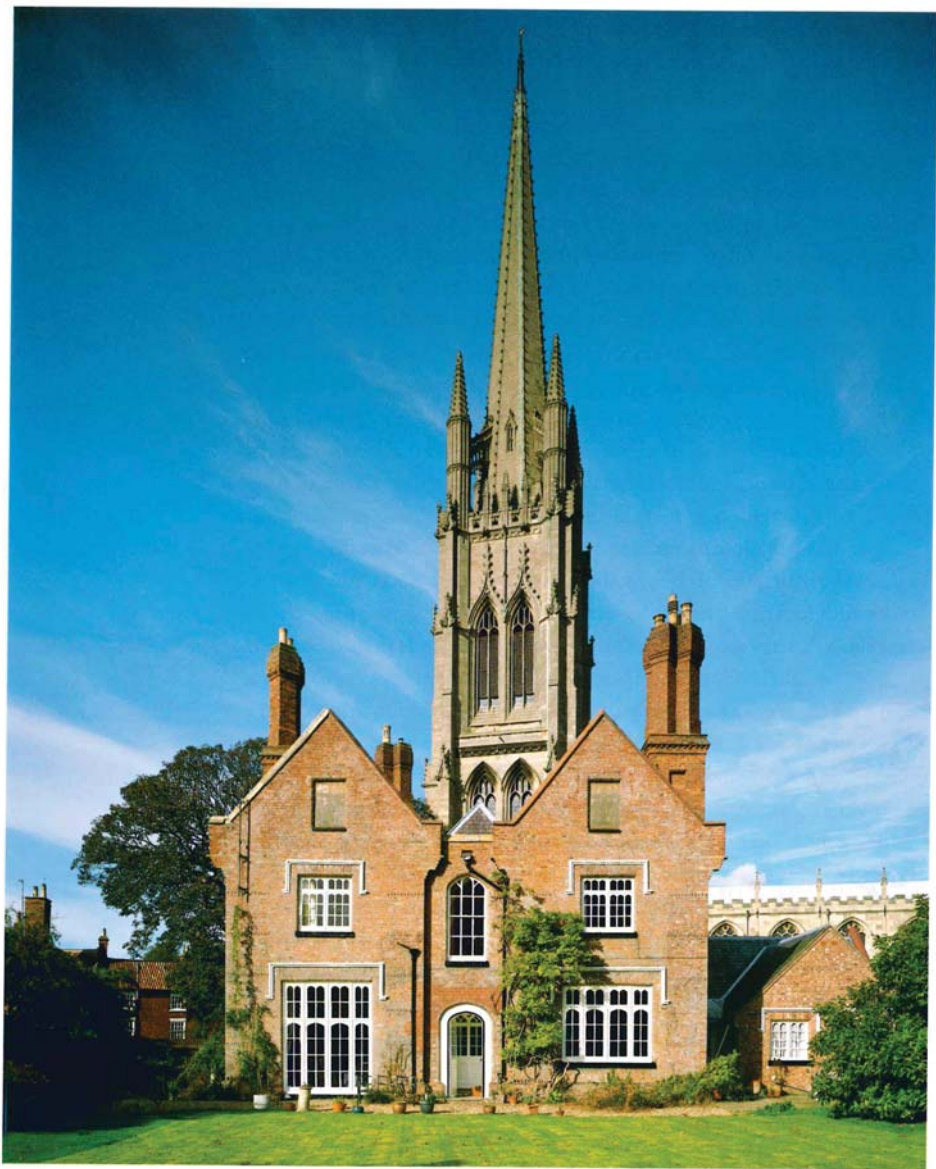


Chapter Two

The 1830s: How easy it is to be pleased



It is already clear that not all the new parsonages of the first decades of the nineteenth century were being built in the traditional classical-Georgian manner. New styles were, however, not at first necessarily applied to the whole of the house but more usually only to parts of it. The career of the Suffolk carpenter-architect Mark Thompson, briefly referred to in Chapter One, provides some delightful early examples. Perhaps inspired by his first significant architectural project, which was the conversion of Ormesby Hall in Norfolk soon after 1810 into a 'most desirable residence' in a severe castellated Tudor-gothic style, Thompson designed parsonages for two members of the family of the late Lord Chancellor Thurlow which happily mixed battlements and hood mouldings with sash windows and classical trimmings.¹ The small house designed in 1818 for Lound, for the Reverend Edward Thurlow, was a modest back-corridor type house with two reception rooms (fig. 2.2).² The garden façade was in an austere Tuscan style with unmoulded pilasters, tall casements, and a deep overhanging roof, but the entrance front had a gothic porch and pointed, traceried windows on the stair tower alongside. The tall chimney of the side wall of the dining room, which adjoins the porch on the other side from the stairs, is cleverly at once both Tudor and classical since it has very English

2.1 (opposite)

The vicarage, now rectory, at Louth in Lincolnshire, designed by C.J. Carter in 1832 during the reign of William IV. Compare fig. 2.45.

2.2 (below)

A design of 1818 for the rectory at Lound, near Lowestoft, Suffolk: one of two very different houses designed by Mark Thompson of Dedham that year which mixed motifs from both the classical and Tudor or gothic styles. Stylistic confusion became increasingly common up to the gothic revival in the 1840s. [Norfolk Record Office, DN/DPL1/3/38].



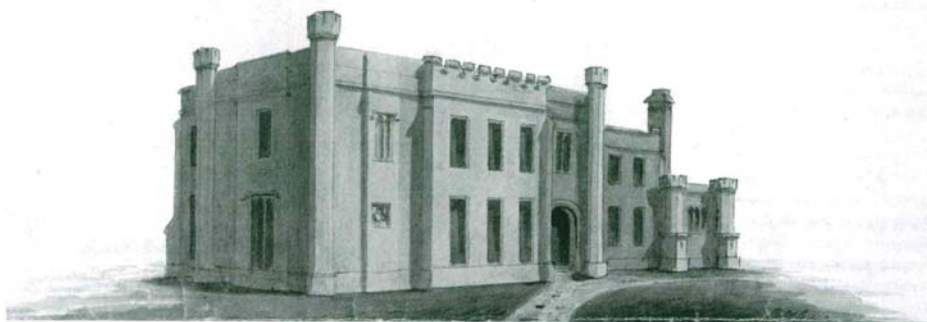
2.3 (below, left)
The castellated entrance
front of Thompson's Boxford
rectory, near Sudbury,
Suffolk, 1818.

2.4 (below, right)
Little beyond the entrance
elevation of Boxford rectory is
Gothic: this is the staircase at
the centre of the house.

shafts surmounted by a kind of entablature: it seems possible that faced with this chimney on his entrance front, as happened with back-corridor plans, Thompson used it as the inspiration for his gothic touches. In the same year, he designed a substantial new rectory at Boxford for Edward's cousin, Thomas, with approximately twice the budget he had been allowed at Lound, and the result is an imposing Tudor-gothic castle on the front side which turns into a classical-Georgian house with overhanging eaves on the rear, garden, side (fig. 2.3, 2.4).³ The plan is unusual, and indeed portentous, for what is basically another back-corridor plan is varied by the inclusion of a grand staircase hall which provides a kind of hub for the three major rooms that revolve around it. Interestingly, Thompson's perspective showing the entrance front gives no hint this time of the more conventional style lurking around the corner (fig. 2.5). One is somehow reminded that 1818 was the year of Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein*.

There is another more modest and perhaps more typical example in Surrey. The architect Samuel Ware, with the builder William Moberly, designed a small two-reception-room rectory for an urban site in Guildford, and they applied Tudor-gothic trimmings to the front, consisting of hood mouldings, and a piece of fancy bargeboarding curiously laid horizontally under the gutter; but the rear – the 'back front' as they called it – was left as a plain classical-Georgian facade (fig. 2.6). This was in 1826.⁴ Most other examples before the end of the





decade have similar characteristics. The addition of an expensive new wing with an ornamental and symmetrical principal entrance facade to Galby rectory in Leicestershire has been mentioned: it had a projecting porch with four-pointed arches, low and high-level balustrades composed of rows of lancet-shaped openings, tall octagonal-plan cement turrets with bulbous tops at the corners, decorative bargeboarding that projected both above and below the junction of the roof tiles with the wall, and ornamental crosses at the apex of the gables; in between all this, the windows maintained Georgian proportions (although the architect, Parsons, drew them as if they were casements). The greater part of the house behind, some of which had been there before, was in an altogether simpler and more vernacular style (fig. 2.7; see fig 1.40).⁵ James Trubshaw's vicarage at Walkeringham of 1823 introduced us to the typical classical-Georgian parsonage; he designed another parsonage, at Ilam in Staffordshire, in the following year, this time using an unpretentious Tudor-gothic style; he inscribed on his drawing that it was 'finished at two o'clock Thursday morning'.⁶ Engagingly, his ground floor plan drawings show a figure relaxing in the study, labelled 'not at home'. But it was too early for the true dawn of Tudor gothic. Until the end of the 1820s it was still unusual to build a house in an English village in other than a classical-Georgian style, and the results when anything else was attempted were idiosyncratic, unhistorical, and inconsistent.

2.5

Thompson's application perspective of the gothic front of Boxford rectory: there is no hint here of the classical-Georgian style of the back of the house [Suffolk Record Office, Bury St Edmunds, 806/2/3].

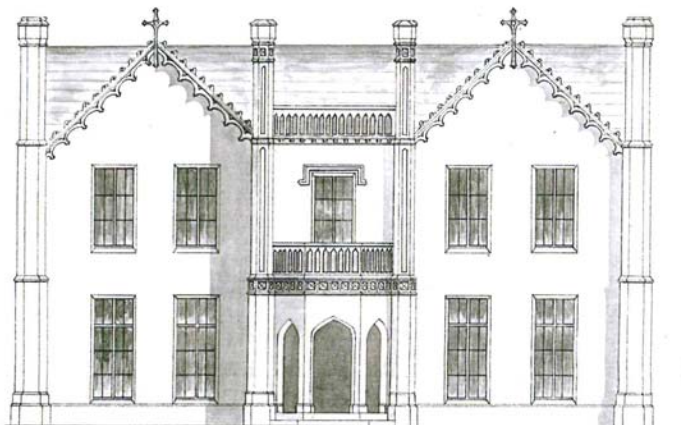
2.6 (right)

The front and 'back front' elevations of Guildford rectory, Surrey (1826) by Samuel Ware and William Moberly – another but much smaller 'Frankenstein'-type house consisting of favoured but conflicting styles grafted together [Surrey History Centre, 472/12/1-4].



2.7 (below, right)

Galby, Leicestershire: a fancy gothick front applied to a conventional classical-Georgian house by William Parsons in 1829. The facade has since been remodelled [Lincolnshire Archives, MGA 153].



Since this situation ended very rapidly as the 1830s began – indeed, it has never returned – it is worth looking at the reasons why the traditional attitude to house design may have changed so much and so fast, and why these changes were particularly true of parsonage-building. The first reason was that over a period of about 20 years – the first 20 years of the new century – architects were beginning to look at the historical architecture of England in an entirely new light, a process which came about as a result of actually looking for the first time carefully and accurately at the remains of the mediaeval, Tudor and Jacobean architecture around them; and, inspired by this new scientific approach, metropolitan thinkers and writers were now able to turn their attention to the nature of Englishness in architecture,

to question, and to experiment with it. In this light it is interesting, for example, that the school Lugar designed to sit alongside his classical vicarage at Yaxham in Norfolk was in the Tudor-gothic style, even though it was designed at the same time as the house (fig. 2.8). In his accompanying text he stressed the philanthropic efforts of the pastor and the 'Pastor's Lady'. The suggestion is that it was these that inspired the choice of the style, imitating the characteristically English almshouses of the past.⁷

The process by which Tudor architecture came to be widely associated with a broadly sympathetic political view of Old England in the era of Walter Scott is a well known one.⁸ On the one hand it is illustrated by Joseph Nash and the popular illustrations of his *The mansions of England in the olden time* from the late 1830s (fig. 2.9), and on the other by literary descriptions of houses such as those by Benjamin Disraeli in his novel *Coningsby* of 1844.⁹ But architects were more in the vanguard of this development than is sometimes realised. Crude attempts to copy old buildings were already rare by Nash's time. Architects who thought creatively about their work were by then on to something else: a much more analytical and informed if still often confused approach to the elements of Tudor-gothic architecture.

