

## Abbreviations

**'Autobiography'** The autobiography of A.W.N. Pugin, published in Wedgwood 1985

**BAA** Birmingham Archdiocesan Archives, Birmingham

**BIUY** Borthwick Institute, University of York

**CCA** Canterbury Cathedral Archives, Canterbury

**CERC** Church of England Record Centre, Bermondsey, London

**CKS** Centre for Kentish Studies, Maidstone

**CUL** Cambridge University Library, Cambridge

**CRO** County record office

**DRO** Devon Record Office, Exeter

**'Diary'** The diary of A.W.N. Pugin, published in Wedgwood 1985

**GL** Guildhall Library, London

**Hants RO** Hampshire Record Office, Winchester

**Herefs RO** Herefordshire Record Office, Hereford

**HLRO** House of Lords Record Office, London

**LMA** London Metropolitan Archives, London

**LA** Lincolnshire Archives, Lincoln

**MBEC** Minutes of the board of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, at CERC

**MCEC** Minutes of the committees of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, at CERC

**MCO** Magdalen College, Oxford

**MGQAB** Minutes of the meetings of the governors of Queen Anne's Bounty, at CERC

**NRO** Norfolk Record Office, Norwich

**ODNB** *Oxford dictionary of national biography*, Oxford, 2004

**ORO** Oxfordshire Record Office, Oxford

**PAG** *Pevsner architectural guides*

**QAB** Queen Anne's Bounty

**RIBA** Royal Institute of British Architects

**RIBALDC** Royal Institute of British Architects' Library Drawings Collection, at the v&a

**RIBAJ** *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*

**SRO** Somerset Record Office, Taunton

**SROB** Suffolk Record Office, Bury St Edmunds

**SROI** Suffolk Record Office, Ipswich

**Surrey HC** Surrey History Centre, Woking

**v&a** Victoria and Albert Museum, London

**W Sussex RO** West Sussex Record Office, Chichester

**WSRO** Wiltshire & Swindon Record Office, Trowbridge

## Notes to Chapter One

For clarity in the case of CERC records I have given first a description (usually MGQAB or MBEC), the volume number or file name in the case of a distinct collection of papers, and then the CERC reference number. Anyone looking for these documents is advised to have all this information at hand. Note in particular that MBEC volumes started again at volume i after volume iii.

- 1 Hogg 2003, *passim*. Clarence House, now much changed, was first built to Nash's designs from 1825–8.
- 2 Hammond 1977, ch 3 pp 44–71; Bax 1964, *passim*; Savidge 1964, *passim*.
- 3 Austen 1966, p 108; the book was written in 1814 and published two years later.
- 4 Virgin 1989, p 147.
- 5 Mitford 1836, 'Tom Cordery', pp 79–80.
- 6 Britton 1849, pp 23; 46.
- 7 NRO, DN/DPL1/4/72; application of 1838.
- 8 Austen 1966, p 113 (chapter 10).
- 9 Austen 1972, p 213 (chapter 26).
- 10 Virgin 1989, p 116.
- 11 Virgin 1989, pp 158–9; Scott's act was 43 Geo III cap. 84.
- 12 These were the Commission to inquire into the state of the Established Church, with reference to ecclesiastical duties and revenues; and the Commission to inquire into the revenue and patronage of the Established Church. Both reports are included in Parliamentary Papers 1835 (xxii).
- 13 1&2 Vict cap. 106.
- 14 Both 1777 and 1778 saw the passing of a great deal of building and paving legislation: 17 Geo III cap. 72–111, and 18 Geo III cap. 76–116, were all concerned with allowing it.
- 15 The term 'Gilbert's Acts' has a different connotation elsewhere in the field of social history, for Gilbert also promoted two acts sometimes known by that name in 1782 which aimed at reforming houses of correction, and relief and unemployment measures (22 Geo III cap. 64; 22 Geo III cap. 83).
- 16 According to Virgin 1989, p 64, when the Bounty was established in 1704 the annual income from these sources was around £17,000. Henry VIII's act of confiscation was 26 Hen VIII cap. 3 (1534); Anne's redisposal was 2&3 Anne cap. 11 (1703).
- 17 21 Geo III cap. 66; forms: sec. ii.
- 18 43 Geo III cap. 84, sec. xxv.
- 19 43 Geo III cap. 107, sec. iii. The Mortmain Act was 9 Geo II cap. 36.
- 20 CERC, QAB/7/6/1680; letter to Edward Legge, Bishop of Oxford, dated 7.4.1819 referring to plans approved by the Bounty two weeks later.
- 21 43 Geo III cap. 108, sec. v.
- 22 W Sussex RO, Ep/1/41/69. The drawings were prepared for him by Charles Bowman of Arundel.
- 23 See Virgin 1994, ch 9 & 10, for a detailed description of the house and Smith's relationship with it.
- 24 Hodgson 1826, p 53.
- 25 *Idem*.
- 26 1&2 Vict cap. 23, sec. vii. The act also (at sec. v) allowed Oxford and Cambridge colleges, as patrons of benefices, to advance or lend money for the improvement and building of parsonages.
- 27 MBEC, vol ii, 1.2.1842, item 15; 2.8.1842, item 7 (CERC, ECE/2/1/1/5). One of the eventual aims in establishing the Commissioners (by an act of parliament of August 1835 called the Established Church Act, 6&7 Will IV cap. 77) was to improve the lot of the poor parson. In practice the funds to do this came about when the Cathedral Act of 1840 (3&4 Vict cap. 113) and an amending act (4&5 Vict cap. 39) suppressed various sinecures and cathedral positions; by a further act (6&7 Vict cap. 37), the QAB could lend the Commissioners money. The conditions for grants towards house-building were published by the Commissioners in their 'Resolutions respecting grants in augmentation of livings' of 27.2.1844 (filed at CERC with 'Benefices – parsonage houses – general file 8129 – pt i', ECE/7/1/8129/1); where a house was in public patronage they paid half; where it was in private patronage they paid two fifths of the cost. In both cases the maximum house-building sum allowed was £1,000. See also Best 1964, p 351–4. For Railton, see Chapter Four above.
- 28 These refer to ways of financing a new house for an existing church: in addition the Church Building Commissioners were from 1818 building new churches that required new residences to go with them. The original act of this sequence was 58 Geo III cap. 45, which allowed, at sec. xxxiii, for up to ten acres for a parsonage house, garden, and 'appurtenances'. Some houses were financed by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, who from August 1842 were doing this on the basis of their augmentation duties, although entirely new ones were very rare. In addition, once freed from the restriction of the Mortmain Act, the church could accept benefactions for new churches together with parsonages from individuals. Port 2006 provides an incomparable description of the work of the Church Building Commissioners.
- 29 After the passing of the Tithe Act 1836, 6&7 Will IV cap. 71. See Ward 1965. Tithes were commuted into land which raised rent for the incumbent. Legislation did not apply to current incumbents; tithes in kind were more prevalent in poor areas.
- 30 Eliot 1998, p 18. The 'Curates Act' was 53 Geo III cap. 149. It required incumbents to appoint curates in certain circumstances and fixed a sliding scale of minimum payment.
- 31 Summarising costs is difficult because of the variety in the size of house, and because the submitted estimated prices do not necessarily include reused materials; but as a rule of thumb it can be said that that just under half of a sample of 271 parsonages for which estimated building or remodelling costs were submitted up to the 1860s were due to cost between £200 and £1,000, and the other half between £1,000 and £3,000.
- 32 The value of such materials was generally very low, but the house at Portesham, Dorset, by T. H. Harvey in 1841, is an exception: it reused some £385, probably at least a third of the cost of the new house. CERC, QAB/7/6/E43.
- 33 A rare example of significant reuse is Richard Carver's stylish proposal for the new vicarage at East Brent in Somerset,

which employed £30 worth of timber from the glebe. SRO, D/D/Bbm/71. Thomas Rickman's house at Soham, Cambs, made use of 'one old walnut tree': SROB, 806/2/21. Ewan Christian, conscientious chap that he was, found £13 worth of old timber for his vicarage at Acton in Suffolk (CUL, EDR/G3/41 MGA/SUFF/19).

34 SROB, 806/2/21.

35 17 Geo III cap. 53, sec. 1.

36 CCA, DCb/DC/S28/1; governors' approval, *ibid*, U163/4.

37 For example Thomas Fox, incumbent at Abbas Combe in Somerset, clearly sought approval of his bishop first, and his file includes a letter which sets out his claim to a mortgage: SRO, D/D/Bbm/62.

38 CCA, DCb/DC/B1A/1.

39 These standards are set out in Hodgson 1826, pp 57–64, about which more in Chapter Four above. The QAB set out various rules for approving sums for applying augmentation funds to parsonage building: MGQAB vol xxii, 6.2.1840, item 5.4; and 22.5.1845, item 18 (CERC, QAB/2/1/23).

40 I would here like to thank Professor M. H. Port for allowing me to see his notes on the holdings of the CERC, and also the Centre's Mrs Sarah Duffield who kindly provided me with samples of material from the archive.

41 There are, of course, plenty of designs for parsonages by architects in other collections, such as the Bodleian Library, the British Library, the V&A, and, principally, the RIBA LDC: these are generally from bequests by the architects themselves, and so they are not accompanied by the procedural requirements that the legislation of the various ecclesiastical reforms demanded; therefore they are without working specifications, estimates, or other information. In some cases, such as William Donthorn's design for remodelling Rushbury rectory of 1852, there is a set in the local CRO, and a further, neater, set in the RIBA LDC: Herefs CRO, HD 10/6 1853; RIBA LDC, Donthorn [Rushbury] 1. Applicants were advised by the secretary to the governors of the Bounty in 1826 to keep their own set of drawings (Hodgson 1826, p 61); there is little evidence that they did.

42 SRO, D/D/Bbm/33.

43 SROI, FFI/44/1, affidavit of 23.10.1812. For Catt, see Brown, Haward & Kindred 1991, pp 63–4; Colvin 1995, p 235.

44 At Wantage in 1849; ORO, MS. Oxf. dioc. papers b.80.

45 At Tydd St Giles, Cambs, in 1863: CUL, EDR/G3/39 MGA/91; specification, p 4.

46 CCA, DCb/DC/M20/1.

47 It was Edmunds' quay, adapted from an original design by John Rennie, that was to provide the plinth for the proposed new 'Turner Contemporary' gallery, designed by Messrs Snøhetta, the Norwegian architects, in collaboration with the British architect Stephen Spence; it sadly proved unequal to the task. Edmunds also designed a Commissioners' church in the town, the very fine Holy Trinity; built in 1825–8 (Port 2006, Appendix I, p 334), it was unfortunately not rebuilt after bomb damage in 1943. I am very grateful to Mr Mick Twyman of the Margate Historical Society for allowing me access to his researches.

48 As was the case at Broughton under Blean in Kent, in 1854: CCA, DCb/DC/B17/1.

49 The set of drawings of 1840 by Robert Wallace of Westminster for the imposing new rectory at Stourmouth near Canterbury includes details both of a well-equipped stable and farm yard and of the whole of the site, indicating a neighbouring meadow for annexation. CCA, DCb/DC/S37/1.

