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A.W.N. Pugin's English Residential Architecture in its Context

Vol. I: The Dissertation and Appendices

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This dissertation is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration.

The total word count for all parts of this dissertation does not exceed the amount permitted.

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PhD Summary: Abstract of the Dissertation

This Dissertation investigates all of A.W.N. Pugin's known English residential architecture for the first time, placing it in the context of the domestic and institutional architecture of comparable small buildings, particularly Anglican parsonages, of the period in which he lived and worked.

The Dissertation is preceded by a summary of the theoretical issues that architects were addressing from the beginning of the nineteenth century, in particular those which Pugin was later to make a central part of his own theoretical writings. Following an examination of the conventions of the domestic architecture of the period, the Dissertation analyses Pugin's own buildings, primarily categorising them by plan type. Pugin's attitude to the orientation, location and landscape of his work is then considered, followed by an analysis of his preferred building forms, their materials, their detailing, and their decoration. In addition, the Dissertation investigates the extent to which Pugin's architecture was actually historicist, reviving English or Continental Gothic forms and details.

The Dissertation further investigates Pugin's professional practice as a domestic architect, defining the nature of his partnership with his favoured building contractor, George Myers, in the context of contemporary contracting practice. The practical problems of Pugin's constructions, and the character of his professional relationship with his clients are also assessed.

The thesis proposes that elements of Pugin's architectural theory existed previous to his career amongst English architectural writers and critics, but that medium and small houses designed between 1800 and the mid-1840s were overwhelmingly based on a limited number of conventionalised plans. It will show that Pugin's residential planning was inherently different from that of these conventional buildings, and that it is classifiable into a number of distinct categories. This thesis furthermore argues that Pugin's residential architecture was often far from functional and was not essentially historicist.

This thesis will show that the planning of medium and small houses changed radically from the 1840s, incorporating aspects of planning which Pugin had pioneered; a conclusion suggests to what extent Pugin's architectural creativity was expressive of cultural change and preoccupation beyond the realm of architecture.

An Appendix is attached which summarises the chronology of all of Pugin's known residential works.

can assure you that the report about my being indifferent to any building but a church is utterly without foundation & Like many other lies about me is put forth by interested persons for private ends. I enter into *any building* which I undertake with the *greatest interest* in fact I feel bound by conscience to do so independent of other inducements'.

AWN Pugin to M Forristall, 27.5.1843.

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1 Introduction

1.1 *Summary of Aims*

1.1.1 Background

To date there has been no full account of A.W.N. Pugin's career as a designer of domestic and residential buildings; no stylistic analysis; no comprehensive analysis of plan; no comparison at all with the 'Gothic', or 'Tudor-Gothic', architecture of his contemporaries. There has been no investigation as to why his architecture had the impact it did; and almost none as to what form that impact took. There has been no analysis of the changing patterns in his work over his working life. Furthermore, there has been no investigation as to what his domestic architecture might have *meant* – to himself, to others, and in terms of the culture of his time. This dissertation aims at filling these lacunae.

Much has been published by local and architectural historians on individual projects by Pugin; there have, however, only been two significant studies of Pugin's domestic architecture as a whole. The first was Stanton's doctoral thesis of 1950, which was an overview of Pugin's entire career, and which attempted some basic analysis; Stanton's work was intended by its author to be a 'systematic summary', a necessary prelude to a 'critical study', which would eventually follow.¹ Some of Pugin's domestic work was discussed, and some individual analyses of plans and forms were made. Her book *Pugin* of 1971 was essentially a condensed and rewritten version of the doctoral thesis.

The second work to date is Wedgwood's essay 'Domestic architecture' of 1994, which considers fewer buildings (about fifteen English houses) but in greater detail, and with the benefit of more than a further twenty years of scholarship. It is here that

¹ Stanton 1950, foreword.