Rediscovering the past

For the process of the rediscovery of English architecture began not only with Walter Scott and the literary imagination but at least as much from the availability of accurate renditions of historical buildings for the first time; and the person responsible for this was

2.8 (below, left)

Although it was located close to his classical-Georgian rectory, Lugar's school at Yaxham, Norfolk, was designed in the Tudor-gothic style, which, with its connotations of Tudor almshouses, was considered appropriate for a charitable foundation. Compare fig. 1.26. From *Villa architecture* (1828), plate 15.

2.9 (below)

Joseph Nash's Merrie England, complete with jester: plate 4 from the second series of his popular *Mansions of England in the olden time* (1840), showing an imagined scene in the hall of the house in Kent now called Ightham Mote.



John Britton, the writer, draughtsman and publisher, who in 1807 inaugurated a series of volumes called the *Architectural antiquities of Great Britain represented and illustrated in a series of views, elevations, plans, sections and details, of various ancient English edifices: with historical and descriptive accounts of each*. Anyone who wanted to know what England's architectural heritage looked like could now do so relatively easily for the first time: Britton's books were intended for a far broader circulation than the previous publications for circles of connoisseurs.¹⁰ As with his other ventures, the *Architectural antiquities* was sold to subscribers in the form of individual plates issued over a period of time and which were eventually completed with a letterpress; these could thus be bound into a book. This made it possible for many to build up substantial collections of drawings; and quite possibly, the process also encouraged them to study individual views with greater attention than if they had all arrived bound into a single volume and at one go, as they had for those who had been able to afford luxurious volumes of this kind.

And it was a long process. The *Architectural antiquities* emerged over 20 years, providing much evidence for the way in which the process of increasing and useful accuracy was achieved. The first volume, completed in 1807, consists largely of views rather than of measured drawings; the second volume (1809) has four times the number of subjects than the first, and most drawings are this time measured. The third volume (1812) re-presented the Cambridge churches of St Sepulchre and King's College chapel, because the editor had decided that they had not been accurately enough rendered in the first (fig. 2.10). The fourth volume (1814) notes the improvement in standards in antiquarian and topographical studies since the series was conceived, and announces that the forthcoming *Cathedral antiquities* will be in the form of 'a more regular and uniform style of excellence in drawings and engravings'; the volume is enhanced by a chronological table provided by John Adey Repton.¹¹ Finally, the preface of the fifth and last volume, completed in 1826, admits that although the series so far had been 'amusing and gratifying to students, [it] was not sufficiently scientific and systematic for others'; it has therefore taken some six years to complete.¹² 'It has been', Britton continues, 'my wish to guard against hypothesis and error, and to record nothing but undeniable fact, or inference from impeachable evidence'.¹³



2.10
From fantasy to fact: the third volume of Britton's *Architectural antiquities* (1812) included corrected views of buildings which had already appeared in the series in less accurate form. This is the revised depiction of the Norman church of St Sepulchre (the 'round church') in Cambridge. Engraved by William Woolnoth from a drawing by F. Mackenzie.

The plates are now entitled 'Britton's chronological history of English Architecture', and the entire sequence is concluded by a variety of scientific aids: an architectural dictionary; an alphabetical list of the architects and founders of the buildings; a chronological list of the architectural monuments, and finally an index to all five volumes.

It was through John Britton's publications that the historical gothic architecture of England was brought up to the level where it could be compared directly to the methods used in presenting and teaching the orders of classical architecture. Plates prepared by top-rate and innovating engravers such as John and Henry Le Keux were prepared from drawings by draughtsmen such as Auguste Charles Pugin, the French émigré, sometime assistant of John Nash, and pupil master of the illustrator Joseph Nash. The list of monuments that could be mined for historic details was prodigious. There were some 70 examples in the *Architectural antiquities* series alone. The great houses of East Anglia such as Oxburgh, East Barsham (then in ruins) (fig. 2.11), Blickling, Hengrave, Giffords Hall (fig. 2.12), and Audley End, along with Little Moreton Hall, Longleat, Wollaton Hall, Holland House, and Compton Wynyates, amongst others, appeared in the second volume alone, and with the destroyed parts of the buildings restored to enable them to be properly appreciated. Britton repeated the process with French architecture, which after the defeat of Napoleon in 1815 was again available to the British topographer and architect, with his *Architectural antiquities of Normandy*. Here he covered ground already described by the French writer Charles Nodier, and by the Englishmen John Sell Cotman and Dawson Turner, but this time with crisp and accurate measured drawings by Pugin illustrating and reconstructing monuments that in practice were scarcely appreciable from ruination or neglect (figs 2.13, 2.14). The result of Britton's work was that it finally became possible for architects, some 20 years after the pioneering hopes of the gothic apologist and writer John Carter, to award the gothic style equal status with the classical. This had been Britton's aim. It is for example noticeable that at the outset of his career there were few technical names for many features of gothic buildings, in contrast to the extensive nomenclature used in the academies for the tiniest parts of Greek or Roman architecture. These had to be invented or distilled by antiquarians, and Britton's various glossaries occasionally refer to their originators and their sources.



2.11

At much the same time, the views Britton published of existing buildings either restored their original form or depicted them clearly enough for architects to use them as an authoritative source. East Barsham Manor, Norfolk, was at the time in an advanced state of ruin. A view of the south front from the second volume of the *Architectural antiquities*, 1809.



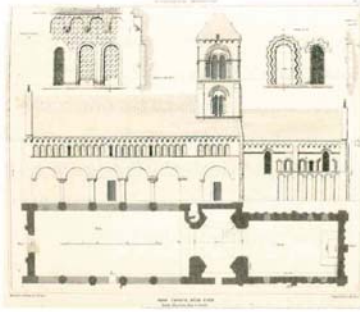
2.12

Giffords Hall, Suffolk was another highly regarded late mediaeval or Tudor building. This is the entrance gateway, also from the second volume of the *Architectural antiquities*.



2.13 (above)

The Abbaye aux dames, Caen, from a drawing by A. C. Pugin and published in Britton's *Architectural antiquities of Normandy* (1828). The abbey was in a decayed state, and its floor level had risen to hide the plinths of the piers, but Pugin's drawing reconstructed it with unprecedented accuracy.



2.14 (above, right)

Thaon church, Normandy, from the same volume. The church is hidden in a valley some way from the village. There was something of a competitive, colonialising atmosphere in the way in which English draughtsmen found and measured ancient monuments in France after the defeat of Napoleon.

A feature common to both styles would be given a different name when applied to the gothic: for example, Britton's *Architectural and archaeological dictionary* coined the new gothic nomenclature of 'impost moulding' for the ornamental capital of a gothic pier; the book also gave considerable emphasis to words of Anglo-Saxon – that is, authentically 'English' – origin, and the Anglo-Saxon alphabet was used alongside the Greek and Latin ones (fig. 2.15).¹⁴ The significance that Britton attributes to this process is illustrated by the fact that in his own autobiography he placed his *Dictionary* third in order of importance, following the much more widely known *Architectural antiquities* and his *Cathedral antiquities*.

At the same time, the accurate measured drawings pioneered by Pugin under Britton's sponsorship and the various published analyses of the setting out of different pointed arches, such as that which forms one of the last plates of the *Architectural antiquities*, would enable a parallel to be drawn with the regulated formulae of academic classicism.

House One

That England's historical architecture could provide a canon of grand houses to inspire admiration was clear; but whether it could also supply architects with practical information for their bread-and-butter commissions was quite another matter. What Britton singularly failed to do was to produce historical models on which a small modern house, such as a parsonage, could be based. He simply found almost none. The first four volumes of the *Architectural antiquities* include many manor houses as well as castles, palaces and abbeys, but nothing the size of a small private house with the exception only of a curious

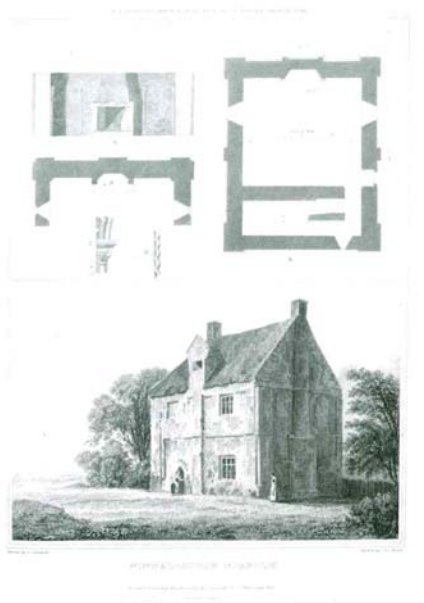
Ang. *Arca*, Lat., It., Sp., and Port.; Epc, Sax. A large chest, or coffer. (See *ARCA*.) Hunter [*Hallshire Gloss.* 5.] says it is "the large chest in farm houses, used for keeping meal or flour. The arks are usually made of strong oaken planks, which are sometimes elaborately carved; they resemble the chests found in churches, which are never, as far as I know, called arks. Many of the arks are of high antiquity; the making of them must have constituted a distinct trade, as we have the surname of Ark-wright. The strong boxes in which the Jews kept their valuables were anciently called their arks, *archas*, a word which occurs in the royal warrant in the Feeder, 45 Hen. III., to search all the Jews' *arks* throughout the kingdom. As the Welsh have *arkh* in the sense of coffin, it is not impossible that *ark* may be a relic of the Celtic." The press or cupboard in a vestry, where the clergy hung their vestments, was also called an *ark*. *Nichols' Hist. of Leic.* vol. 1. p. 303.



timber construction in Islington (fig. 2.16).¹⁵ The fifth volume, from 1826, was originally intended to be more concerned with castellated and domestic architecture, and yet Britton found this impracticable; and the only domestic building eventually referred to therein is Winwall House in Norfolk which was 'considered the most ancient and most perfect specimen of Norman domestic architecture in England' (fig. 2.17).¹⁶ The definition of a building such as this, the arch-prototype for the modern gothic architect – House One, as it were – would surely have been an important step in reestablishing the principles of modern gothic architecture. Britton's preoccupation with it and his belief that he had found it are underlined by the fact that Winwall made a deep impression on him: 20 years after its 'discovery' he included it in his own drawing illustrating the finest examples of ancient domestic architecture, preceding a text by the Reverend Charles Boutell.¹⁷ During those two decades a long list of surviving mediaeval work had been published in the third edition of J. H. Parker's *Glossary of terms* of 1840, but Britton had evidently not been convinced by any other candidate for primacy. His choice was a strange one. An experienced topographical writer such as he surely cannot have failed to see that Winwall House was a later formation from the remains of a monastic building, as is evident from the lack of architectural or practical relationship between the surviving features of Norman architecture on it and the rest of the small farmhouse that had been built around them.¹⁸ As such, it was clearly not a surviving Norman house. Perhaps its haunting and isolated location – in Gibbet Lane, overlooking a path between two isolated villages – had had its effect on him (fig. 2.18).

2.15 (above, left)
A typical entry from Britton's *Dictionary*. In defining terminology, he emphasised Anglo-Saxon and Celtic origins wherever possible in order to establish the Englishness of gothic architecture.

2.16 (above)
An old house in Islington, just to the north of London: the only domestic structure that Britton included in the first four volumes of his *Architectural antiquities* (from volume 2, 1809).



2.17 (above)
Winwall House, off Gibbet Lane, near Wereham, Norfolk – Britton's 'House One'. He considered it 'the most ancient and most perfect specimen of Norman domestic architecture in England'. This illustration by George Cattermole and John Le Keux of 1819 gives an impression which surely at the time must have seemed erroneous; in reality, the exterior east wall of the modern house is probably the interior west wall of a much older dwelling. *Architectural antiquities*, volume 5 (1826).

2.18 (above, right)
Winwall House, now Winnold Farm, in 1959 [*National Monuments Record*, BB59/181].