50 For his rectory at Rampisham, Dorset; WSRO, D28/6/11, for which see Chapter Three, pp 153–7 above.

51 See figs. 1.7–1.10. I found no other reference to the architect, S. H. Turner of St Marychurch.

52 MGQAB, vol xxiv, 3.4.1849 (CERC, QAB/2/1/24).

53 Very few Gilbert's Acts application drawings are marked for approval with a bishop's signature, although some dioceses seem to have done this.

54 W Sussex RO, Ep/1/41/66. Quotations from reports by Jackson Bale, 20.6.1821; William Frivett, 15.6.1821; B. Phipps (about Hunston barn), 19.7.1821.

55 W Sussex RO, Ep/1/41/66, report by H. J. Grace of Levington, 18.6.1821.

56 The documents for the rectory at Kingsdon, for example, include a full measured plan of the old house: SRO, D/D/Bbm/66, of 1836. There is more on this characteristic feature of the diocese in Chapter Four above.

57 *The First report of the commissioners on the state of the Established Church, with reference to duties and revenue*, published in Parliamentary Papers 1835 (xxii) details, at Section II, the net income of the dioceses on three years' average ending 31 December 1831. Canterbury's income was the highest at £19,182, for 343 parishes and a population of 402,885; at Oxford it was £2,648 for 209 parishes and 139,581. The total income of the 20 dioceses was £151,737. Table no iv, pp 98 ff, gives the details of the averaged revenues for all the parishes in England.

58 LA, MGA 220: correspondence of 16.5.1837 and 3.6.1837. The house has been demolished.

59 Some parishes in the diocese were transferred to Rochester in 1841; some were transferred back again in 1845; and various other exchanges between the two have been made since. It is not clear what has happened to some of the records of the parishes that changed hands, and in any case most of Rochester's mortgage records are unfortunately largely untraceable or currently inaccessible. So there may possibly have been a small number of additional new parsonages in the Canterbury diocese during this period. I am referring here to retained mortgage files in diocesan collections, but it may be possible, although it is unlikely to be particularly rewarding, to discover the exact answer by combing through the MGQAB.

60 CCA, U163/4, Hawkstead bundle.

61 CCA, DCb/DC/S42/1 (R833).

62 CCA, DCb/DC/S28/1.

63 CCA, DCb/DC/S35/1. See Chapter Four, p 192, above.

64 CCA, DCb/DC/W24/1.

65 SROB, 806/2/18; CCA, DCb/DC/R13/1; DCb/DC/L2/1; DCb/DC/L3/4.



- 66 That appears to be the situation from MBEC, vol x, 19.7.1849, no 25, and 26.7.1849, no 19 (CERC, ECE/2/1/1/13).
- 67 CKS, PL57B/3/2; draft letter dated 20.9.1850.
- 68 MBEC, vol iii, 4.7.1843, item 2, first records the Commissioners' involvement (CERC, ECE/2/1/1/6). Further details of this project and its outcome appear in Chapter Five above.
- 69 CKS; pl57B/3/2; contemporary copy of letter dated 21.8.1850. The various documents in the file do not have separate numbers.
- 70 CKS; pl57B/3/2; report dated 4.4.1853.
- 71 There is an album of Roos' decorative sketches, nearly all classical, at the RIBA LDC: Roos [2].
- 72 MBEC, vol x, 24.5.1849, item 25 (CERC, ECE/2/1/1/13).
- 73 MBEC, vol i, 7.9.1841 (CERC, ECE/2/1/1/4). Lord Duncannon's extensive career in building works is discussed in detail in Crook & Port 1973, at pp 181 n5 and 189–94 *ia*. He was First Commissioner of the Board of Woods and Works from 1831–4 and 1835–41; he succeeded his father to become 4th Earl of Bessborough in 1844.
- 74 See for example MBEC, vol i, 13.7.1841 (CERC, ECE/2/1/1/4). This must have been Richard Pope, District Surveyor in Bristol from 1831–72, who early in his career had acted as clerk of works on local projects for London architects, and who was here working with Decimus Burton.
- 75 Trubshaw's life and works are described in detail in Bayliss 1978, which also describes the personal link between builder and client. See also *ODNB*.
- 76 His drawings and specification are included in the file in the BIUY, MGA 1823/5.
- 77 Dearn 1807, p 7.
- 78 *Ibid*, p v.
- 79 *Ibid*, p 9, pls x–xii.
- 80 For example, Dearn 1807, pl i.
- 81 See the reference to Lugar at Yaxham, pp 44–5 above.
- 82 See Cobbett 1853, pp 53–4. The *Rural rides* were first published in 1830.
- 83 Virgin 1989, p 122.
- 84 Not all records were accessible during 2004 when I checked them, and in some cases it has not been possible to ascertain whether applications referred to anything more than very minor alterations, but the following figures for the Norwich diocese give an overall picture. NRO has records accumulated from various sources for the following number of Gilbert's Acts applications: pre-1811: 12; 1811–19: 9; 1820s: 12; 1830s: 32; 1840s: 125; a total of 194 houses, almost a third of the total number of parishes in the county, up to mid century. SROB has as follows: pre-1811: 2; 1811–19: 8; 1820s: 8; 1830s: 6; 1840s: 1; a total of 25; and SROI: pre-1811: 2; 1811–19: 5 (excluding the purchase of an existing house); 1820s: 4; 1830s: 17; 1840s: 28; a total of 56. The third CRO in the diocese, at Lowestoft, has no diocesan collection. The total number of records for new or substantially new parsonages for the diocese up to 1850 is therefore 206. By comparison, the Canterbury diocesan records at CCA have retained records for only 28 houses over the same period. By searching through the MGQAB and the MBEC it would be possible to build up an alternative set of figures, so these are a guideline only – but they certainly show that there was a great deal of parsonage building going on in East Anglia during the period. It is worth stating in my defence that there is little evidence for administrative efficiency for the period in which the applications were lodged.
- 85 NRO, DN/DPLI/1/10; the affidavit is signed by Francis Stone and dated 27.7.1805. The value of the building works was estimated at £2,079.2.4; the actual cost to the client was £1,779.2.4 after deduction of the value of old materials and taking into account monies for dilapidations that had already been received.
- 86 SROB, 806/2/4.
- 87 SROB, 806/2/9. The house was altered in 1854, for which see Chapter Four, p 224, above.
- 88 SROB, 806/2/23. A rather later house which is also essentially still a central-corridor type and with a grand central axis, was applied for by William Hinsbey, at Bramerton in 1838 (NRO, DN/DPLI/1/11).
- 89 SROB, 806/2/10. Browne designed his house in an ambitious Tudor-gothic style, simultaneously rustic and castellated, but the house may well have been executed as it currently appears, in a conventional vernacular classical–Georgian. There are still substantial outbuildings there, but unfortunately not as Browne designed them.
- 90 Lugar 1828, pls xiii–xiv.
- 91 NRO, DN/DPLI/4/75.
- 92 The only other classical houses in the book are a small and plain Grecian farmhouse near Belfast (pls viii and ix) and an unexecuted remodelling of a pre-existing classical house called The Tor, at Warley near Birmingham (pls xxxvi–xxxviii), the client of which eventually chose a new house in Lugar's gothic style.
- 93 Lugar 1811, pls vii–ix.
- 94 Lugar 1828, preface p ix.
- 95 Lugar 1828, facing pl xiv.
- 96 Johnson was a cousin of William Cowper, and had known Blake since he had been himself a student in the 1790s; there is some description of him in Bentley 2001 (and a portrait as a young man, *ibid*, pl 90). The paintings are described in the *PAG Norfolk NW & S*, p 809.
- 97 ORO, MS. Oxf. dioc. papers b.103/2d. See Hinde 1984, p 76.
- 98 ORO, MS. Oxf. dioc. papers b.106/2.
- 99 See Mansbridge 1991, pp 136–7.
- 100 CCA, DCb/DC/K3/2.
- 101 CERC, QAB/7/6/E32.
- 102 CCA, DCb/DC/N1/1.
- 103 SROI, FFI/17/2. The house was lengthened on the garden front, probably following an application of 1874 (which was inaccessible for consultation in 2004).
- 104 SROI, FFI/57/1. The house was replaced by the current gothic structure in the 1850s.
- 105 Herefs RO, HD 8/18 1843.
- 106 CERC, QAB/7/6/ES7.
- 107 SRO, D/D/Bbm/76; D/D/Bbm/82.
- 108 RIBA LDC, Donthorn [Moulton St Michael] 1.
- 109 RIBA LDC, Donthorn [Moulton St Michael] 4.

- 110 BIUY, MGA 1838/2.  
 111 BIUY, MGA 1841/4. Pritchett's buildings include the neo-classical Huddersfield railway station.  
 112 NRO, DN/DPLI/3/52. See Chapter Two, pp 105–6, above.  
 113 Galby (architect, William Parsons): LA, MGA 153; Dallinghoo (William Bilby): SROI, FFI/29/1; Nacton (John Whiting): SROI, FFI/62/1.  
 114 According to an assessment carried out for recent owners. They may of course have been reused from a house on the site that was earlier still.  
 115 Nacton rectory survives much as Whiting left it (although one wall of the new central corridor has been taken down), but sadly Galby rectory has been de-gothicised.  
 116 WSRO, DI/11/77.  
 117 SROB, 806/2/21.  
 118 SRO, D/D/Bbm/88.  
 119 17 Geo III cap. 53, sec. x.  
 120 CCA, DCB/DC/T4/2.  
 121 Austen 1966, p 275 (chapter 32).  
 122 ORO, MS. Oxf. dioc. papers b.105/6.  
 123 Launton: ORO, MS. Oxf. dioc. papers b.104/1; South Weston: ORO, MS. Oxf. dioc. papers b.106/5.  
 124 ORO, MS. Oxf. dioc. papers b.102/7.  
 125 ORO, MS. Oxf. dioc. papers b.104/5.  
 126 ORO, MS. Oxf. dioc. papers b.102/4.  
 127 Hants RO, 16M70/27/1–6.  
 128 The Northallerton house was demolished in 2001, just before I managed to see it. Allibone 1988 describes it.  
 129 LA, MGA 260.

## Notes to Chapter Two

- 1 For Ormesby, now demolished, see J. P. Neale 1824. Edward, 1st Baron Thurlow of Ashfield, and 1st Baron Thurlow of Thurlow, rumbustious Tory Lord Chancellor from 1778–92, presided over the trial of Warren Hastings; he died in 1806 and was succeeded by his nephew Edward, who took the second peerage only. It was this younger Edward's brother Thomas who built Boxford rectory. The third Edward Thurlow, the incumbent at Lound, was the son of another of 1st Lord Thurlow's nephews. They were an East Anglian clerical family. Eminent families in the area tended to patronise the same architect when repeatedly building parsonages.  
 2 NRO, DN/DPLI/3/38.  
 3 SROB, SO6/2/3. This splendid house survives with few alterations.  
 4 Surrey HC, 472/12/1–4. Moberly, rather than Ware, signed the drawings.  
 5 LA, MGA 153.  
 6 RIBA LDC, J. Trubshaw [2].  
 7 Lugar 1828, pl xv.  
 8 There are nice descriptions of this process in Mandler 1997 ch i pp 21–69, and Brooks 1999, pp 129–52.  
 9 Nash: Mandler 1997, pp 41–5; Brooks 1999, pp 192–3; Coningsby: Disraeli 1844, vol iii pp 114–5.