Wedgwood states that Pugin's domestic architecture 'has never been studied in detail and its documentation is more difficult than that of his religious architecture'.² It is indeed the case that the lack of documentation is often astounding: a large project such as the clergy house in Nottingham, for example, is almost entirely ignored in the whole of the surviving documentation of Pugin's life and letters; of some buildings, now disappeared, there is no record at all of their appearance, or sometimes (as in the case of some of the presbyteries) not even any record of them having been built at all, and there are many publications that make incorrect attributions to Pugin.

In addition to reconstructing Pugin's entire domestic and residential *oeuvre*, to analysing their style and their development, and to comparing it systematically with the work of his contemporaries, this dissertation aims to enable further judgment on the prevailing views of Pugin since his own time, and specifically, to address the assessment of him by Stanton and Pevsner.

1.1.2 This Dissertation

This dissertation is not a chronological or biographical account, but an analysis of the form of Pugin's work as it was designed or built, and an investigation into its relationship with comparable work by others, both during his lifetime and afterwards. Every extant residential building by Pugin in England was visited and recorded during the course of the present research. Where biographical information, such as extracts from letters, is included here it is either because it has not yet been published or discussed, or because it illustrates, clarifies or suggests a point which may arise out of the buildings themselves. Detailed description of Pugin's buildings, such as it is, has almost always been biographical in nature, arranged on the basis of his letters and drawings; most known sources of these have now been pretty much exhausted by scholars. For example, much work has been done by Belcher in identifying references in contemporary press, and no attempt is made here to duplicate that endeavour.³ In

² Wedgwood 1994, p 43.

³ In Belcher 1987.

addition, this dissertation includes some reference to some of the cultural and social factors, which may have been influential on the way in which Pugin and his architect contemporaries came to design their buildings. In brief, this dissertation is an attempt to define *how* it was that Pugin's domestic and residential architecture was different from what preceded it, and *how* it influenced the direction which English architecture was to take after his death.

This dissertation encompasses all the domestic and residential projects in England designed by Pugin where he was responsible for the layout of an entire building or a significant extension of it. Decorative schemes, the Houses of Parliament works and the cumulative additions to Alton Towers are therefore excluded.

'Pugin' without distinguishing initials refers to A.W.N. Pugin throughout.

1.1.3 The Thesis

My thesis proposes that elements of Pugin's architectural theory existed previous to his career amongst English architectural writers and critics, but that medium and small houses designed between 1800 and the mid-1840s were overwhelmingly based on a limited number of conventionalised plans. It will show that Pugin's residential planning was inherently different from that of these conventional buildings, and that it is classifiable into a number of distinct categories. This thesis furthermore argues that Pugin's residential architecture was often far from functional and was not essentially historicist.

This thesis will show that the planning of medium and small houses changed radically from the 1840s, incorporating aspects of planning which Pugin had pioneered; the conclusion suggests that Pugin's architectural creativity was expressive of cultural change and preoccupation beyond the realm of architecture.

1.2 *Method*

The primary research material of this dissertation consists of the following:

- * Pugin's buildings themselves: the primary source of research;
- * the original documentation on Pugin's buildings and on contemporary parsonages and other houses;
- * the topographical and antiquarian writings, and the professional literature of the period;
- * Pugin's published and unpublished writings and drawings, reinterpreted in the light of the analysis of the buildings; and
- * the writings of critics and others, interpreted in the light of the evidence above.

The chapters are arranged as follows:

- * Chapter 1 includes a literature survey on the subject of Pugin's domestic architecture in general;
- * Chapter 2 summarises professional and theoretical debate in the fields with which Pugin was to become associated, from the beginning of the nineteenth century up to the time when his practice started in 1835;
- * Chapter 3 describes the conventional form of small houses, especially parsonages, from 1800 up to the point at which Pugin's career was at its zenith;

- * Chapter 4 provides an analysis of plan, form, and materials of Pugin's domestic architecture;
- * Chapter 5 analyses Pugin's professional method as a practicing domestic architect;
- * Chapter 6 assesses the extent to which Pugin was an historicist architect, by tracing the English and Continental sources for his work;
- * Chapter 7 reviews the changes that English domestic architect underwent from the period that Pugin's career was at its peak, until the mid-Victorian period; and
- * Chapter 8 provides some interpretation of the social and cultural elements identifiable in Pugin's work.