Boutell himself wrote of domestic architecture in the 1846 book that

the class of buildings which is peculiarly familiar to contemporaries, is precisely the one relative to which least is known in after times.

Domestic Architecture is the most obscure chapter in the history of the art¹⁹

and he could give no surviving examples until the fourteenth century. Between the dates of the two Britton publications referring to Winwall House, 1826 and 1846, no writer can be found who gives a contrary opinion, mainly because the most humble timber houses of any kind were clearly beneath criticism.²⁰ Matthew Habershon wrote in 1839 that 'All writers who speak of this period agree that the lower orders especially were most miserably lodged'; and the encyclopaedist Joseph Gwilt wrote in 1842 that 'In London, towards the end of the twelfth century, the houses were still built of timber, and covered with reeds or straw'.²¹ Furthermore, the phenomenon appeared to be universal: Turner's text to Cotman's *Architectural antiquities of Normandy* had

noted in 1822 that ‘the private residence of the more humble individual has, in no portion of the globe, been able to secure to itself any thing approaching to a durable existence.’²² He then refers to ‘Winwal House in Norfolk, lately figured by Mr Britton in his Chronological and Historical Illustrations of the Ancient Architecture of Great Britain; remains that are calculated to excite no other emotions than regret, and to awaken, without being able to satisfy, curiosity. Nor indeed have Mr Cotman’s extensive researches enabled him to meet with any of this description, all poor as they are, within the limits of Normandy’.²³

Since there was no known historical model for a small house, architects had never had any better idea of how to go about designing a modern one in a gothic style than to choose what seemed to them to be the characteristic details of the large well-known houses and apply them in artistic fashion to conventional house plans. Britton’s work was analytical in terms of style but much less so in respect of the other elements of architecture. For the great majority of designers who became interested in mediaeval architecture at this time, the results bore no more similarity to any actual mediaeval house than the various gothic trimmings applied to large houses on and off since the mid-eighteenth century had created any authentic neo-mediaeval architecture. In the case of these small houses however the clash between the pretentiousness of the decorative detail and the modesty of every other aspect of the house produced an entirely original effect, devoid of historical pedigree and very often too of common sense: there are gables sitting over parapets like a head over broad shoulders; flat or shallow roofs; a mixture of window types, from the castellated to the monastic; turrets; plaster decoration derived from flat tracery; a tendency to obscure, rather than express, constructional method; and a complete lack of coherence between the various elements of a building, even as if different parts of it had been executed by different hands. This was the Tudor-gothic style, an English compromise between the most easily suggestible elements of history, construction, politics, and art, and it flourished in the years following 1830.

All this seems the more remarkable because topographical writers did in fact refer to more likely and reasonable candidates for House One – the surviving mediaeval prototype for the modern architect – without being able to see them as such. The first volume of Pugin and Willson’s *Specimens of gothic architecture* (1821) illustrates the Norman ‘Jew’s

2.19 (below)
The Jew's House, Lincoln,
photographed in 1969
[National Monuments Record,
BB64/5496].

2.20 (below, right)
An undated view of Moyse's
Hall, Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk,
showing the appearance of
the building before Victorian
restoration [National
Monuments Record, BB71/
4784].

House' in Lincoln (fig. 2.19): was it insufficiently 'English', or too extravagant to serve as a simple precedent for Britton? What about 'Aaron's House', that any visitor to the 'Jew's House' could have seen nearby; or 'Moyse's Hall' in Bury St Edmund's, recorded by Britton and Boutell in 1846 (fig. 2.20)? How did writers such as Britton or Willson fail to see that the monastic ruins around England which had been depicted over recent decades, and now with increasing accuracy, often had surviving residences attached which were little changed since their original detachment from the church at the Reformation. Muchelney, Wenlock, Lanercost, and many others: these were still there (figs 2.21–3). Furthermore, many of the applicants for mortgages from Queen Anne's Bounty were themselves resident in small mediaeval houses: they were now engaged in applying to demolish them.²⁴ The ability actually to see a small mediaeval residence as such eluded the older generation of early nineteenth-century observers, and yet in a sense this is not surprising, for it sometimes seems that so did the ability to look accurately at historical architecture at all. The parsonages that appear in the villa pattern books of the period do not carry any characteristics drawn from ancient examples in spite of claims made to the contrary. John Buonarotti Papworth, an active, experienced, well-travelled, and educated architect, had in 1818 illustrated 'a vicarage or farm house' in his *Rural residences* (fig. 2.24), as well as 'a vicarage house, in correspondence of the architecture of the neighbouring church' (fig. 2.25); but given the gothicky nature of Papworth's design, it seems very unlikely that it would have been





2.21 (left)
Muchelney Abbey, Somerset:
view of the abbot's lodging
from the south east
[English Heritage Photo
Library K031314].

2.22 (below, left)
The abbot's parlour at
Muchelney, photographed in
1978. This room could well
have provided A.W.N. Pugin and
later gothic revival architects
with the House One interior
they seemed to be looking for.
[National Monuments Record,
AA78/2607].

2.23 (below)
The former prior's lodging at
Wenlock Priory in Shropshire:
one of the most remarkable
and beautiful of all late
mediaeval houses,
photographed in 1954.
[National Monuments Record,
AA54/4558].



derived from the architecture of any real church.²⁵ In common with many other contemporaneous villa pattern-book writers, Papworth had not yet learned how to *look* at gothic buildings.

A younger generation, brought up with Britton, could begin to see their surroundings differently not least because of their greater interest in historical documents and their ability to look more accurately at historical building. As it happens, a chance event of 1822 provides something of a watershed, a date that marks the end of the wild stylistic fantasies of the villa pattern-book writers. A disastrous fire at Josiah Taylor's 'Architectural Library' that year deprived London of the publisher or seller not only of the works of Soane, and Stuart and Revett, but also of Malton (*An essay on British cottage architecture*, 1798), Richardson (*New designs in architecture*, 1792, and much else), Nicholson (many practical books on architecture from 1795), Lugar, Gwilt, Pocock (*Architectural designs for rustic cottages, picturesque dwellings, villas, etc.*, 1807), Dearn, Gandy (*The rural architect* and *Designs for cottages*, 1805), Aikin (*Designs for villas and other rural buildings*, 1808) and Plaw (*Rural architecture*, a bestseller from 1785 onwards, and *Sketches for country houses, villas and rural dwellings*, 1800).²⁶ Taylor retired from business thereafter; and in any case, an economic recession soon followed. The fewer books that appeared in the following years were noticeably more sober and more measured, and they also made more of an attempt to look at historical building and to evaluate the functions of its construction and its details, for Britton had evidently succeeded in raising expectations and standards. A move in a new direction is exemplified by T. F. Hunt, born in 1791, whose *Designs for parsonage houses, alms houses, etc. etc.* of 1827 intersperses some drawings of surviving Tudor detailing between his own proposals: 'the aim of this volume has been to select and combine characteristic details of the domestic architecture used in England during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; differing widely from, those in these times blended and confounded with, the ecclesiastical style, generally known under the denomination of *Gothic*'.²⁷ In fact the book includes only four plates of historical details, a 'curious old gable' from Well Hall at Eltham; a 'curious old chimney piece' from the presence chamber at St James's Palace (where Hunt was working at the time as a Labourer in Trust, a resident supervisor of building work); and then two further 'curious old gables' – one in fact a bargeboard,

2.26 (below)

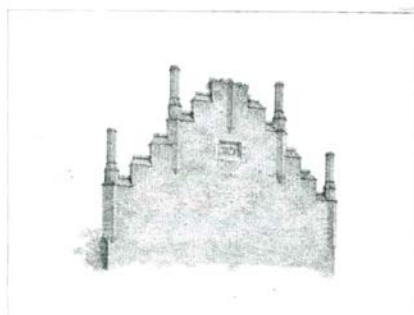
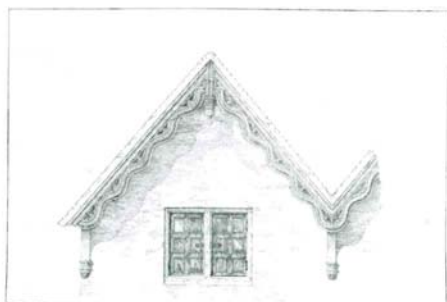
A 'curious old gable' from Well Hall at Eltham, Kent. From T.F. Hunt's *Designs for parsonage houses, alms houses, etc. etc.*, 1827 (plate 12).

2.27 (below, right)

'Almost the only remains of an ancient mansion at Boughton Malherbe, near Lenham in Kent.' Another of the historical views interspersed between new designs in Hunt's *Designs* (plate 21).

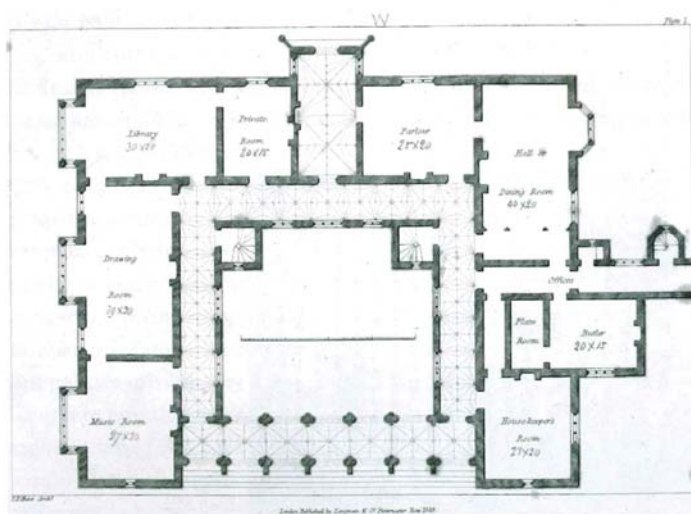
from Eltham Palace, and the last 'almost the only remains of an ancient mansion at Boughton Malherbe, near Lenham in Kent' (figs 2.26, 2.27). There were 14 designs on different scales, some incorporating these historical details in part or in full.

Hunt's book suggests a useful indication of the current state of understanding about late gothic or Tudor architecture amongst younger architects. Unlike many of his predecessors, some of the detailing and even, occasionally, the general form of his own designs, did in fact resemble those of ancient examples. His various references to particular historical buildings – such as to the old vicarage at Hackney, demolished a few years beforehand, another small old house which evidently Britton had overlooked – indicate that he saw that gothic was not a general term for an applied style, but part of a national tradition, the remains of which were all around: that in itself shows clearly the effect of the works of Britton, A. C. Pugin and others. He also used historical and topographical sources intelligently, for example quoting in one of his books from Whitaker's *History of Whalley* of 1801: "of [quadrangular] form have been many of the most opulent parsonage-houses in England, emulating at an humble distance the monastic or collegiate style, to which the taste and habit of their builders would naturally direct them".²⁸ Furthermore, he had recognised that the character of these old buildings was derived from the expression of certain structural elements, in particular the chimney and the gable.²⁹ And yet he found it difficult to carry those historical and structural elements through to the creation of a logical way of building. He was at pains to emphasise that the interior of one of his



new houses would take on an uncompromised modern character; and, more surprisingly, he emulated historical forms in appearance but not in plan, for the proposal of his own for a modern parsonage *looks like* a building with a central quadrangle but in fact does not actually have one.³⁰

Hunt persisted with the Tudor style, adopting a similar approach for his *Exemplars of Tudor architecture adapted to modern habitation*, of 1830, where he sharpened up this approach: he both stressed the importance of accurate historical detailing, and also the complete detachment of a modern interior from an historical exterior (fig. 2.28).³¹ The younger Tudor-goths were moving in the direction of higher accuracy; they were also setting higher standards for designers in other styles, for some of the most imaginative of the new pattern books did have a higher degree of stylistic integrity even when their subject matter is eclectic. Charles Parker's work in *Villa rustica* of 1833, for example, is derived from particular Italian examples: a porch in plate 37 is 'copied from a farm house, situated near Florence'; plates 51–4 are based on an original building situated on the banks of the Tiber; and plates 60–2 have 'a correct example of an Italian Porch'.³² It probably was (fig. 2.29). Two architects of note who designed parsonages in this particular style were both members of



2.28

An attempt to combine 'modern convenience with the splendour of ancient quadrangular form': the opening plan from *Exemplars of Tudor architecture* (1830). Hunt has at last accepted that a cloister will only really look like a cloister if it is a real one.

the Hakewill family: Henry Hakewill designed one as early as 1820 at Exning, near Newmarket, a central-corridor design but with a grand central staircase; and his son John Henry, perhaps inspired by Parker's book, designed a much more picturesque example with a pretty porch with Roman pantiles, at Uphaven in Dorset in 1841.³³ This had an unusual plan – a combination of a back-corridor type with a stair hall. In the post-Britton era architects were at least striving for authenticity, even if they could not manage it.