- 10 Some detailed comparison is made in Sweet 2004, pp 266–7. The most comprehensive study of John Britton's work still appears to be Crook 1968.  
 11 Britton 1814, preface.  
 12 Britton 1826, preface p. i.  
 13 *Ibid*, p. iii.  
 14 Britton 1838, p 283.  
 15 In vol ii (Britton 1809).  
 16 Britton 1826, preface.  
 17 Britton & Boutell 1846. The other examples are Tudor or later.  
 18 Parker's list of 1840, Parker 1840, recognises the true nature of the building.  
 19 Britton & Boutell 1846, p 5.  
 20 See for example 'Normandy – Architecture of the Middle Ages', *Quarterly review*, vol xxv, April 1821, p 126: 'Our old dwelling-houses are usually composed of timber frames, filled in with plaster'.  
 21 Habershon 1839, Preface, p xiii; Gwilt 1842, §393 p 170.  
 22 Cotman & Turner 1822, p 67.  
 23 *Ibid*, pp 67–8. The spelling 'Winwal' is Turner's.  
 24 In addition to the two examples mentioned in Chapter One above, at Abbotskerswell in Devon, and the 'ancient structure' that John Whichcord surveyed in Warehorne, Kent, there were many others.  
 25 Papworth 1818, p 37; p 45.  
 26 This partial list is derived from Taylor's friend Britton; see Britton's *Autobiography*, Britton 1849, p 240.  
 27 Hunt 1827b, preface p 5.  
 28 Whitaker's book is entitled, *An history of the original parish of Whalley and honor of Clitheroe, in the counties of Lancaster and York*, Blackburn, 1801. Quoted in Hunt 1827b, pp 29–30. Hunt drew on Whitaker a little later in his *Exemplars of Tudor architecture* of 1830, in which Whitaker describes Whalley Grange as being 'a valuable specimen' because 'by no other means that I know of [have we] been able to form a guess at the accommodation of the next inferior rank'. Hunt 1830, p 72. Writers tended to latch on to a single example that appealed to them.  
 29 *E.g.*, his commentary to pl vi, design iv (Hunt 1827b).  
 30 Hunt 1827b, pl ix, design v; pl xviii.  
 31 Hunt 1830, pl x; section iii p 45.  
 32 C. Parker 1833.  
 33 Exning: SROB, 806/2/6; the house was subsequently extended. Uphaven: CERC, QAB/7/6/E36. The son, who signed himself J. Henry Hakewill, was a good stylist; he designed a small rectory at Crowmarsh Gifford in Oxfordshire in 1846 in an unusually authentic domestic Tudor, rather than Tudor-gothic, style: ORO, MS. Oxf. dioc. papers b.107/8.  
 34 'Old English Domestic Architecture', *Quarterly review*, vol xlv, July 1831, pp 471–2. The reviewer has been identified by the *Wellesley index*.  
 35 In particular, in the additions he made entitled 'The rental dwelling' and 'The house and artistic culture' to the second edition of his *Stilarchitektur und Baukunst*: Muthesius 1903 (see Muthesius 1994, pp 95–7).

- 36 Old English Domestic Architecture', *Quarterly review*, vol xlv, July 1831, p 474.
- 37 *Ibid*, p 480.
- 38 *Idem*; *ibid*, p 484.
- 39 The political, religious and social history of this era is wonderfully recorded in Hole 1989, *passim*.
- 40 Loudon (1783–1843) awaits the biography he deserves. In the meantime, see Colvin 1995, pp 623–4; and also Gloag 1970.
- 41 Loudon 1806, vol i, p 14; p 15; p 16.
- 42 *Ibid*, p 68.
- 43 *Ibid*, p 26; p 35; p 39.
- 44 *Ibid*, vol ii, p 407.
- 45 *Ibid*, p 604.
- 46 *Ibid*, p 612; vol i, p 112; p 160.
- 47 *Ibid*, vol i, p 156.
- 48 Loudon 1833, p 1.
- 49 *Ibid*, p 2.
- 50 See, for example, Dearn 1807, p vii; Elsam 1816, p viii.
- 51 The correspondence of beauty to use – which derives perhaps initially from Horace – was a common theme in mid-17th-century poetry, and was identified in particular with Pope, for which see Barrell 1972, pp 61; 73.
- 52 Loudon 1833, §366 p 183.
- 53 *Ibid*, §29 p 15.
- 54 *Ibid*, §1652 p 773; §1654 p 774.
- 55 Loudon 1812.
- 56 Loudon 1833, design xvi pp 65–7; pls 114, 115.
- 57 *Ibid*, design ix, §1772–5, pp 853–4.
- 58 *Ibid*, §1833, p 897.
- 59 *Ibid*, §1878 p 928.
- 60 *Ibid*, §1888 p 935.
- 61 *Ibid*, §2195 p 1112; §2198 p 1112.
- 62 *Ibid*, §2198 p 1113.
- 63 From November 1837, under the *nom-de-plume* Kata Phusin.
- 64 The standards Loudon proposed for housing the very poor must have been well known among professionals by the time that Edwin Chadwick completed his *Report on the sanitary condition of the labouring population* in 1842.
- 65 Loudon 1833, §1331 p 628.
- 66 *Ibid*, §1652 p 773.
- 67 *Ibid*, §1875 p 927.
- 68 'Old English domestic architecture', *Quarterly review*, vol xlv, July 1831, p 487. The quotation is derived from William Mason's *The English garden of 1772*; it should read 'Beauty scorns to dwell/ where Use is exiled'.
- 69 *Ibid*, p 492.
- 70 *Ibid*, p 493.
- 71 *Ibid*, p 500.
- 72 The attribution and date are from Colvin 1995, p 82. Colvin also points out that it was Atkinson who had provided that early benefactor of Gilbert's Acts, Sydney Smith, with an unexecuted rectory design for Foston.
- 73 Later buildings in Minster Yard, by Pritchett and others in the 1830s, were more explicitly gothic, with castellations and pointed windows: see the former St Peter's School by Watson & Pritchett (1829), and 8–9 and 12 Minster Yard, by Pritchett, (1837–8 and 1830s respectively). The attributions for the first two are in Colvin 1995, pp 785–6; the third is from *PAG York & East Riding*.
- 74 DRO, Chantry 1190; Fowler's drawings are missing from the file.
- 75 A.W.N. Pugin 1843a, p 14, n 10.
- 76 RIBA LDC; the plans are seen best in the *Survey of London*: London County Council 1951, pp 100–1, pls 62, 80.
- 77 V&A print room, 8732 1–10; RIBA LDC, Blore [St Asaph].
- 78 The attribution to Wyatt is in *PAG Clwyd etc*, p 440.
- 79 For more on extending old buildings, see Chapter Four above.
- 79 He was thus echoing a characteristic feature of the Jew's House in Lincoln well before A.W.N. Pugin did.
- 80 Habershon 1839, dedication.
- 81 *Ibid*, preface p vi.
- 82 Both the Great Snoring rectory and East Barsham Manor, referred to in the text of 1831 as 'Wolterton' house, were illustrated in the first volume of A.C. Pugin & Willson's *Examples of gothic architecture*. The plates are dated 1829. Pugin & Wilson 1828–31, pp 60–2; 49–58.
- 83 Habershon 1839, pl 2.
- 84 Jones 1977, p 116; Colvin 1995, p 464. Keble's sermon was delivered on 14.7.1833, just after the new rectory was completed; the meeting convened there between 25–9.7.1843.
- 85 With the deanery at Hadleigh one of the very few parsonages outside London from the early nineteenth century visited during my research (2000–4) actually still functioning as such.
- 86 The mortgage application and drawings are in the LA, MGA 171.
- 86 Gore & Carter 2005, pp 96–8. Repton thought at the time of writing, probably some time before 1811, that it was unlikely that any of it survived.
- 87 Colvin 1995, p 515.
- 88 My attribution is from Colvin 1995, p 563.
- 89 NRO, DN/DPL1/2, 29. This was the third of the three Joseph Stannards mentioned by Colvin (Colvin 1995, p 915).
- 90 SRO1, FFI/62/1.
- 91 NRO, DN/DPL1/4/58. The character assessment is in Colvin 1994, p 975.
- 92 SRO1, FFI/85/1.
- 93 ORO, MS. Oxf. dioc. papers b.103/2; the details of Underwood's career are from Colvin 1994, p 1001.
- 94 Habershon 1839, p 18. The drawings and mortgage application file are at LA, MGA 208, dated 12.4.1837.
- 95 NRO, DN/DPL1/3/52; see Chapter One, p 53, above.
- 96 NRO, DN/DPL1/3/53.
- 97 CUL, EDR G3/39 MGA/44.
- 98 ORO, MS. Oxf. dioc. papers b.102/2b. Greenshields went on to design the more logical house at Swilland, p 104 above, but others never seem to have learnt the lesson.
- 99 Herefs RO, HD8/15 1840.
- 100 ORO, MS. Oxf. dioc. papers b.106/8.
- 101 East Bilney: NRO, DN/DPL1/1/9; architect, Arthur Browne. East Brent: SRO, D/D/BbM/71; architect, Richard Carver.



- 102 Little Melton: NRO, DN/DPLI/3/39; Little Glenham: SROI, FF1/39/1.
- 103 This attribution from Colvin 1995, p 882.
- 104 Paterson's was not an entirely new building, as Colvin 1995, p 742, implies. BIUY, MGA 1838/1.
- 105 See Chapter One, pp 50–3, above.
- 106 See LA, MGA 225.
- 107 LA, MGA 220, and see Chapter One, pp 29–30, above.
- 108 WRSO, DI/11/83.
- 109 WRSO, DI/11/77. More on Ferrey in Chapter Four above. His building suffered badly from damp, and was rebuilt in 1871 on a higher site to a design by G.R. Crickmay: WRSO, DI/11/203.
- 110 ORO, MS. Oxf. dioc. papers b.103/2b. See Colvin 1995, p 257; according to Colvin, Cockerell's diary recorded that he designed a Tudor parsonage at North Weald Bassett in Essex of 1828–9 (*ibid.*, p 261).
- 111 Herefs RO, HD8/10 1834–5.
- 112 CCA, DCb/DC/S37/1.
- 113 CERC, QAB/7/6/ES2. It was cheap, too, at £630.5.9¼.
- 114 NRO, DN/DPLI/1/2; demolished.
- 115 My attribution is from Colvin 1995, p 1026.
- 116 The Chevalier lived in London from the 1760s, dying as late as 1810. He was buried in St Pancras' churchyard.
- 117 Shinfield: ORO, MS. Oxf. dioc. papers b.108/3; Turweston: ORO, MS. Oxf. dioc. papers b.109/5. Freeman seems never to have learnt that big central bays and Tudor-gothic styling mix only with difficulty. New Radnor: Herefs RO, HD 10/4 1851 (2).
- 118 Loudon 1833, pl 137.
- 119 Lancaster 1938, p 50. But what has actually come blundering out of it, after an interval of some 170 years, is the new Tudor-gothic architecture of the speculative developers of the present day.

