

◆ The Morris dynasty of stonemasons and architects of Georgian Lewes, c1700–1800

Sue Berry

This article examines the Morris dynasty of stonemasons and builders active in Lewes, Sussex, during the eighteenth century, focusing on Arthur Morris (1685–1744), his son John Morris (1715–1792), and John's nephew John Morris (1744–1822). The study situates the Morris family within the architectural and social landscape of eastern Sussex, where commissions from nearby country house estates provided opportunities for ambitious craftsmen. The article also examines the mechanisms through which work was obtained, highlighting the importance of patronage networks. It contrasts the Morris' careers with those of contemporaries and rivals in Lewes, including Joseph Daw and, later, Amon Wilds, whose speculative developments reflected changing patterns in the building trade after the 1780s. By reconstructing the activities of the Morris family, this study argues that skilled provincial craftsmen played a more significant role in shaping Georgian architecture than is often recognised. Their work demonstrates how local expertise, entrepreneurial initiative, and patronage networks collectively contributed to the built environment of eighteenth-century Sussex.

INTRODUCTION

Many local craftsmen worked on country houses in eastern Sussex between the 1720s and the 1760s, but thereafter such work declined (Fig. 1). Archives reveal little work was done on country houses during the later period, and this did not revive until the 1820s. This is reflected in the work undertaken by craftsmen based in Lewes from the 1780s. The leading family of building craftsmen thereafter specialised in speculative housing. Incomers did not work on significant projects at local country houses but found ample building work in Lewes and Brighton, both of which experienced building booms. Brighton's was the biggest and longest boom and transformed the resort. In Lewes, it led to the upgrading of older buildings, particularly along the High Street, and to the construction of a partially completed new suburb largely consisting of small houses.¹

Armed with one or more of the books of designs published by Batty Langley (1696–1751), William Pain (fl 1743–1794) and others, most skilled local craftsmen could produce a decent copy of a fashionable design, the degree of finesse influenced as much by their client's budget as the craftsmen's abilities: local case-studies show just how tightly

most projects were costed. This limited the amount of detailing on and within houses and influenced other aspects of construction, such as the quality of materials and the scale of the building. The pressure to control costs is well illustrated at Glynde Place, where correspondence between the owner's agent and John Morris the elder about invoices survives, and in the papers relating to the rebuilding of the chancel of Laughton church in 1764–1765.²

Not all Georgian towns had highly skilled craftsmen of the quality of the Morris and their contemporary and rival Joseph Daw, although most had very capable builders of speculative town housing. In the case of Chichester, for example, the lack of a cluster of gentry houses nearby may have led to limited local demand for this type of craftsman and greater reliance on workers from London.³

THE IMPORTANCE OF LOCAL CONTACTS

Moving to another town was not always easy. From the 1750s onwards, Brighton, just eight miles from Lewes, became a magnet for skilled builders. They rapidly established relationships with local clients, most of whom ran businesses in the town, such as

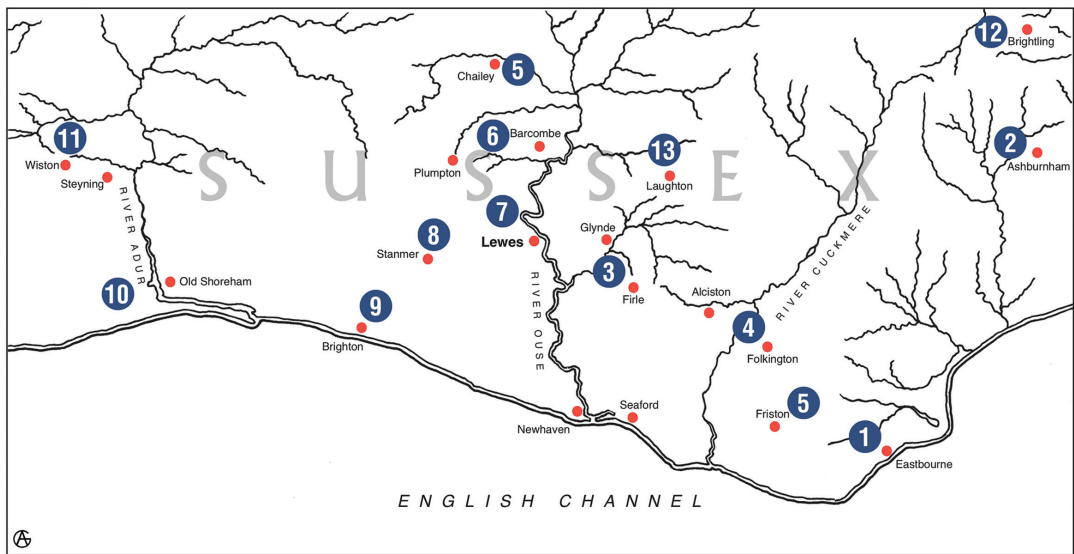


Fig. 1. Map of known sites where the Morris family and Joseph Daw worked (© Sue Berry).