G. Poulett Scrope reviewed Hunt's parsonage book with others in 1831 for the *Quarterly review*; and he addressed the matter of the national character of English architecture, and where it might be found:

every country has an architecture more or less peculiarly its own; formed, like the character and language of its inhabitants, by the blending of various foreign ingredients which have at different periods introduced and naturalized themselves, but which have been also in turn modified by the original stock, as well as by the local peculiarities of climate, soil, social condition, and political history.

This NATIONAL character attaches itself far more to domestic architecture than to that which is displayed in public buildings, ecclesiastical or civil.³⁴

These comments are perceptive, and important: they are amongst the first suggestions of a theme that lay behind much of what John Ruskin



2.29
'A summer residence on the
banks of the Tiber': a house
drawn by Charles Parker for his
Villa rustica of 1833 (plate 52).

was to say, and indeed what Hermann Muthesius was to preach to his German audience in the wake of English success over 70 years later.³⁵ Scrope, who was a geologist as well as an economist, was claiming that the style and details of architecture are best derived from the earth which dictates the physical nature of its building materials; and furthermore, that the resulting national character is best attached to the private home. All this was new to the 1830s.

The review did not, in fact, appear to be particularly sympathetic to the use of 'gothic' (by which Scrope appears to include the various Tudor-gothic styles) for new public works because of the lack of harmony with neighbouring buildings that would result; but the '*old English style*' is, he wrote, particularly appropriate to country buildings, and the effect is a fine one.³⁶ In a rare reference by any critic to the architectural style of the urban house, he says that 'we own that the glories of Brighton and Cheltenham sink in our estimation, and give place to a feeling of melancholy regret, whenever we pass the remnant of some ancient manor house, once the scene of comfort and joyous hospitality, now dreary and dilapidated'.³⁷ A writer who is not a designer soon slides back into descriptions of sentiment or emotion. The Elizabethan and Jacobean styles are particularly approved of, chiefly because of their 'effect'; they were 'a natural compound of the old and long respected gothic, with a new rival and opponent, the Roman'.³⁸

Comments such as these carried considerable political weight, particularly since we are merely a year away from the passing of the Great Reform Act when the tensions of English politics were at a height.³⁹ It is not hard to join with Charles Hanbury Tracy, Sir Edward Cust, and the other promoters of a gothic parliament building in 1834–5 in seeing the historic English constitutional settlement itself in terms of a balance between the gothic and the Roman, the supposed earthy demotic of the Anglo-Saxon people versus the rationalism and authoritarianism of republics and empires, pivoted on the exclusively English fulcrum of the Reformation and the reign of Queen Elizabeth. But political philosophy is one thing: a practical way of translating the ideas into buildings is another. Even with a new, sharper eye for the architecture of England's history, architects and their parson clients would have been unable to make buildings from it without the work of a writer who could combine the interest in historical design and an

understanding of its principles with an uncompromising sense of the practicalities of design; and this came in 1833 with the publication of John Claudius Loudon's *Encyclopaedia*.

Loudon

It was Loudon, a mixture of journalist, land reformer and inventor, who through his widely circulated writings on architecture encouraged a critical change in professional attitudes to buildings – the one which at last enabled the small and medium-sized house to embody a fashionable political idea in the spirit of an era which valued definable and practical methods of enquiry across all the sciences. He did this as he transformed himself from a philosopher of architecture, landscape and their 'effects' into an analyst of specific forms and materials. From an established British landscape tradition (although originally highly critical of it and in particular of its artificial scene-making), he developed a sense of practicality and propriety which, as time went by, he expressed in increasingly prescriptive terms without ever losing sight of the grander ideas behind them.

Loudon's career began a few years into the new century after he had moved to London from central Scotland in 1803. Within three years he had completed a lengthy work on the layout of country houses and their estates whilst working as a landscape gardener for the Duchess of Brunswick at Blackheath and elsewhere. This first significant work, *A treatise on forming, improving, and managing country residences*, gave a picture of the ideas circulating in the young man's head – he was then in his early twenties – which were drawn from the prevailing ideas in taste and economy but combined with efficiency and fluency.

For someone not directly concerned with the design of new buildings, Loudon already had many architectural 'principles' in relation to residential architecture, and he referred to them throughout his works.⁴⁰ This first *Treatise* contained about two pages of 'principles', or rather the constant reassertion of five or six significant ones. 'Utility, convenience and beauty' are followed by the announcement that 'the rules of GOOD TASTE, derived from natural symmetry; and those of UTILITY and CONVENIENCE, derived from the wants of every rank in the present state of society, form the general principles'; a page later he proposed 'beauty, utility and economy'.⁴¹ Another variation appears some chapters later: 'conveniency' and

‘ornament’ are, by Part III, the two leading principles of architecture.⁴² Amongst his more abstract principles, he noted that ‘horizontal, angular, abrupt motions [in buildings and in general] are the most ridiculous, as those in drunkards’; generally, ‘harmony lies between discord and variety’, and that ‘wildness is an exquisite beauty’.⁴³

Loudon was writing principally about architecture as seen from the point of view of the ‘picturesque improver’ that he styled himself. The second volume of his *Treatise* tells us what buildings are *for*:

with regard to visual effect, they serve to give force and spirit; and in respect of intellectual pleasure they communicate ideas of the cheerfulness or industry of a country; in ruins recall to mind ages that have past; they occasionally serve to characterize landscape, and often heighten the expression indicated by nature...their design, execution, character, and number, must never deviate from propriety and use.⁴⁴

This continuous translation from the abstract into the practical is an early sign of how Loudon’s ideas were developing. In his description of a country residence he set out the guidelines for determining the design of a house: first, the setting, which might be Grand or Sublime, beautiful or romantic. Where there is beauty, for example, ‘an elegant Grecian villa is called for’.⁴⁵ But once the setting was determined, ‘the situation should be fully examined with respect for soil, visible beauty, and prospect, and also the relative advantages and disadvantages of climate, &c’; and when it comes to laying out the house itself, his ‘principles’ were generally practical ones: windows were to be placed only ‘where they are absolutely necessary’, and rooms should face the view.⁴⁶

It was in this treatise that Loudon remarked of contemporary villa pattern-book authors that they were ‘the chief source of most of those deformed clumps of masonry which shock the feelings of the tasteful traveller in all parts of the country’.⁴⁷ The bonfire of these writers’ works at Taylor’s in 1822 seems to have resulted in the opportunity he wanted to press for a worthier replacement. A phenomenally industrious worker, he produced during the course of the 1820s whilst increasingly crippled three major works on the related subjects of domestic horticulture and farming, the subjects through which he

came to domestic architecture, and by the close of that decade he was one of the best-known writers on the subject. By the time he eventually came to publishing his *Encyclopaedia of cottage, farm, and villa architecture and furniture* in 1833 he had so large a mass of information at his disposal that he required a thoroughly consistent and ordered way of presenting it. Using the best scientific method and providing a model for subsequent encyclopaedists such as Alfred Bartholomew, Joseph Gwilt, and Edward Cresy he ordered his text into parts, chapters, and numbered paragraphs.

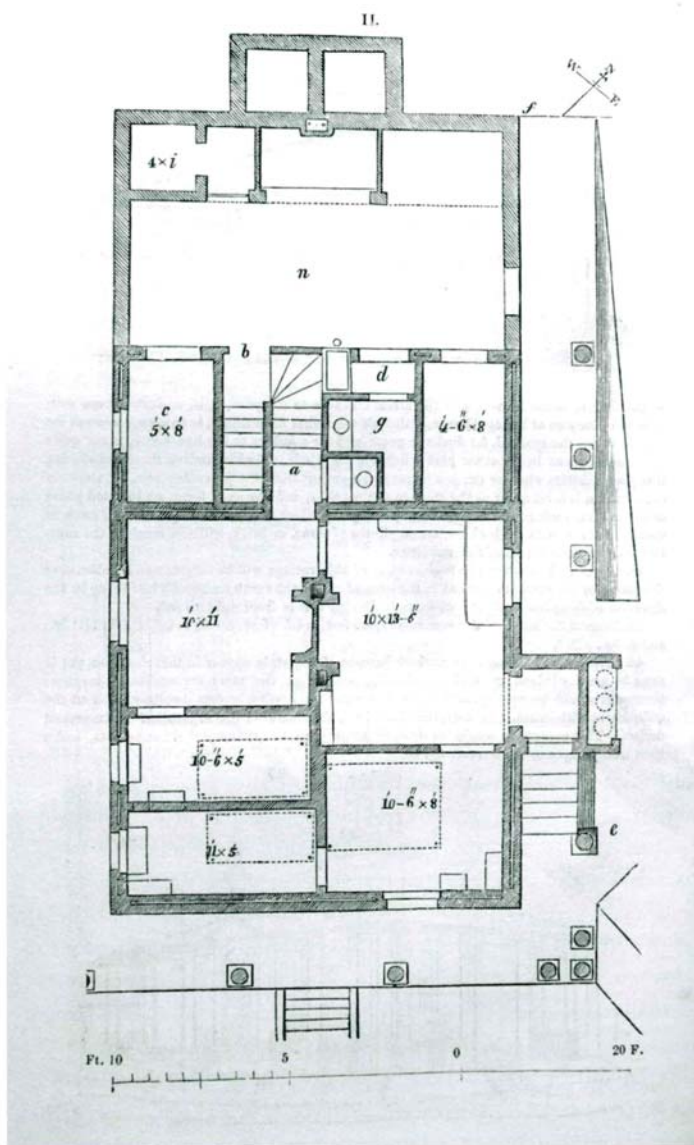
The *Encyclopaedia* was intended to provide architects with a manual to modern design. Its author announced at the outset that: 'We have commenced our work with Designs, rather than with Principles, because in the analytical and critical remarks, with which we mean to accompany these Designs, we intend to develop, as it were, incidentally, and by little and little, all the Principles of Architecture'.⁴⁸ He continued:

The great object of this work is, to show how the dwellings of the whole mass of society may be equalized in point of all essential comforts, conveniences and beauties.⁴⁹

In other words, his approach was to be comprehensively analytical, critical, and empirical; and, in contrast to the advertising for work which formed a major motivation for the pattern-book compilers, examples are sometimes presented because of their failings.⁵⁰

This analytical approach led to the sharpening up of a familiar old idea that a building could be beautiful if it was practical.⁵¹ In referring to 'The beauty of fitness' Loudon was acknowledging the potential for picturesque massing that might follow from raising an elevation from a convenient plan.⁵² There were certain functional features that he approved of: a central stair; efficient organisation of ventilated and lit spaces under a single roof; internal fire breasts (figs 2.30, 2.31). The plans provided by his contributors and illustrated in his book – for he himself did not design them – were generally dense, avoiding corridors; regarding propriety, chimney tops 'distinguish apartments destined for human beings from those designed for lodging cattle'.⁵³ The choice of style was itself not a matter of 'principle': judging by the examples given, he has a preference for Tudor or gothic, and yet in

'A Cottage of One Story':
a design from Loudon's
Encyclopaedia of 1833
(book 1, chapter 1, plate 2).
Loudon promoted efficient
and compact house plans
with minimal external walls.



Opposite

2.31 (above, left)

'A dwelling for a Man and his Wife with Two or more Children with a Cow-house and Pigsty'. From Loudon's *Encyclopaedia*, book 1, chapter 1, plate 5.

