals with Bloxham Hundred, was published on October 9th. A full review of this important work will appear in a later issue. Our member Mr. R.K. Gilkes, now living in Bristol, has recently published "The Tudor Parliament" (University of London Press, 11/-). This also will be reviewed in one of our coming issues.

A proposal has been made by a reprint company to reissue Beesley's "History of Banbury". It is likely that the new edition would cost between £5 and £10 a copy. In order to gauge demand, members who might conceivably be interested in buying copies are asked to inform the Hon. Secretary. This would emphatically not imply any commitment to purchase.

A Roman Site at Deddington.

The suspected Roman site in Deddington (SP 472308: see "Cake and Cockhorse" IV. p.44.) was investigated by means of aerial photography and test holes in July and September 1969. Despite intensive work by members of the Historical Society and pupils of Banbury School, with the skilled assistance of the United State Air Force, Autair Ltd., and Mr. R. T. J. Woodall, no structure was located in the field in which the original finds were made. However, the farmer, Mr. J.L. Gardner, reported the finding of extensive stonework while ploughing adjacent fields in October 1969. A brief investigation, immediately before wheat sowing, uncovered parts of a wall extending for about 50 yards NE to SW and located at approx. SP 470303. A quantity of coarse pottery and several pieces of Samian ware were also found, together with a number of large, flat burnt stones. Subsequent ploughing in the original field two or three days later uncovered parts of another wall running EW and also associated with an extensive spread of pottery fragments.

This evidence tends to confirm the belief that a villa site may exist in the neighbourhood, and investigation will be resumed in the autumn of 1970.

J. H. F.

SANDERSON MILLER OF RADWAY

Sanderson Miller, squire of Radway in South Warwickshire during the middle of the 18th century, is chiefly remembered as one of the early architects of the Gothic revival. Much is also known of his social life through the publication in 1910 of letters written to him by his friends who included some of the most prominent men of his time.¹ Since then, the whole collection, consisting of over 900 letters as well as other material, has been acquired for the Warwick County Record Office and it contains many letters which have not been published. Moreover, many of the title deeds to his Radway estate have come to light which gave a good deal of information about his development of the estate. This article attempts to describe his background and his life at Radway from the evidence so far available.

As in the case of Sir William Dugdale a hundred years before, Miller came from a family which had only just established itself in Warwickshire. His father had bought the Radway estate about a year before his birth in 1716 and, again like Dugdale, it was perhaps mainly through Miller's own personality that the family was quickly accepted amongst the landowning gentry in the county.

Miller's father, Sanderson Miller the elder, was a successful merchant of Banbury. He was the youngest son of John Miller of Buckingham and Boycott near Stowe and of Margaret, daughter of John Sanderson of Little Addington in Northamptonshire. The Sandersons and the Millers were small landholding gentry whose origins can be dated back to the late 16th or early 17th centuries².

Sanderson Miller the elder was baptised at Buckingham on 16 September, 1673.³ In 1674 his grandmother, Margaret Sanderson, apparently left him £250,⁴ but as a youngest son he presumably had to make his own way and he therefore moved to Banbury. The earliest evidence so far known of his being in trade there is his marriage articles dated 24 December 1696, in which he is described as of Banbury, mercer.⁵ A bill from Sanderson Miller to William Taylor of Wilscoth (Williamscoth) in 1707 survives for items including lengths of cloth, buckram, gloves, buttons and other millinery.⁶ He was still in business in 1712 for in a deed of that year he is described as draper.⁷ According to his descendant, George Miller, who was perhaps relying on family tradition, he brought his goods to Oxford by water and thence to Banbury in flat-bottomed boats designed by himself. He was thus able to sell the goods in the neighbourhood at a very low cost.⁸ Sanderson also had a successful civic career in Banbury. He was mayor in 1707⁹ and in the entries of his children's baptisms at Banbury he is described as alderman from 1710 to 1714, shortly after which he moved to Radway.¹⁰

On 9 December 1696, Sanderson Miller the elder married Mary Welchman, daughter of John Welchman of Banbury, apothecary,¹¹ who brought an interesting new strain into the Miller family. The Welchmans apparently originated at Deddington¹² but by the early 17th century they appeared in Banbury. The first noteworthy member of the family was Edward Welchman, a baker, who started to make his famous Banbury cakes at the Sign of the Unicorn in Parsons Lane in 1638; he was an alderman and was mayor in 1660.¹³ His eldest son, John the apothecary, father-in-law of Sanderson Miller the elder, was also an alderman and mayor in 1675 and 1689.¹⁴ Furthermore, members of at least four generations of the family went to the University and were then ordained. The best known of these was Edward Welchman (1665-1739), eldest son of John the apothecary, who was rector of Lapworth and afterwards of Solihull in Warwickshire and the author of an annotated edition of the Thirty-Nine Articles and of other doctrinal works.¹⁵

The exact date when Sanderson Miller the elder acquired Radway Grange is not known, as the conveyance to him is missing from the title deeds, but it must have been in late 1715 or early 1716. In the Warwickshire freeholders' lists, Thomas Goodwin appears in the list for Radway in 1714 but in 1717 he is replaced by Sanderson Miller.¹⁶ On October 28, 1715, James Hockley assigned to trustees for Sanderson Miller of Banbury the mortgage on a plot called Camp Gore in Radway, which had originally been made on behalf of Thomas Goodwin the elder of Radway. The consideration was included as part of a payment to be made by Miller to Goodwin under another deed of the same date for the said plot "(Amongst other things)".¹⁷ It is clear therefore, that he was acquiring land in Radway in late 1715 from the Goodwins, and that in October he was still at Banbury.



Fig. 1.

Sanderson Miller. From the frontispiece to "An Eighteenth Century Correspondence", an oil painting then (1910) in the possession of Mr J. Ward, and now believed to be in Canada.

During the late 16th and early 17th centuries Radway Grange belonged to a younger branch of the Washingtons of Sulgrave. In 1638 there was a release of Radway Grange by Walter Washington, son and heir of John Washington of Radway, to John Danvers of Upton.¹⁸ It was bought by William Goodwin, whose grandson Thomas in 1692 obtained an Act to enable him to sell the estate for payment of his debts.¹⁹ In 1708 there is a "lease previous to sale" of Radway Grange, the Oake Close, the Wood and Withy Yard Close and six yardlands in Radway together with certain tithes there.²⁰ This is almost certainly the Radway Grange estate which Sanderson Miller the elder bought in late 1715 or early 1716.

Sanderson Miller the elder lived until 1737. Little is known of his life after retirement except that he was High Sheriff of Warwickshire in 1728.²¹ It is presumably significant of his status as a landowner that whereas most earlier references describe him as 'gentleman', he appears as 'esquire' in the entry of his burial at Radway on 21 June 1737.²² The Latin inscription on his memorial in Radway Church praises him (amongst other good qualities) because he sought only a moderate profit ('quodestum') in his trade dealings and then showed his wisdom by withdrawing from the affairs of commerce.

Sanderson Miller the younger, the subject of this article, was baptised on 9 August 1716.²³ He was the youngest child of Sanderson and Mary Miller and the only one to be baptised at Radway. Of their six other children, baptised in Banbury, four died within a few days and only one, Anne (afterwards Anne Newsham), lived to grow up. This meant that Miller ultimately inherited the whole of his father's estate. Nothing is known of Miller's boyhood or where he was first educated. The earliest certain notice of him is that he went to St. Mary Hall, Oxford, where he matriculated on 6 April 1734 at the age of 17.²⁴ There is little evidence of his early life as an undergraduate, but the University authorities obviously thought well of him; on 14 February 1736 Walter Harte, presumably his tutor, wrote to Miller's father that "your son, of all the young gentlemen I ever was concerned with, bids the fairest to make a learned, and an honest valuable man".²⁵ Miller was also on friendly terms with the Principal of St. Mary Hall, Dr William King, for after Miller left Oxford the Doctor made several visits to Radway.²⁶ He was a prominent Jacobite for most of his life, whereas Miller was a Whig, but he seems to have passed on to Miller the enthusiasm for classical scholarship and also, perhaps, for good company which he expresses vividly in his anecdotes of his own times.²⁷

Miller continued at Oxford for some time after he succeeded to the Radway estate in 1737, at the age of 20. He already showed the capacity for making friends, which was so important to him throughout life, for the earliest surviving letters to him are from two College friends, John Cotton and Deane Swift.²⁸ These are, understandably enough, full of the writers' own affairs, but they give a little information about Miller. One letter, in particular, written by Swift in December, 1739, after he had moved to Ireland, suggests that Miller's studies at Oxford were wide and that after he came into his estate, they were somewhat relaxed. From "your last letters", Swift writes, "I endeavoured to form a judgement of your present self, Quantum mutatus ab Antiquario, Metaphysico, Academico". Methinks I see my old friend laughing with Epicurus under the shadow of Edgehill with all his fountains roaring and cascading before him".²⁹ Miller was still at Oxford in 1740, for in August Swift asked him how long he intended to read there and when he was to leave.³⁰ It is perhaps significant that in spite of the length of time he spent at the University he is not recorded as having taken a degree.

The reference in Swift's letter to fountains cascading under Edgehill shows that Miller had already started, while at Oxford, the landscaping and building at Radway, which were to include the celebrated octagonal tower at the top of Edgehill and alterations to Radway Grange itself, and which remained an interest for the rest of his life.

By his will Sanderson Miller the elder had devised to his wife Mary, that is, Miller's mother, a life interest in the house he lived in (Radway Grange) with its goods and furniture.³¹ Mary Miller remained there after her husband's death: in a stray note about his "most dear and valuable friend" the Rev. Henry Quartley, Miller said that Quartley came to live with his mother at her house Radway Grange after the death in about 1742 of "that best of uncles" Edward Welchman, to whom he had been curate.³² In 1746, Mary Miller released her life interest in the Grange to her son before his marriage to Susannah Trotman.³³ Presumably Miller



Fig. 2.

Radway Grange, S.E. and S.W. Fronts (photo. H.W. Hawkes).



Fig. 3.

Radway Grange, the S.W. bay windows and brattished central doorway (photo. H.W. Hawkes).

had been living in the house with her, for the alterations he made to it were begun in 1744 while she was still there.

These alterations were to gothicise the old tudor house, which still stands at the foot of Edgehill. The south-east front with its polygonal corner buttresses and curious central bay contains an assortment of Gothic windows set under a classical pediment. The bay-windows were added in 1746. They are far superior in design to his earlier work, indeed they were so universally admired that he was asked to build almost exact replicas at Arbury for Sir Roger Newdigate and Adlestrop for James Leigh. Even the poet William Shenstone, who had been scornful of Miller's earlier improvements, pronounced them "really delightful". The brattished central doorway was added some six years later.³⁴

For a small landowner like Miller, the expenses of the building programme in which he was engaged would have been heavy, and at some time early in his life, possibly soon after leaving Oxford, he must have decided to develop and enlarge his estate. By his will of 1737 his father had left him all his houses and lands in Radway and in Neithrop (on the outskirts of Banbury) for life with remainder to any issue he might have.³⁵ An account book kept by Miller survives which includes receipts and expenditure connected with the Radway Estate from 1742 to 1760.³⁶ Unfortunately it is only a rough entry book but it is clear that during these years Miller was not only letting land but also farming part of the estate himself. Between January and June 1750 the receipts are classified and they include rent, earnings from the farm and interest on money which was evidently lent out. The total receipts for the whole of that year were about £935.