1. Bourne [now Compton] Place (Arthur Morris); 2. Ashburnham Place (John Morris); 3. Glynde and Fittlehampton Places, Glynde Church (Arthur and John Morris at Fittlehampton, John Morris at Glynde Place and Church); 4. Folkington (Arthur Morris); 5. The Hook, Chailey (John Morris); 6. Coombe Place, Hamsey (Arthur Morris); 7. Lewes (Arthur and John Morris); 8. Stanmer Place (Arthur Morris); 9. Brighton (John Morris); 10. Kingston Buci (Arthur Morris); 11. Wiston Place (Joseph Daw? see comment in text); 12. Brighton Place (Joseph Daw); 13. Laughton Church (John Morris).

letting houses to visitors. The practice of builders acting as developers in Brighton also meant that building trades based in Lewes could not easily secure work in Brighton without local contacts and needed capital to purchase land.⁴

In the 1760s, when Dr Edward Poole revamped his substantial house overlooking the Steine in Brighton, he used Brighton builders apart from John Morris the elder, who built his stables.⁵ John had worked on the Poole family home, The Hook in Chailey. To break into the building trades in Brighton, the Wilds of Lewes initially depended on the patronage of their fellow townsman Thomas Kemp, who moved to Brighton to develop land that he had inherited.⁶ Thus, patronage continued in towns. This is an aspect of urban development that warrants exploration, as in Brighton, landowners working with builders and architects had a significant influence on the townscapes, as was also the case in London during this period. Both Kemp Town and Brunswick Town in Brighton are good examples of this approach to urban development.⁷

THE INTERACTION BETWEEN LOCAL CRAFTSMEN AND CLIENTS

The work of Arthur and his son, John Morris, between 1705 and 1780 was very different from that of Amon Wilds (1762–1833), who moved to Lewes in the 1780s, and thus they make a good pair of case studies for considering what changed and why.

The Morris family were masons and bricklayers who designed and built a significant number of buildings in and around Lewes, the regional centre of eastern Sussex (Fig. 1). A substantial amount of their work survives, along with drawings of some that do not. Their letters to wealthy clients reflect the confidence with which they approached their social superiors, but their success was probably helped by the patronage of the regionally powerful Pelham clan, whose head, until his death in 1768, was Thomas Pelham-Holles, Duke of Newcastle. He was the owner of Halland Place and Bishopstone Place in eastern Sussex and played a crucial role in the politics of the county. In the 1720s, Arthur helped substantially rebuild Stanmer House for

Henry Pelham, and, on his death, for his brother Thomas Pelham; he subsequently worked for the duke at Halland and Bishopstone. Both men rebuilt substantial houses in Lewes for wealthy clients.⁸ Yet neither reached the heady heights of William Kent, the son of a successful Yorkshire joiner who also received patronage at an early age, suggesting a great difference in good fortune and ability between those who became well known on a national stage and others, such as the Morris family, who did good local work based on design books, with some adaptations and perhaps for people like Kent a degree of luck, a factor which we may underestimate.⁹

The Morris dynasty lasted three generations: Arthur (1685–1744), his son John (1715–1792) and John's nephew John the younger (1744–1822). The younger John first worked with his uncle until he retired, then with George May (1750–1803), but the success of their partnership did not match that of John Morris's forebears. Their work was largely speculative housing in Lewes, such as 199–200 High Street, a pair of large semi-detached houses



Fig. 2. School Hill House, Lewes; Arthur Morris (© Sue Berry).

fronted with mathematical tiles, which they built in 1794 with a shared grand door-canopy and bow windows. George May continued the business with Latter Parsons (1773–1848), who, on May's death, invited his brother, Charles Parsons (1776–1828) to become a partner and changed the business name to Parsons. This partnership worked mainly in Lewes.¹⁰

Arthur Morris was in Lewes by 1703 when he was paid for minor work at St Michael's church. If Arthur's date of birth is correct, he was then eighteen, so it was probably labouring work. He had established the family business in Lewes before 1712, when he is said to have been a 'foreign member' of the London Masons' [Livery] Company. Arthur became a trustee of the Westgate Chapel in 1712, which may have given him contacts that other builders lacked.¹¹

COMMISSIONS, CLIENTS AND BUDGETS

In 1715, Arthur got his first major commission, revamping School Hill House in Lewes for Dr Peter White. Morris's façade survives, and the design may have been influenced by the advice of Dr White's friends (Fig. 2). By 1727, the Morris family owned Eastgate Wharf on the west side of the river Ouse, roughly where the Waitrose store in Lewes is today. The area was to remain a stonemasons' yard until the 1960s, latterly in the hands of the firm C. F. Bridgman, which went into liquidation in 1966; the sculptor John Skelton studied carving at Eastgate Wharf with the last partner, Percival Faulconer Bridgman.¹²