2.32 (above, right)

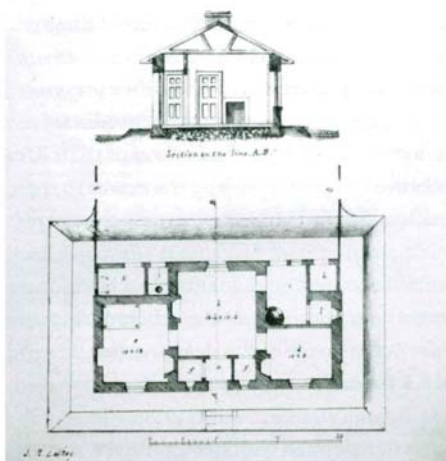
'A small Villa, or Parsonage, in the Italian style'. From Loudon's *Encyclopaedia*, book 3, chapter 3, design 9. It was located 'opposite the village inn and tea garden'.

2.33 (below)

'A Villa Residence, in the Tudor or Old English style'. Loudon's *Encyclopaedia*, book 3, chapter 3, design 18. A large but still compact house.

general terms he restated the basic approach that had characterised the *Treatise*. In Section III he described how architectural style is adapted to situation: 'Rude, rocky, hilly, and very irregular surfaces are said to require the Castle Gothic; fertile valleys, the Abbey Gothic, or monastic style; and rich extensive plains the Grecian or Roman manner'; and yet 'in respect of its external effect...our belief is that the Grecian, Gothic, and Italian styles are altogether equal'.⁵⁴

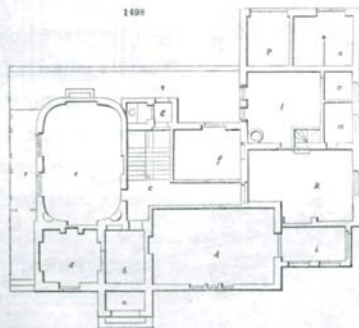
In fact his stylistic prescriptions come thick and fast without any evident aesthetic coherence. The way to read Loudon's work is to understand that this is the agriculturalist and not an arbiter of taste speaking: this is the enthusiast for the thrifty communality of the well-ordered Scottish farm, a favourite subject of the author's and one on which he had written a book.⁵⁵ When describing a small building without a given landscape – 'A Dwelling for a Man and his Wife without Children' – he gave classical and gothic elevational variations.⁵⁶ As it happens, the only design for a parsonage to be found in the *Encyclopaedia* is in the 'Italian style', and it is a large house, almost on the scale of Yaxham, reached by a long drive and a lodge located opposite 'the village inn and tea garden' (fig. 2.32).⁵⁷ When one finds 'Design xviii', 'a Villa Residence, in the Tudor or Old English Style', contributed by W. H. Leeds, one discovers that it is actually based on a plan originally intended for a Grecian villa (fig. 2.33).⁵⁸ There are occasional valuable hints about the relationship between historical style and construction method: during the course of his observations on the 'Perpendicular Pointed Style' Loudon declared that 'in the details of this style, decoration is obtained rather by a cutting of the solid than by an application of mouldings to the surface'.⁵⁹ In a similarly progressive mode he continued elsewhere that, '[Domestic Pointed Architecture] endeavours to make those members most attractive which are the most indispensable; while [the 'Classic mode'] bestows the greatest share of ornament upon parts which are rather the result of luxury than of necessity'.⁶⁰ 'Every building should appear to be what it is, and every part of an edifice ought to indicate externally its particular use'... 'In a cottage of the smallest size, having a living room, a bed-room, and a closet, the windows to each of these will be of different dimensions'.⁶¹ Nevertheless, in a concession to the spirit of the times he add that 'Turrets and projections of all kinds...convey the idea of commodiousness and convenience; it being supposed that



834 COTTAGE, FARM, AND VILLA ARCHITECTURE.



1497
 Dairy, *d*; stable, *s*; chain-house, *p*; open terrace, *q*; and terrace with a veranda over, *r*.



1774. *General Estimate.* Cubic contents, 61,287 feet; which, at 6d. per foot, is £2099 : 10s. : 6d.; at 8d., £1639 : 13s. : 6d.; and, at 10d., £1026 : 9s.

1775. *Remarks.* The effect of the whole is good, and the interior arrangement convenient and commodious. There is, no doubt, a good deal of room occupied by the porch, hall, staircase, and central passage; but extension, and not concentration, is a characteristic of the Italian style. On observing the relative position of the different doors and windows, it will be found that the house may be ventilated by thorough draughts in every direction at pleasure. Double doors are very properly shown in the kitchen, to prevent smells from penetrating into the passage; and this effect may be



1586

their object, in modern houses, is to supply closets and cabinets, and other minor apartments'.⁶²

Loudon's sense of balance between the aesthetic and the practical, and his sensitivity for the daily practices of households were evidently appealing: the interest his *Encyclopaedia* and his many other publications on architecture and gardening generated was vast. His *Architectural magazine*, which ran from 1834–8, was the first professional journal for architects, and it published the first work of Ruskin, 'The poetry of architecture', in 1837.⁶³ Loudon in a sense was not so different from his protégé as it might at first appear. His own writings reverberate between the functional and the ordered; they have about them the echo of the hardship of country life, matched with a generosity of spirit for finding practical and dignified ways to alleviate it.⁶⁴ Even some of his minor observations are extraordinary: the way in which a peasant family can build up a narrative of their life through an accumulation of furniture which relates the events in their lives to the architectural quality of their home, for example, is a deeply resonant idea.⁶⁵

In an earlier passage that also marries the elements of architecture with the accumulative effect of rituals and memories, he conjures up a picture of serenity derived from the image of the sleepy – most probably, largely neglected for centuries – village church:

Towers, battlements, buttresses, pointed windows, mullions and porches have been, from infancy, before the eyes of every one who has been in the habit of attending his parish church; and, when ever they occur in other buildings, they recall a thousand images connected with the place of our birth, the scenes of our youth, the home of our parents, and the abodes of our friends. In this frame of mind how easy it is to be pleased.⁶⁶

Later he comments 'Nor must we forget to notice the facility with which, in Domestic Architecture, the Old English style accommodates itself to the opportunities, and means of building, prescribed by the diversified circumstance and locality. Thus, let freestone, brick, flint, or timber be the prevailing material of construction in any given district'.⁶⁷ Loudon the agriculturist has joined Scrope, the geologist, in prophesying the source of a new kind of architecture: the earth. It was

for the architectural profession a breakthrough that has not been recognised as it should have been. Like Britton, Loudon has been consistently under-rated by historians of the transition from the confusions of the 1810s to the certainties of the 1840s and 1850s: by bridging the earlier grand language of the philosophical enquirers with practical and useful recommendations, he straddles the change as well as a Comte or a Whewell.

Nevertheless, in this last case his was a recommendation that to start with went unheeded: the Tudor-gothic architect of the 1830s used exactly the same facing materials as he always had, including the stucco and cement that his classical-Georgian contemporaries did. Pattern-book authors had occasionally encouraged the use of 'local' materials, but they had done this for convenience and economy and not because of any desire to exploit the physical characteristics of any such materials. Nor had they shown any interest in the meantime in a related issue: the connection between construction and structure – that is, between the materials and the way they were used; or between the form of the rooms and their purpose, a situation that provides another example of the inability to look sufficiently at the different expressions of the building process and to derive from them common principles. It was, again, not only Loudon who raised some of this for the first time. Scrope, when reviewing T. F. Hunt's books in 1831, had gone on to observe conventionally enough that 'In Architecture, of all the arts, it is most true that "*Beauty never dwells where use is exiled*"'.⁶⁸

Scrope continued however – a couple of years in advance of Loudon's comments on stone and brick – that 'Many of the characteristics of our early domestic architecture seem to have been determined by the nature of the materials employed'.⁶⁹ This 'natural' development of design was followed by a plea for authenticity: 'what, for instance, can be more incongruous than the union we so frequently see in the Modern Gothic, as it is called, of the machicolated towers of the feudal fortress, with the large pointed and traceried windows, flying buttresses, and canopied niches of the church?' (fig. 2.34).⁷⁰ In contrast, he referred to 'the valuable publications of Mr. [A. C.] Pugin and others' in enabling craftsmen to execute 'elegant ancient designs'.⁷¹ The idea of architectural 'truth' in its modern sense as the harbinger of 'realism', of a type of building construction that demonstrates its logic in every part of the building, had not yet arisen; but the groundwork,

2.34 (below)
Modern gothic: Mark Thompson's Ormesby Hall, Norfolk, of c1810, illustrated in J. P. Neale's *Views of seats* (volume 3, 1822-3).

2.35 (below, right)
The New Residence in York, by Peter Atkinson and R. H. Sharp (1824-7), photographed in 1974 for the National Monuments Record [BB84/2777].

as it were, was fast being laid – as much from the corner of Loudon's visionary analytical pragmatism as from that of Britton's scientific histories.

Building in the new Tudor gothic

The very first ecclesiastical residences to be built in a more informed, or at any rate more sober, version of the Tudor-gothic style were in fact the larger and more prestigious ones commissioned by educated and worldly clients, and from the better informed and connected of contemporary architects. The 'New Residence' in York by Peter Atkinson and R. H. Sharp, built from 1824-7, is arranged like a parsonage with a symmetrical south front, towards the minster, comprising a narrow bay flanked by two larger ones (fig. 2.35).⁷² The building is, however, in an unusual style somewhere between Jacobean and gothic: there are straight-headed windows with ogival tracery and hood moulds on the ground and first floors of the major bays, but a Jacobean type oriel on a semicircular plan at the centre of the first floor: although mixed in style, the detailing seems at first convincing, derived, perhaps, from the buildings of Clare College, Cambridge, where it would have been quite at home. The elevation is topped by two major gables and one central gablet; the suggestion is that the complex style has been used to elevate the building from being merely a parsonage or a minor clergy house.⁷³ A comparable example of the early appearance of Tudor-gothic in these houses is the Archdeaonry of Cornwall, north-east of the cathedral in Exeter, and designed by Charles Fowler, more commonly a classical architect, in 1828, the year he also designed Covent Garden market in London.



The house in Exeter was also essentially designed in the manner of a parsonage but on a larger scale (fig. 2.36).⁷⁴ It has a symmetrical south front towards the close, with an off-centre entrance on the western side flanked by a broad, but shallow, chimney. The house is built of rough stone and is also castellated between the two gables that sit, Tudor-gothic-style, on shoulder-like parapets on the south elevation: it seems possible that Fowler may have been influenced by the largely fifteenth and sixteenth-century manor house at Cotehele nearby, which is built of the same stone laid similarly in places (figs 2.37, 2.38). As was always the case with these houses, any reference to a mediaeval house was at once offset by the architect's determination to give his house a civilised, disciplined front.

A grander and more influential project was soon underway in London. Much of the work by Edward Blore at Lambeth Palace,

2.36

The archdeaconry of Cornwall in the cathedral close at Exeter, by Charles Fowler in 1828, was a somewhat less elegant design than the same architect's Covent Garden Market in London of that year. Projecting masonry suggests that the building was originally rendered.





2.37 (above)
Cotehele, Cornwall:
the Jacobean tower in 1954
[*National Monuments Record*,
AA54/5634].



2.38 (above, right)
Cotehele; the courtyard,
with its logical, expressive
fenestration [*National
Monuments Record*, AA54/
5641].

later greatly derided by A.W.N. Pugin, was within existing historical fabric, but his residential wing was mostly new (fig. 2.39).⁷⁵ It is interesting to speculate to what extent Blore saw the house as being different from a country house project. The plan consisted of a main corridor running east-west along the length of the house, with major rooms to the north; on the south side there was a gatehouse tower which, contrary to historical precedent, contained a large two-storey staircase hall. From here steps led directly up to the corridor.⁷⁶

Blore reused this design of 1829 almost immediately when making substantial additions, including a new entrance facade, at St Asaph in Flintshire.⁷⁷ He was here invited to double the size of an existing classical house, attributed to Samuel Wyatt, and he did this by building along the whole of the west side of the existing building, doubling its depth in much the same way as parsonage architects so often did when extending old buildings but here on a palatial scale.⁷⁸ He added a central hall with flanking major rooms to form a new west elevation, but he turned the central bay into a wide, major bay so that the double-height staircase hall was at least as wide as the rooms either side.