The progressive enlargements of Miller's estate at Radway is shown by his two marriage settlements of 1746 and then by the acreage allotted to him under the Radway Inclosure Award of 1757. In the first he settled Radway Grange, Oake Close, Broad Close, Butchers Close, the Withey Yard and Wood Close, all belonging to the farm, and 14¼ yardlands in the common field of Radway. This had perhaps all been inherited from his father, who had been adding to his estate since he came to Radway. The second settlement was of land which Miller had recently bought, consisting altogether of a messuage, two and a half scattered yardlands in the common field and a ground called Sydenham Piece, all in Radway, as well as Edge Grange in Ratley.³⁷ By the time of the Radway Inclosure Award in 1757 Miller's estate had increased considerably. For what he had held in Radway common field in 1746 he was allotted under the award about 545 acres; for the land he had bought since then in the same field he received about 320 acres, making an approximate total of 865 acres out of the 1335 acres enclosed altogether, and this, of course, did not include the land he owned unaffected by inclosure.³⁸

All this must have made a heavy demand on Miller's resources and at one time he seems to have considered selling Radway, if that is the explanation of a passage in a letter from his friend Sir Edward Turner on 20 August 1750, where he asks, "But could you find no other person as a purchaser of Radway than Mr. Bumstead? I little thought his prophecy would so soon have been completed".³⁹ Instead, Miller turned to inclosure as a means of increasing the value of his estate, for which it was necessary in the eighteenth century to obtain a special Act of Parliament. On 9 September 1755 William Pitt inquired whether Miller was advanced enough in his inclosing scheme to be sure to come to Parliament at the very beginning of that session.⁴⁰ But matters were hung up, possibly by local opposition to his plans. A letter from Miller to Henry Grenville had shown him to be "plowing, sowing, cutting down elms to make a preparation for the inclosure" and in his reply Grenville warned him that the Act was being retarded by the frequent alterations Miller had made to the Bill.⁴¹

The Radway Inclosure Act was eventually passed and the Award made under it was signed by the Commissioners on 17 May 1757.⁴² Miller was charged, as a landowner affected, £330 towards the expenses of obtaining the Act, surveying the new inclosures and of preparing and enrolling the Award. The next largest contribution only amounted to £40. But the whole business must have cost him far more than that; Sir Edward Turner expressed his surprise that Miller had been required to pay less than £400, "which cannot be a third of the expense (if I recollect rightly what you told me) which you had at the time of making the award incurred".⁴³

In order to pay for the inclosure Miller was forced to raise mortgages. On 18 May 1757 he made two separate mortgages for £850 each to Henry Grenville, on a total of 670 acres in



Fig. 4.

Philip Yorke, 1st Earl of Hardwicke (1690-1764), of Wimpole, Cambs., Lord Chancellor. (National Portrait Gallery)



Fig. 5.

William Pitt, 1st Earl of Chatham (1706-88), Prime Minister, 1758-61, 1766-68. (National Portrait Gallery)

Radway, as well as four messuages there, and one of the mortgages recites that it was made to enable Miller to pay his share of the expenses in inclosure and of passing the Act.⁴⁴ On August 1 of the same year Miller mortgaged a messuage and 130 acres, also in Radway, to his cousin John Welchman of Brackley for £1800 and here again it is recited that Miller had spent a large sum of money since the Award in inclosing the land comprised in the mortgage and in obtaining the Act.⁴⁵ The much higher rate of the mortgage to Welchman may be explained by the fact that only in the previous April Miller had bought the land before inclosure from Welchman for the same sum of £1800, which he had perhaps not yet paid.⁴⁶

Miller's friends also helped him. On 7 December 1756 George Lord Lyttelton, perhaps Miller's greatest friend,⁴⁷ enclosed a note with his letter as a contribution towards the expense of his inclosure, to enable him "to wait with less inconvenience for the good effects of Mr. Pitt's more powerful friendship".⁴⁸ Miller seems to have received likewise some assistance from Lord Hardwicke, the Lord Chancellor, who appears fairly frequently in Miller's correspondence.⁴⁹ There were, however still difficulties. John Welchman of Brackley writing about the sale and subsequent mortgage of his Radway property in 1757, complains bitterly of his losses, not without some suspicion of sharp practice on Miller's part. As Miller had paid the interest on the mortgage "so very poorly", he writes in 1763, he has been the gainer by the purchase of so improveable an estate, "which I would have kept longer with all my heart, if you and your councellor Mr. John Miller had not come to Brackley to buy it of me, at a time, when (you) were both certain the field would be enclos'd which I knew nothing off."⁵⁰ These complaints were effective: in Mrs. Miller's accounts there is an entry under 7 December 1765 that Mr. Welchman was paid £1800 principal money and £110 interest due.

Besides Radway, Miller was engaged at the same time in procuring an Inclosure Act for Moreton Morrell nearby. In this case the interest was his wife's as one of the descendants of John Fiennes, who bought part of the manor in 1677.⁵¹ A letter from Charles Talbot to Miller on 23 April 1757 mentions that "your Bill for Moreton was read ye 3d time yesterday".⁵² There is not much evidence about the process of inclosure but it seems likely that Miller carried it out in order to sell the estate there profitably. As early as 19 March 1757 Henry Grenville wrote to Miller to say that the money for his purchase of Moreton had long been ready⁵³ but there was evidently a delay, for it was not before February 1759 that Sir Edward Turner mentioned in a letter to Miller that he had heard of his advantageous disposal of Moreton Morrell.⁵⁴ The matter was of great importance to Miller; on 22 August 1759 he wrote to his nephew Clement Newsham that the sale of Moreton to Mr. Grenville had eased him of much care, as he believed that his gain by it would pay for the inclosure at Radway.⁵⁵

The other inclosure in which Miller was concerned came later. After the death of his wife's cousin, Hannah Knight of Banbury, in 1752, Miller apparently renewed her lease for life from the Dean and Chapter of Christ Church, Oxford, of the manor and parsonage of Turkdean in Gloucestershire.⁵⁶ This was subject, however, under Hannah Knight's will, to a division of the rent from the estate between John and Fiennes Eddowes, sons of her cousin Susannah Eddowes, and Samuel Trotman and Mary, Miller's wife, children of her late cousin Mary Trotman.⁵⁷ In January 1762 Miller asked a certain Mr. Kitchiman to find out from Sir John Nelthorpe (Nelthorpe) whether he agreed to the proposed inclosure at Turkdean and to tell him that Miller was prepared to buy his estate at a fair price.⁵⁸ Sir John sent a hedging reply which did not, however, finish the matter. On 7 December 1771 the Reverend Thomas Bowen of Turkdean wrote to Miller about it, saying that "the affair now rests with you and it is you that must give it activity".⁵⁹

It is impossible to tell from surviving evidence how much Miller gained from all these activities, but it seems clear that his profit was considerable. On 13 December 1756, after his Radway Inclosure Act had been passed, Miller was evidently in high spirits for he wrote a doggerel verse which starts,

"At last I find that I have clear
In land six hundred pounds a year
Besides a piece for wife and daughters
And something more for woods and waters".⁶⁰



Fig. 6.

George Lyttelton, 1st Baron Lyttelton of Hagley, Worcs. (1707-73), Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1755-56, "perhaps Miller's greatest friend". (National Portrait Gallery)

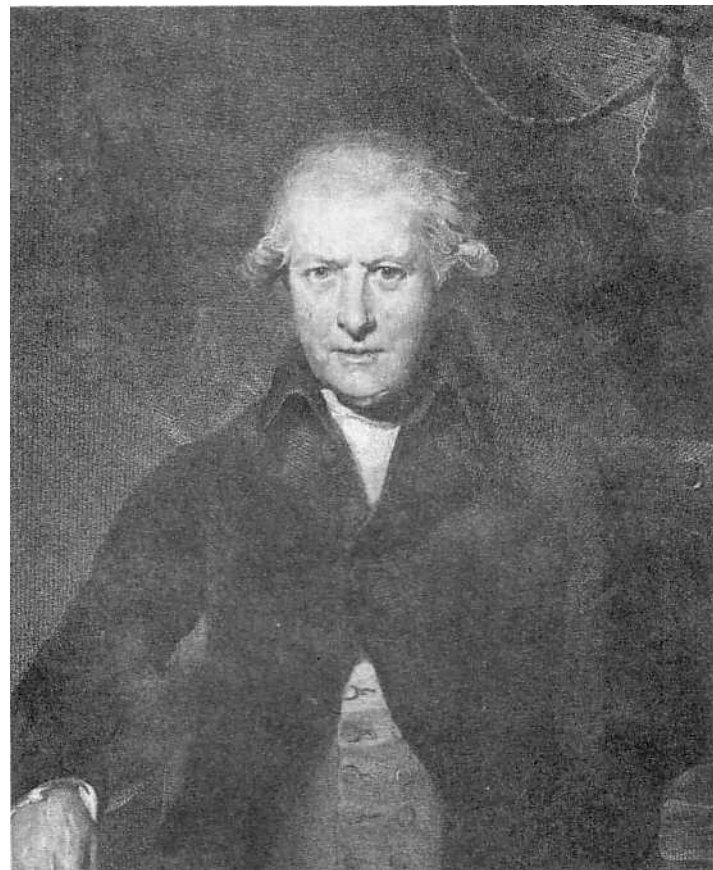


Fig. 7.

William Wildman Barrington, 2nd Viscount Barrington (1717-93), of Beckett, Berks., Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1761-62. (Engraving by C. Knight, after Sir Thomas Lawrence).

On 13th October 1763 John Welchman of Brackley told Miller that he had been informed that the field (the site of the Radway common field after inclosure) had improved in value from eight shillings per acre to seventeen or eighteen.⁶¹ More information could be expected from the four volumes of accounts kept by Miller's wife, which run from 1765 until his death in 1780, which indicate the average yearly income was about £994 and expenditure about £918.⁶² In view of the other evidence available the income seems surprisingly low and in fact Miller's obituary in the "Gentleman's Magazine" says that he was possessed of an estate of £2000 per annum.⁶³ It therefore seems reasonable to suggest that Mrs. Miller was allotted certain sources of income to meet the expenditure for which she was responsible.

The only evidence of Miller's behaviour as a landlord comes from a memorandum, apparently in his handwriting, which is quoted by the editors of 1910 but no longer exists amongst his papers.⁶⁴ Although undated, it was drawn up at the time he made one of his numerous wills. In it he recommends his executrix, that is, his wife, "to let my old tenants have such good bargains as may be sufficient encouragement to manage the land in a husbandlike manner, being well convinced that the racking of land tenants too hard is as great a prejudice to the landlord as it is to the tenant, and that an industrious tenant has as good a right to a reasonable profit in his farm as the landlord has to the farm itself."

The selection of letters to Miller published under the editorship of Lilian Dickins and Mary Stanton in 1910 mainly concerns Miller's social life. Amongst his correspondents were some of the best known men of this time, including William Pitt, George Lyttelton and his brothers, George and Henry Grenville, William viscount Barrington, Thomas Lennard Barrett, afterwards Lord Dacre, Philip earl of Hardwicke, Lord Chancellor, George William Coventry, afterwards earl of Coventry, Charles Jenkinson, afterwards earl of Liverpool, Robert Nugent, John Ivory Talbot of Lacock and Sir Edward Turner of Ambrosden, some of whom have already been mentioned. There were also neighbours such as Francis lord North at Wroxton and Heneage lord Guernsey, at Packington, who shared with Miller local interests as well as some of his friendships. The list is a formidable one, but the great charm of the correspondence is the ease and friendliness with which many of them wrote, as men who visited at each other's houses and were continuing in letters to Miller conversations which they had been holding. Their affection for him often appears and, as the editors of 1910 point out, one of the salient features of their letters is the desire that Miller's friends had for his company, whether in his own home or theirs.⁶⁵ In a letter of 25 April 1744 Thomas Lennard Barrett expresses his feelings about Miller. "You ask me", he says, "how upon so little acquaintance I repose such trust in you; my answer to this shall be, the character Lords Deerhurst and Coventry gave of you which I experienced viz. that there is a certain simplicity and ingenuity in your carriage and discourse which in a week discovers you worth and goodness as much as if one had known you a year; and without compliment from the first time I saw you I became so prejudiced (if I may call it prejudice) in your favour that I from thence forward desired nothing more than the happiness of your friendship".⁶⁶

Besides arousing affection Miller was obviously also capable (which does not always follow) of feeling it. Perhaps his relations with two friends he made while up at St. Mary Hall, Oxford, already mentioned, show this best, for in that case there was no social advantage in continuing the friendships. The first was Deane Swift, cousin of Jonathan Swift, whose letters to him start in 1734, and continue, sometimes rather intermittently, until 1765, with a final letter in 1778 written to Miller and his wife. They are expressed in affectionate, intimate, terms in spite of the fact that in later life the two men evidently met very seldom. The other was the Reverend Henry Quartley, of whom Miller records that they had lived four years together at St. Mary Hall and that Quartley had become curate to Edward Welchman, Miller's uncle, on his recommendation.⁶⁷

The octagonal tower which Miller built at the top of Edge Hill between 1745 and 1747 is the best-known evidence of his hospitality to his friends, encompassing as it did several of Miller's interests. It is of course copied from Guy's Tower at Warwick Castle, particularly the top room which occupies the whole area of the tower, like the great guardroom there. Miller's tower was apparently intended to mark the spot where the King's standard was put up before the battle

of Edgehill.⁶⁸ Various references occur to meals or entertainments there, including the opening on 3 September 1750.⁶⁹ The height of the tower must have made it a landmark far over the plain, and the view of the battlefield from an upper window must have been even more impressive before the trees that now surround it were planted; good reason for Miller to expect his guests to climb four storeys by a steep staircase!⁷⁰

Miller was much assisted in this hospitality by his wife, Susannah Trotman, whom he married in 1746.⁷¹ She is mentioned many times in the letters to Miller, especially by Sir Edward Turner who even wrote verses to her.⁷² Something of her character comes out in the letters she wrote to Miller's nephew Clement Newsham, partly about his brother Peers Newsham, who was accusing Miller of refusing to obtain for him a commission in the army; these show both tact and affection.⁷³ Moreover, her social position must also have helped him, for she was a member of a well-known landowning family, the Trotmans of Bucknell and Shelswell in Oxfordshire and of Siston in Gloucestershire.⁷⁴ Through her mother she was descended from John Fiennes, younger son of William, viscount Saye and Sele, by Elizabeth, daughter of John Temple of Burton Dassett and Stowe.⁷⁵ It was through her, therefore, that Fiennes became a Christian name in the Miller family⁷⁶ and by her descent from the Temples she was related to the Lytteltons, Miller's close friends.