A chronological appendix, Appendix A, is provided as a gazetteer but also includes some historical information about every known residential project, particularly where the latter has not, to my knowledge, been published elsewhere. It states what historical documentation exists, and to what extent reconstruction is possible, and also gives information in footnotes regarding relevant publications. The architectural features of a building are only given here in so far as they represent a change from Pugin's previous practice – in other words, in so far as they belong properly to a chronological account.

Pugin's domestic works have never been listed in precise chronological order before, and as such this appendix provides a tool for the rest of the Dissertation. The chronological order is determined here by the first date that Pugin is *known to have become involved with a project*; where several different datable schemes exist for the same project, for example as at Magdalen College School, the schemes are divided and inserted in their correct order.

1.3 Tools

Certain published Pugin texts – by him and about him – have become definitive. These are as follows: the drawings and documents catalogued by Wedgwood for RIBA LDC in 1977, and for the V&A in 1985; and Pugin's letters up to the end of 1842, and from 1843-5, in two volumes, edited by Belcher. When referring to these documents I have given the reference as 'Wedgwood 1977', 'Wedgwood 1985', 'Belcher 2001' and 'Belcher 2003'. 'Wedgwood 1985, 1002', for example, means 'catalogue number 1002 in Wedgwood 1985'. Pugin's 'Diary' and 'Autobiography' are included in Wedgwood 1985. Belcher's published editions of Pugin's letters have made the documents' original reference numbers redundant for the purposes, at least, of this dissertation.

I originally selected most of my examples for the comparative chapter as follows: I made a list of *all* parsonages and clergy houses given in Colvin's *A biographical dictionary of British architects* (3rd ed, 1995) that were built between 1800 and 1850. I then culled from these representative lists in various categories. I visited nearly all these houses, where extant, and also looked up the drawings or other documents in the relevant archives. I then made a further shortening of the list, to get a sample that was still representative, but was not disproportionately large. I have summarised where I found the attributions I have used in Appendix B, and recorded my site visits as footnotes to the text itself.

I have given geographical orientations small letters – east, west, etc. – and liturgical ones capitals: East, West. I have followed Belcher's example and recorded Pugin's letters exactly as he wrote them, without the frequent use of (sic): for example: 'I am very to hear'; 'I have seen some glorious things & believe me I have profited by them', etc. In the case of the publications of A.C. and A.W.N. Pugin, and of John Britton, I have supplemented the footnote references to publications with an abbreviated title, because these authors published so much, often in the same year.

Abbreviations are as follows:

AAW:	Archives of the Archbishops of Westminster
BAA:	Birmingham Roman Catholic Archdiocesan Archives
BL:	British Library
BIY:	Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, University of York
CKS:	Centre for Kentish Studies
Colvin:	Howard Colvin, <i>A biographical dictionary of British architects 1600-1840</i> , 3 rd ed, New Haven & London, 1995.
CRO:	county record office
CUL:	Cambridge University Library
DRO:	diocesan record office
Franklin:	Franklin private collection, refer HLRO reference.
HC:	history centre
HLRO:	House of Lords Record Office
LMA:	London Metropolitan Archives
Leics CRO:	Record Office for Leicestershire, Leicester, and Rutland
LSL:	local studies library
LHL:	local history library
LRO:	Liverpool Record Office
MCO:	Magdalen College Oxford
OS:	Ordnance Survey
PAG:	Pevsner Architectural Guides
RCDA:	Roman Catholic diocesan archives
RIBA LDC:	Royal Institute of British Architects Library Drawings Collection (the architect's name precedes the reference number given)
RO:	record office
SAA:	Southwark Roman Catholic Archdiocesan Archives
V&A:	Victoria and Albert Museum, London
YCBA:	Yale Center for British Art, New Haven