Arthur and John Morris kept careful records of the costs of their work because they were accountable either to a clerk of the works (as at Stanmer) or the estate agent (as at Glynde), most of whom combed through accounts before they paid up. John Morris had to resubmit some accounts while working at Glynde in the 1760s, and his detailed accounts for his work at Laughton church demonstrate the level of detail required for payment (Fig. 3).¹³

Both Arthur Morris and his son were prepared to stand up against any perceived slight to their reputation and to express their opinion that a design would not work well. They would write directly to the client, bypassing the architect and the clerk of works. Arthur chose this route

at Stanmer and at Compton Place in Eastbourne, and John bypassed the estate agent at Glynde. Whilst some of the replies to Arthur from Thomas Pelham of Stanmer have survived, any reactions from Spencer Compton (Compton Place), Richard Trevor Bishop of Durham (Glynde church) or the Duke of Newcastle (Laughton church chancel) have not. However, designs made or altered by John Morris and submitted to the bishop and the duke have survived. Some of their comments were incorporated, as John clearly amended the designs for both Glynde and Laughton churches.¹⁴

Arthur Morris played a significant role in the construction of Stanmer House between 1722 and 1725, first for Henry and then for Thomas Pelham. The family wing was rebuilt in an austere Palladian style, and the rest was repaired and updated. He did not hesitate to defend himself or to complain to the Pelhams about Nicholas Dubois, the architect. He and his men earned considerably more as masons and bricklayers (£1698 2s. 10½d.) than either William Attersoll the carpenter (£1083 4s. 1½d.) or Ambrose Galloway the timber merchant (£1148 2s. 4d.). Bills such as these were a substantial part of

the refurbishment and redevelopment of the house and the gardens, which cost £14,500.¹⁵

Arthur worked at Compton Place, Eastbourne, which in 1717 was leased by Spencer Compton (created Earl of Wilmington in 1730) and was bought by him in 1724. The buildings and grounds underwent an initial external refurbishment, followed by a more extensive overhaul in accordance with designs by the architect Colen Campbell and John Lane (carpenter and contractor). Here, Arthur and his team provided masonry, brickwork, and leading and he undertook to write to the earl to explain why the workmen disliked Lane's design for the façade. He also negotiated with the agent and then with Lane for the keep of his team whilst at Compton Place (Fig. 4).¹⁶

Until Lane was contracted to undertake the major works in 1728, Arthur Morris reported to the estate steward Thomas Willard. The accounts do not reveal visits by Campbell but make it clear that Lane was present on site. This suggests that Lane used Campbell's designs but raises the question of how frequently they were referenced and which frontages Lane either designed or redesigned; all the surviving plans are signed by Campbell.¹⁷



Fig. 3. Laughton church (Petrie, c1800); chancel built by John Morris (© Sussex Archaeological Society).



Fig. 4. Compton Place, Eastbourne, completed in the 1730s; Arthur Morris worked here (© Sue Berry).

Arthur became the principal sub-contractor for Lane, finding masons and bricklayers, but both the house and garden works were plagued by a lack of labour. Compton was advised to pay more by his gardener, who pointed out that the men working on the harbour works at Newhaven were being paid 10 shillings a week. Obtaining materials also caused delays. Four steel hearths and five cast-iron chimney backs arrived from Ashburnham, and then a wait ensued before Arthur and his team installed them.¹⁸ When the old and new buildings were joined, issues still common to such work emerged. The new building was larger than initially intended, thereby increasing the complexity and costs of connecting it to the existing buildings.¹⁹

Armed with his experience of working on other country houses, between 1733 and 1735, Arthur Morris played a significant role at Coombe Place in Hamsey, where his son John Morris later worked. Arthur revamped John Bridger's small country house in a simple symmetrical style. He used knapped flints for facing the main facades, a popular building material in this area and in Brighton. The modest bill of £1,504 resulted in a house that has survived little changed.²⁰ He probably did minor

works at The Hook in Chailey, too, where John Morris later worked.²¹

Arthur Morris and his son John were working at Firlle Place when Arthur died in 1744. Their client was Sir William Gage, who was both reducing the size of this large late Tudor house and altering it to make it more fashionable. It may be that Arthur and John, aided by design books which Arthur owned, designed the distinctive entrance façade. It was probably finished in 1747 when John requested that the trustees of William Gage's estate pay their bills, describing himself and his father as masons. John also claimed settlement of bills on behalf of other workmen who were creditors of William Gage, including Samuel Collington for bricklaying and plaster work, J. Taylor for glazing and Messrs Read and Bentley for plumbing and glazing, suggesting that he felt obliged to make their case because either he or his father had arranged for them to work there.²² These dates also suggest that the work at Firlle took place between 1739 and 1744 and that the men were paid rather late.