She may also have been helpful to Miller in another way. In a will he made in 1759 Miller left her his interest in the leasehold estate at Turkdean, "being fully convinced that she will dispose of the same in the most prudent way for the encouragement of my daughters and such children as I shall leave."⁷⁷ Her household accounts, are clear and consistent, and in this they are very unlike the surviving volume of Miller's accounts, which are both erratic and careless. She survived Miller many years, dying in 1807 at the age of eighty-six.⁷⁸

This article is not an appropriate place in which to discuss Miller's architectural work, but a brief reference must be made to it as it was closely connected with his social life. His political sympathies and his profound interest in antiquarian matters combined to place him in the forefront of the cultural reaction to the Augustan regime, which in architecture found expression in a variety of styles. As well as altering his own home, in 1744 Miller built a small gothic cottage on the summit of Edge Hill and shortly afterwards the first of his sham ruins. He was at once faced with an insatiable demand from his friends for similar embellishments for their own estates. Whilst in some cases Miller produced little more than what one of his correspondents derided as "A Gothic Hog-Sty for some customary freeholder in Oxfordshire", his reputation in the mid eighteenth century as an authority on Gothic rivalled that of Horace Walpole.

Most of Miller's architectural work was carried out between 1750 and 1760, that is to say at a time when he was greatly in need of money for his Radway estate. The question therefore arises as to whether he was ever paid for his work. Of this it must be admitted that there is very little evidence. Sir Edward Turner occasionally gave Miller presents "for trouble on my account", which presumably refers to his plans for Ambrosden,⁷⁹ and apparently for Hagley, which probably caused Miller more trouble than anything else he did in this way, he was paid £417 10s. by George Lyttelton.⁸⁰ The likelihood is, therefore, that Miller received little in the way of direct payment, except through the occasional generosity of his friends.

One of Miller's great interests was his library. Long after his death there were two sales of his books and pamphlets, one in 1863 and the other in 1910.⁸¹ Judging by what he collected he must have been a man of wide culture. The inscription on his memorial in Radway Church, composed after consulting several of Miller's friends, states that he was chiefly devoted to polite literature, though his interests also led him to the sciences, to mathematics and architecture, and theological pursuits.⁸²

Miller mentions his books in his earlier wills, which do not survive amongst his papers but are quoted by the editors of 1910. He was already collecting in 1741, for in that year he left to his cousin John Miller his law books and a set of Elzevir Classics and to his nephews his "classics, history and other books". In 1759, on the other hand, it was provided that his "books prints and drawings" should be given to Lord Lyttelton (George Lyttelton) to be put in the library at Hagley, but under his final will in 1779 they were to remain at Radway.⁸³

There is an interesting note in the sales catalogue of 1910 that many volumes contained the bookplate of Ambrose Holbech of Mollington dated 1702. He was a younger brother of William Holbech of Farnborough and a barrister of the Inner Temple. He died in 1737 without leaving issue and presumably it was then that his books were acquired by Miller, to whom he must have been well-known as a neighbour.⁸⁴

It is not possible to go into details of the books included in the two sales, which are in any case a matter for a bibliographer. The outstanding item in the sale of 1863 was the Shakespeare folio of 1632 and the 1910 sale included Francis Bacon's "History of the reign of Henry VII", published in 1622, and also the collected edition of Beaumont and Fletcher's play of 1647. Miller was evidently interested in the theatre: in the 1910 catalogue appears a large group of plays published mainly between 1693 and 1700, including of course Wycherley, Congreve and Vanbrugh.

One noticeable feature about the 1910 sale was the number of pamphlets and tracts on various subjects which give some idea of the scope of Miller's library. They include pamphlets issued during the time of the Civil War as well as others relating to public affairs, with reports of many important trials, published between 1678 and 1723. There are also pamphlets on trade and finance between 1706 and 1739 and a collection in twelve volumes mainly on divinity, including the famous Bangorian Controversy in the reign of George 1. Most of the architectural works, chiefly Italian or French, appear in the 1863 catalogue. Considering the number of books on architecture or building published in England during Miller's lifetime, it is surprising how few of them are included in the two catalogues.

Lastly, there is the question of the part Miller took in public life and his politics, which in the case of another man might well have come first, for some of his friends, including of course William Pitt and George Lyttelton, were prominent Whig politicians. But the only political activity recorded of Miller is his energetic support of Sir Edward Turner in the well-known Oxfordshire election of 1754, described in the succeeding article by Mr. Hawkes. This incident illustrates very well the difficulty of dealing with Miller's personality, for it is impossible to decide how far, in supporting Turner during the election, he was moved by his usual anxiety to oblige his friends or how far by active political zeal. In all his correspondence there seems to be only one direct reference to his political opinions. On 25 November 1754 Lennard Barrett wrote that he had seen Sir Roger Newdigate who had complained that he never saw Miller now, "though he has told you he is willing to wave all party topics when you are together".⁸⁵ Miller had worked closely with Sir Roger Newdigate in the reconstruction of Arbury during its first stage, and this remark suggests a reason why he did not appear there later.⁸⁶

Miller first appears on the Warwickshire Commission of the Peace in 1761 but there is no evidence that he was an active Justice of the Peace, at any rate at Quarter Sessions.⁸⁷ His main intervention in county affairs was connected with the rebuilding of the Shire Hall, Warwick. Miller was not only the architect of the building but was also responsible for the accounts and to some extent for collecting the subscriptions as well. In a letter to Charles Lyttelton in 1752 he complained that he was experiencing in miniature what it was to be a great man in power, as he was being besieged by undertakers and projectors of all parties. He added "However my accounts shall stand clear of obloquy, tho' my building must expect abuse."⁸⁸

However, Miller encountered difficulties in raising money by subscription and in the end the attempt was given up. In 1757 an Act was passed for completing the Shire Hall and for expending the money to be raised by a county rate.⁸⁹ Miller may not have been included, as a Commissioner, since he was not then a Justice, but he was appointed one of the trustees in whom the Shire Hall was to be vested after completion.

Lord Hardwicke's procurement for Miller of some public office is mentioned above.⁹⁰ In 1754 Fiennes Eddowes, writing on behalf of his father Robert Eddowes, suggested to Miller that he should apply for the post of Architect to the Office of Ordnance, which had become vacant on the death of James Gibbs. Miller evidently asked George Lyttelton to use his influence, but the post was unfortunately filled.⁹¹ In 1770 Miller was luckier, for he was offered by another friend, Lord Barrington, the appointment as a Deputy Commissary of Musters at a salary of ten



Fig. 8.

Sanderson Miller. The portrait at Lacock Abbey, Wilts. (The National Trust and Mrs K. M. Burnett-Brown) (photo. Royal Academy)

shillings a day and a travelling allowance of £50 a year, which he accepted in spite of a modest doubt of his capacity to execute it.⁹²

From 1756 onwards Miller's friends begin to show concern about his health, and by the end of 1759, a crisis came.⁹³ This is described in a letter of Charles Talbot to Miller's nephew, Clement Newsham, on 27 December. "It is with infinite concern", Talbot writes, "that I set my pen to paper to acquaint you of the melancholy and deplorable situation of my good friend your Uncle San. Miller. The disorder he has been struggling with at particular periods for several years past has at last got the better of him and made him raving mad and he is now under confinement at Hogsden about a mile out of London. It is impossible to form any judgement at present whether he is curable or not. He was seized with the frenzy but about a fortnight ago in Warwick town where he gave such publick proofs of his being disordered in his senses that it was impossible to conceal his misfortune from the world." He later described what had happened immediately after Miller's attack. His brother (the Rev. William Talbot of Kington) had brought Miller up to London to the same doctor he had seen the year before "when he was in a melancholy way" and had taken lodgings for him. There, however, he grew so outrageous the first night that he alarmed the neighbourhood and it was therefore necessary to put him into a private madhouse. But happily by 1 July 1760 Talbot reported that Miller was perfectly well and back at Radway refusing to believe he had ever been attacked.⁹⁴

As in the case of his youth and early manhood, much less is known of the last twenty years of Miller's life than of his middle age. Sir Edward Turner, one of his most frequent correspondents, died in 1766 and although Lord Lyttelton lived until 1773, there are few letters from him after 1763. The latest letter from Henry Grenville is dated 1761 and the same applies to Thomas Lennard Barrett, Lord Dacre, though a letter survives written to him by Miller in 1768. On the other hand, a new correspondent and friend appears during Miller's later life, William, Lord Barrington, who like many others of his friends, took a prominent part in public life. His letters to Miller run from 1758 to 1779, only a year before Miller's death, and it was for him that Miller produced between 1762 and 1766 plans for building the stables and altering the house at Beckett in Berkshire, his last recorded architectural work of any importance.⁹⁵

An event occurred in 1760 of much significance for Miller. Up till then, his children had consisted of daughters and of sons who died young. In that year, however, a son was born at Shelswell who was baptised Fiennes Sanderson at Newton Purcell (the parish church of Shelswell) on 14 April and in 1761 was born another son, Charles Sanderson, who also lived to grow up.⁹⁶ This seems to have had an effect on Miller's way of life. In the letter to Lord Dacre in February 1768, mentioned above, Miller wrote as follows, "the remembrance of the many agreeable days I have passed with your Lordship and Lady Dacre at this gloomy time of the year makes me often wish myself not so much confined to the country. But it is much best for my large family that I should stay at home as much as possible."⁹⁷ His health may also have kept him at home to some extent, as presumably he was threatened with a return of the attack of 1759. On the other hand, he felt able to accept at the age of fifty-three the post of Deputy Commissary of Musters, which involved going on circuit,⁹⁸ and in 1779, the last year of his life, he wrote cheerfully to his wife from Beckett, describing a walk he had taken and mentioning the possibility of returning by Turkdean if it was not too soon to do business there.⁹⁹

In the same year a social event took place at Radway Grange which was perhaps the last in the history of that hospitable house, so far as Miller was concerned. In 1908 a note was discovered in an urn standing in the park which ran as follows: "In the year 1754 the Right Honourable William Pitt Esq. planted three trees, two Scotch firs, and one mountain ash, being then on a visit to Radway with Sanderson Miller Esq. In the month of July 1778 Thomas Pitt Esq. of Boconnok in Cornwall being at Radway thought it would be proper to place this urn under these trees and sent it from Bath and it was set up April 21, 1779 by Sanderson Miller Esq." The note then recorded those who were present, including Miller, his wife, and his six children, as well as Edward Trotman, Master Hiron's mason, and George Ransford.¹⁰⁰

Miller died at Dr. Duffield's at Chelsea on 23 April, 1780, at the age of sixty-three, and was buried at Radway on April 30.¹⁰¹ In his will dated 21 November 1779 he provided that his estate at Radway should ultimately remain intact in the hands of his eldest son Fiennes Sanderson,

charging it with annuities to his wife and four other children. He also left to Fiennes his books, papers and manuscripts "desiring him to preserve the same so that they may at all times go and remain with the owner for the time being of my capital message wherein I now reside",¹⁰² The estate remained with his family until 1916¹⁰³ but, as has been shown above, his wishes about his books and papers were not respected to the end.

After every consideration Miller appears in some ways a remote figure. There are no letters from his wife and children in the collection and, except on family business, none from kinsmen such as Edward Welchman of Solihull who may well have influenced him in his earlier years. Moreover, no letters survive from such men as Henry Quartley, Richard Jago the parson-poet, or Richard earl Temple at Stowe, all of whom Miller knew well, so that one wonders whether the collection was originally larger. Furthermore as the editors of 1910 point out, there is no record of how most of his principal friendships began, as he kept very few letters before 1744, except for those from Deane Swift. But the most serious hiatus is the lack of evidence coming from Miller himself. Few of his own letters apparently survive and amongst his papers there are no diaries nor drawings of buildings or architectural details that interested him like those, for instance, left behind by Sir Roger Newdigate of Arbury. In fact there is so little evidence about him in this way that it is not known what tours he made in his own country or abroad. Finally there was something in Miller's own nature which is difficult to grasp. He suffered at times from melancholia or worse, as was shown dramatically in 1759, and this may have made him reserved; moreover, his willingness to oblige his friends in small matters as well as great, however endearing to them, makes his character seem somewhat indistinct when one looks back at him two centuries later.