The stairs themselves led up through the centre of this hall directly to a gallery, which ran north-south through the house and provided access to the principal rooms either side; it seems likely that in commissioning the extension, Bishop Carey was interested in attaining an imposing entrance sequence. Externally, Blore used Jacobean elements to create an almost symmetrical front; instead of a projecting central tower he designed a broad, shallow chimney which rises from directly above the

front door to provide a central accent (fig. 2.40).⁷⁹ The central part of the house has plain mullioned windows, but the bays either side were originally intended to have projecting angled oriels, again with Jacobean detailing, although these were dropped in execution. It is interesting to note that Danbury Place, another comparatively sophisticated neo-Elizabethan mansion of this period and designed by Thomas Hopper in 1832, was chosen 12 years later as a residence for the newly created bishops of Rochester. It has a bold asymmetrical entrance facade, and an unusual layout based around a great stair hall and a broad central passage that bisected the house (fig. 2.41).

Evidently, therefore, a number of very significant events were taking place which substantially changed the attitude of the educated public towards Tudor-gothic architecture by the early 1830s. Gothic architecture had been measured and drawn, and accurate representations of it were available; it could be seen as being thoroughly English; and Loudon was showing through the illustrations he published in his *Encyclopaedia* and elsewhere that it could be practical, expressive, and economical. Furthermore, the bishops were giving it their personal approval. After the *Encyclopaedia* a great deal more material was published throughout the 1830s which could in practice have assisted interested architects. The illustrations for A. C. Pugin's *Examples of gothic architecture*, which were issued from 1830 and which were published as a book in 1838 with a letterpress by E. J. Willson, included two Tudor parsonages: that at Great Snoring in Norfolk; and the 'rector's mansion', usually called the deanery, at Hadleigh in Suffolk. The list of subscribers for these volumes indicate clearly that significant London architects saw drawings from these series: the names published in the third volume of Pugin's *Examples* include Wyattville, Smirke, Barry, Railton and T. H. Wyatt, as well as Trubshaw (who bought two copies) and Carpenter and Sons, presumably the Islington builder and his talented son Richard. Following a visit to Hadzor in Worcestershire, the architect Matthew Habershon, a peppery, difficult person, published a series of plates entitled *The ancient half-timbered houses of England* from 1836, and these appeared with a preface and introductory essay in 1839.⁸⁰ He gave here examples of some substantial half-timbered constructions, some drawn years beforehand by his very young pupil, Ewan Christian, 'all estimated as being within 50 years of Queen Elizabeth'; his intention was to render



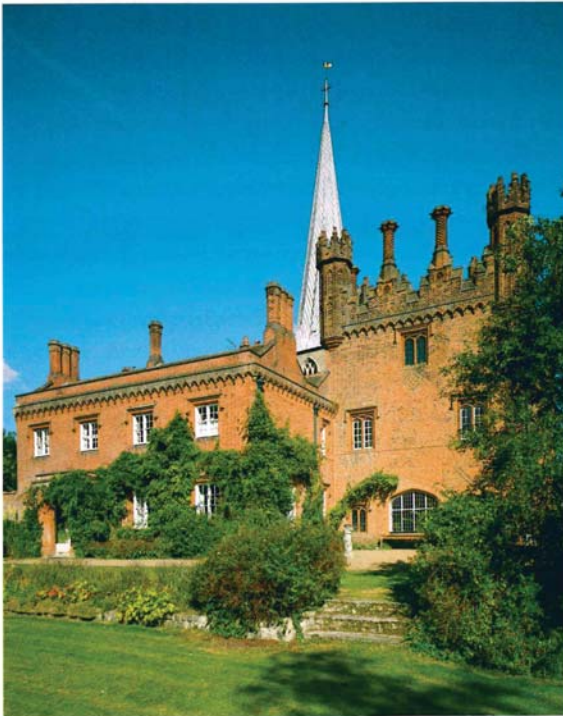
2.39 (above)
Lambeth Palace, London:
Edward Blore's new entrance
and reception wing designed
in 1829.

2.40 (right)
Blore's new entrance wing
to the bishop's palace at
St Asaph, Denbighshire.
Photograph by Geoff
Brandwood, July 2006.





2.41 (left)
The garden front of Danbury Palace, Essex, designed by Thomas Hopper in 1832 and later the residence of the Bishop of Rochester.



2.42 (below)
Hadleigh, Suffolk, with the Tudor tower to the right. The deanery was originally located there; the academic geologist and gothic enthusiast William Whewell assisted the architect Henry Harrison in the design of the new building in 1831-3. The house has been altered.

2.43 (below)

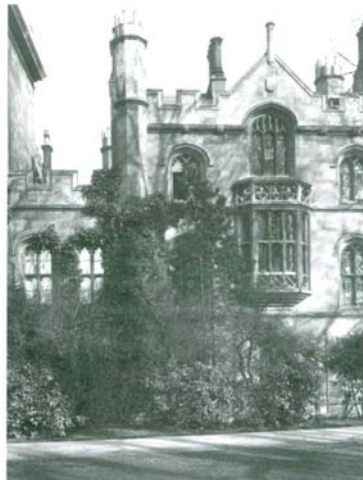
A plate from a drawing by a very young Ewan Christian illustrating an old house in Preston, Lancashire, for Matthew Habershon's *Ancient half-timbered houses of England* (1839, plate 3). It is fascinating that even architects such as Habershon who had a special interest in timber construction failed to draw any practical lessons from this type of historical English architecture with its expressed construction and continuous horizontal fenestration.

2.44 (below, right)

Part of the exterior west elevation of New Court (1823-5), originally King's Court, at Trinity College, Cambridge, designed by William Wilkins. As revealed by their vertical position relative to the other windows on the wall, the oriels are located at staircase landings in a most unhistorical way. A photograph of 1914 [Trinity College, Cambridge, O.16.29].

the examples 'scientifically useful' (fig. 2.43).⁸¹ The expectation might be that these very few published examples of authentic old English design would have provided inspiration for the architects now engaged in the great wave of parsonage building launched by the application of Gilbert's Acts; but no: in practice architects continued to draw their details and forms from grander buildings, such as the ruined manor house at East Barsham which in 1830 was further illustrated by fine measured drawings showing its reconstructed form (in the first volume of Pugin's *Examples of gothic architecture*), or even from recent Tudor-gothic architecture such as William Wilkins 'King's Court', now New Court, at Trinity College Cambridge, with its solemnic bay windows on the half-levels of the stair landings (fig. 2.44).⁸² Not even Habershon made use of the treasures that he had published: although he illustrated the 'Old House' in the Market Place, Preston, there is nothing in his own work which echoes that building's exposed structural skeleton and continuous horizontal bands of windows (see figs 2.52, 2.53).⁸³

At least one of the published buildings, the Hadleigh deanery, may however have had a significant if indirect part to play in inspiring a model for a modern Tudor-gothic parsonage, because an extension was built up against it for an influential client. H. J. Rose, who personally knew leading members of what was to become the Oxford Movement, was appointed to the incumbency in 1829. None other than William Whewell, the Cambridge geologist and gothic architecture enthusiast, made sketches for the building, and these were sent to an established architect, Henry Harrison, for conversion into working drawings. The building, small and plain, went up between 1831-3; soon after its



completion it provided the backdrop to the decisive meeting of the Puseyites, where Froude, Keble, and Newman were all present in the wake of Keble's famous sermon on 'National Apostasy'.⁸⁴ Rose's house is certainly an early example of the new intellectual style applied on a small scale: no doubt his guests remembered it well, and its genuine Tudor neighbour (fig. 2.42).

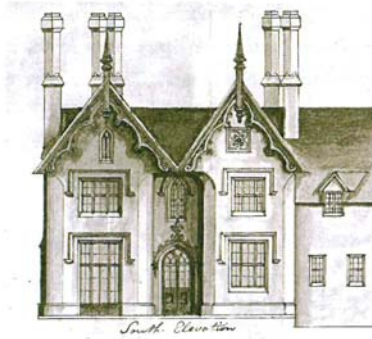
New plans in the provinces

Outside such elevated circles the early Tudor-gothic of the 1830s is, unsurprisingly, somewhat on the coarse side. There is a stupendous example at Louth, in the Parts of Lindsey, Lincolnshire, by C. J. Carter, who then described himself as a surveyor, of Brereton near Rugeley in Staffordshire.⁸⁵ Louth seems to have been an exotic place: Humphry Repton described a visit to the Hermitage there in 1790 and declared that it was 'one of those things which no pen can describe'; the many exotic treasures of its interior included a 'magical' and 'supernatural' oratory, the floor of which was paved with highly polished horses' teeth.⁸⁶ The drawings of Carter's vicarage were prepared in May 1832, and sent for approval two months later. It was an astonishing proposal, and built not exactly as Carter had drawn it but certainly in a very similar way (fig. 2.45; see fig. 2.1). The plan was a simple central-corridor type, with the principal elevation on the garden side, and Carter designed it so that two tall gabled bays jutted out irregularly either side of the gothic door with its pinnacled ogee mouldings and hooded, pointed stair landing window in the centre. The two masonry gables were projected outwards at the eaves with no visible means of support either in the drawing or in reality; and because they projected out much further above the central bay of the house than they did at the outside edges, the apices of the gables were shifted towards the centre of the house so that they were no longer at the centre of the outer bays. Since however the windows themselves were at the centres of these bays, the whole house was given a peculiar twisted appearance. Carter added deep and rich bargeboards, quatrefoils, lancets, carved corbels and much else, and produced a building of quite unrivalled grotesque appearance; in his favour, however, it should be added that on the entrance side he achieved with irregular bays and projections an effect which successfully mimics the appearance of an old house that has been added to a number of times at different periods.

2.45

The proposed south elevation of Louth vicarage, Lincolnshire, by C. J. Carter in 1832.

Coarse variations of the Tudor-gothic style characterise the reign of William IV [Lincolnshire Archives, MGA 171]. Compare fig. 2.1.



Carter's design was unusual, but the new style was fast adopted in spite of its oddities and, presumably, its unfamiliarity because of a number of basic advantages which would have been clear to anyone who had read Loudon's *Encyclopaedia*. One was that the Tudor-gothic style was better suited than the classical-Georgian variations to solving the perennial problem of the central-corridor type, the conflict between the symmetrical facade and the narrow central bay. A Tudor-gothic house neither had to be symmetrical, nor have a wider central bay: indeed, for those that had investigated the matter, it was clear that there were many examples of symmetrical or almost symmetrical Elizabethan houses with a projecting narrow central bay. Some of these buildings must have been well known to architects and antiquarians – Hopper, for example, had reconstructed the interior of a paradigmatic house of this type, Kentwell Hall in Suffolk, in about 1825–6.⁸⁷ Many parsonages were indeed now built with a conspicuously narrower central bay, in the form of a projection topped with a gable not unlike a pediment. The form suited larger houses, and was used by Thomas Jones around 1830 for his deanery at St Asaph.⁸⁸ The combination of the Tudor-gothic central projection with the classical-Georgian formula and symmetry accounts for the stylistic confusion at Hardingham, where Joseph Stannard, Wilkins' contractor for his new buildings at King's College Cambridge, produced in 1833 a gothic central bay to a front elevation otherwise entirely classical; this was presumably an afterthought, as the mortgage application drawings show a conventional straight-headed classical-Georgian front door (fig. 2.46).⁸⁹ Something similar on a smaller scale was done at the house we have seen at Nacton,



2.46 (left)

Possibly inspired by his recent work at King's College, Cambridge, Joseph Stannard decided at the last moment to add a pointed arch to his rectory at Hardingham, Norfolk, in 1833.