A glance at Batty Langley's *The City and Country Builder's and Workman's Treasury of Designs* (1745) raises the question whether the Morris family



Fig. 5. Firlie Place, main entrance; Arthur and John Morris worked here (© Sue Berry).

suggested a modified version of a Venetian window for the main entrance from this or another design book (Figs 5 and 6). Although almost a decade had passed since Arthur and other local craftsmen had worked at Compton Place, that house could also have been an inspiration for some of the work at Firlie. However, design books were frequently cited by local builders and should be considered a source of inspiration.²³

Using his contacts with the Duke of Newcastle and members of his circle, John Morris continued to develop the business after his father's death. He was also involved with local organisations and pressure groups, such as that seeking to ensure that a new bridge downstream at Newhaven, to replace the ferry, did not impede access to Lewes or affect the drainage of the Levels.

John Morris worked for William Poole of The Hook in Chailey, which he partially rebuilt between 1754 and 1756, soon after William's marriage to the Yorkshire heiress Mary Lee, using mostly local craftsmen. Just before this work, William

began revamping the gardens in the fashionable Chinoiserie style. A canal was filled in, and the Chinese house, which had stood by it, was moved to an island made in the lake during a period when it was frozen. A bridge built to the island in 1766 was painted by James Lambert of Lewes, who was later employed by William's son Henry in 1783 and 1784. John designed canted bays with battlements for the house, a nod to the Gothic fashion, which is repeated at Laughton church. It is quite possible that the bird's-eye view of The Hook of c1750 was drawn by John Morris.²⁴

John's next major country house contract was at Glynde Place, which was being overhauled by Richard Trevor (Bishop of Durham 1752-1771), who had inherited Glynde in 1743. The bishop is best known for purchasing 13 paintings by Francisco de Zurbarán, which are displayed at Auckland Castle (the bishop's official residence), but he was also interested in architecture. John played a significant role in modernising Glynde Place, adding the bow windows overlooking the park, the wall that hides the stables and yard from the park, and the stable block, which he designed. He also rebuilt Glynde parish church to the design of an amateur architect, Sir Thomas Robinson, a friend of the bishop (Figs 7 and 8).²⁵

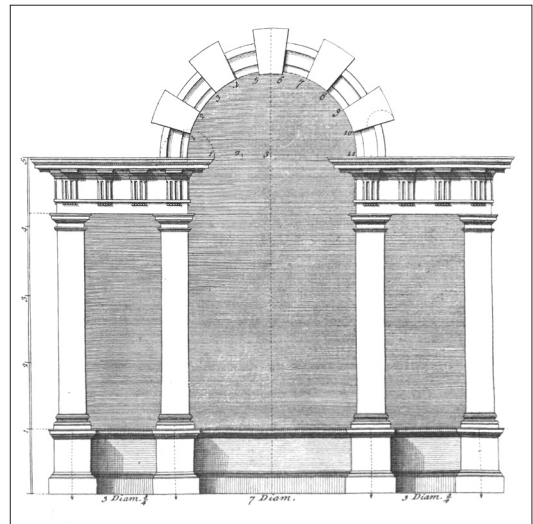


Fig. 6. A Venetian window of the Doric Order, from Batty Langley, *The city and country builder's and workman's treasury of designs* (London, 1745) Plate 52; to compare with the main entrance of Firlie Place.



Fig. 7. Glyde Place, Glyde, c1780; John Morris built the bow windows, the screen wall and the church and designed and built the stables (© Sussex Archaeological Society).



Fig. 8. Glyde church, Glyde (Petrie, c1800); built by John Morris, 1763–1765 (© Sussex Archaeological Society).

John Morris then worked at Ashburnham Place between 1756 and 1763. The house had been extensively updated and repaired between 1675 and 1676, so it probably needed major works by the mid-1700s when John, the second Earl Ashburnham, was in residence. In 1756 the earl married Elizabeth Crowley, the daughter of a wealthy London alderman with a fortune of £200,000, which probably funded this work. Rebuilding began with the construction of a new service wing over the site of the medieval house. From 1758, John Morris worked on the main front, which lengthened the rather square building of the late 1600s. A surviving picture shows a simple classical front with wings. The mixture of craftsmen from Lewes and London,

common to other sites where Morris and other Sussex craftsmen worked, was also evident here. This front was overlaid with a Georgian gothic cement façade, which was subsequently replaced by a Victorian interpretation of a Tudor elevation.²⁶ John Morris's work on country houses then ended, for reasons which remain unclear.