It is, however, impossible not to feel a great interest in a man who gained the deep affection of so many friends. Moreover, looking at his portrait at Lacock, it is easy to understand that he was attractive to women. For this, indeed, he seems to have had somewhat a reputation amongst his friends, judging by the teasing remarks occasionally made by Sir Edward Turner and others, especially with reference to Peggy Banks, afterward Mrs. Henry Grenville. And towards the end the three letters written to his wife from Beckett in 1778 and 1779 bring him suddenly to life, with their expressions of affection and casual references to the people he was meeting there. He was a good friend and a good husband, but perhaps the quality for which one should admire him most is his courage and energy in doing so much between 1750 and 1759 at a time when his health was gravely threatened.

Farnborough, Warw.

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NOTES

The following abbreviations are used :-

- D&S = "An Eighteenth Century Correspondence", edited by Lilian Dickins and Mary Stanton, London, 1910.
 DNB = Dictionary of National Biography.
 Hawkes = H. W. Hawkes, "Sanderson Miller of Radway, 1716-1780", 1964, (unpublished thesis, Faculty of Fine Arts, Cambridge; Warw. Record Office)

- (i) References headed CR or QS are to documents at the Warwick County Record Office, Shire Hall, Warwick; those headed DR are to documents at the Coventry Diocesan Record Office, also at the Shire Hall.
 (ii) Warwick CRO references are only quoted for documents in the Miller correspondence at Shire Hall which are not included in D&S.

References

1. "An Eighteenth-Century Correspondence", edited by Lilian Dickins and Mary Stanton, London, 1910.
2. The arms that Miller used - azure, 4 mascles in cross or, with crest a demi-lion rampant azure holding in his paws a mascle or - are first recorded for the Miller family of Winterbourne Came in Dorset in 1586 and they are described in the Dorset visitation of 1623. Although the pedigree of the family is carried down to Sir John Meller of Bridey (Bredy), also in Dorset, in 1677, so far no connection has been established with the known ancestors of the Millers of Radway. "Visitation of Dorset, 1623" Harl. Soc XX, 70-1. I owe this information about the Mellers of Dorset to Mr. R.O. Dennys, Rouge Croix Pursuivant Arms.
3. Buckingham par. reg. (at the church). The inscription on his memorial in Radway Church describes him as the youngest son of John Miller of Boycot.
4. H. Isham Longden MSS, notes and rounh pedigrees of the Miller family. (Northants Record Office).
5. CR1052/boxA/bdle 5.
6. CR1158
7. Notes of writings relating to an estate at Radway, 1765; CR1052/box A/bdle 5.
8. George Miller, "Rambles round the Edge Hills", 3rd edn., 1967, 17. The flat-bottomed boats were intended for the Cherwell, as the canal was not opened until 1790.
9. From the list in E.R.C. Brinkworth "The Borough of Banbury, 1554-1954", Banbury Borough Council, 1954.
10. "Baptism and Burial Register of Banbury, 1653-1723" - Banbury Hist. Soc. 9, 1969.
11. "Marriage Register of Banbury, 1558-1724" - Banbury Hist. Soc. 2, 1960.
12. Welchman of Manaton, Devon, in "Burke's Landed Gentry 1952".
13. William Potts, "History of Banbury", 1958, 130.
14. Banbury registers; "Borough of Banbury" list of mayors. John Welchman issued a trade token in 1663 (Milne, "Catalogue of Oxon. 17th c. Trade Tokens", 1935). ex. inf. Mr. J.S.W. Gibson, who is researching into the history of the Welchman family.
15. He is included in the DNB.
16. QS76/1/box 2.
17. CR1052/box C/bdle 1.
18. CR1052/box 13/loose. The only other Washington deed in the collection is a royal licence to John Washington to alienate 365 acres in Bishops Itchington (which then included part of Radway) to John Danvers and others, 1 May 11 Charles I, (1635); CR1052/box A/bdle 7. For other Washington deeds originally in the collection see H. Clifford Smith, "Some recent acquisitions at Sulgrave Manor", The Connoisseur, CXIII (1944), 101-2.
- 19, 20. CR1052/Box D/bdle 1; 4 & 5 W & M c.25 (private). The trustees leased the estate to Thomas Reeve of Radway and William Blencowe.

21. "Warwickshire County Book", Warwickshire County Council, 1959, 334.
- 22,23. Radway par. reg. DR47/4.
24. Foster, "Alumni Oxonienses".
25. D&S. 4. Rev. Walter Harte (1709-74); vice-principal of St. Mary Hall, 1740 (DNB)
26. D&S, 94, 114, 129.
27. William King, "Political and literary anecdotes of his own times", end edn. 1819. Principal of St. Mary Hall, 1719, died 1763 (DNB). St. Mary Hall is now part of Oriel College.
28. Deane Swift (1707-83), cousin of Jonathan Swift. Two of his letters to Miller, in June 1741 and May 1744, describe his relations with his cousin (D&S, 37-40, 45).
29. D&S, 30.
30. D&S, 33.
31. CR1052/box F/bdle 9; the will was dated 1 March 1736/7, proved 3 September 1737.
32. D&S. 4, 5 Not now in Miller's papers.
33. CR1053/box F/bdle 2. She went to live with Rev. William Talbot and his family at Kineton; 1751 July 20 "Paid my mother at Mr. Talbots 1-1-0", 1751 Oct. 12 "Paid my mother at Kineton 5-5-0" (Miller's aacts. 1742-60; CR125B/5). William Talbot, son of Sherington Talbot of London. Exeter College, Oxford, matriculated 1 March 1736/7 aged 18. Vicar of Kineton, rector of St. Giles, Reading, 1768, until his death in 1774 (Foster, "Alumni Oxonienses"). Presented to the vicarage of Kineton, 4 April 1746 (Worcs. Record Office; 732.4, B.A. 2337/40). He was a close friend of the Millers, but no letters from him survive in the collection. There are, however, two letters, probably addressed to him, from John Ivory Talbot of Lacock. Sherington (or Sharington) was a Christian name amongst the Talbots of Lacock.
34. This paragraph has been contributed by Mr. William Hawkes. A model of the grange (in the possession of Miss Carey at Radway) shows that the turrets were originally surmounted by caps, as at Lacock and Adlestrop. In 1744 Hitchcox and Hiorn were altering the house and Miller "Paid Mr. Partridge for the arch in my room", which is probably that in the dining-room. Work continued in 1745. In 1746 Robins was paid for the staircase, a false door and arches to the bay-windows. An Alehouse built by Hitchcox and Hiorn collapsed the same year (CT125b/box 1; Oct. '45/416) The porch on the west front was built by Lt. Col. Miller in the 19th century (Miller album in the possession of Mrs. Walker, Ashbury).
35. The property at Neithrop is not mentioned again in Miller's papers. Perhaps it was sold.
36. CR125B/5.
37. CR658/1/1.
38. QS75/90
39. D&S 174. Sir Edward Turner, Bt., of Ambrosden, Oxon. (1719-66). Married Cassandra, daughter of William Leigh of Adlestrop, Glos. M.P., inter alia, for Oxfordshire in the New or Whig interest, 1755-61, (Namier and Brooke, "History of Parliament: the House of Commons, 1754-1790", ii, 1964). William Bumpstead of Upton House, Ratley (d.1757), is referred to several times by Miller's friends in uncomplimentary terms.
40. D&S, 254.
41. CR125B/555. Henry Grenville, of Shrub Hill, Dorking (1717-84). Brother of Richard earl Temple, of Stowe, and of George Grenville, the minister responsible for the famous Stamp Act of 1765, and cousin of the Lytteltons. Married Margaret Eleanor, daughter of Joseph Banks, 1757 (Namier and Brooke, "History of Parliament", ii, 1964). His wife was the Peggy Banks often mentioned in Miller's correspondence, for whom he professed much admiration.
42. QS75/90; the Act was Geo II c.7 (private).
43. CR125B/590.

44. CR1052/box E/bdle 7c, box F/bdle 1.
- 45, 46. CR1052/box F/bdle 1. John Welchman, is described as son of John Welchman of Brackley dec. The elder John Welchman was a son of John Welchman the apothecary of Banbury and therefore Miller's uncle (see the marriage settlement of Sanderson Miller the elder, 24 December 1696, to which they were both parties: CR1052/box A/bdle 5).
47. Sir George Lyttelton, Bt., of Hagley, Worcs. (1709-73). Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1755-56, created baron Lyttelton of Hagley, 1756. He gave great help to Miller in more than one way during the most active part of Miller's career. Partly, perhaps, owing to an unhappy second marriage, he was a frequent visitor to Radway, where he used to meet by arrangement his daughter by his first marriage, then living with her grandmother at Ebrington, Glos. (D&S, 168-9).
48. D&S, 348. In Miller's accounts there is an entry under 26 January 1757, "Recd. of Lord Lyttelton a note for 50-0-0" (CR125B/5). Lyttelton also lent Miller £1000, most of which was used to pay off one of the mortgages to Henry Grenville (D&S, 389).
49. On 7 July, 1757, Lyttelton wrote to Hardwicke saying that Miller was a good deal distressed by the expense attending his inclosures and suggesting that the Duke of Newcastle might find for him "some small sinecure place which would make him quite easy, and not draw him away from his business in the country" (George Harris, "The Life of Lord Chancellor Hardwicke", iii, 1847, 147. A note briefly states that through Lord Hardwicke's interest this was effected.)
50. CR125B/64. The Miller referred to was probably Miller's "dear friend and cousin", John Miller of the Inner Temple, whom he mentions in his will of 1741 (D&S., 450).
51. "Complete Peerage;" VCH Warw. V, 120.
52. CR125B/225. Charles Henry Talbot, admitted to the Inner Temple 6 May 1745 and the Middle Temple 5 February 1749/50, described as son of Hon. Sherington Talbot (H. A. C. Sturgess, "Register of admissions to the Middle Temple;" 1949, 341). He was Miller's legal adviser, and brother of William Talbot, vicar of Kineton (see n. 33). The title of Honourable given to his father seems to be a mistake.
53. CR125B/590.
54. CR125B/559.
55. CR711/box 34 (letters to Clement Newsham).
56. Letter from Charles Talbot, 3 December 1757, in which he asked what Miller paid for the renewal of Turkdean (lease) on Mrs. Knight's death (CR125B/229).
57. Will dated 23 May 1751, proved 2 November 1752 (CR1052/box C/loose).
58. CR125B/694.
59. CR125B/708. Miller, however, was unsuccessful, as the Turkdean Inclosure Award was not made until 1793 (Bigland's Gloucestershire", suppl. pt. 6, c. 1873).
60. D&S. 348.
61. CR125B/55.
62. CR125B/1-4.
63. Quoted, D&S. 448.
64. D&S, 453.
65. D&S, 3
66. D&S, 99. Thomas Lennard Barrett, afterwards 17th baron Dacre of Belhus, Essex (1717-86).
A close friend of Miller, he gothicized his house with the help of Miller and Horace Walpole. He was a good Herald and antiquary ("Complete Peerage"). His varying health and spirits made him sympathise with Miller as a fellow-sufferer.
67. D&S, 5-6.
68. George Miller, "Rambles round the Edge Hills", 1967, 16. Miller took much interest in the battle. In a letter to Richard Jago, 16 June 1754, William Shenstone, the poet, mentioned that Miller was employing a surveyor at Radway to take plans of the