1.4 Literature survey

1.4.1 Pugin's Published Texts

Pugin had accompanied his father on sketching trips both in France in the 1820s, in order to draw and direct the plates required for the *Engraved specimens of the architectural antiquities of Normandy*,⁴ edited by John Britton, and in England in connection with the A.C. Pugin's *Examples of Gothic architecture*.⁵ Plates published there constitute the first appearance in print of A.W.N. Pugin's attention to domestic architecture. The second volume of the *Examples* (from 1834) included plates attributed in some measure to Pugin *filis*: the frontispiece, the Deanery and the Bishop's Palace, Wells; and the Abbot's Kitchen, the George Inn and the Tribunal House in Glastonbury. The third volume was published sequentially after the death of A.C. Pugin from 1836, and included A.W.N. Pugin's plates of the Vicars' Close at Wells. This last volume included plates of Great Chalfield and South Wraxall manor houses by Pugin's collaborators Walker and Wollaston.

1836 also saw the publication of *Contrasts*⁶ and of *Details of antient timber houses*.⁷ The text of the former did not relate to domestic architecture at all, and yet several of the plates quite explicitly did. *Details of antient timber houses* was a series of illustrations without letterpress consisting mainly of timber details taken from French houses of the 15th and 16th centuries. A view by Pugin of his Convent of Mercy in Bermondsey appears in the *Catholic directory* for 1839.⁸ *The true principles* (1841)⁹

⁴ Britton, AC Pugin & Le Keux 1825-8 (*Normandy*).

⁵ AC Pugin, Willson & AWN Pugin 1831-6 (*Examples*).

⁶ Pugin 1836b (*Contrasts* 1st ed), Pugin 1841b (*Contrasts*, 2nd ed)

⁷ Pugin 1836a (*Antient timber houses*)

⁸ *Catholic directory*, London, 1839, p 110.

⁹ Pugin 1841a (*True principles*).

addressed itself as much to domestic architecture as to ecclesiastical, and contained prescriptive advice to architects regarding both the general form of the private house, and its construction and detailing; this and Pugin's next two major publications touching on domestic architecture, the second part of a pair of articles published in the *Dublin review* in 1842, and *An apology for the revival of Christian architecture* of the following year, are discussed in detail at section 2.4 below.¹⁰ An edited French-language edition of Pugin's work was published in Belgium by T. H. King.¹¹

An article by Pugin, originally written for the *Tablet* but reproduced in the *Builder* in 1846,¹² referred without architectural description to the school, hall, rectory and projected convent adjacent to St Giles' Church, Cheadle.

1.4.2 Pugin's Unpublished Texts

Pugin's unpublished works at the V&A, the RIBA LDC and elsewhere contain many references to domestic and residential architecture and projects in the form of letters, diaries and drawings. These documents can be broadly categorised as follows: complete unexecuted projects, 'ideal' schemes not intended as such for execution, and papers containing references, graphic or otherwise, to Pugin's own or other executed domestic or residential architecture. Notable additional material relating to Pugin's English domestic work can be found in the Birmingham and Southwark archdiocesan archives; the Devon Record Office; the House of Lords Record Office; Liverpool Record Office (in particular, the Edmund Kirby archive); the Leicestershire and Gloucestershire ROs; the Surrey History Centre; the Yorkshire Archeological Society, Leeds; major relevant collections abroad include the Getty Center for the History of Art and Humanities, Santa Monica; the St Louis Public Library, Missouri; and the Yale Centre for British Art. Shrewsbury family papers, which include references to Pugin's work at Alton, are in the Staffordshire County Record Office.

¹⁰ Pugin 1842 (*Present state* pt ii); Pugin 1843a (*Apology*).

¹¹ King 1850; see O'Donnell 2001.

¹² *Builder*, vol iv no 189 (19.9.1846), pp 447-8.