John Morris undertook some work in Lewes, including the Sessions House and Market Hall (Fig. 9). The redevelopment of Southover Old House in the early 1780s for the wealthy Tory surgeon Henry Manning was his last major commission. His team carefully recycled what they could from the old house; the façade, albeit restored, remains. John also made funeral monuments and tombstones: in 1778,



Fig. 9. Lewes Sessions House and market, designed and built by John Morris, 1761, by William Scott; demolished and replaced by what is now Lewes Crown Court, 1808–1812.

he charged Henry Manning over £21 as an executor of the wills of Mr and Mrs Plumer of Chailey for a stone in the churchyard.²⁷

John Morris prospered and, in his will of 1791, described himself as a surveyor and stone mason. When he died in 1792, his estate was valued at £5,000, which at the time was a substantial sum. He left property in the parish of Lewes All Saints to his wife and on her death to his nephew John, along with any residual assets left on her death. He left £300 in cash legacies to three relatives and £75 in life annuities to three others.²⁸

RIVALS TO THE MORRIS DYNASTY

The only significant rival in Lewes for Arthur and John Morris was Joseph Daw. In 1736 Joseph moved with his parents from Hastings to the Lewes parish of St John sub Castro, and by 1744 was described as a bricklayer. He became moderately prosperous, leaving two properties in Fisher Street to a relative upon his death in 1765.²⁹ His trade card (Fig. 10) shows the wide range of skills he offered. Joseph also worked on country houses and churches.

Joseph rebuilt the south side of St Michael's church in Lewes and extended the church eastwards on either side of the old chancel, so incorporating it into the nave (Fig. 11). He also added timber pillars (which survive) to support the alterations to the roof which were a result of his extensive overhaul of the church and reordered the box pews, which were later removed in the reordering in the latter years of the nineteenth century. Daw then internally reordered St Thomas à Becket church and added the porch to the south side, which survives but has been heavily repaired (Fig. 12).³⁰ At Brightling church he worked for his patron John Fuller in 1749–50, adding a gallery, a porch and windows near the porch.³¹

Between 1746 and 1747, Daw had worked for John Fuller at Brightling Park, supplying stucco work in the main rooms and the hall, much of which was lost when part of the house was demolished in the 1950s.³² The gothic-style stucco in the main hall at Wiston House may also be Daw's work, but the attribution rests on the similarity with the lost work at Brightling. It was done after a section of Wiston House was demolished between 1743 and 1747, when the Gorings added gothic features to the building. Daw is believed to have worked at Firlie Place at the time when that house was also

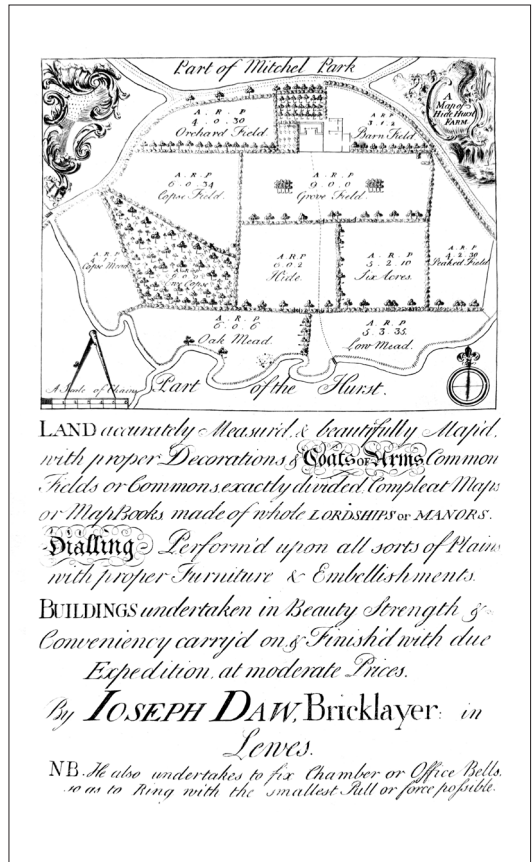


Fig. 10. Trade card of Joseph Daw of Lewes, bricklayer, c1750 (© Sussex Archaeological Society).

reduced in size.³³ However, there is no contemporary evidence to support the claims for Wiston and Firlie, and the stucco-artists could have used the same or similar design books, such as Batty Langley's.³⁴

Whilst there is little evidence beyond their names for the activities of other builders in Lewes before 1780, their numbers increased thereafter. Accordingly, John Morris and his nephew, John, faced greater opposition. From the early 1780s, the entrepreneurial Amon Wilds became the major competitor of John Morris and his nephew. Wilds was from Hastings, one of several builders drawn to Lewes by its growth from the 1780s. Like John Morris, he recognised the need for a local network. By 1806, he was a trustee of the Lewes Baptist chapel; he also attended some meetings of the jury of the



Fig. 11. St Michael's church, Lewes, showing the work by Joseph Daw (© Sue Berry).