- battlefield, which "he proposes to enrich with a number of anecdotes, gleaned from his neighbourhood" and to print, with a 'sheet' of Radway Castle (The Letters of William Shenstone", ed. Marjorie Williams, 1939, 400).
- The battlefield plans apparently do not survive, but a result of Miller's researches is said to have been the planting of trees at significant points of the battlefield (see "History of Radway", Warwickshire Village History Society, Long Compton, 1937). For instance, a clump of trees on Knowle End Hill, east of the Edgehill-Kineton road, is marked on William Yates' map of Warwickshire of 1793, and this was apparently intended to mark where the King surveyed the enemy's position before the battle. A few old beech trees are still there, masked by the surrounding wood.
69. D&S, 174-5. Mrs Miller mentions in her accounts breakfast at the Castle on 17 July 1769 and tea there on June 14 and 1 July 1778 (CR125B/2, 4). She may be referring, however, to the Thatched House near the Tower.
70. Yates' map of Warwickshire, 1793, shows a band of trees along the slope of Edgehill which stops well short of the tower, marked as 'Miller's Tower'. After a visit to Radway in 1750, Shenstone gave an interesting description of Miller's works on Edge Hill. He complained, however, of the laborious ascent of the tower and its excessive height as seen from Radway Grange (letter to [Lady Luxborough]. 28 January 1749/50; op. cit., 252-4). An account of the tower and other works is given by Arthur Oswald, "Radway Grange, Warwickshire - II", Country Life, c. 486 seq. (13 September 1946).
71. The marriage entry has not been found in the Bishop's Transcripts for Newton Purcell (the parish in which Shelswell lies) or Bucknell amongst the Oxford Diocesan records at the Bodleian, nor in Radway registers at Warwick. The registers of Newton and Bucknell, still in the parishes, have not been searched. Miller's marriage bond is dated 20 September 1746 (Oxford Diocesan records).
72. D&S. 243, 377. One verse beginning "Assemblage soft of every grace, Angelic miniature of face", is especially enthusiastic.
73. CR611/box 34, letters to Clement Newsham.
74. For the Trotman family see "Gloucestershire Notes and Queries," V.
75. "Complete Peerage" The memorial to Susannah's parents (Edward and Mary Trotman) in Newton Purcell Church describes the descent from the Fiennes family.
76. Miller's brother-in-law was Fiennes Trotman of Shelswell, and his son and grandson were christened Fiennes Sanderson Miller.
77. D&S. 452. Not now amongst Miller's papers.
78. Inscription in Radway Church.
79. Hawkes, 60.
80. Gordon Nares, "Hagley Hall - II", "Country Life" 26 September 1957. No authority is given for the statement.
81. Puttick and Simpson, "Catalogue of the library of the late Lieutenant-Colonel Miller of Radway, Warwickshire, with another library:" sale, 9 November, 1863 and four following days (British Museum S-C, P90 (2)). Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge, "Catalogue of the Radway Grange Library Sold in consequence of the Death of the Tenant for Life the Rev. W.S. Miller: Sale, 1 February 1910 (British Museum, S.C. Sotheby 1739-).
82. See D&S. 454-7. They give an English translation of the Latin original.
83. D&S. 450-2.
84. Foster, "Alumni Oxonienses". He was a younger son of Ambrose Holbech who acquired the Raleigh estate at Famborough in 1684 (ex. inf. Rev. H. G. Holbeche)
85. CR125B/452.
86. For Miller's work at Arbury see Hawkes 19 seq. Sir Roger was a strong tory.
87. Qs1/1/38.

88. Transcript of letter in the possession of Miss Lilian Dickins in 1950, pasted on the flyleaf of the copy of D&S. at the Warwick CRO. This and the following references are given in the account of the rebuilding of the Shire Hall in Hawkes 30-42. Charles Lyttelton (1714-68), brother of George Lyttelton, antiquary, Dean of Exeter, afterwards Bishop of Carlisle (DNB). He wrote many letters to Miller from 1758 onwards describing his sightseeing travels.
89. 30 Geo II c. 56. The text of the Act is given in "Warwick County Records" vii, 1946, cxxxvii seq.
90. See n. 49.
91. D&S. 236-7. Fiennes Eddowes was a younger son of Robert Eddowes of the Office of Ordnance, Portsmouth, and a cousin of Miller's wife. He matriculated at New College, Oxford, in 1744 and was then described as son of Robert Eddowes of Adderbury (Foster, "Alumni Oxonienses"). He and his brother John had a share in the income from the Turkdean estate, left to them by Hannah Knight of Banbury (see above, n. 57).
92. D&S. 438-9.
93. CR125B/28, 220, 600.
94. CR611/box 34, letters to Clement Newsham.
95. Hawkes, 50-1.
96. In his will dated 21 November 1779 (proved 3 June 1780) Miller desired to be buried near his father and mother and four sons (CR658/1/4, office copy). In fact the births and burials of only two sons are given in the Radway registers before the entry recording Fiennes' baptism at Newton (Purcell) (DR47/4).
97. D&S, 436.
98. See above, n. 92.
99. D&S, 446-7.
100. D&S, 444-5. Thomas Pitt of Boconnoc (1737-93) was nephew of William Pitt. Created baron Camelford, 1784 (DNB). He shared Miller's enthusiasm for Gothic architecture.
101. D&S, 448, quoting the obituary in the "Gentleman's Magazine". Radway parish register (DR 47/4).
102. Office copy at Warwick (CR658/1/4).
103. Arthur Oswald, "Radway Grange, Warwickshire - II", Country Life, c. 489.

Acknowledgements: We are most grateful to the following owners of portraits, landscape sketches, maps and copyright photographs for permission to reproduce them as illustrations to the articles in this issue:

The Bodleian Library, the Trustees of the British Museum, Mrs. K. M. Burnett-Brown, Mr H. W. Hawkes, the Director of the National Portrait Gallery, the National Trust, and the Royal Academy of Arts.

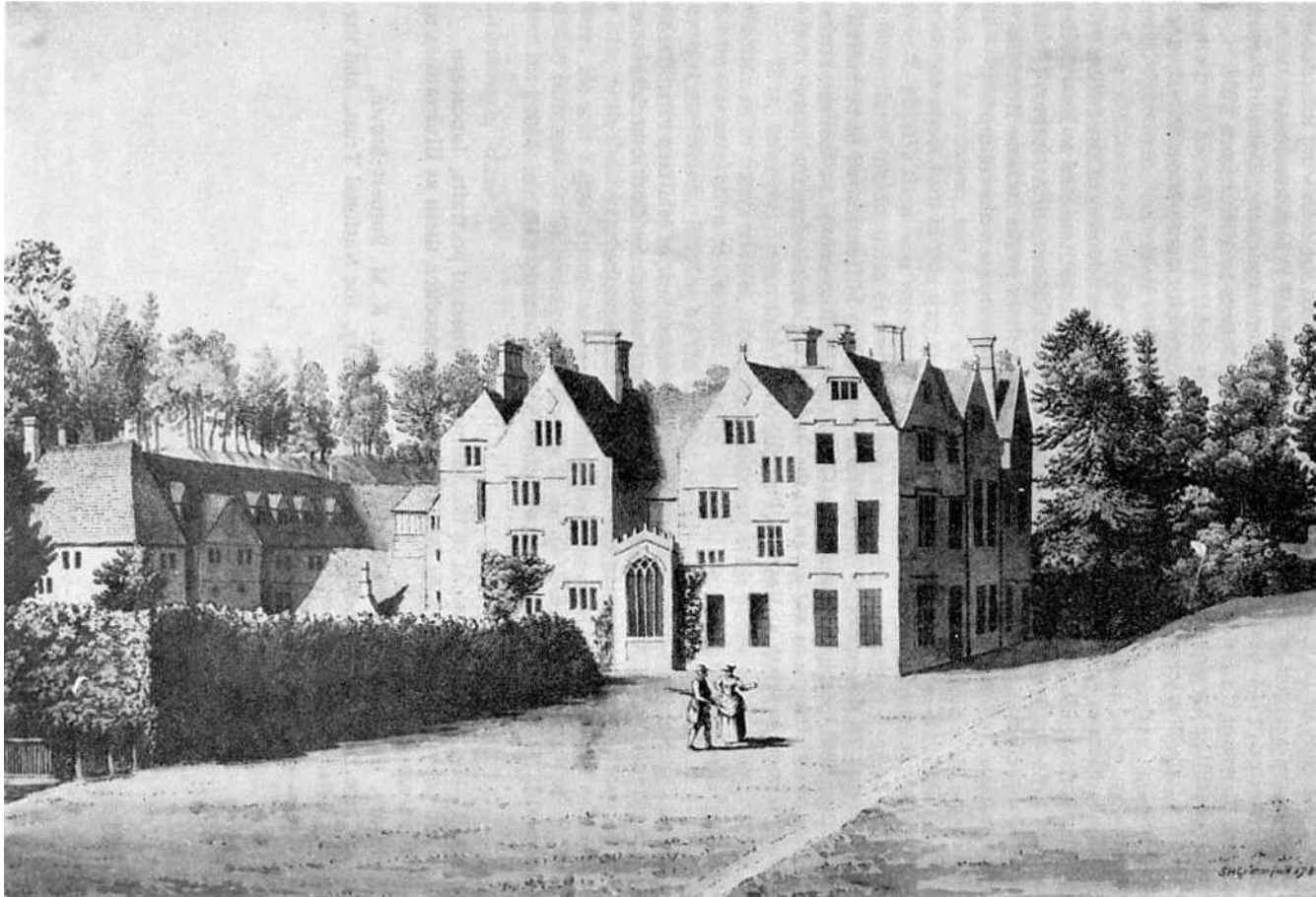


Fig. 9.

Wroxton Abbey from the N.E., showing Miller's chapel window, sketch by S.H. Grimm, 1781 (British Museum).

MILLER'S WORK AT WROXTON

In contemplating his schemes for the improvement of the Wroxton estate, Francis, Lord North, must have been highly conscious of the celebrity acquired by Sanderson Miller, his neighbour, from his recent alterations to his grounds at Radway. North was not slow to cultivate Miller's friendship through his common acquaintance with George Coventry and Lord Dacre, both of whom took delight in Miller's interests and companionship. To Coventry, Miller who had preferred welcome advice on the reclamation of his estate at Croome d' Abitot and with Dacre he was already engaged on the Gothic works at Belhus.

Certainly by May 1747 Francis North knew and respected Sanderson Miller well enough to seek his expert advice on the alterations to his chapel at Wroxton Abbey.¹ It is probable that the whole east side of the chapel was at this time thrown out to form a miniature chancel. Although Miller's part in the more general schemes for the chapel cannot be authenticated, he was intimately concerned in the design of the new window, which was largely governed by the need for it to accommodate North's collection of fine 17th century glass.² Miller was consulted by North, who was dissatisfied with the details submitted to him by his mason, Robin Cheyne, and he prepared alternative schemes for the window, from which North, after consultation with Lord Dacre, selected "the most enriched pattern". North begged him to furnish Cheyne with the revised drawings but to remember that "the window will not agree with my glass if it is divided into more than four arches". Cheyne evidently resented this interference and at once objected that as work had started "the middle mullion cannot be larger than the others". Evidently the logic of Cheyne's objection was admitted for the cross-section of the mullions is severely plain and decoration limited to the cusping of the quasi-Geometrical tracery. Beneath the crenellation and over the window was placed a crocketed ogival dripstone, curiously stiff in form. Internally the plasterwork must be of this period: the delicate arcaded cornices, like some highly attenuated corbel-tabling, and the similar cusped motif above the altar are typical of Miller's work. It must be remembered that, whilst to the modern eye - fostered on the scholasticism of Pugin and Ruskin - this work has a slightly crude quality, to its contemporaries it was convincingly gothic and redolent of the medieval spirit. Horace Walpole, for instance, thought the chapel "in a pretty Gothic taste, with a long window of painted glass, very tolerable. The frieze is pendent, just in the manner I propose for the eating-room at Strawberry Hill".³ The external appearance of the chapel, as it was finished in June 1747, may be judged from one of S. H. Grimm's beautifully executed drawings.⁴

At this time North was also consulting Miller on the rebuilding of the tower of Wroxton parish church. By 1747 this was in a perilous condition and, faced by the parishioners' apathy, Lord North undertook to subsidise the bulk of the cost of rebuilding.⁵ His motives may have been less those of benevolence than that he was unable to resist this opportunity for a further essay in the gothic style. An earlier scheme for a spire appeared too costly and in June Miller submitted a model of the proposed tower for North's approval. By November Miller's own mason, William Hitchcox, was brought in for the signing of the contract. For the sum of £150 Hitchcox agreed to pull down the old tower and rebuild it in accordance with Miller's plans.⁶ The exact extent of the rebuilding is difficult to establish, but the arch supporting the east wall of the tower was probably retained and the reuse of the lower ladder suggests that Hitchcox made use of whatever material was still sound.⁷ However the uniformity of the dressing of the Hornton stone and the detailing of the mouldings indicates that the work was extensive. Slender niched pilasters rise from the lower stage to be re-echoed in the merlons of the battlement, which is filled from Miller's medieval vocabulary: the shield, rosette, quatrefoil and diaper, all of which may be paralleled in his work of the year before at Radway Grange. Hitchcox was paid in part before the end of the year, but he does not appear to have completed the work until the late summer of 1748.

At Miller's instigation the tower was originally surmounted by an "octagon of stone", but this was scarcely up before it was totally demolished by an exceptionally strong winter gale. Walpole may not consciously have distorted the truth by suggesting that it was the whole tower



Fig. 10.

The chapel window at Wroxton Abbey (photo. H. W. Hawkes).