2.47 (below)

A rustic design of 1840 for the rectory at Sutton, on the edge of the Norfolk Broads, by Peter Thompson, who had been an unsuccessful competitor for the design of the Houses of Parliament five years earlier [Norfolk Record Office, DN/DPL1/4/58].

also in Suffolk, where Whiting's extension of 1837 did the same (see fig. 1.43).⁹⁰ In Tudor-gothic parsonages, and also in picturesque-Italianate ones, the central bay could be recessed, like Carter's in Louth: this seems to have been popular in particular with houses with a more rustic look, for example at Sutton, Norfolk, by the 'ingenious but dubious' Peter Thompson in 1840, and where the romantic detailing was probably inspired by illustrations such as Hunt's (fig. 2.47).⁹¹ In one form or another this pattern continued for years, producing an example at Swilland in Suffolk, by the dull Oxford architect Thomas Greenshields, more than ten years later in 1843 (fig. 2.48).⁹²



2.48 (below)

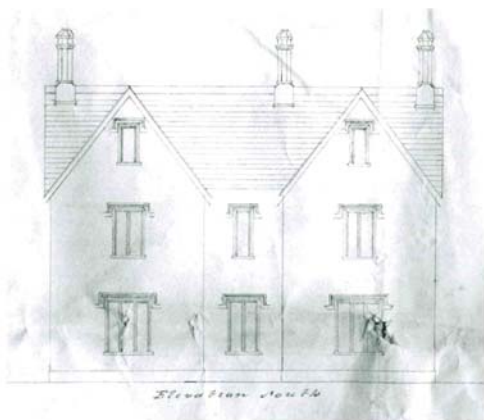
The Elizabethan narrow central bay eventually evolved into a convenient method of dealing with the requirements of conventional plans. This is a late (1843) but typical example from Swilland, between Ipswich and Stowmarket, Suffolk, by Thomas Greenshields [Suffolk Record Office, Ipswich, FF1/85/1].

2.49 (below, right)

The gable-and-bay type elevation, shown here against the background of the rectory at Boxworth, near Cambridge (see fig. 2.54).

However, the greatest freedom allowed by the adoption of Tudor-gothic was the fact that a principal elevation need not be made symmetrical at all: it is because of this that it is all the more remarkable that the central and L-corridor plans, and variations of them, were retained. The most prominent non-symmetrical type had elevations composed of a gabled end wall of two storeys and with an adjoining two-storey elevation whose gable was perpendicular to the first, referred to below as a 'gable-bay' elevation (fig. 2.49). There were two varieties of this elevational type: in one, it was used as an entrance elevation, with a front door adjacent to the base of the gable-end wall, that is, in the centre of the elevation and allowing a central-corridor type plan. In others it was a garden front, with a garden door, and with rooms served by a central corridor that ran along their rear from the front door at one of the two sides. London architects as well as provincial ones used the gable-wall composition in conjunction with central or L-corridor plans, and it was these combinations that were soon widely used across the country: indeed in places they spring up almost side by side.

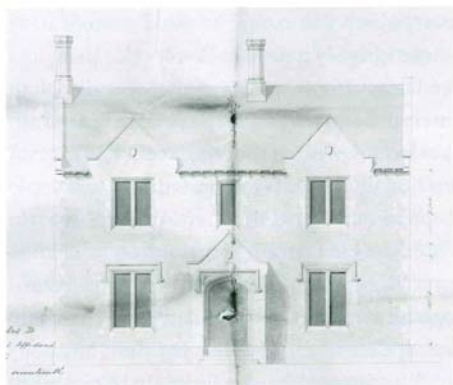
There are a great deal of houses from the 1830s that illustrate the type at its most straightforward and most simple. A mid-decade example of an exactly typical house might be the parsonage at Elsfield in Oxfordshire, by Henry Jones Underwood who went on to become well known as the architect of J.H. Newman's church at Littlemore (fig. 2.50; see fig. 1.28).⁹³ His house of 1836 is a standard L-corridor plan

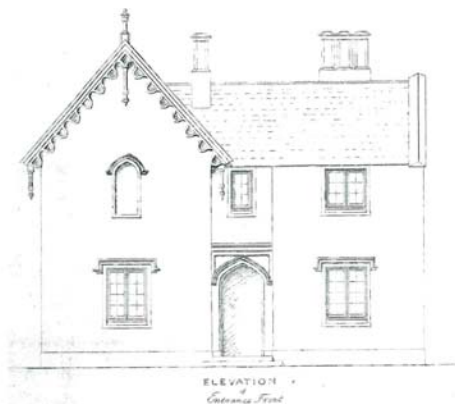


with Tudor-gothic detailing. Habershon had illustrated his own recent design for Aston Sandford parsonage, in Buckinghamshire, in his book of 1839; this small house was of this type too, and the style was Tudor-gothic with sash windows (fig. 2.52).⁹⁴ Chapter One referred to his rectory at Rockland St Mary in Norfolk in 1839 (fig. 2.53).⁹⁵ Both houses are standard corridor types: the smaller house has a central corridor, and the larger one the L-corridor variation. The prevalence of the latter type is illustrated by the fact that the following year another London architect, Robert Parris, submitted a plan of the same kind, for the nearby village of Rockland St Peter; Parris' stylistic treatment was, however, more authentically Tudor-gothic.⁹⁶ The entry elevation of all three of these houses relies on the juxtaposition of the chimney with the front door, an arrangement that could equally suit the back-corridor type. Tudor-gothic houses on standard plans of one sort or another appeared throughout the decade. In 1840, for example, Joseph Kay (who had once been the pupil of S. P. Cockerell, and no doubt could have done better) made no special effort at originality when he designed a standard gable-and-bay, L-corridor type house at Boxworth in Cambridgeshire in 1840 (figs 2.49, 2.54). The thin Tudor detailing is undoubtedly cleaner than that of his less distinguished contemporaries, or of earlier Tudor-gothic houses, and in execution it appears more sophisticated than in Kay's drawings, but the principles of the composition and layout are entirely conventional. From the drawings it appears that he added both the fancy barge-boarding and the lancet window in the bedroom above left of the front door as afterthoughts.⁹⁷

2.50 (below, left)
Elsfield vicarage, north of Oxford, by Henry Jones Underwood in 1836: an exactly typical L-corridor house. See fig. 1.28.
[Oxfordshire Record Office, MS. Oxf. dioc. papers b.103/2].

2.52 (below)
Habershon's design for the rectory at Aston Sandford, between Aylesbury and Thame, Buckinghamshire, in his *Ancient half-timbered houses of England*, was as conventional as any other Tudor-gothic parsonage of the period. A vignette from page 18.





2.53 (above)
Rockland St Mary rectory near Norwich. In contrast to the atmospheric perspective of the Aston Sandford house from his book, this mortgage application drawing by Matthew Habershon emphasises the unremarkable character of his architecture. The plan was a conventional L-corridor type [Norfolk Record Office, DN/DPL1/3/52].

2.54 (above, right)
A conventional gable-and-bay facade: the rectory at Boxworth, near Cambridge, by Joseph Kay, a former pupil of S. P. Cockerell (1840) [Cambridge University Library, EDR G3/39 MGA/44].

Since the back-corridor plan seems to have been devised specifically to avoid the elevational problems of the central-corridor plan in classical-Georgian designs, it is not surprising that the plan type was less prevalent to start with in Tudor-gothic houses where the basic contradiction did not exist. Such early examples as there are tend to have a bleak appearance. This is true of an example from 1838 mentioned in Chapter One, at Bossall in the North Riding of Yorkshire (figs 1.29, 1.37, 1.38), and even more so of the grim residence at Black Bourton, designed by Greenshields in 1842. Both these houses have large central bays which would have exactly suited a classical house, betraying the origins of the plan form and appearing somewhat solecistic.⁹⁸ At Colwall in Herefordshire there is an early house by Samuel Daukes of Gloucester, which was a more inspired attempt at creating an historical facade to a highly typical back-corridor plan, but the detailing is crude and heavy (fig. 2.55).⁹⁹ Many other early examples are not much better: it seems that architects had to wait until the gothic revival started before discovering that the layout had a potential for separate expression of internal functions that was as yet unexploited. There are exceptions, of course. The Oxford diocesan archive has one particularly enjoyable example. An architect called Pritchard, building in 1843 at Wigginton in Oxfordshire, grasped the logic of the back-corridor plan and chose to put the study, the smallest of the three principal rooms, at the centre of his composition; he also made the bays either side of differing widths, put the main entrance at



2.55
Colwall rectory, Herefordshire
near Great Malvern, 1840.
A typical back-corridor type
elevation, this time by Samuel
Daukes who later became a
competent goth. See also fig
5.7 [*Herefordshire Record
Office, HD8/15 1840*].

the back of the rear corridor beyond a stair hall, and added some eccentricities of his own, such as a hoodmoulding that rises and falls, and stops and starts, and thereby created perhaps for the first time a Tudor-gothic house that really did have something of the character of a vernacular building (fig. 2.56).¹⁰⁰

Convivial confusion

There is therefore some evidence that a fashion for Tudor-gothic throughout England was influenced not only by the example of London writers and antiquaries, but also by the solutions that the style provided to the problems of designing a convenient house where the exterior matched the interior planning, as Loudon in particular was encouraging. Some new planning conventions were introduced alongside the old and elevations were given freer treatment; old plans took on more daring and more obviously antiquarian facades. As for the central-corridor plan, it now produced miniature versions, in the form of a projecting porch with octagonal turrets, of the narrow elevations of the chapel of King's College, Cambridge – all over the place: for example, at both East Bilney in Norfolk, and East Brent in Somerset, in the course of the same year, 1837.¹⁰¹ Stylistic treatments conventionally referred to as 'picturesque' must be seen in the light of the fact that they afforded greater consistency between plan and elevation, and that was itself perhaps responsible for a degree of stylistic confusion: like the parsonages at Hardingham and Nacton,

An unusually successful exercise in authentic vernacular Tudor, by John Pritchard at Wigginton, south of Banbury, Oxfordshire, 1843 [Oxfordshire Record Office, MS. Oxf. dioc. papers b.106/8].



or the earlier buildings of Mark Thompson at Ormesby, Lound and Boxford, they mixed different styles on different, or even the same, elevations of the same buildings; or, they combined the massing of one style with the detailing of the other. A house by William Mear at Little Melton in Norfolk of 1833 is in a classical style but arranged around a gable-and-bay elevation that was more familiar from Tudor-gothic houses; an otherwise classical-Georgian house the following year, by Whiting at Little Glemham, has like some other Suffolk parsonages of the period what looks like a suggestion of a Tudor hood mould above the sash windows.¹⁰² At Brampton Bryan in Herefordshire there is a delightful cottage-like wing of 1832-4 by Edward Smith that has merely the gentlest suggestion of Tudor, with slight arches over the windows on the garden side, and narrow projecting brick hood moulds over them.¹⁰³

A particularly interesting example of the more serious confusion that now opened up can be found at Averham in Nottinghamshire. William Patterson, a Nottingham builder, designed alterations in 1838 to a large rectory.¹⁰⁴ The existing house was in a plain, stuccoed, classical-Georgian style; and on the garden, east, front Patterson added bays in a matching fashion. On the entrance, west, side however Patterson added an entrance tower which is in fact picturesque Italianate in detail (apart, perhaps, from the gothic hatchment on a cartouche above the door) but nevertheless distinctly Tudor in massing. Unlike an Italianate tower in the manner of a Charles Parker *Villa rustica*, or for that matter, of a recently executed example of one such as at Donthorn's Moulton St Michael rectory, Patterson's tower is a narrow and minor projection from the facade of the house, and it is flanked to the right

by a shallow projecting chimney on a blank wall in Tudor fashion (fig. 2.57).¹⁰⁵ The juxtaposition of a major chimney with the front door, here as with the back-corridor type classical-Georgian houses, was continuing to provoke architects into original compositions; it seems possible that it was, in fact, the only element of the whole design to which they came afresh each time.