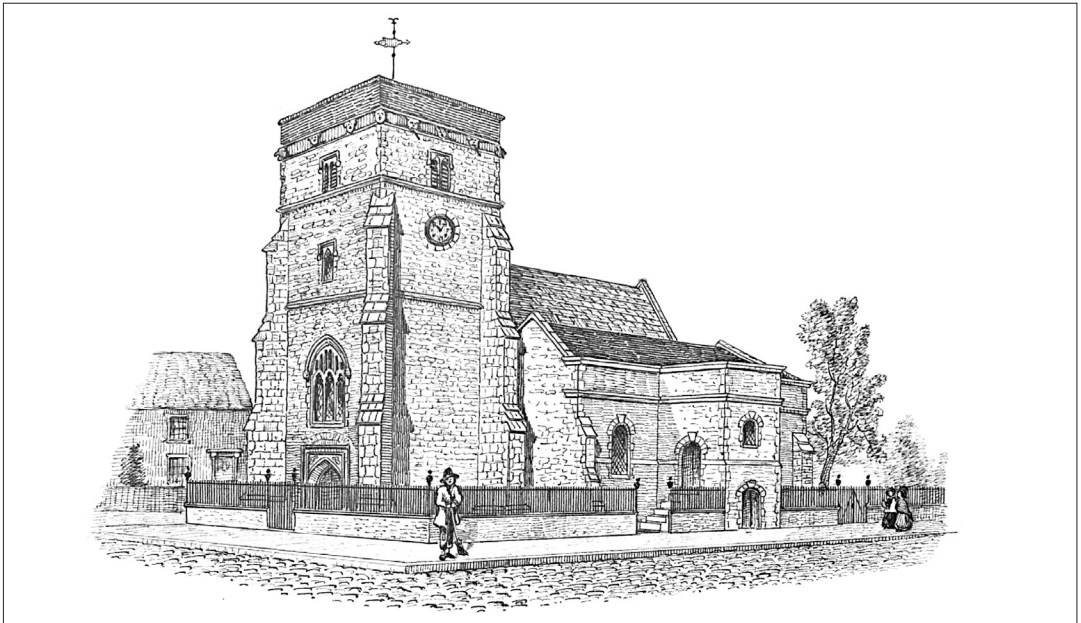


Fig. 12. St Thomas à Becket church, Lewes (W. T. Quartermain, 1857); work by Joseph Daw on the south side, including the porch (© Sussex Archaeological Society).

Water Court for the River Ouse, probably in the capacity of an expert witness, on behalf of the estate of the Earl of Sheffield.³⁵

Amon Wilds obtained employment through his connections. The projects were modest, but the Borough of Lewes and the vestry of All Saints lacked the resources to build grandly. In 1792, the market tower cost £353 and was built in a simple Gothic style, its appearance probably modelled from a book of designs. It accommodated Old Gabriel, the bell from the long-lost church of St Nicholas, which stood on the site of the present war memorial (Fig. 13).³⁶



Fig. 13. Lewes market tower by Amon Wilds, 1792 (© Sue Berry).

After considerable contention and a private Act of Parliament, Amon Wilds demolished the old nave of All Saints church and replaced it with a simple design without a chancel. Amon probably referred to a design book for the nave and then adapted the old tower by inserting a staircase on each side of the entrance to provide access to the galleries and the ground floor. This made the church (which survives) a typical ‘preaching-box’ structure, with the usual double bank of windows down the sides of the nave. He also built a footbridge over the river for the Borough Council,³⁷ and in 1810 constructed a store for arms and ammunition for the local militia.³⁸

Amon’s first development project for which documentation exists demonstrated his willingness to take a risk and to work with a partner to fund the scheme. In 1789, he bought an acre of land in Townshends Field in partnership with John Wimble, a coal merchant. The deed is typical of the time, using well-known features as locational markers, such as the lane leading from St John’s church to the tanyard on the north side of the land and a new road on the west. This area became Lancaster Street, Lancaster Place and Pleasant Place, on which a summer house stood in 1726. He continued in this high-risk business, developing houses on North Street between 1794 and 1796.³⁹

Amon employed the usual contemporary practice of building houses to sell as soon as he could. Examples of his work survive, such as Pleasant Place and Lancaster Street (1808), and he avoided the high risk of bankruptcy common to the building trade. His clients included John Carter, a cellarman who paid £110 for a house in Pleasant Place. During this period, housing was quite expensive, and most people rented.⁴⁰ But in 1819 Wilds also formed a partnership with the Wille family, a father-and-son team who owned timber yards.⁴¹ Amon was very businesslike, pursuing debts, such as the £850 owed to him for building two houses in Lewes for Thomas William Wheeler.⁴²

In 1815, Amon Wilds built four houses on land on the High Street purchased from Thomas Read Kemp, for which he paid £950. The house occupied by Gideon Mantell has appropriate pilasters with ammonite capitals, from which the local belief arose that ammonite pilasters were invented by Wilds rather than by George Dance, who first used them on John Boydell’s Shakespeare Gallery in London in 1788.⁴³