Documents at the V&A and at the RIBA LDC have been catalogued (with explanatory notes) by Wedgwood;¹³ the first two volumes of an annotated edition of Pugin's collected letters (up to 1845) were published during the course of the present research.¹⁴

1.4.3 The Nineteenth Century

1.4.3.1 primary personal and literary sources

In spite of the subject matter of the book itself, Habershon's 'animadversions on Mr Pugin's Contrasts' attached to his essay preceding his *The ancient half-timbered houses of England* of 1839 made no reference to Pugin's own domestic architecture.¹⁵ Specific references of any kind to the domestic works are in fact very rare throughout the nineteenth century. The orphanage in Faulkner Street, Liverpool, was described in the *Tablet* in 1844:¹⁶ it did not reappear in the surveyed literature for almost ninety years.¹⁷ In February of that year, the *Gentleman's magazine* dedicated a passage to a description of the appearance of the convent and school at St George's Cathedral, Southwark,¹⁸ and the same buildings, and the clergy house, were visited by the *Ecclesiologist* five years later.¹⁹ These are partially visible in the contemporary watercolour kept at the cathedral and displayed at the *Pugin: a Gothic passion* exhibition at the V&A in 1994.²⁰ The lengthy attack on Pugin's abilities mounted by the *Ecclesiologist* in January 1846 derided the presbytery at Nottingham as 'mere

¹³ Wedgwood 1977; Wedgwood 1985.

¹⁴ Belcher 2001; Belcher 2003.

¹⁵ Habershon 1839, p ix ff.

¹⁶ *Tablet*, vol v, no 216 (29.6.1844), p 405.

¹⁷ Trappes-Lomax 1932, Appendix II.

¹⁸ *Gentleman's magazine*, vol xxi (February 1844), p 180-2.

¹⁹ *Ibid*, p 151-61.

²⁰ Atterbury & Wainwright 1994, pl 123, p 69.

builders' Gothic';²¹ Pugin's reply, published that same month in the *Tablet*, defended the building as 'a simple, convenient residence, without any pretensions whatever'.²² There was a reference, based on Pugin's earlier description²³ and without architectural description, to the schoolmaster's house, rectory and 'conventual establishment' at Cheadle in the *Illustrated London news* in 1847; an illustration of the stone cross outside the south porch gave a limited partial view of the complex in the background.²⁴ The Alton Castle and Hospital complex appeared in Adam's popular guidebook *The gem of the Peak* from the third edition of 1843²⁵ onwards, and in the *Ecclesiologist* in 1849, during the course of a lengthy review of the Architecture Room of the Royal Academy, which referred also to domestic work at Alton Towers, at Ramsgate, and, in particular, Bilton Grange.²⁶ In April 1849 the *Ecclesiologist* reported on Maynooth College. Obituary notices, such as the lengthy one by Talbot Bury that appeared in the *Builder* for September 1852,²⁷ made no special reference to domestic work. Five years later, the *Illustrated London news* published an illustrated description of the exterior and interior of Bilton Grange in some detail in an account of the wedding and *déjeûner* of a member of the Talbot family;²⁸ it was 'one of the most unique and perfect residences in England'; and 'the general design of the house was Captain Hibbert's own', the 'details' attributed to Pugin.²⁹ A few months later, *Building news* published a further account of Bilton Grange by Hibbert himself.³⁰

Ferrey's biography of Pugin³¹ included one short reference to Pugin's approach to domestic architecture: '[He] admitted that in domestic and municipal architecture,

²¹ 'The artistic merit of Mr Pugin', *Ecclesiologist*, vol v no 7 (January 1846), pp 10-6; the quotation is at p 13.

²² Pugin 1846.

²³ See note 12 above.

²⁴ *Illustrated London news*, vol x, no 245 (9.1.1847), pp 28-30.

²⁵ Adam 1843. Details of rooms in Alton Towers appear by the second edition of 1840, at pp 215-40.

²⁶ *Ecclesiologist*, vol ix no 36 (June 1849), pp 369-70.