In addition to these newly-designed hybrids there were a number of alterations to existing classical-Georgian houses in the new Tudor-gothic style. There are two interesting examples of these from the late 1830s. In 1838 William Parsons made an expensive (£2,503) remodelling of a three-bay classical-Georgian rectory of 1816 at Aylestone in Nottinghamshire.¹⁰⁶ Parsons had tried the Tudor-gothic style recently at Thurmaston where he had had to struggle to persuade the bishop to agree to a more expensive house than the latter had originally seen fit.¹⁰⁷ His enthusiasm had clearly not been dimmed by the incident, and at Aylestone he planned to remove an office wing which had predated the rectory itself by 28 years and build a grand new staircase hall which would lead on one side to a dining room and on the other to a large range of new offices. Above, Parsons added 12 new bedrooms to the existing three, which received dressing rooms. The style and some of the planning seem to have been derived from Wilkins' Trinity College building: there is here too an open arcade with pointed arches, and there is that solemnic staircase within a bay window. These new forms and the detailing – quatrefoil panels, big diamond-shaped lights in the gables, decorative hood-moulds and broad haunches at the bases of the gables – all happily ignore the style of the adjoining older fabric, and dominate the appearance of the house from the outside, in spite of the fact that in practical terms the new building was itself intended to be merely a subsidiary wing of the old. In some cases the rest of a house, or at any rate the front of it, was in fact refaced to match the new wing: William Moffat did this in 1841 at Teffont Evias, in an effective remodelling of the existing rectory (fig. 2.58).¹⁰⁸

The following year saw an early work by Benjamin Ferrey who had trained as a draughtsman in the office of A. C. Pugin: he put his skills to work in the remodelling of the rectory at Compton Valence in Dorset. The old house here was a sober L-shaped building decorated externally with thin pilasters and with sash windows set within bays of

2.57 (right)

A detail of the entrance tower at Averham rectory, near Newark, Nottinghamshire, by William Patterson (1828). Although the large house is classical-Georgian in style, the porch has Tudor massing and details.



2.58 (opposite)

Teffont Evias rectory, west of Salisbury, Wiltshire, by William Moffatt (1841). The right-hand wing was refaced to match the new building which contained the new hall, dining room and butler's pantry.

blind arches. Ferrey transformed the plan by adding rooms on three sides: a large reception room with a bay window at the junction end of the old L, a lobby and porch along the front, and a large office room off the kitchen. The new crudely Tudor work sits alongside the old house, an effect which seems to us today to have something of the engaging picturesque falsification of a George Devey about it (fig. 2.59).¹⁰⁹

Evidently some found the handling of the new styles difficult. The great Charles Cockerell, eventually 'the most fastidious and the least pedantic of English neo-classical architects' as Colvin has called him, had a go in 1832, with a peculiarly untalented design for a parsonage on the back-corridor plan at Enstone in Oxfordshire (fig. 2.60).¹¹⁰ With a low central gable like a pediment, and with a continuous string-course above the upper-floor windows perhaps imitating the lower level of a frieze, it was perhaps here that the future architect of so many distinguished monuments in London, Oxford and Cambridge resolved to become, in the main, a neo-classical architect; nevertheless, his Seckford Hospital almshouses in Woodbridge, Suffolk, were designed soon afterwards in an idiosyncratic Elizabethanesque style and were a great deal more successful.



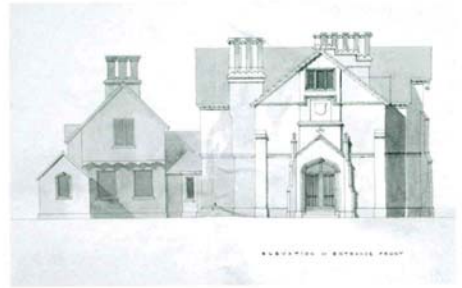
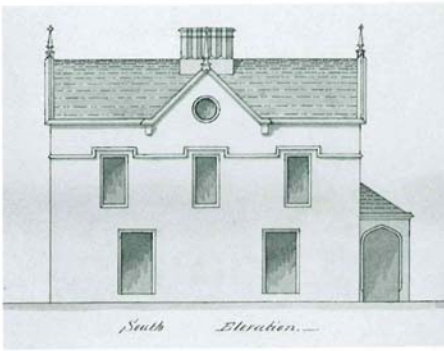
For some, the style was an opportunity to try something entirely new – for the details of the Tudor-gothic style were so little known among the public at large that it was possible to get away with a great deal of originality. It is these houses, designed by minor architects who are little commemorated, which often come as the greatest surprise. In the early days, the fascination lies perhaps in the wilder gothic fantasies, such as the large vicarage and school at Stottesden in Shropshire, by a London architect called Robert Wallace for the Hon. Robert Plunket: it had a pompous entrance front like the west porch of a church (fig. 2.61).¹¹¹ Even when Wallace had calmed down a little, he still produced enjoyable original work: a later parsonage can be seen at Stourmouth, in East Kent (fig. 2.62).¹¹² The prolific Portsmouth architect Thomas E. Owen, little known outside his home town, designed in 1828 and early in his career a splendid castellated house for a curate at Bembridge on the Isle of Wight with an octagonal library that projects forward in front of the porch.¹¹³ Robert Parris, whom we have seen at Rockland St Peter, designed in 1839 a wonderfully lively rectory for Attleborough in Norfolk, with very fancy Tudor-gothic pinnacles, gables, buttresses, string courses, and castellations.¹¹⁴

But in some cases the fun and the mystery is in quieter, minor work, made from simple materials and with low budgets, which all speak of the puzzlement and change of the era. They also very probably show the effects of having read Loudon and possibly Britton, and yet still being unable to make aesthetic sense of either. John Watson, who worked from Manchester Street in London and who is probably best known for his terraces of houses in the Paddington area, built in 1831–2 a vicarage at Norton, now on the borders of Letchworth

2.59

Benjamin Ferrey added a new central bay with a front door to the rectory at Compton Valence, west of Dorchester in Dorset, in 1839: there is no attempt at marrying the new Tudor-gothic work to the style of the earlier house [Wiltshire & Swindon Record Office, D1/11/77].





in Hertfordshire (fig. 2.63).¹¹⁵ At first sight the house appears to be a two-storey, three-bay Georgian house, but the right-hand bay has been brought forward and given a shallow balustraded gable top with a brickwork pattern to it suggesting machicolation. A projecting porch has a pointed opening and a similar gabled top to it, but the chimney at the centre of the house has a monumental termination in the form of an arch linking two stacks. The only other decoration on this plain, grey-brick box is a diamond-shaped plaque on the front facade with a quatrefoil and the date on it. The house seems especially important because Watson's later parsonages were much more conventional: it tells a great deal about the interests and worries of its precise period. It is houses like this, stylistically unplaceable, somewhere between the old and the new, houses that sometimes seem to be in the middle of a transformation between two styles, that have a special fascination; they have never been properly recognised or recorded; and they are entirely English. In a way they have an engaging and sympathetic character which might be compared to that of the transsexual, moving silently between one form and another quite different one, with all the implications that carries for the well-worn debate about the femininity of classical architecture and the masculinity of high Victorian gothic. The fact that the famous Chevalier D'Eon, who was thought to be a woman dressed as a man dressed as a woman, but who was actually a man dressed as a woman dressed as a man, and who gave fencing lessons dressed in a skirt, was so popular a figure amongst London's Bohemians just before this period somehow nicely represents the character of the confusion.¹¹⁶

2.60 (above, left)

A design by Charles Cockerell, no less, at Enstone near Chipping Norton, Oxfordshire in 1832. A 'plain building' according to Robert Gardner's *History, gazetteer & directory for Oxfordshire, 1852*, which found the rectorial barn more interesting [Oxford Record Office, MS. Oxf. dioc. papers b.103/2b].

2.61 (above)

Robert Wallace's magnificent design for Stottesden, south Shropshire, of 1835: a gothic porch below a somewhat classical central bay. The block to the left is, interestingly, a prominent kitchen [Herefordshire Record Office, HDB/10 1834-5].





2.62 (opposite)
Stourmouth rectory, east Kent,
by Wallace (1840): a large
house, but a comparatively
sober design for its architect.



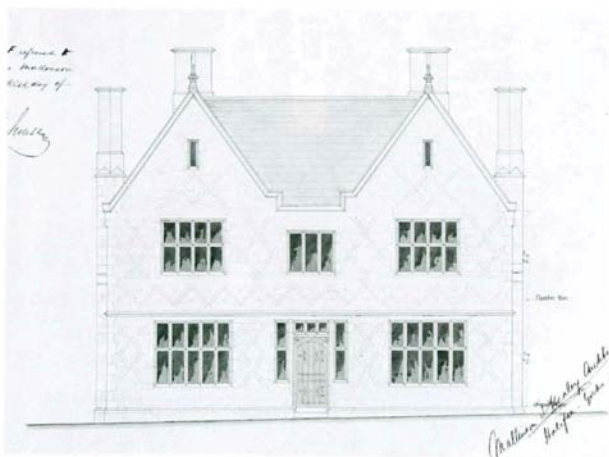
2.63 (above)
The remarkable vicarage at
Norton, now on the outskirts
of Letchworth Garden City,
Hertfordshire. John Watson's
design of 1831 exemplifies an
architecture in transition as
designers struggled to resolve
gothic ambitions with classical-
Georgian traditions.

2.64 (left)
The massive chimneys at
Norton: neither gothic nor
classical-Georgian.

Shinfield vicarage, south of Reading, Berkshire, 1847, by Mallinson and Healey. This is very late for a Tudor-gothic central-corridor house, and the combination of this with sophisticated mid-century draughtsmanship seems surprising, but the partnership was also producing true gothic houses at this time. It is therefore more likely by chance than by foresight that this building seems to look forward to the relaxed styles of the later century. The house survives but sadly the roof and gables have gone [Oxfordshire Record Office, MS. Oxf. dioc. papers b.108/3].

As with the classical-Georgian types, architects could be found persisting with these Tudor-gothic designs well after the rest of the profession had moved on, although the detailing is generally more relaxed and the building's emphasis more horizontal, a harbinger of end of century free-style revivals. This is true of houses such as that by Mallinson and Healey at Shinfield in 1847 (fig. 2.65), and of a parsonage by a Buckingham builder called Edward Freeman at Turweston, of 1848, both in the Oxford diocesan archives; and even more so of another at New Radnor, by Thomas Nicholson of Hereford as late – or should one say as early? – as 1851.¹¹⁷

How much did this new generation of houses owe to Loudon, and how satisfied could he have been with the results in the busy building years following the publication of the *Encyclopaedia*? The debt was substantial, but the great man could hardly have been satisfied with what he saw. Very few of the houses have the internal fireplaces and the compact rectangular plan he espoused; and only the largest have the variety of well-ventilated, naturally lit and efficiently planned spaces in the kitchen offices which he believed should be within the reach of every householder. I found no examples of 'an economical staircase' – economical, that is, in space – such as he suggested.¹¹⁸ By avoiding making a dogmatic stylistic intervention in the debate on modern domestic architecture, Loudon had actually achieved something else: a far greater awareness of the architectural



significance of the practical issues involved. The result was for the time being stylistic mayhem; but the new way in which the traditional layouts were now merged with elevations that suited and expressed them was a sign of the impact he was making.

At all events, a parishioner could no longer guess the eventual appearance of the new house under construction on the glebe. Throughout the 1830s many new parsonages went up, and it appears that just as many of them, or more, were in the Tudor-gothic style than in the classical-Georgian. Indeed, the whole story of the Tudor-gothic revival is told over these ten years, from the tidy and thoughtful house that Rose built at Hadleigh in 1831, to the extrovert display at Attleborough at the end of the decade. The blustering, crude character of the blocky massing, the convivial but clumsy detailing, and the unflattering and now peeling waistbands of cement mouldings has meant that this architecture, which should be especially associated with the reign of King William IV, has not aged particularly well and has been all but forgotten as a result of the radical changes of the decades that followed. Osbert Lancaster unforgettably but unfairly wrote of these houses that 'out of this innocuous and rather charming chrysalis would one day come blundering the humourless moth of Victorian revivalism' (fig. 2.66).¹¹⁹ In fact, there was no connection between this romantic and picturesque Tudor gothic and what happened next: a complete overthrow of every conventional idea about architecture.



2.66

Osbert Lancaster's 'gothick': an 'innocuous and rather charming chrysalis'. *Pillar to post* (1938), page 51.