But not long after, Amon Wilds was joined by his son, Amon Henry (normally Henry) Wilds. They moved to Brighton, where Henry did well from about 1818, aided by the patronage of Thomas Read Kemp, for whom they had worked in Lewes. Amon Henry Wilds is better represented in the archives and the local press than the Morris dynasty or Joseph Daw, partly owing to the nature of their work, but also the influence of Amon's activity as a speculative developer, which generated deeds, a considerable number of which have survived. The Lewes builders competing against them for work in the town included John Boxall, Joseph Goldsmith, George Smith and George Stanford.⁴⁴

CHANGES IN LEWES AFTER 1780

None of the builders working in Lewes after 1780 managed major developments for the country house estates surrounding the town, partly because little was done until after 1830, but also because landowners turned increasingly to architects and builders from London. As most landowners withdrew from local politics, they gradually became disconnected from the local community. As country towns ossified or grew very slowly, the availability of work there declined, making the rapidly expanding nearby towns magnets. For the workers of Lewes,

it was Brighton, Eastbourne, Haywards Heath and Burgess Hill which offered more employment, and a different era dawned.⁴⁵

CONCLUSIONS

The role of craftsmen in the construction of prestigious Georgian buildings, such as town and country houses, has been underestimated. Skilled craftsmen easily interpreted the design books produced by architects to suit the tastes and budgets of their clients and adapted them to utilise local building materials. Other dynasties of successful builders included the Bastards of Blandford Forum in Dorset and the Prawle family of Crediton in Devon, but Arthur and John Morris worked on more country houses. There must have been more such families who helped to shape the appearance of Georgian England. We need to devote more research to understanding the people who constructed our buildings and their networks of clients and material suppliers.⁴⁶

Acknowledgements

The author gratefully acknowledges the help of the Trustees of the Chatsworth Estate, Pat Berry, Lorna Gartside, Andy Gammon and Janet Pennington in the production of this article.

Author: Sue Berry, 2 Cluny Street, Southover, Lewes BN7 1LN

NOTES

- ¹ The new unnamed suburb in the parish of St John Sub Castro included Lancaster Street, Lancaster Place and Pleasant Place. See East Sussex and Brighton and Hove Record Office (hereafter ESBHRO), DL/D/145/3. C. Brent, *Georgian Lewes* (Colin Brent Books, 1993), 205–20; S. Berry, *Georgian Brighton* (Phillimore, 2005), 97–135.
- ² ESBHRO, GLY 872–874 (Glynde), ACC 6077/22/8 (Laughton).
- ³ Communication with Alan Green of Chichester.
- ⁴ S. Berry, 'The development of Brighton over the surrounding common fields and its impact on the town 1770–1820', *The Georgian Group Journal* **32** (2024), 251–74; S. Berry, *Georgian Brighton* (Phillimore, 2005), 97–135.
- ⁵ Brighton work for Edward Poole, ESBHRO HOOK 23/1/13.
- ⁶ S. Berry, 'The Georgian provincial builder-architect and builder: Amon and Amon Henry Wilds of Brighton and Lewes', *Sussex Archaeological Collections* (hereafter SAC) **150** (2012) 163–83.
- ⁷ S. Berry, 'Thomas Read Kemp and the shaping of Regency Brighton' *The Georgian Group Journal* **17** (2009), 125–40.
- ⁸ ESBHRO HIL/6/28C/15, abstract of title of Arthur Morris's stone-yard, incorporating a pedigree; its statement that

Morris was a member of the Worshipful Company of Masons cannot be verified from the Company's archive at The London Archives.

- ⁹ S. and D. Neave, 'The early life of William Kent', *The Georgian Group Journal* **6** (1996), 4–11.
- ¹⁰ Family tree, 1681–1744: ESBHRO ACC 7611/1.
- ¹¹ ESBHRO ACC 7611/1, ACC 8798/16. No evidence in existing records at the London Metropolitan Archives of membership of The Worshipful (Livery) Company of Masons. ESBHRO PAR 414/9/2 paid 17 Mar. 1703 £3. 13sh.
- ¹² ESBHRO AMS 5569/4; PBT 1/1/66/423, HIL 6/28C/15; ACC 8798/16; for its archive, 1834–1959, see ESBHRO BRN; *London Gazette* 7 June 1966; *Guardian*, 3 December 1999.
- ¹³ S. Berry, 'Laughton Church Chancel and other major church alterations in and around Lewes, East Sussex, c.1740–1810', *SAC* **142** (2004), 107–13.
- ¹⁴ S. Berry, 'Laughton Church Chancel'.
- ¹⁵ S. Berry, 'Stanmer House and Park, East Sussex; the evolution of a small downland country house and its setting c1710–1805', *SAC* **143** (2005), 239–55; British Library Add. MS 33085 f.59, f.12; ESBHRO ACC 4600/1/7.
- ¹⁶ Devonshire Collection Archives, Chatsworth, Box K, Mr Lane's contract 1730/1; see pp.75–8 of the catalogue.