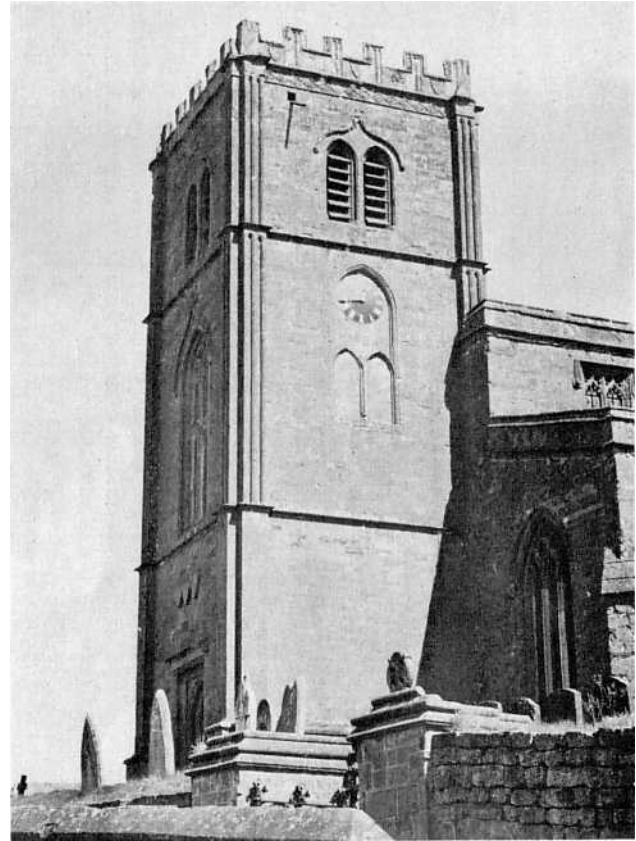


Fig. 11.

The tower of All Saint's Church, Wroxton, from the S. W. (photo. H. W. Hawkes).

which collapsed, but, jealous of Miller's reputation as an authority on Gothic, he obviously derived pleasure from this opportunity for cynicism at the expense of his rival: "the tower is in a good plain Gothic style, and was once, they tell you, still more beautiful; but Mr. Miller, who designed it, unluckily once in his life happened to think rather of beauty than of the water-ables, and so it fell down the first winter." Lord Dacre, hastening to his friend's assistance, placed the blame squarely upon Hitchcox for having neglected to cramp the octagon firmly at its junction with the tower and urged a pessimistic Miller to build again but more securely. However it was thought wise not to tempt providence a second time.⁸

Quite undismayed by this catastrophe, Lord North continued from London to correspond with Miller on the details of an ornamental building to be known as The Temple on the Mount.⁹ To the east of the recently improved Grand Cascade a small artificial tumulus was thrown up to be surmounted by a gothic seat, which by reason of its eminence would be at once visible from the head of the lake and from the grounds below the cascade. Towards the end of February 1750 North was impatiently awaiting the arrival of a wooden model of the building. In an effort to bolster Miller's morale he expressed his confidence that he did not believe "anything will answer the purpose so well as the building you have projected". When the model reached him he shared Miller's reservations about the apparent weight of the dome, but thought this might be resolved by the addition of "a little open border" similar to that on the Radway bay windows. Progress was hampered by the behaviour of the carpenter, Banister, who was so hopelessly addicted to the bottle that North was obliged to ask Miller to intervene for him: ". . .if an expedient can be found to ensure his working, I am not anxious in what manner the bargain is made". Acting on this liberal brief Miller proceeded with his customary diplomatic efficiency so that by June North was able to inspect the unassembled parts and admire the potential excellence of the design.



Fig. 12.

The Temple on the Mount, from the W., sketch by S.H. Grimm, 1781 (British Museum).

"Cloath and tarpaulin" was dispatched from London to roof the dome and provide the blinds, so much admired by Bishop Pococke, which "by turning screws let down so as to afford shelter whichever way you please."¹⁰ Decoration was delayed until the following year, when a painter was sent from London to lay on stone dust to improve both the appearance and weather resistance of the seat. Despite the ephemeral nature of its construction the building survived into this century, but has now gone. It is shown clearly in another of Grimm's sketches.¹¹ Low centred arches, their soffits cusped, rest upon slender clustered columns which form an octagon. The triangular spandrels below the frieze are decorated; above rises the dome, its height carefully controlled. Beyond can be glimpsed a bridge which uneasily combines a gothic base with a chinese handrail and was perhaps intended as an introduction to the Chinese house, where the visitor would shortly be refreshed with cold meat and ice cream.

In the landscaping of the grounds the most notable feature was the formation of the Lake and Grand Cascade.¹² The cascade was begun as early as 1744 under the general direction of Miller who had profitted by his experiments in the management of water in his own less spectacular waterworks at Radway. A series of reservoirs to the south east of the house fed into the lake, which had at its eastern end a dam forming the Grand Cascade. The final success of this composition, although flattered by contemporary sketches, may be judged from the enthusiastic response of many distinguished visitors. William Pitt the Elder, for example, envied Miller the facility with which he could visit Wroxton :

May the grand Landskip Painter, the Sun, spread his highest colouring o'er the sweet scene, and the fairest Naiad of the Lake frisk all her frolick Fancy at the Cascade, and be what you must ever think a pretty Girl, most charming in her Fall.¹³

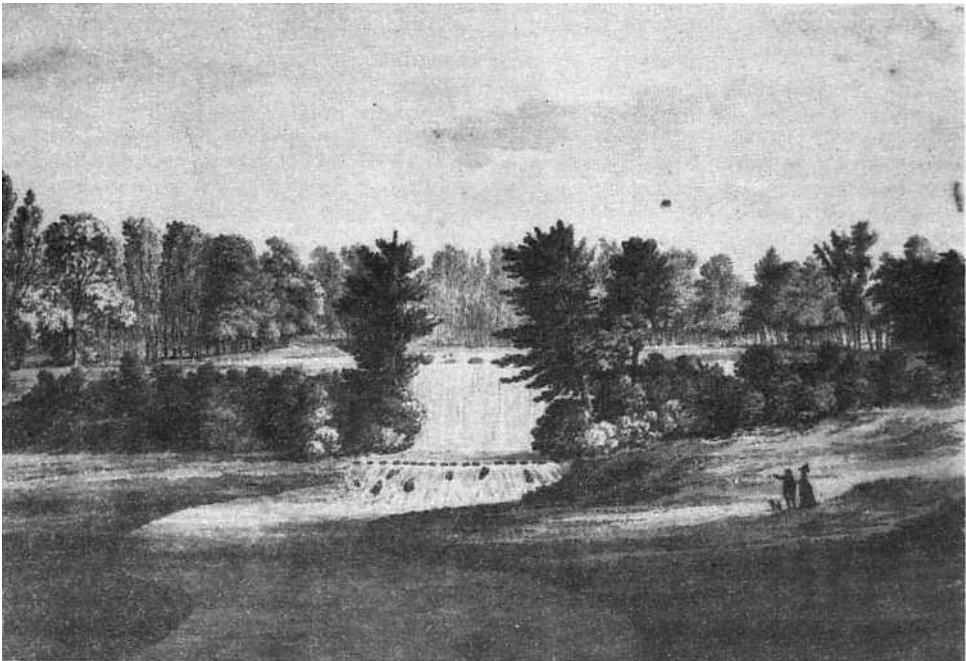


Fig. 13.

The Grand Cascade, from the E., sketch by S.H. Grimm, 1781 (British Museum).



Fig. 14.

View of the lake from the W., showing the temple in the distance, sketch by S.H. Grimm, 1781 (Bodleian Library).

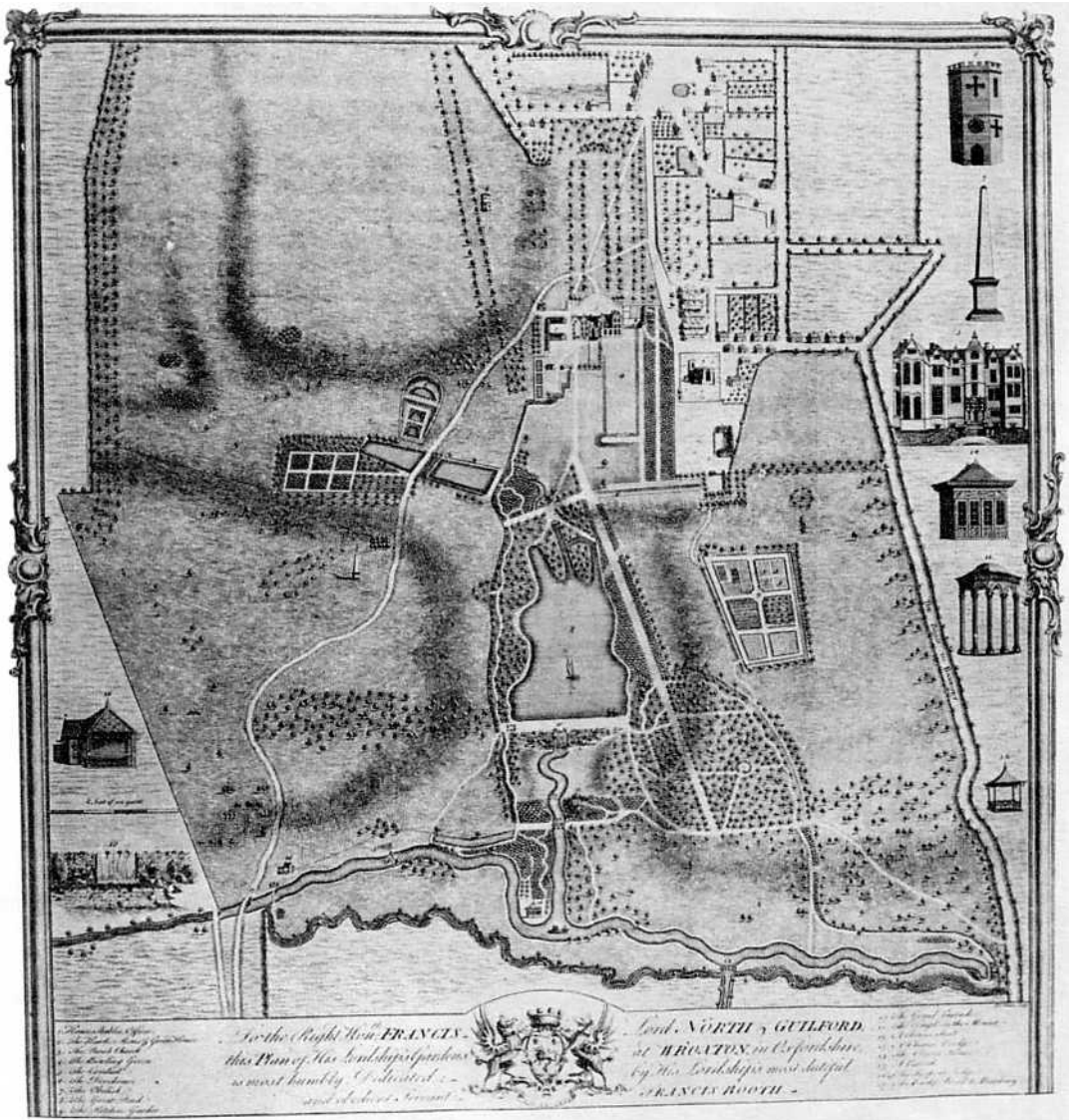


Fig. 15.