### Notes to Chapter Three

- 1 Saint 1975, p 1.
- 2 Phoebe Stanton's doctoral thesis, Stanton 1950, provided some description of many of Pugin's smaller houses, but the first comprehensive study of them as a group can be found in Wedgwood 1994. Alexandra Wedgwood's contribution to Pugin scholarship, through her published catalogues of his drawings and her other writings, and her encouragement of the highest standards from all that work in the Pugin field, have brought about a transformation in Pugin studies over recent decades. My own doctoral dissertation, Brittain-Catlin 2004a, examined Pugin's residential architecture as a whole, and the analysis of his houses that is summarised here was first presented there.
- 3 Pevsner 1943, especially at p 34, which refers to 'the theory of functionalism' as Pugin's 'great discovery'.
- 4 A.W.N. Pugin 1841a, p 1.
- 5 A.W.N. Pugin 1843, pp 38; 39.
- 6 Stanton 1971, pp 180–4.
- 7 This, it seems to me, was the message behind the 'Pugin: a gothic passion' exhibition at the V&A in 1994.
- 8 See Chapter Five, p 279, above.

- 9 I am including his various ideal schemes, as well as some of the most minor projects. He designed over thirty domestic projects (that is, substantial alterations and new houses for clergy and private individuals but excluding a school, a monastery, a number of convents and various other institutional communal residences) that were actually built.
- 10 Wedgwood 2006, a first-hand account by John Hardman Powell, Pugin's son-in-law and only in-house professional assistant, describes his daily life in some detail.
- 11 G. Scott 1995, p 88.
- 12 A.W.N. Pugin 1841a, p 76.
- 13 Forty 2000, pp 289–303, traces the history of the word and its evolving meaning across the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, claiming that Pugin 'imported the new terminology of structural truth into the English language' (p 297).
- 14 Palgrave: 'Normandy – Architecture of the middle ages', *Quarterly review*, vol xxv, April 1821, p 117. The identity of the writer is derived from Shine & Shine 1949; Willson: A.C. Pugin & Willson 1831, p vii.
- 15 *Ezekiel* ch xiii vv 10–1 (Authorised Version).
- 16 Bartholomew 1840, I-XXXII-§302. This notoriety dates at least from the problems associated – not always fairly – with the case of John Nash, who had been humiliated when his practices had fallen under public scrutiny since the Select Committees of 1828–31.
- 17 Bartholomew 1840, I-XLII-§384.
- 18 Robison 1822, vol i, §554; quoted in Bartholomew 1840 at I-LVIII.
- 19 Bartholomew 1840, Preface §XXI.
- 20 *Ibid.*, I-CX-§901; and see Belcher 1987, D227; D659.
- 21 Loudon 1806, vol i p 45.
- 22 *Ibid.*, p 31.
- 23 Loudon 1833, §476 p 237 and §1434–7.
- 24 Actually, James Lowther, *Some thoughts on building and planting, to Sir James Lowther, of Lowther Hall, Bart.*, probably of 1755.
- 25 Loudon 1833, §1886 p 938; italics in the original.
- 26 Bartholomew viewed Pugin's rise with some jealousy, believing that he himself had been the first to identify gothic architecture with structural purity (Bartholomew 1840, I-LII-§470); the reference to 'a silent voice giving previous utterance' to some of Pugin's claims for the gothic, in a review of *The present state in the Builder*, vol i, no vi (18.3.1843), is surely to himself.
- 27 Gwilt 1842, §437 p 195.
- 28 Bartholomew 1840, I-LXVIII-§623.
- 29 Dickens 1994, p 507 (chapter 53).
- 30 Dickens 1999, pl p 776 (chapter 65).
- 31 Dickens 2000, p 548 (chapter 72); pp 553–4 (chapter 'the last' [73]); p 550 (chapter 'the last' [73]).
- 32 Rudd 2004 gives some enjoyable examples of the former.
- 33 Stanton 1951, *passim*.
- 34 Pugin had drawn the 'Abbot's Kitchen' at Glastonbury in 1833 when preparing the third volume of the *Examples* (1836–40): letter of 26.2.1833 to E. J. Willson: Belcher 2001, pp 14–5.

- 35 'Autobiography', 3.3.1831. Pugin told Powell 'he was very fond of Walter Scott's writings': Wedgwood 2006, p 47.
- 36 Most of A.C. Pugin's books were sold on his death, but A.W.N. Pugin kept this book and Nodier's second volume all his life. See Brittain-Catlin 2001; Brittain-Catlin 2002a.
- 37 Reproduced in Ayling, 1865. The location of the original is unknown.
- 38 Clues can be found in surviving characteristic Pugin details such as his familiar door architraves which can be seen facing outwards towards the new stair hall.
- 39 'New churches', *British critic*, vol xxviii, October 1840, p 513. According to Margaret Belcher, the writer was probably Thomas Mozley, J. H. Newman's brother-in-law.
- 40 A rumour recorded by the *British critic* writer suggested that it was for Nicholas Wiseman as coadjutor to the vicar for the Midland district. *Ibid.* p 516.
- 41 'Myers family album', p 30 item 57.
- 42 The fact that Pugin's plan for the presbytery includes the plan of the church in some detail, as well as of the unexecuted house on the other side of it, implies that the presbytery was designed together with the church even if its execution followed sometime thereafter.
- 43 The *British critic* thought that the result of such cheap materials was that the presbytery 'greatly sets off its fair unearthly looking neighbour'. However he did comment that the house was 'comfortable and handsome'. 'New churches', p 516.
- 44 I found a rare example at Withermarsh Green, close to Giffords Hall at Stoke by Nayland in Suffolk, probably dating from the later 1820s. It is an unassuming cottage in the classical-Georgian style, directly attached to the crude Tudor-gothic chapel.
- 45 A detailed description of Pugin's planning of long corridors in the context of his institutional planning appears in Brittain-Catlin 2006, and some of the information in this chapter has appeared there.
- 46 Wedgwood 1977, [5] 75 v.
- 47 The drawings are in St Louis Public Library, Missouri, cat no 1032129 and ref 723.5.
- 48 In at least one case, at William Faber's community at Cotton on the Shrewsbury estate, the Shrewsburies were complicit with the design of corridor routes which were redundant in practical terms, for Lady Shrewsbury herself funded the ambulacrum there, part of the series of corridors that connect the residential building with the church. Brompton Oratory Archives, Correspondence vol 27, letter 37, 25.8.1847. See Brittain-Catlin 2006, p 368.
- 49 His stage machinery drawings can be seen in a sketchbook of c1835 in the V&A: Wedgwood 1985, 107 ff 44v–56; he drew nautical scenes in many of his sketchbooks throughout his life.
- 50 Keighley: RIBA LDC [73] 2 (then unidentified); Utoxeter: Research Library, The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, California (870366).
- 51 Unfortunately the staircase and the areas beyond it were rebuilt later in the nineteenth century.
- 52 There is a fairly dry description of it in A.W.N. Pugin 1842, p 101–3.
- 53 *Ecclesiologist* (vol v, no 7, January 1846, pp 10–6); *Tablet* (vol vii, no 30 (31.1.1846), p 69.
- 54 In the meantime, he had made various other presbytery designs which are now untraceable. According to a letter to his friend the Oxford don J.H. Bloxam of 13.9.1840, Belcher 2001, p 142, he designed a presbytery in the Norman style for his church of St James in Reading. He claimed, in A.W.N. Pugin 1842, p 29 n, that a new presbytery for his church of St Mary & St Thomas at Dudley was currently being built, but there is no evidence that it was ever executed. According to *ibid.*, p 31 n 1, supported by Duffield 1850, p 132, he designed an executed house for the church of St Wilfred, Hulme, Manchester; this was evidently subsequently altered, and there does not now appear to be any record of its original appearance and plan. He probably also designed the presbytery at St Mary, Stockton-on-Tees, at this period or soon after. This house incorporated parts of an earlier Tudor-gothic house of soon after 1832; only small fragments survived a rebuilding of 1909, and the few photographs available are insufficient to reconstruct the building.
- 55 The screen is Andrew Saint's interpretation. There have been minor alterations both inside and out of the building.
- 56 It is unlikely that he actually designed the two Brewwood school buildings in detail, but according to a letter of 5.1.1849 by a later incumbent he had certainly anticipated them, designing the whole group of church buildings as a single scheme: BAA, B1386. Pugin's perspective drawing for the Fulham presbytery has recently been uncovered in the collection of the Order of the Visitation, Waldron, East Sussex, and at the time of writing seems likely to be transferred to the RIBA LDC.
- 57 In his letter to Bloxam, of 26.9.1843, referring to the purchase of the plot at Ramsgate, Pugin drew a sketch of his design approximately as it was eventually built: Belcher 2003, p 110.
- 58 In the summer of 1843 Pugin began work on the design of an orphanage in Liverpool, and it is probably this that brought him into contact with Sharples, a stalwart of the Catholic community there and a benefactor of several of its institutions. Pugin's diary first recorded a meeting with Sharples in February 1844, and it seems likely that this was the point at which their direct and fruitful working relationship started. Belcher 2003, p 101; 'Diary', 16.2.1844.
- 59 V&A, E.78(6)–1970; Wedgwood 1985, 236.
- 60 4.10.1845: Belcher 2003, pp 116–7.
- 61 The current restoration by the Landmark Trust, advised by Paul Drury, has restored this fireplace which was lost during remodellings by later members of the Pugin family.
- 62 CCA, DCb/DC/H8/1.
- 63 CCA, DCb/DC/E7/1.
- 64 ORO, MS. Oxf. dioc. papers b.108/5.
- 65 SROB, 806/2/7.
- 66 SROI, FF/27/1.
- 67 CUL, EDR/G3/39 MGA/38.
- 68 CCA, DCb/DC/R14/1.
- 69 Rooke recorded the total cost upon completion in a diary kept with the parish records. The application is at WSR0, D28/6/11.



70 This was Charles Eastlake's criticism. Eastlake 1970, p 164. See also Brittain-Catlin 2004b for further comments on the house.

71 'Autobiography', 8.10.1829.

72 A.W.N. Pugin 1841a, p 63.

73 This is what Professor Crook glosses as 'ornament expressing structure', in Crook 2003, p 37.

74 In all A.W.N. Pugin's drawings of the Ramsgate house that followed its construction, he drew it with the library gable projecting; he also unfailingly drew the house aligned orthogonally with the adjoining church, which it is not.

75 As in his second scheme for Magdalen College School, Oxford of 1843: I reproduced this plan in Brittain-Catlin 2002b, p 32. The set of drawings is kept at the school, and catalogued as no 603 in R.White & Darwall-Smith 2001.

76 In a letter to Bloxam, 7.12.1845: Belcher 2003, pp 482–3.

77 The mortgage was reported as paid by the Bounty, in mid June 1847: MGQAB, vol xxiv, 15.6.1847, item 33/3 (CERC, QAB /2/1/24). Possibly the documents are amongst those currently inaccessible in the CERC. Pugin had earlier offered the working drawings to Bird for £36; letter of 1.2.1846, MCO MS 528/65.

78 11.11.1845; Belcher 2003, pp 476–7.

79 He used the same pinwheel layout on two further occasions – for an ambitious and large house for William Leigh at Woodchester Park, which was never built; and for his last executed private house design, at Wilburton between Cambridge and Ely.

80 Again, see Brittain-Catlin 2006.

81 Processions appear also in Nodier 1820, for example in plate 8, where one is seen within the ruins of the abbey church at Jumièges; for Pugin's use of Nodier's plates, see Brittain-Catlin 2001; Brittain-Catlin 2002a.