- ¹⁷ Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) Plan Numbers 65952–65957.
- ¹⁸ Devonshire Collection Archives, garden accounts and letters of William Stuart for Compton Place for Lord Wilmington, vol. 2, 1728–1733. Letter about Newhaven, dated 22 June without year (probably 1733); hearths, dated 29 May without year (but between 1729 and 1733). RIBA 65952–65957.
- ¹⁹ RIBA 65952–65957.
- ²⁰ D. Brock, 'The Improvement of Coombe Place', *The Georgian Group Journal* **6** (1996), 74–84.
- ²¹ J. Brent, 'The Pooles of Chailey and Lewes: the establishment and influence of a gentry family 1732–1779', *SAC* **114** (1976), 69–80.
- ²² The National Archives C11/953/20 (depositions 1746), 954/3 (depositions, 27 Oct. 1747).
- ²³ R. Hewlings, 'Firle Place: Syria in Sussex', *The Georgian Group Journal* **16** (2008), 149–75.
- ²⁴ ESBHRO drawing of The Hook, c1750, HOOK 18/3; tradesman's accounts, 1760–1767, HOOK 23/1/6–12; accounts, 1736–66, 1768, HOOK 23/1/13–14; accounts 1732–79, 1747–1813, 1726–1806, HOOK 16/1, 3, 17; HOOK 21–2; J. Brent, 'The Pooles of Chailey and Lewes: the establishment and influence of a gentry family 1732–1779', *SAC* **114** (1976), 69–80.
- ²⁵ ESBHRO GLY 922–953, 2769–2770.
- ²⁶ C. Hussey, 'Ashburnham Place, Sussex II', *Country Life* **23** April 1953, 1246–50; ASH 1633.
- ²⁷ ESBHRO SAS/I 317, 273–6.
- ²⁸ *Sussex Advertiser* 23 December 1782; ESBHRO PBT 1/1/66/423, probate of the will of John Morris of Lewes, surveyor and stone mason, 15 August 1792.
- ²⁹ ESBHRO AMS 1542, SAS/G 20/678, PAR 414/32/1/48, GOD/ACC 9446/1/13, HIL 6/17/1/1–38; PBT 1/1/66/423; PBT 1/3/18/138.
- ³⁰ ESBHRO PAR 414, PAR 415.
- ³¹ B. French, *Brightling Church and Village* (published by author, no date of publication), 50, no source for information given.
- ³² Joseph Daw at Brightling: ESBHRO SAS/RF 15/3/29, ACC 5620/49.
- ³³ Berry, *S. Country Houses of the Sussex Downs*. (Sussex Archaeological Society, 2021) 91, 110; ESBHRO SAS/RF15/29, f.61. Most of Daw's work was in the demolished part of Brightling Park; for photographs, see A. Dale, 'Brightling Park' *Sussex County Magazine* **29** (1955), 462–9, and ESBHRO ACC 5620/49; for the context for his work at Brightling Park see Mary C. L. Salt, 'The Fullers of Brightling Park' Part 3, *SAC* **107** (1969), 14–24.
- ³⁴ B. Langley, *The City and Country Builder's and Workman's Treasury of Designs* (Thomas Langley, 1745).
- ³⁵ ESBHRO NB 1/3/7–8; ACC 4113/4/180/1.
- ³⁶ ESBHRO LEW C/8/6/12.
- ³⁷ ESBHRO QAB 1/2.
- ³⁸ ESBHRO LCL 6/1; S. Berry, 'The Georgian provincial builder-architect and architect: Amon Henry and Amon Henry Wilds of Lewes and Brighton c1790–1850', *SAC* **150** (2012) 163–83.
- ³⁹ ESBHRO AMS 5735, ACC 8769/5, HIL 6/29/2, HF 1/1–28, DL/D 145/13, LTC 13/2.
- ⁴⁰ ESBHRO LTC 13/2–4.
- ⁴¹ ESBHRO HIL 2/2.
- ⁴² ESBHRO AMS 7100/1812/11–15A.
- ⁴³ ESBHRO SAS/HA 653. M. Kerney, 'Ammonites in architecture: the 'ammonite order' was invented by the Neo-Classical architect, George Dance.' *Country Life* **173**, no. 4458 (27 January 1983) 214–18.
- ⁴⁴ ESRO PBT 1/1/80/113, PBT 1/3/22/175B, PBT 1/169/198/, PBT 2/7/246/2, PBT 1/3/22/74D.
- ⁴⁵ Brent *Georgian Lewes* passim; S. Berry, 'A resort town transformed: Brighton c.1815–1840', *The Georgian Group Journal* **23** (2015), 213–29.
- ⁴⁶ A. Harrison, 'The Bastard Brothers in Dorchester', Blog on the website of the Dorchester Civic Society (dorchestercivicsociety.org.uk) accessed 14 November 2025. C. Powell, 'Cobbing and Helling: a Georgian building firm at work', *Construction History* **15** (1999), 3–13.