Engraving of Wroxton Park, by Francis Booth (Bodleian Library).

or Horace Walpole in more serious vein but with unreserved admiration :

This scene consists of a beautiful lake entirely shut in with wood : the head falls into a fine cascade, and that into a serpentine river, over which is a little Gothic seat like a round temple, lifted up by a shaggy mount. On an eminence in the park is an obelisk. . . .¹⁴

North was content to leave the planting of the grounds to be carried out under the eye of Miller by his agent, John Strong, and chose to ignore the authoritarian advice offered by Philip Southcote.¹⁵ The completed park is shown in an engraving by Francis Booth. Miller may have had a hand in the design of the gothic dovehouse and the eyecatcher towards Drayton, but probably cannot be held responsible for what Walpole dismissed as "several paltry Chinese buildings and bridges."¹⁶

At the Abbey, a new ceiling and pendant were put up in the Hall to Miller's design. Although North had thoughts of this in 1751, it is improbable that the work was completed for another two years. The pendant was modelled in papier-mache at Radway by James Lovell, who worked there intermittently on this and on a statue in stone of an 'Ancient Briton', Caractacus in chains, which Lord North was to present to Miller.¹⁷ The range of style in the design of the pendant is amazing, from the solidly Flemish in its upper part to near anticipation of the Egyptian revival in its base. Yet it somehow manages to hang together and was considered by the Victorians to be "elegant in design and extremely light in its effect."¹⁸

At this point the various schemes were interrupted by the preparations for the notorious Oxfordshire Elections of 1754. Both North and Miller were drawn unwillingly into the contest.¹⁹ North, although his sympathies clearly lay with the New Interest represented by Sir Edward Turner and Lord Parker, was extremely embarrassed by his position as he was not prepared to declare himself openly for fear of alienating the Corporation of Banbury, who were solidly against Turner for his attempts to stamp out cattle disease by closing the markets. Confused and brow beaten by those soliciting his support, he likened himself to "Moliere's Woodcutter" and begged

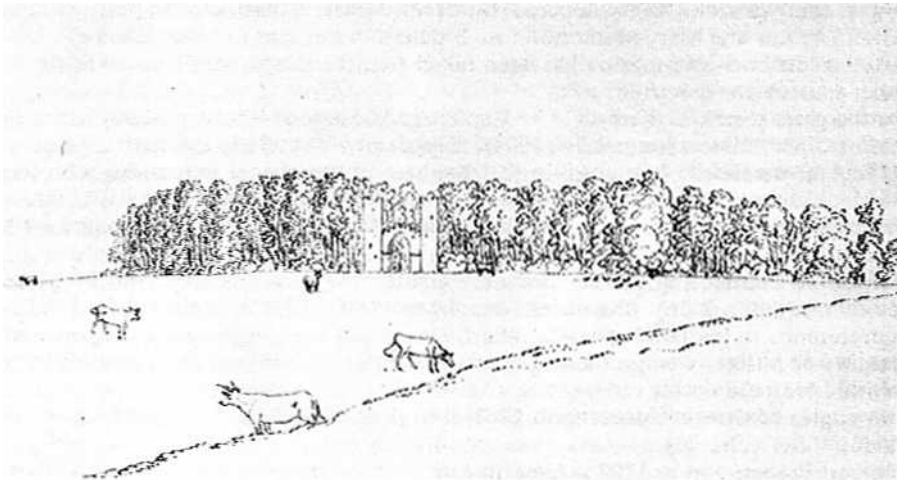


Fig. 16.

Drayton Arch, from the W., skerch by S. H. Grimm, 1781 (British Museum).

Miller to help him. Miller was obliged by his great friendship with Turner to take a more active part, but he managed the unenviable task of intermediary with such consummate skill that he retained the friendship and respect of both persuasions. The only part of the campaign that North felt free to support was that for the establishment of a turnpike from Stratford to Banbury, but even on this he seems more concerned lest the siting of the toll gate restrict the entry to his estate.

Sanderson Miller and Lord North continued to correspond and visit each other and remained on terms of intimacy for the remainder of their lives. However Miller's time was increasingly taken up by his architectural schemes elsewhere and he does not appear to have made any further contributions of significance to the work at Wroxton.²⁰

Stratford-upon-Avon

William Hawkes

Fig. 17.

Ceiling pendant in the hall of
Wroxton Abbey (photo H. W. Hawkes).



References

1. This account of Miller's work at Wroxton is based on North's letters to Miller, which are now at the Warwick County Record Office (ref. WRO). These were in part published by Lilian Dickins and Mary Stanton in "An Eighteenth Century Correspondence", London 1910. Additional information has been taken from the North MSS. in the Bodleian Library. Other sources are specified.
2. For the glass see H. T. Kirby, "The Van Linge Window at Wroxton Abbey", Br. Soc. of Master Glass Painters Journal 14 (1964). The degree of cutting and rearrangement is difficult to establish. It is possible that the base of the chapel extension, with its classical arches, was built by Cheyne up to the window before Miller was consulted. The remainder of the masonry and the internal plasterwork can be attributed stylistically to Miller.
3. Walpole to Chute, Aug 4 1753; Horace Walpole, "Correspondence", ed. W.S. Lewis and others (OUP, Yale). The recent appointment of Miller as architect for Hagley Hall, in preference to Walpole's friend, John Chute, must have aggravated Walpole's natural jealousy of Miller. George Montagu, who was often at Wroxton and knew Miller well, escorted Walpole on his visit.
4. Two copies of Grimm's drawing in 1781 exist (Bod. Gough 26 f. 69v; BM. Add. MSS. 15546. Vol. X. f. 76)
5. The parishioners had in 1738 refused to assist the vicar in the replacement of their derelict pews (information kindly provided by Mrs. Lobel of VCH). In fact the churchwardens paid £93.4.0 towards the cost of the tower (North MSS).
6. The original is in the North MSS, and a nineteenth century copy is in the Parish Register at Wroxton Vicarage, which also records the laying of the foundation stone for the

tower on April 13 1748. The contract is dated Nov. 16 1747 and witnessed by Robin Cheyne and Miller. Hitchcox provided all the materials and was assisted with transport by the local farmers. Hanging the bells was excluded. Miller's ability as a draughtsman was limited: it is tempting to identify a drawing in the North MSS (b. 24. f. 243) as an early sketch for improvements. An open timber belfry surmounts the tower; the remainder bears little resemblance to the actual church and can only have been done from memory. William Hitchcox was Miller's mason and carried out many of his plans. He is frequently mentioned, sometimes with exasperation, by Miller's friends. In the entry of his burial at Radway on 12 December 1757 he is described as William Hitchcox of Alkerton, mason (Radway reg.; DR47/4).

7. A stone inscribed '1636' is set into the north jamb of the arch. The ladder is engraved '1666' & '1721'.
8. Walpole to Chute, loc. cit. Conclusive evidence is provided by the existence of the squinches for the octagon below the belfry roof. (I am grateful to Mrs. Lobel for drawing my attention to this).
9. North began his major improvements at Wroxton after the death of his second wife in 1745. He preferred, particularly after his remarriage in 1751, to spend the winter in London or at Waldershare in Kent. The progress of the Temple is recorded in North's letters (WRO). Banister had in 1738 built the gallery in the church (Mrs. Lobel)
10. R. Pococke, "Travels in England", Campden Soc. 1889 II, p.240. Pococke visited Wroxton in October 1756.
11. B.M. Add. MSS. 15546, vol. x, f.78. Work was done in June 1750 on the floor and steps, and on the steps again by Hiorns in 1769. The Temple was still standing in 1889. "Country Life", 1889 v.p.240.
12. The layout of the grounds c. 1770 is shown in Francis Booth's engraving (Bod. Gough Mps. 26. f68) Comparison with other sources indicates that the detailed representations of the individual buildings are not particularly accurate. Work on the cascade is recorded in 1744 and from 1760-68. A boat was provided for the lake in 1763. Grimm flatters the impressiveness of the falls, which are more correctly shown by Charlotte Lindsay in 1813 (BM. Add. MSS 15546, f. 80 and Bod. Gough Mps. 26, f69v; Bod. MS. Top. Oxon. d. 515, f. 17).
13. Pitt to Miller, Sep 1754 (WRO).
14. Walpole, "loc. cit." Grimm also depicts the view from the head of the lake (BM. Add. MSS. 15546, f. 83 and the sketch for this Bod. Gough Mps. 26f. 69v) The obelisk, which Walpole says was erected for the visit and at the expense of Frederick, Prince of Wales, was rebuilt and engraved in 1769 (North MSS).
15. North had nurseries at Chipping Warden and Windham Knatchbulls. Southcote had created a classic "ferme ornee" of his estate at Woburn Farm. North, unimpressed by his comments, thought that "the bad weather had blunted his imagination or his taste begins to wear out" (WRO).
16. These Chinese buildings were the Chinese House (pre. 1749), Chinese Seat (?1759) and Bridge (?1762) and the Keeper's Lodge.
17. Lovell, who also worked for Miller at Hagley, was a protegee of Horace Walpole. North paid him 10gns in 1760 for Caractacus, so he must have taken eight years to complete the statue which is now in the grounds of Radway Grange. (North MSS).
18. J. Skelton, "Antiquities of Oxfordshire", Oxford 1823.
19. Dr. King's influence scarcely made a Jacobite of Miller, but his political sympathies were clearly with his friends Pitt and Lyttelton who led the Whig opposition to Sir Robert Walpole. For a full account of the election see R.J. Robson, "The Oxfordshire Election 1754," Oxford 1949.
20. In April 1758 North was extremely apprehensive about "the affair of having my building set upright". It is not clear which this was. (WRO).

THE ARCHITECTURAL WORK OF SANDERSON MILLER (1716-80)

This list is compiled from my research on Sanderson Miller's works. I have purposefully omitted all references to avoid excessive length, but wish to acknowledge my debt to Howard Colvin for drawing my attention to the Middleton Stoney Lodge and to Alistair Rowan for the buildings at Hillsborough, and to Christopher Lyster.

Dates indicate the length of the building contract.

- ? attributions which may be made with reasonable certainty
- ?? conjectural attributions
- @ suspect attributions by others
- buildings since destroyed
- + buildings I have not identified

Beckett House, Berkshire for Viscount Barrington

• House: front door (1766) and internal alterations (1768-9) Stables: designed 1762-6 built 1766.

Eythrope, Bucks for Sir William Stanhope

Advice on alterations c1750; *??Gothic stable front c1750; *?? Sham gothic ruin c1755.

Wotton House, Wotton Underwood, Bucks for George Grenville

Bridge 1758; *Octagon Seat 1758; Advice on grotto c1760.

Wimpole Hall, Cambridgeshire for Lord Hardwicke

Gothic sham ruin designed 1749-50 built 1772; Library alterations and bay window (classical) 1754.

Durham Castle for Joseph Butler, Bishop of Durham

Bishop's dining room and present senior judge's apartment, internal alterations designed 1751 built 1751-2.

Belhus, Essex for Lord Dacre

*Dining room chimneypiece 1752; *Tapestry Drawing room interior 1754; • advice on: rebuilding of W and S Fronts 1745-7; *advice on: interior of Dining room and Parlour 1752; advice on: interior of Lady Dacre's bedroom and dressing room 1757.

Gosfield Hall, Essex for Lord Nugent

Wing to West front 1755.

Adlestrop House, Glos. for James Leigh

New garden front built in two sections 1750-4, 1759.

Siston, Glos. for Edward Trotman

+ design for an almshouse (classical) 1759 possibly not built.

Whitminster, Glos. for Owen Cambridge

+ design for Gothic Stable front 1748 probably not built

?Nr. Portsmouth, Hampshire for a friend of Robert Eddowes

+ design for Gothic Eye-trap 1756.

St. Mary's Church, Ross-on-Wye, Herefs. for Rev. J Egerton

*advice on alterations to chancel 1754.

Teston House, Kent for Sir Philip Boteler

advice on alterations 1753.

Preston, Lancs. for Lord Strange

*Gothic Cock Pit 1749 possibly not built.

Gopsal Hall, Leics. for Charles Jennens

advice on unspecified alterations 1748; ??Hall; draft scheme for building 1748-9; ??possibly advice on Hiornes' work on ornamental buildings c. 1750-60.

Arlington Street, London for Countess of Pomfret

*Pomfret Castle built 1760

Holkham, Norfolk for Lord Leicester

+ design for Gothic Castle c1755 probably not built.

Ambrosden House, Oxon for Sir Edward Turner

*House: general advice on rebuilding 1745-56; decoration of library (1745); saloon (1747); a ceiling (1748); and design for offices (1761); +Gate and Entrance Lodge 1747-9; +Gothic barn 1747; *sham ruin c1747; +Farmhouse 1758; S. Turner's monument design 1761 executed by Hoare 1762. @*House: original design for rebuilding 1739 (attr. by John Dunkin).

Middleton Stoney, Oxon for Lord Jersey

Two designs for unspecified building 1749; ?probably the Gothic Gate Lodge.

Mongewell, Oxon. for Shute Barrington, later Bishop of Llandaff

*The Vicarage: advice on alterations 1776.

All Souls College, Oxford for the College Council

Gothic alterations to Old Library to provide rooms for Robert Vansittart 1751 (partitions since removed).

Wroxton, Oxon for the Earl of Guilford

Wroxton Abbey: chapel alterations 1747; *Temple on the Mount 1750; Grand cascade 1744, 1760-8 (ruinous); Hall ceiling and pendant 1753; ??Dovehouse c 1760; ??Drayton Castle c1760; Wroxton Church: new tower 1747-8.

Bath, Somerset

Sham castle on Claverton Downs designed 1755, built 1762 for Ralph Allen; ?*advice on ventilation of assembly rooms and possibly other alterations 1758. for Walter Wiltshire.