82 Much of the daily ritual at the house was described by his assistant John Hardman Powell (Wedgwood 2006).

83 So he told John Bloxam on 3.3.1840: Belcher 2001, p 133.

84 According to the 'Diary', Pugin visited Scott-Murray on 15.10.1844.

85 A direct connection with Ludlow Castle cannot be proved, but Pugin knew Kenilworth well: he himself had drawn there for the second volume of his father's *Examples* (1831–6), and he designed a chapel for the village in 1841.

86 An undated and unreferenced quotation reproduced in Stanton 1950, p 346.

87 At the Grange and Oswaldcroft, although apparently not at either of the two rectories, the valley formed at the centre of the house over the hall and between the pinwheel ridges was used for water storage.

88 He had drawn the Vicars' Close for the third volume of *Examples*, published 1836–40.

89 A.W.N. Pugin 1841a, p 1.

90 As he wrote in both the first and second editions of *Contrasts*, a builder must share 'the ancient feelings and sentiments' of the mediaeval builders: A.W.N. Pugin 1836, p 22; A.W.N. Pugin 1841b, p 43. There are many references to 'feelings' in both editions of this book.

91 Ferrey 1861, p 225.

92 There is certainly a strong resemblance at Lanteglos to the type of detailing one sees in the many Tudor-gothic parsonages of George Wightwick, who worked in Cornwall in the 1830s and 40s. Chapter Four above describes some of these houses.

93 There is here, too, an inexplicable exception, this time in the case of his own house at Ramsgate, which has occasional horizontal courses of a bluer brick on the south and west walls. Perhaps he made use of some irregular bricks that arrived on site.

94 Pugin distinguished himself from classical-Georgian architects in that he almost always used stone for window quoins and other dressings; it seems to be Butterfield, amongst the gothic revivalists, who reverted to using brick for these too, probably first at his Avington parsonage of 1847. Pugin did in fact design a very small number of windows like this – at Handsworth and at his schoolmaster's house in Spetchley, Worcs, of 1841 – and, surprisingly, they have secret lintels.

95 Or, conceivably, Wiseman, who was vicar apostolic of the central district at the time of the completion of St Barnabas. Willson was E. J. Willson's brother, priest at Nottingham from 1825 until 1842, when the church was in early stages of construction, and when he was transferred to Tasmania to become Bishop of Hobart.

96 A.W.N. Pugin 1841a, p 1.

97 As his friend Etty noted in 1845: see Belcher 2003, p 368 n 5. Pugin's surviving specifications require clear varnish finishes for internal timberwork.

98 Scarisbrick lodge: RIBA LDC, A.W.N. Pugin [64] 80. The Handsworth convent was designed in 1840.

99 In the case of the upper floor library and chapel of the Bishop's House in Birmingham he 'cheated', devising an open duopitch roof to sit below a monopitch forced on him, very probably, because of the need to avoid an eaves gutter along the party wall at the site boundary. BAA, APD/P1/9.

100 A.W.N. Pugin 1843, p 38.

101 Wedgwood 2006, p 14.

102 Dickens 1999, p 679 (chapter 55).

103 There are several examples of an array of building facades drawn at obtuse angles to each other, particularly in a sketchbook of 1831–2, Wedgwood 1977, [17] ff 5, 14, 16, 18 (dated 1832), and 30v.

104 Donaldson 1842, p 33.

## Notes to Chapter Four

1 ORO has records of 35 Gilbert's Acts applications for the 1840s, of which 28 are for new or rebuilt houses; it has a total of 4 from 1800–11 (including 1 new house); 8 for 1811–19 (6 new); 10 for the 1820s (4 new); and 15 for the 1830s (10 new). See Chapter One, note 84, for details of the Norwich holdings. Other dioceses also show an increase, although in general less marked.

2 Wightwick's account of Soane was printed in Bolton 1927, but is nicely recalled in context in Darley 1999, especially at p 284; for draughtsmanship see Britton & A.C. Pugin 1825–8; Wightwick 1827.

3 Colvin 1995, p 1049.

- 4 MGQAB vol xxiii, provides the dates for the houses at St Dominick, Pelynt, and Probus given below (CERC, QAB/2/1/23). The application papers for houses in what was at the time part of the Exeter diocese ought to be at the Devon RO, but there is no trace of them either there or at the Cornwall CRO at Truro.
- 5 St Dominick's: RIBA LDC, Wightwick [120] 3; the executed building appears to vary slightly from the drawings. Probus: RIBA LDC, Wightwick [119] 1.
- 6 The appearance of a blind lancet on a chimney gable on Pugin's rectory at Lanteglos, together with the plaster groining in the hall and the Georgian joinery suggests that this might have been built by builders familiar with Wightwick's work. Liskeard is RIBA LDC, Wightwick [47] 1.
- 7 Wedron: RIBA LDC, Wightwick [148] 1; St Ives: [122]. Other examples in RIBA LDC are Lanreath: Wightwick [40]; and Morval: Wightwick [53].
- 8 RIBA LDC, Donthorn [Moulton St Michael] 4; [Oundle] 1.
- 9 RIBA LDC, Donthorn [Thrapston] 1.
- 10 RIBA LDC, Donthorn [Weybridge] 1; [Fontmell] 1.
- 11 RIBA LDC, Donthorn [Dummer] 2.
- 12 Herefs CRO, HD 10/6 1853; further set, RIBA LDC, Donthorn [Rushbury] 1.
- 13 And, ungenerously, A.C. and A.W.N. Pugin seem to be conflated in his bibliography. Habershon's *Ancient timber houses* is mentioned but not A. W. N. Pugin's *Details of antient timber houses of the 15th and 16th century* of the same year. Gwilt 1842, section IV.
- 14 *Ibid.*, §2496 p 674.
- 15 Donaldson 1842, p 29.
- 16 The obligations upon an architect when a building was to be submitted for contracting in gross is referred to on pp 198–200 above.
- 17 Bartholomew 1840, preface §III; I–XIX–§72.
- 18 It occurs to me that Bartholomew's combination of general moral outrage but precise building instructions is revived at the present time in the various manuals on the subject of 'sustainable' architecture. Very rational thinkers are not easily appreciated, it seems.
- 19 Bartholomew 1840, II–XXIII and II–XXXIV.
- 20 *Ibid.*, II–XXIII–§§2644–64.
- 21 *Ibid.*, II–XXIII–§2671.
- 22 BIUY, MGA 1841/4; and see Chapter One, pp 53–5, above.
- 23 Bartholomew 1840, II–XXIII–§2680.
- 24 *Ibid.*, II–XXIII–§§2684–2690; II–XXIII–§2675; II–XXIV–§2796.
- 25 *Ibid.*, II–XXIV–§2794; §2858.
- 26 *Ibid.*, II–XXIII–§2722; II–XXII–§2532, §2534; II–XXI–§2444; II–XXII–§2530. In a rare reference to a technical specification, the MBEC record approving the use of cement instead of battening for waterproofing, following the application to that end by the Rev. William Coombs of Scholes, Wigan; 7.2.1850, item 11 (CERC: ECE/2/1/14). That probably marks the point at which it became standard practice.
- 27 Bartholomew 1840, II–XXIII–§2738; notes–§4741; II–XXIV–§§2838–9.
- 28 NRO, BN/DPLI/4/58, drawing of 23.6.1840. There do, admittedly, appear to have been three other submitted documents, but these are missing from the file which contains only one slightly later set of revised plans. According to Sir Howard Colvin, Thompson was 'ingenious but dubious', something of a contrast to our other Thompson, Mark, who was clearly most industrious. Colvin 1995, p 975.
- 29 Theydon Bois: CERC, QAB/7/6/E29.
- 30 Hants RO, 16M70/29/1–59.
- 31 Letter of 9.5.1816 from Richard Burn, Bounty secretary 1790–1822, to the incumbent Thomas Lancaster; CERC, QAB/7/6/E89.
- 32 Hodgson 1826, p 61.
- 33 MGQAB, vol xxiii, 6.2.1840, item 8 (CERC, QAB/2/1/23).
- 34 *E.g.*, the Rev Mr Copleston of Lamyat in Somerset in 1833: SRO, D/D/Bbm/63.
- 35 Hodgson 1826, p 60.
- 36 This was during Burns' watch in 1820, and he replied laconically that the governors were 'unlikely to object': CERC, QAB/7/6/E1680.
- 37 Bedingham: NRO, DN/DPL2/1/24; Isle Brewers: SRO, D/D/BbM/96.
- 38 W Sussex RO, Ep/1/41/69; Ep/1/41/83.
- 39 All this is described with characteristic aplomb by G. F. A. Best, at Best 1964, pp 225–6.
- 40 Blore's drawings for 3 Dean's Yard (which also show 3A) are in the V&A Prints & Drawings Study Room, 8745.1–5, and his accounts are at CUL, MS. Add. 3955.
- 41 MGQAB, vol xxiv, 3.4.1849 (CERC, QAB/2/1/24).
- 42 The word 'vespasian' appears to derive from a contemporary jocular French expression, *colonne verpasienne*, meaning a public lavatory, in honour of a tax imposed by the eponymous Roman emperor on such conveniences.
- 43 Hepworth: SROB, 806/2/10 – see Chapter One, pp 43–4, above; Potton: CUL, EDR/G3/40 MGA/BED/10.
- 44 At East Brent: SRO, D/D/Bbm/71.
- 45 Not that there is anything exclusively nineteenth-century about that. The architect Ulrik Plesner tells me that he was first employed by the famous Celanese Modernist Minette de Silva in the 1950s in order to sort out the detailing of the more complicated parts of her buildings that she hid, on drawings, behind renditions of lush greenery.
- 46 CUL, EDR/G3/39 MGA/58.
- 47 At Boxford: SROB, 806/2/3; Hartest: SROB, 806/2/9; and Bures: SROB, 809/2/4.
- 48 CCA, Dcb/DC/B1/1.
- 49 CCA, Dcb/DC/S35/1.
- 50 LA, MGA 338.
- 51 SRO, D/D/Bbm/107.
- 52 Application of 1823; ORO, MS. Oxf. dioc. papers b106/4.
- 53 ORO, MS. Oxf. dioc. papers b103/1A/B.
- 54 WSRO, D1/11/83.
- 55 Milton: CCA, Dcb/Dc/M15/1.
- 56 WSRO, D1/11/246. See also Chapter Five, pp 284–8, above.
- 57 W Sussex RO, Ep/1/41/77.

- 58 Report by Archdeacon Charles Webber of Boxgrove, 17.7.1821: W Sussex RO, Ep/1/41/66.
- 59 NRO, DN/DPL/4/75; DN/DPL/1/11.
- 60 NRO, DN/DPL/1/4/58, document 5 (1840).
- 61 WSRD, D28/6/11 (1846).
- 62 Lytton: SRO, D/D/Bbm/86; Wantage: ORO, MS. Oxf. dioc. papers b.80. There is no real evidence of Belcher's own designing skills in this archive beyond a very small plain and simple classical-Georgian extension to a parsonage at Denchworth, so it is fair to assume that he was not at all involved in the design of Street's house.
- 63 CERC, QAB/7/6/E43.
- 64 SROB, DN/DPL/2/29.
- 65 For example, Kaye 1960 and Jenkin 1961; and see the following footnote.
- 66 The processes and their historical development in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries are described in Cooney 1955–6; and Port 1967. A useful aphorism is provided in the latter by Professor Port: 'if, as Cooney argues, the development of contracting may have contributed to the rise of the master builders, it seems more likely that the rise of the master builder encouraged the use of contract in gross': Port 1967, p 109.
- 67 From the meticulous daybooks kept by John Soane's office, in Sir John Soane's Museum, it is possible to gauge the considerable number of man-hours required for this process.
- 68 See Cooney 1955–6, p 175.
- 69 Port 1967, p 110.
- 70 MBEC, vol iii, 8.8.1843 (CERC, ECE/2/1/1/6). This is the same John Clutton who founded the business that works today for the Church Commissioners. He soon moved into 8 Whitehall Place, close to the Commissioners, and alongside their architect Ewan Christian, who took up offices eventually in the stable yard behind at 8a. *ODNB* adds that Clutton's work for the Commissioners came as a result of the introduction of the 1842 Ecclesiastical Leases Act.
- 71 Bartholomew 1840, I–IV–§13 and II–I–§986 reinforce this point. At I–IX–§22 he warns of the dangers of contracts being signed with insufficient or inadequate specifications.
- 72 W Sussex RO, Ep/1/41/71, 1843.
- 73 The National Archives, ref. WORK 29/64.
- 74 The Nelson Monument was won in competition in 1839, and was slowly erected from 1843; the shaft went up that year, but it was not completed until 1850 (*Builder*, vol i, no 37 (21.10.1843), p 446; vol viii, no 375 (13.4.1850), p 169). John Britton had been amongst the competitors, submitting a low gothic tabernacle.
- 75 Original application: MBEC vol ii (first series), 15.2.1838 (CERC, ECE/2/1/1/2); Ripon competition and Riseholme: *ibid*, 3.4.1838; Stapleton, MBEC vol iii (first series), 26.2.1840 (CERC, ECE/2/1/1/3).
- 76 The goings-on are well described in Best 1964, pp 363–5.
- 77 MBEC, vol ii, 1.2.1842, item 15 (CERC, ECE/2/1/1/5).
- 78 MBEC, vol ii, 2.8.1842, item 7 (CERC, ECE/2/1/1/5).
- 79 MBEC, vol iii, 27.3.1844, item 21 (CERC, ECE/2/1/1/6).
- 80 Benefices – parsonage houses – general file 8129 pt i, 'Resolutions respecting grants in augmentation of livings'
- 27.2.1844, Rules and Instructions no 3 (CERC, ECE/7/1/8129/1). The estimated total cost for houses was £1,000 – in fact, not far off: a table of 2.3.1846 gives an average of £1074.5.10 for the 64 houses built to date and a further 6 tenders received (see *ibid*, pt ii).
- 81 RIBA LDC, Railton, [5] London, St James Muswell Hill; [6] London, Rotherhithe. The plans are undated, but there are clues in MBEC: the land for the Muswell Hill church was bought in 1845 (MBEC, vol v, 26.11.1845, item 15 (CERC, ECE/2/1/1/8)).
- 82 RIBA LDC, Railton, [1] Bristol, St Barnabas; [2] Carisbrooke (Isle of Wight); [3] Churchstow (Devon); [4] Coningham (Lincs).
- 83 CERC, QAB/7/6/E12.
- 84 Loudon, incidentally, had made the point more than once that it was because the English landscape was so dull that it needed a fancy style of architecture to enliven it: Loudon 1833, §1678 p 792, *i.a.*
- 85 *Ecclesiologist*, vol ii, June 1843, p 146.
- 86 Benefices – parsonage houses – general file 8129 pt i, 'Minutes of evidence taken before the Ecclesiastical Commissioners', 30.7.1845, p 86 (CERC, ECE/7/1/8129/1). He reiterated this view a year later, in the case of the house at Mathon discussed below: *ibid*, pt ii, 'Printed evidence, report of the Parsonage House Committee', 26.6.1846.
- 87 Benefices – parsonage houses – general file 8129 pt i, 'Minutes of evidence taken before the Ecclesiastical Commissioners', 30.7.1845, p 14 (CERC, ECE/7/1/8129/1).
- 88 *Ibid*, pp 11–2; 22–5.
- 89 *Ibid*, p 86.
- 90 *Ibid*, p 19.
- 91 *Ibid*, pp 32–4.
- 92 *Ibid*, pp 36–7; pp 45–6.
- 93 *Ibid*, pp 9–10; 60–5; 88; 97; 107–8.
- 94 *Ibid*, pp 60–1; 103–4.
- 95 *Ibid*, p 88.
- 96 *Ibid*, pp 104–5.
- 97 *Ibid*, pp 103–4; 109–110.
- 98 *Ibid*, pp 45–8. Chalk explained here his connection to Railton thus: 'He was originally introduced to my brother by a Gentleman who is a near Connection of the Bishop of Ripon who recommended him to my brother to alter his house, and he did it so well that I afterwards became acquainted with Mr Railton, and I recommended him to send that plan here. There were other plans sent in, and his was adopted as being the best'.
- 99 This is summarised from the 'Report of Select Committee parsonage houses': Ecclesiastical Commissioners for England, Committees, minutes, vol i, 30.7.1845 (CERC, ECE/2/4/1).
- 100 MBEC, vol v, 22.7.1845, item 16 (CERC, ECE/2/1/1/8).
- 101 Benefices – parsonage houses – general file 8129 pt ii, 'Report of the Parsonage House Committee' 26.6.1846 (printed evidence) (CERC, 7/1/8129/2).
- 102 MBEC, Parsonage House Committee Report, 26.6.1846; read at the General Meeting, MBEC, 1.7.1846, vol vi, p 215 (CERC: ECE/2/1/1/9).



- 103 Benefices – parsonage houses – general file 8129 pt ii, 'Report of the Parsonage House Committee' 26.6.1846 (printed evidence) (CERC, ECE/7/1/8129/2).
- 104 Upleadon vicarage files, 6804, pt i (CERC, ECE/7/1/6804/1). This is referred to in the printed version of the correspondence there, and also in the same file, in Morris' report of 31.12.1846.
- 105 *Ibid*, Sayers' letter to the Commissioners' offices of 28.2.1846; Morris' report, 31.12.1846; note from Murray (as Commissioners' treasurer) of 31.8.1846.
- 106 *Ibid*, Sayers' letters to the Commissioners' offices of 28.8.1846; 14.11.1846; 7.12.1846.
- 107 *Ibid*, Morris' report of 31.12.1846.
- 108 *Ibid*, Sayers to Chalk, 29.1.1847; Chalk to Sayers, 30.1.1847; Robertson to Chalk, 9.2.1847.
- 109 *Ibid*, letter from Bishop of Gloucester & Bristol to Sumner, 19.2.1847; to Sayers, 20.2.1847; Sayers to the Commissioners, 22.2.1847.
- 110 *Ibid*, letter from Farman to the Commissioners, dated February 1847.
- 111 Upleadon vicarage files, 6804, pt ii, 'book of evidence taken before the Ecclesiastical Commissioners', 9.3.1847 (CERC, ECE/7/1/6804/2). Sayers and Chalk had been interviewed beforehand on 4.3.1847.
- 112 MBEC, vol vii, 10.6.1847, item 11; resolved, 17.6.1847, item 3 (CERC, ECE/2/1/1/10).
- 113 For example that at Homerton, MBEC, vol vi, 2.8.1846, item 17 (CERC, ECE/2/1/1/9).
- 114 MBEC, vol ix, 11.5.1848 (CERC, ECE/2/1/1/12); the patron of Little Milton was actually the vicar of Ashfield – and it was his patron that was the bishop.
- 115 MBEC, vol ix, 20.7.1848, no 33 (CERC, ECE/2/1/1/12).
- 116 MBEC, vol ix, 30.11.1848, no 5 (CERC, ECE/2/1/1/12).
- 117 MBEC, vol x, 8.2.1849, item 22 (CERC, ECE/2/1/1/13).
- 118 MBEC, vol x, 11.1.1849, item 34 (CERC, ECE/2/1/1/13).
- 119 MBEC, vol x, 22.2.1849, item 20; 15.3.1849, item 15 (CERC, ECE/2/1/1/13).
- 120 MBEC, vol x, 10.5.1849 (CERC, ECE/2/1/1/13); and see Chapter One, pp 31–3, above.
- 121 At Byers Green. MBEC, vol x, 7.6.1849, item 21 (CERC, ECE/2/1/1/13).
- 122 According to his obituary in the *Builder*, vol xxxix, 3.9.1880, pp 281–3. The building was designed as a combined home for the National Gallery and the Royal Academy: all this is recounted definitively in Crook & Port 1973, pp 461–70.
- 123 *ODNB*.
- 124 *Builder*, vol xxxix, 4.9.1880, pp 281–3.
- 125 WSRO, D1/11/77.
- 126 WSRO, D28/6/12.
- 127 SRO, D/D/Bbm/93. This parsonage was omitted from Ferrey's *Builder* obituary.
- 128 ORO, MS. Oxf. dioc. b.109.
- 129 ORO, MS. Oxf. dioc. c.1540.
- 130 See Adkins 1911.
- 131 *Ibid*; and *ODNB*; the illustrations were for Habershon 1839, for which see Chapter Two, pp 97–100, and fig. 2.43 above.
- 132 MBEC, vol xii, 7.11.1850, item 25 (CERC, ECE/2/1/1/15).
- 133 In addition to the cases mentioned in this chapter, Ferrey had also found himself on the opposing side to Railton in the case of the restoration of the bishop's palace at Wells, which in the event was restored by him rather than by Railton.
- 134 I am indebted to Mr Chris Morley for sharing his researches on his former house with me. According to the *Clergy list* for 1849, Bevan was actually rector of Burton Latimer, several hundred miles away, at the time.
- 135 Acton: CUL, EDR/G3/41 MGA/SUFF/19; Salisbury: WSRO, D1/11/270.
- 136 Adkins 1911, p 728.
- 137 *Ibid*, p 725.
- 138 This and the outlines of his successors are from *ODNB*.
- 139 This and the following diocesan statistics are derived from the table in Appendix VI of Best 1964; it should be remembered that there were several alterations made to the boundaries of the dioceses during the first decades of the nineteenth century.
- 140 Dividing the income by the number of benefices does not give an accurate impression of the overall wealth of the diocese, because the income was not distributed equally between them; but by way of comparison, Bath & Wells had this 'average' income of £13.12.7 per benefice, whereas Canterbury, with the highest net income, had an average of about £65.0.7 for a similar size population and a slightly smaller number of benefices.
- 141 The second volume of A.C. Pugin & Willson's *Examples* (published as a book in 1836), to which A.W.N. Pugin contributed, had illustrated the deanery house and bishop's palace in Wells, and two houses and two monastic buildings in Glastonbury. The third volume (completed in 1840) included the Vicars' Close in Wells.
- 142 SRO, D/D/Bbm/62.
- 143 Holford, 1833, by Richard Down & Son of Bridgwater: SRO, D/D/Bbm/61.
- 144 Charlecombe, 1834, by G.P. Manners of Bath: SRO, D/D/Bbm/64.
- 145 SRO, D/D/Bbm/40.
- 146 SRO, D/D/Bbm/60.
- 147 SRO, D/D/Bbm/71.
- 148 SRO, D/D/Bbm/73.
- 149 At East Coker: SRO, D/D/Bbm/65.
- 150 SRO, D/D/Bbm/69.
- 151 SRO, D/D/Bbm/76.
- 152 SRO, D/D/Bbm/109.
- 153 Compare the original application, SROB, 806/2/9 of 1821, with the alterations shown in CUL, EDR/G3/41 MGR/SUFF/25. An additional floor was added at the same time. The second application was the work of Thomas Farrow, surveyor of Diss.
- 154 SRO, D/D/Bbm/97; 1846.
- 155 By Samuel Tripp, 1848, in a relaxed Tudor–gothic style; SRO, D/D/Bbm/102.