Cricket St Thomas, Somerset for Alexander Hood

+New farmhouse 1774

Envile, Staffordshire for the Earl of Stamford

The Museum (gothic) 1750 (derelict); *Gothic seat c 1753; ?Castellated gateway c1755; ?Gothic boathouse c 1755 (derelict); ??Stenstone's Chapel c1770 (derelict); ??Sheepwalk House c 1760 (derelict); ??Thatched hermitage c1760 (virtually destroyed); ??Rustic portico c1755; ??Lyndon House c1760; ??The Hall: gothicised c 1750.

Ingestre, Staffs. for Viscount Chetwynd

*The Gothic Tower designed 1749, built c1751; ??advice on: Doric Rotundo c1750; ??advice on: Pavilion c1750.

Shugborough, Staffs. for Thomas Anson

Unspecified advice 1752; ?*Classical sham ruins c1749.

Chart nr. Dorking, Surrey for Henry Talbot

+Gothic greenhouse 1751; +requested design for gothic arch 1751.

Dorking, Surrey for Henry Grenville

*Grotto 1758; also advice on: +building at Beechly Mount 1755; +temple at St Leonard's Hill 1756.

Arbury, Warwicks. for Sir Roger Newdigate

Arbury Hall: Dressing room (gothic) 1750; Library bay window 1751-2; ?Advice on Library 1755; Parlour bay erected to match Miller's design for Library window 1760-1.

All Saints Church, Burton Dassett, Warwicks. for Lord Cobham

renovation of John Temple's monument (1603) 1752.

Honington Hall, Warwicks. for Joseph Townsend

advice on laying out of grounds 1749; Grotto 1749 (derelict); ??Cascade and Doric Temple c1750; @Hall: internal decoration c1740-50 (attr. by Mr. Avray Tipping).

St. Peter's Church, Kineton. for Rev. William Talbot

*?rebuilding of nave and transepts c1755 (Miller's work destroyed).

Packington Hall, Warwicks. for Lord Guernsey

advice on: +Gothic building 1746; pool and cascade 1748-50; Stables 1749; +Unspecified buildings 1756.

Radway Grange, Warwickshire for himself

cascade and viewing terrace 1739; ha ha 1743; Edge Hill; Egge cottage 1743-4; Octagonal gothic tower 1745-7; *Ruined wall and gate 1749; Square gothic tower and drawbridge 1750; *Eyecatcher gothic barn c1749; *Alehouse 1746; The Grange; S E Front 1745-6; SW bay windows 1746; Dining room 1744-5; SW doorway 1752; *Old Church: family pew (gothic) c1749.

Ragley Hall, Warwicks. for Lord Hertford

@advice on alterations c1758 (attr. Mr. Tudor Edwards).

Upton House, Warwicks. for William Bumstead

?Temple on lake (classical) c1745.

Shire Hall, Warwick for the County

Shire Hall, Crown & Nisi Prius Courts designed 1752-3, built 1754-8.

Lacock Abbey, Wilts. for John Ivory Talbot

Great hall designed 1753, built 1754-6; Gothic gateway 1755.

Croome Court, Croome d' Abitot, Worcs. for the Earl of Coventry

advice on drainage of park c1745; ??advice on rebuilding of Croome Court 1751; +unspecified classical building 1750 possibly the Rotunda.

Hagley, Worcs. for George, Lord Lyttelton

Hagley Hall 1748; Sham ruin 1748; +Gothic chairs for ruin; 1749 *Old Hagley Hall dining room chimneypiece 1749; advice on Pitt's design for Rotunda 1749; Doric dairy and greenhouse 1752; Hagley Hall: rejected Gothic design 1752; classical design with Prowse 1753, built 1754-63; *Grotto 1754; Parish Church: monument to Thos. Lyttelton 1752; *rebuilding of chancel and renovations 1754:

Rockingham Hall, for Admiral Smith

Garden front and alterations 1750.

Leasowes, Worcs. for William Shenstone

@unspecified buildings - (attr. The Gentleman's Magazine).

Spring Hill, Worcs. for the Earl of Coventry

requested advice on Spring Hill house 1751-6 probably not given

Hillsborough, Ireland for Lord Hillsborough

advice on unspecified buildings 1763; possibly rebuilding of Parish Church renovation, of The Fort.

Kilkenny Cathedral, Ireland for Richard Pococke

*refitting of chancel, chapter house and bishop's court designed 1756-7; built 1762-3; *?? Doric colonnade c1765.

Editorial Note: We are of course extremely grateful to our two contributors, both of whom have put in a tremendous amount of work, Mr Hawkes to enlarge on his architectural thesis and provide the extensive list of Miller's works, whilst the research involved in Mr Wood's article can be judged by the copious references. Our gratitude goes too to Mr Cooper for his editorial, for abortive work on the catalogues of Miller's library, for his original introduction of ourselves to William Hawkes, and for his constant encouragement; to Mr Philip Styles who earlier interest in Miller led to Mr Wood's talk to this Society in 1967; and to Mr Anthony Burnett-Brown for drawing our attention to the portrait at Lacock. Finally tribute should be paid to Jeremy Gibson, whose idea and issue devoted to Sanderson Miller first was, and who over five years has worked towards this object; who collected the illustrations to Mr Wood's article, and has handled all editorial work. It is only fitting that during research it has transpired that he and Miller are related, as fourth cousins six times removed!

Historic Towns. Maps and Plans of Towns and Cities in the British Isles with Historical Commentaries from Earliest Times to 1800. Vol. 1 Edited by M. D. Lobel. Lovell Johns - Cook, Hammond and Kell Organisation 1969. £5.5.0d.

This is the first volume to appear in an ambitious series of atlases of European towns which is projected by the International Commission for the History of Towns. Banbury is the first of eight British towns and cities to be described in the volume.

The section on Banbury consists of eight large pages of historical commentary, and six plans. The introductory text is by Dr. Paul Harvey who has written the greater part of the account of the town which will appear in the forthcoming volume of the Victoria History of Oxfordshire. It is unfortunate that one review of "Historic Towns" has suggested that it adds little to existing work on Banbury, for this is quite the best documented and most authoritative account of the development of the medieval town which has yet been published. Many sources not hitherto used by local historians are quoted, and Dr. Harvey reaches his conclusions with a compelling logic. His most interesting suggestion is that Banbury originated as a "new town" in the second quarter of the 12th century, planned by Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln around his new castle. The building plots for the new town were probably between the western side of the Market Place and the Horsefair. This is an exciting foretaste of the Victoria History, where, no doubt, Dr. Harvey will be able to argue his conclusions at greater length. Meanwhile, this is the book to which anyone interested in Banbury's medieval origins should immediately turn.

The maps are the chief *raison d'être* of this, as of any other atlas, and certainly this set of accurate and beautiful plans will be of value to historians. They show the situation of Banbury at 1:250,000 scale, the site, medieval street names, the borough boundary, and the town c1800 with major features in late medieval times, all at 1:5,000, and the latter is also reproduced at 1:2,500. It is unfortunate that the maps contain a number of trivial errors and omissions. Those showing the town in 1800 include at least two major public buildings of considerably later date - the Wesleyan chapel of 1812 and the National School of 1817. At the north end of the Horsefair both a Unitarian and a Presbyterian chapel are shown. This seems to arise from a misreading of the maps used as sources, for the Presbyterian and Unitarian congregations were one and the same, and they never occupied more than one building at a time. It appears furthermore that the building marked Unitarian Chapel is the present Christ Church Chapel of 1840-50. The chapel standing in 1800 was rectangular in plan, and stood nearer to the road than the present building. The borough gaol is shown extending from its well-known frontage in the Market Place through to the High Street. Whether it did extend so far is doubtful, and the gaol standing in 1800 dated from the immediate post Civil War period, which hardly justifies calling it a "principal medieval feature". In the hamlet of Neithrop a considerable number of houses are shown which were probably not built until well after 1800 - those on the east side of the Foundry Street and the north side of Townsend Square for example. It would surely have been possible to include more names of streets and groups of houses in this complex area, for some, like Horsepool Lane and Pound Yard, are clearly of medieval significance. These are trivial objections, which must not be allowed to obscure the cartographical merits of the plans, but they do show a need for a more thorough checking of the maps in future volumes.

Two final thoughts arise from examination of this volume. The first, for members of the Historical Society, is that they should not confine their attention to the Banbury portion of the book. Much more can be understood of the medieval growth of Banbury if it is seen in relation to the development of such very different towns as Caernarvon, Nottingham and Salisbury. The second, for those in a position to influence the future development of Banbury or any old town, comes from the Preface written by the President of the International Commission for the History of Towns, Professor Philippe Wolff of the University of Toulouse: "Tomorrow's 'urban textures' run a great risk of losing in charm and in human value what they gain in expansion. Our children run a great risk. . . . of growing up joylessly in soulless cities. The old

centres of our towns, where the most precious of the ancient buildings cluster, make up the element peculiar to each town, by which it is differentiated from every other. . . . it is a human treasure house, and one which any concern for the future bids us reconstitute and save".

B.S.T.

Drink and Sobriety in an Early Victorian Country Town: Banbury 1830-1860.

by Brian Harrison and Barrie Trinder. The English Historical Review: Supplement 4. Longman, 12s. 6d. pp 55 + appendix and index.

This significant contribution to the social history of early Victorian England will be read far beyond Banbury, though its appeal to the readers of this journal will be immediate. Harrison and Trinder have put to the test temperance historians' claims for their movement's success in combating public drunkenness and its associated violence by a detailed analysis of temperance activity in one community - Banbury, between 1830 and 1860. Their's is no jejune narrative of the Banbury Temperance Society but a perceptive account of its place within the fabric of early Victorian society. The authors were led to consider not just temperance historiography but also "the local origins of late-Victorian Liberalism, the changing pattern of class alignment, the social function of religious organisations and the transformation of popular recreations".

In 1847 Temperance reformers pointed out that while Banbury had only 34 bakers, 26 butchers, 20 grocers and 13 milkmen - it had eight spirit merchants, 45 taverns and 38 beerhouses. He was a whole culture based on drink: at elections, fairs, wakes and statute hirings modern distinctions between work and leisure were denied. As Harrison and Trinder observe, "the strength of drink, its social importance and - for the majority of the population - the scarcity of alternative recreations, ensured that drunkenness and violence were widespread". So temperance reformers were demanding a dramatic change in local habits. Nevertheless the authors see the temperance movement in Banbury as being largely a failure, the explanation of which "lies partly in the movement's peculiar religious, political and social outlook which limited its appeal; and partly in its mistaken assessment of the recreational trend".

A central theme is that the temperance movement was closely linked with the attack on the aristocracy, which in complete contrast to American prohibitionism reinforced the urban attack on rural values. This, together with the temperance movement's strong links with Dissent helps to explain the intensity of the hostility it faced. The movement's appeal, Harrison and Trinder argue, was not only limited by the political and religious outlook of its members but also by its attitude to social class. As working class movements prospered so temperance agitation among them declined and vice versa, though Harrison and Trinder do not really solve the problem of whether the same individuals were active in both movements.

The real cause of the stagnation of the Banbury Temperance Society was the change in the recreational situation: there were new organisations, new buildings broke the strangle hold of the public house as a venue for entertainments and the railways arrived, making 'excursions' both possible and popular. "Licencees could never again become, as in the coaching days, stationmasters as well as drinksellers."

It is impossible in a short review to do justice to the richness of the detail in this work: the scholarship is meticulous but never overpowering. I hope that many will read this work for they are certain to be as fascinated as I was, and perhaps they too will be able to observe the traces of these old disputes that can still be felt in Banbury society.

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Colin Bell

The activities and publications of some or all of the following bodies should interest readers:

- Arts Council of Banbury (Miss B.G.Rooke, Cornerstones, St. Mary's Road, Adderbury West, Banbury). Minimum 21/-.
- Banbury Art Society (Hon. Sec., 24 Bloxham Road, Banbury). 20/-.
- Banbury Geographical Association (B.E.Little, 2 Burlington Gardens, Banbury). 10/6d.
- Bicester Local History Circle (Hon. Sec., Miss G.H. Dannatt, Lammas Cottage, Launton Road, Bicester, Oxon.). 5/-.
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- Council for the Preservation of Rural England, Oxfordshire Branch, (Miss A. Hanson, Wood Green Cottage, Witney, Oxon.). Minimum 10/-.
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- Farthinghoe Historical Society (Hon. Sec., R.E.J. Lewis, Abbey Lodge, Farthinghoe, Nr. Brackley, Northants). 5/-.
- Heraldry Society (59 Gordon Square, London, W.C.1). 30/-; or to include "The Coat of Arms", 50/-.
- Historical Association (59a Kennington Park Road, London, S.E.11) (Oxford Branch: A.J.P. Puddephatt, 93, Old Road, Headington, Oxford). 20/-; or to include "History", 35/-.
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