156 SRO, D/D/Bbm/54 (Wainwright, 1827); D/D/Bbm/98 (Gane, 1846). Colvin 1995, p 107, points out that George Basevi made an unexecuted design for Dinder that was reproduced in *Country life*, 20.10.1977, p 1104, fig 2; and that Basevi also designed a rectory at Coudson.

157 Respectively, at Lamyat in 1833 (SRO, D/D/Bbm/63); and East Pennard, a standard L-corridor, Tudor-gothic house, in 1841 (SRO, D/D/Bbm/81).

158 SRO, D/D/Bbm/74. I see from Colvin 1995, p 577, that Kempthorne also designed two churches in Somerset, at Haselbury Plucknett and Misterton, at the same period.

159 SRO, D/D/Bbm/101.

160 SRO, D/D/Bbm/82.

161 Ovenden 1891, p 40. It was Ashton Ovenden, of whom more later, who described Howley as 'high and dry' (*idem*).

162 But not to the vicarage house that stands there today, for that was designed by Lewis Wyatt for Lord Augustus Fitz Clarence, the son of William IV and Mrs Jordan, in 1831. It has an unusual early staircase hall. The patron of the living was Eton College. ORO, MS. Oxf. dioc. papers b.104/2.

163 *Dictionary of national biography*, first edition 1898, vol 55, p 169.

164 Some of the parsonage building plans are kept separately from the main collection, (Dcb/Dc), in bundles numbered U/163/3-4; they may have been built under augmentations rather than Gilbert's Acts' legislation.

165 CCA, U163/4.

166 The attribution is from Colvin 1995, p 1041.

167 CCA, Dcb/DC/S24/1.

168 CCA, Dcb/DC/H8/1.

169 Warehorne: CCA, Dcb/DC/W24/1; Newchurch: CCA, Dcb/DC/N1/1.

170 The attribution is again from Colvin 1995, p 1041.

171 CCA, Dcb/DC/B13/1.

172 It should be added that there were examples of this type of composition, but without a bay, previous to the Grange in Ramsgate, such as at Rockland St Peter, in Norfolk, in 1840 – for which see Chapter Two, p 105, above.

173 No executed house by Pugin has either of these elements.

174 A.W.N. Pugin 1841a, p 1.

175 According to Dixon & Muthesius 1978, p 269, John Whichcord junior later designed the Grand Hotel at Brighton (1862-4).

176 Ovenden 1891.

177 *Ibid*, p 7. He meant, of course, Anglican churches; there were many more of other denominations, in addition to Pugin's St Augustine's, not least for the seaside tourists.

178 *Ibid*, p 13.

179 *Ibid*, p 39.

180 *Ibid*, pp 54-5.

181 *Ibid*, p 7.

182 The attribution to Vulliamy for the two Bethnal Green houses is from Colvin 1995, p 1013, and from *PAG London 5: East*, pp 552, 555: I found no contemporary mortgage records for them. It is fair to say that there are certain similarities here with the slightly earlier (1837) brick Roman Catholic presbytery designed

by J. J. Scoles in Colchester, adjoining his Norman style church of St James. Pugin's church of St James in Reading was (uniquely, for him) Norman too. Why, I wonder, should St James be associated with the Romanesque style? Vulliamy's St James the Less church has been rebuilt after bombing but for the tower.

183 In the final volume of his *Architectural antiquities* (Britton 1826); and see above Chapter Two, figs. 2.17-8.

184 Some changes have taken place on the south, main, entrance elevation, and Vulliamy's original intentions are unclear. The church itself is built of flint and is less grand than St James the Less was.

185 The plan is traceable through existing situation plans prepared by Henry Letts Pridmore to accompany his application to alter the building in 1903. GLL, 19,244/600.

186 NRO, DN/DPL2/2/216. A tablet set into the wall gives the date as 1840.

187 CUL, EDR/G3/39 MGA/40.

188 In other words, it was similar to the Barham parsonage referred to above.

189 For which see Chapter Three, p 124, above.

190 RIBA LDC, Roberts. See Curl 1983, p 20, for further discussion of this house in the context of Roberts' career. Neither Professor Curl nor I have been able to locate this building in either of the Kentish Southboroughs.

191 CERC, QAB/7/6/E58.

192 See Curl 1983, p 24, pl 32.

193 Surrey HC, 472/23/2-4; and see Curl 1983, p 35. The house has been demolished.

194 For anxiety about missionaries, see for example Merewether 1845; Lapley: J Watson, c1840 (Colvin 1995, p 1026).

195 See Chapter One, pp 29-30, above.

196 CERC, QAB/7/6/E1740.

197 LA, MGA 153; and see Chapter One, p 56, and Chapter Two, pp 69-70, above.

198 Aylestone (1838): LA, MGA 225/1838; Thurmaston (1837): LA, MGA 220/1837.

199 These are given in Colvin 1995, p 882. Colvin lists the classical rectory at Tenbury of 1843 as being Smith's, but the plans in the Herefs RO, HD8/18 Benefice 1843, are signed by Harvey Egerton of Worcester, who was an architect. It is certainly a good deal more sophisticated than Smith's work.

200 There is no record at Herefs RO of an application: the attribution is from Colvin 1995, p 882. See Chapter Two, p 108, above.

201 Stokesay: Herefs RO, HD/44 1839; Wheathill: Herefs RO, HD10/6 1853 (*sic*).

202 Herefs RO, HD10/4 1851 (2).

203 See Hussey 1966.

204 According to Colvin 1995, p 139.

205 I am indebted to Peter Meadows of CUL for sharing with me his researches on this house. Mr Meadows kindly showed me his copy of plans and elevations of the house that had been reproduced in an unpublished album entitled *Mrs Ignatius Bonomi's album, 1832*. The house was heavily altered and extended later in the nineteenth century.

- 206 Britton 1814.  
 207 Mackenzie & Ross 1834, vol ii, p 435.  
 208 Both houses were designed in partnership with J. A. Cory: Colvin 1995, p 140. This gives the date of 1844 for Wilton. A mortgage of £1,146 for the Loftus house was noted in the MGQAB for 4.5.1843, item 14/6 (CERC, QAB/2/1/23); and Mr Meadows tells me that he has in the past found the application documents for it in the collection now housed in the CERC, although if there now they are currently untraceable.  
 209 His National School at Croft in the North Riding of Yorkshire of 1844–5 was ‘Tudor-gothic’: Colvin 1995, p 140.

## Notes to Chapter Five

- 1 WSRO, DI/11/250.  
 2 CUL, EDR/G3/40 MGA/BED/16. Parsonage files usually include archaic parish names, and from this one I discovered that Leighton Buzzard was at the time also called Leighton Bosard and, exotically, Leighton Beadesert.  
 3 A.W.N. Pugin 1842, pl 11.  
 4 See Wedgwood 2006, p 22.  
 5 Photocopy of letter at HLRO, PUG/3/2/110, undated. Scott was working at St Mary’s in 1842–4.  
 6 Only one letter of Pugin’s directly refers to the presbytery at Cheadle, and it is undated, but is probably from November 1842 (or possibly 1843). It was a remodelling of an old house, with a new block at the rear, a new bay window, and an entry passage from the street. See Belcher 2003, pp 131–2.  
 7 The incumbent was Dr Samuel Edmund Walker: Chadwick 1966, p 220. I am indebted to Dr Gill Hunter for identifying the source of this story. Walker’s travails were reported in the *Times* newspaper, 3.3.1845, p 7.  
 8 W. White 1851; W. White 1853. As a further example, Peter Howell tells me that the Oxford Architectural Society papers show that Pugin’s name was erased from their record of Dorchester Abbey.  
 9 Milton: CCA, DCb/DC/M15/1, 1855; demolished.  
 10 Hansom’s obituary in the *Builder* reported that the partnership, from 1862–3, ‘had a disagreeable termination’. Oh dear! – so much did, where E.W. Pugin was involved. Joseph Hansom also worked in partnership with his son, from 1859–62. *Builder*, vol xliii, no 2057 (8.7.1888), p 44.  
 11 Letters from Pugin to John Hardman, 25.6.1845 and 9.7.1845 (in Belcher 2003, pp 410 and 412), refer to a ‘Dr W’, probably Wiseman, having made this complaint. Leetham 1950, a history of Ratcliffe College, suggests that Rosmini, the client, fell out with Pugin: pp 12; 17–8.  
 12 Quoted from a letter, probably mid-1846, to Shrewsbury in Ferrey 1861, p 133.  
 13 In a letter to Hardman of October 1849, HLRO, PUG/1/966: I am enormously grateful to Dr Margaret Belcher for finding me this and the following quotation which will appear in letters included in her forthcoming volumes of Pugin’s correspondence. This one this seems to have been in relation to the priory church of Our Lady of the Annunciation at Woodchester, Gloucestershire, which C. Hansom designed from 1846.  
 14 HLRO, PUG/1/411.  
 15 The very few and partial views of Pugin’s obliterated presbytery at St Mary, Stockton-on-Tees, suggest that this house had a similar west elevation. Harrison 1975 has one such photograph.  
 16 In an article entitled ‘A few remarks on gothic ecclesiastical building, and its cost’, in the *Rambler*, vol v, January 1850; quoted in Belcher 1987 at E64.  
 17 An impression long since corrected now by Evinson 1980.  
 18 For which latter subject see the excellent Andrews 2001 and Andrews 2002, and the work of Ursula de Jong.  
 19 Herefs RO, HD8/15 1840 (both refs).  
 20 CUL, EDR/G3/39/ MGA 50.  
 21 For details, see Girouard 1958.  
 22 The most comprehensive description of Salvin’s work can be found in Allibone 1988.  
 23 LMA, ACC 1083/3. It has also been demolished.  
 24 WSRO, DI/11/112.  
 25 WSRO, DI/11/113.  
 26 Burstn: Norfolk CRO, DN/DPL2/6/216; Horringer: SROB, FM500/1/6, of May 1871. The style of this latter house is a little odd – perhaps American-looking.  
 27 LA, MGA 315.  
 28 MGQAB vol xxiv, 26.3.1846, item 13; 1.7.1846; 16.3.1848, item 104/47 (CERC, QAB/2/1/24).  
 29 It is now part of Lincoln Minster School.  
 30 As Andrew Saint records, in Saint 1975, pp 3–5, Burn soon employed two fervent young Puginites in his office: Norman Shaw from 1849, and soon afterwards Shaw’s future partner Nesfield, who later moved to Salvin. Much later Shaw designed one small house which has a plan very similar to that of Rampisham: the Corner House, of 1872: *ibid*, pl 89 p 106.  
 31 It seems possible that Charles Fowler junior (c1823–1903) may have been involved in the design. The drawings are in DRO.  
 32 W Sussex RO, Ep/1/41/88, 1853. Clarke produced many designs for parsonages in later years.  
 33 Hants RO, 16M70/16/1–8.  
 34 *Ecclesiologist*, vol ii, June 1843, p 145.  
 35 Savidge 1964, pp 133–4, identified this as Wordsworth’s *The excursion*, Book VIII.  
 36 *Ecclesiologist*, vol ii, June 1843, p 146.  
 37 *Ibid*, p 147.  
 38 *Idem*.  
 39 By Butterfield, Carpenter and Dawkes respectively; *Ecclesiologist*, vol iv, July 1845, p 189.  
 40 *Ibid*, vol vi, December 1846, pp 238–9.  
 41 *Ecclesiologist*, vol ii, June 1843, p 147.  
 42 Hants RO, 16M70/19/1–2.  
 43 Shinfield: see Chapter Two, p 116.  
 44 *Ecclesiologist*, vol viii, February 1848, p 258.  
 45 *Ibid*, vol viii, April 1848, p 321. See pp 276–8 above.



- 46 *Ibid*, vol viii, February 1848, p 249. It is very likely that the minutes of other county architectural societies, such as that at Oxford, could yield a great deal more interesting information about contemporary parsonages.
- 47 *Ibid*, vol ix, April 1849, p 328.
- 48 *Ibid*, June 1849, p 402.
- 49 *Ibid*, vol x, August 1849, pp 57–8. The meeting had been held the previous June.
- 50 Scott certainly read at least one paper (on the subject of church restoration) before the Society, referring to it in his *Recollections*: G. Scott 1995, p 149.
- 51 *Builder*, vol xxxvi, 1878, p 360. As with Ferrey's obituary, this list is not completely trustworthy – it does not include the clergy house at St Giles, Camberwell, for example.
- 52 G. Scott 1995, pp 157–64.
- 53 G. Scott 1857, p 241.
- 54 This was Pevsner's expression, in *PAG Staffs*, p 97.
- 55 There seems to be no record of Scott's house in the ORO. Drawings there of an extension of 1866, MS. Oxf. dioc. papers c.1656, appear to refer to a different building.
- 56 WSRO, DI/11/90. The plans are signed by Moffatt, on behalf of the partnership. Butterfield later made further additions, in effect converting the house into a more conventional central-corridor plan type (DI/11/215).
- 57 There is a partial view in Thompson 1971, p 348.
- 58 ORO, MS. Oxf. dioc. papers b.103/7.
- 59 GL, Ms 19224/455.
- 60 CUL, EDR/G3/39 MGA/91.
- 61 LMA, ACC 1083/2 (cc no 1704).
- 62 At Tydd St Giles the study was reached from the corridor that leads from the front door.
- 63 ORO, MS. Oxf. dioc. papers c.1479.
- 64 For which see Stamp 2002, particularly pp 38–63.
- 65 A.W.N. Pugin 1841a, p 60; pp 1–2.
- 66 See for example Belcher 2003, p 153 n 3. Carpenter may have seen St Augustine's from the outside in 1845: Belcher 2003, p 330 n 4.
- 67 The MQQAB (vol xxiii) recorded a mortgage of £1,500 on 16.5.1844, item 12/1 (CERC, QAB/2/1/23). Elliott 1995, a doctoral dissertation, is the most comprehensive work on Carpenter to date, and his chapter 6 describes Carpenter's parsonages in detail. Brasted is referred to at pp 140–1. There are no files on his three major parsonages – Brasted, Kildown and Monkton Wyld – in the relevant diocesan collections, but it seems possible that application details for some houses may one day be found somewhere in the CERC.
- 68 The flat, angular tracery of the windows of Wenlock Priory made other appearances in Carpenter's work; Pugin himself used it at least once, at Alton Castle which was probably also designed in 1843.
- 69 SRO, D/D/Bbm/61. Richard Down & Son were architects practising from Bridgwater. Ferrey, not an imaginative planner, used it himself very soon after Carpenter, at his 1844 vicarage at Midsomer Norton (SRO, D/D/Bbm/93).
- 70 See Chapter Three, pp 162–3, above.
- 71 *Ecclesiologist*, vol viii, April 1848, p 321.
- 72 Ferrey 1861, p 225.
- 73 Elliott 1995 has further details on Carpenter's domestic architecture. See Chapter One, pp 31–3, above for details of the angry correspondence between Harrison, the incumbent, the architect Roos, and Christian.
- 74 It appears that Carpenter's house incorporated some fragments of Roos', for there is a pre-extant brick-built wing on the south side of the house that suffers from the damp that had earlier plagued Harrison.
- 75 According to the MBEC vol iii, 4.7.1843, item 2 (CERC, ECE/2/1/1/6), the benefaction came from all three members of the family. They put up £600 for the land, and the Commissioners agreed to meet this with a grant of a further £400 (*ibid*, 27.6.1843). After Lady Beresford's death in 1851, and until he himself inherited the estate in 1854, Beresford-Hope managed his stepfather's affairs (*ODNB*). Lord Beresford told the Commissioners that he intended to spend £3,000 on this house – the same cost as the grand deanery in Lincoln mentioned above: MBEC vol viii, 25.11.1846, item 23 (CERC, ECE/2/1/1/11). From the first there were problems: his solicitors were unable to establish title on the piece of land he had in mind, and after a long delay he had to settle for a site half the size: MBEC vol ix, 9.12.1848 (CERC, ECE/2/1/1/12). Then came the protracted calamity of Roos' house. As Christian put it when describing the latter, 'it is greatly to be regretted that in a case like this where the provision of a complete and comfortable residence was desired irrespective of cost, the design of the Founder should have been so thwarted by the persons employed to make it so' (CKS, P157B/3/2: report of 4.4.1853).
- 76 He may in addition have built or remodelled the vicarage opposite his church of St John at Bovey Tracey in Devon, which has Puginesque joinery inside.
- 77 Cotes Heath: Elliott 1995, pp 208–9; Little Cornard, *ibid*, p 209.
- 78 Photocopy: HLRO, PUG/1/582, not dated; Birmingham City Library History Centre, Hardman Collection, Pugin Correspondence, 1847–1852 box; a letter dated by Pugin 'August 1851' includes 'I send you some rough sketches of seals that may do to show Mr Butterfield the sort of thing he could have more or less ornamented'.
- 79 Habershon 1839, *passim*, in succession to many picturesque and Tudor-gothic architects, had seen half-timbering as 'English'.
- 80 Carpenter may have designed the Brasted house as early as 1843, but he had earlier blotted his copybook somewhat with his feeble designs for terraces in Islington, designed from 1839 onwards in classical-Georgian and Tudor styles.
- 81 The interior has been remodelled by the opening up of the first reception room to the entrance corridor; see Savidge 1964, p 135 fig 49. The plan before this alteration was redrawn by M.G. Clens for the National Monuments Record in 1965: BB66/2602. There are other alterations from the original plan.
- 82 Thompson 1971, p 85, makes this latter point.
- 83 Although see Chapter Three, fn 94 above.
- 84 WSRO, DI/11/206.

85 Thompson 1971, fig 60 p 152. Pugin designed further square-sectioned, rectangular bays like this for his work at the Cheadle presbytery and at Cotton Hall some time soon after September 1846.

86 *Ibid*; see particularly pp 356–60.

87 Street 1883, p 13.

88 ORO, MS. Oxf. dioc. papers b.80. The hall has been compromised by modern subdivision.

89 According to Hammond 1977, p 45. Beeson 2004, pp 86–95, provides an enjoyable description of Butler's time at Wantage.

90 Quoted in Street 1883, p 15.

91 Savidge 1964, pp 139–43, provides good examples of the kind of derision I am referring to.

92 ORO, MA. Oxf. dioc. papers c.1789.

93 A.W.N. Pugin 1843, p 39.

94 Rather in the manner of what Lutyens was to do at Walton Manor in Northumberland in 1908–9, although on a much smaller scale; ORO, MS. Oxf. dioc. papers c.1718.

95 WSRO, D1/11/246.

96 Hants RO, 16M70/29/1–59. The file is an interesting one however because of the interference of Christian, for the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, who asked Street to add 'protection' above window heads and other openings. It was here that the bishop himself, Samuel Wilberforce, added a water closet. Street was obliged to reduce costs by making the whole of the new part of the house slightly smaller.

97 Professor Crook has long ago noticed this joint parentage, in Eastlake 1970, preface p 14. Webb's hipped dormers had been previously used by S. S. Teulon, in his design for his parsonage, c1846, at Kirmington, Lincs (RIBA LDC, Teulon [10]).

98 Kirk 2005, pp 20–35; 92.

99 SROI, FFI/106/1; dated 19.3.1844.

100 SROI, FFI/47/1.

101 This was the style for parsonages including Creak (c1845), Potters Bar (not dated), Roade (not dated), and Wetheringsett [1844]: RIBA LDC, Teulon [3]; [12]; [15]; [17]. An undated scheme probably from the mid-1840s in the same sketchbook, [19], is in an Italianate style. The design there for 'Hollesby' (Teulon [9]) must refer to 'Hollesley'.

102 LA, MGA 338.

103 ORO, MS. Oxf. dioc. papers c.1721.

104 WSRO, D1/11/131.

105 Elliott & Pritchard 2002 includes a gazetteer of Woodyer's work, although omits the parsonage at Cove.

106 *Ecclerologist*, vol vi, December 1846, pp 238–9.

107 The only file in Hants RO relating to the building is for White's extensions, and includes no original plan: 16M70/22/1–30.

108 W Sussex RO, Ep/1/41/72.

109 Hants RO, 16M70/10/1–21.

110 Wheatley: ORO, MS. Oxf. dioc. c.2066. The house, now substantially altered, was built in mirror image to how it had been drawn in the mortgage application. Ferrey's obituary in the *Builder* (vol xxxix, 4.9.80, pp 281–3) incorrectly lists this as his.

Copdock: SROI, FFI/24/1.

111 This is particularly true of the house at St Ive, near Callington, Cornwall, with its sweeping roofs and sculptural forms.

Dr Hunter's forthcoming work on this architect will at last provide a worthy appraisal of his work. See in the meantime Hunter 2006.

112 Brontë 1994, p 113.

113 *Ibid*, p 291.

114 Heygate 1845, p 51, quoting from Herbert's *Priest to the Temple* of 1671, cx.

115 Heygate 1845, p 50.

116 Ovenden 1857, pp 293–4.

117 *Ibid*, p 270.

118 *Ibid*, pp 298–9.

## Notes to the Epilogue

- Forty 2000, pp 109–10.
- Brakelond 1844.
- Brittain-Catlin 2006 discusses this in detail.
- Drury 2001, §1.4 p 55.
- Brittain-Catlin 2006, p 372.
- G. Scott 1857, p 120.
- The pioneering work of sociology, Auguste Comte's *Course of positive philosophy*, was published in 1830–42.
- W. Scott 1999, pp 46–8.
- This is discussed extensively in Auerbach 1953, p 468 ff.
- Quoted in *ibid*, p 477.
- The concluding words of A.W.N. Pugin 1841a.
- Cooter 1984, p 124.
- Ibid*, p 119.
- Brittain-Catlin 2006, p 372.
- References to pews include J.M. Neale 1841; J.M. Neale 1843, pp 208–9; J.M. Neale; 1846, p 10 (*i.a.*).
- Thompson 1977, pp 37–8.
- Stockton critic*, no 4, 15.2.1876, pp 50–1; the description, by 'Criticus', is of the Palm Sunday service of 1875.
- E.g. Roberts 1848, pp 136–7.
- Loudon 1833, §353 p 179.

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