²⁷ *Builder*, vol x, no 503 (25.9.1852), pp 605-7.

²⁸ *Illustrated London News*, vol xxvi, no 725 (27.1.1855), pp 92-3.

²⁹ *Ibid*, p 93.

³⁰ *Building news*, vol xxii, 1857, p 555.

³¹ Ferrey 1861.

foreign countries supplied a multitude of beautiful architecture examples not to be found at home. He was especially delighted with Nuremburg, and the picturesque features of this ancient city afforded him most interesting studies'.³² The book included an inaccurate view of St Augustine's, Ramsgate;³³ an otherwise unidentified unexecuted scheme for St Marie's Grange, Alderbury;³⁴ and a 'tailpiece' showing Alton Castle.³⁵

In contrast with Ferrey's *Recollections*, the personal memoir written late in life by Powell cast considerable light on Pugin's own home in the 1840s, and also provided the only reference in the literature surveyed to Pugin's attitude to domestic landscape architecture.³⁶

Biographies of Pugin's acquaintances (such as Phillipps, Sibthorp and Ward) provide a limited source of information regarding Pugin's residential schemes.³⁷

1.4.3.2 later Victorian writers

Although Eastlake was later to remark that Pugin's name had become, for a quarter of a century, a household word,³⁸ it was not, apparently, because of his reputation in the field of house design itself. Some critics make reference to aspects of Pugin's design which, whilst not specifically referring to his domestic architecture, will have some bearing on any analysis of such work; in this category comes Fergusson, whose conclusion gave significance to Pugin's early experience as a designer for the stage.³⁹

³² *Ibid*, p 225.

³³ *Ibid*, facing p 175; and cf pp 16-7 and note 105 p 16 below. See Appendix A, 1843, below, for the use of the name 'St Augustine's'.

³⁴ *Ibid*, p 72.

³⁵ Signed C. W. Sheeres, *ibid* p 116.

³⁶ Published as Wedgwood 1988.

³⁷ Purcell 1900; Fowler 1880; W Ward 1889.

³⁸ Eastlake 1970, p 151.

³⁹ Fergusson 1862, pp 318-9 and note. At p 318 Fergusson claims that Pugin's 'only aim was to produce an absolute falsehood' [in recreating mediaeval architecture in the modern world].

Gilbert Scott, in his work on domestic architecture, quoted at length from *The true principles*; a further reference beyond this to Pugin is in his observation that whilst the latter called for an elevation to be derived from a plan, he 'instinctively', as an architect, would 'keep a side look at the architectural part of the question'.⁴⁰ He made no reference to Pugin's domestic architecture in his autobiography, although his road to Damascus appears to have passed through Pugin's articles in the *Dublin review*.⁴¹

Eastlake himself dedicated more of *The Gothic revival* to Pugin than to any other single architect – a whole chapter, and that excluding the work at the Palace of Westminster – but remarked very little on Pugin's domestic architecture beyond some criticism of St Marie's Grange and of St Augustine's; of the latter he noted that 'the interior plan is one which no doubt was convenient and pleasing to Pugin himself, but which would hardly meet the modern requirements of an ordinary home...It would appear impossible for inmates to pass from one reception room to another, to reach rooms above, without coming within sight of the entrance door'. He concluded however that 'it must be confessed that in his house and the church at Ramsgate one recognises more thorough and genuine examples of Pugin's genius and strongly marked predilection for mediaeval architecture than elsewhere'.⁴²

It was perhaps as a curiosity that Pugin's early house in Cheyne Row, London, was illustrated prior to demolition in *Building news* in 1887.⁴³ The 1890s, however, were marked by something of a revived interest in Pugin. In 1895 an Edinburgh publisher preprinted the *The true principles*. Paul Waterhouse, Pugin's biographer for the *Dictionary of national biography*, wrote a lengthy, seven-part article for the *Architectural review*.⁴⁴ The article is remarkable for the detailed description of some of Pugin's domestic buildings, and for the drawings (largely by Oliver Hall) which accompany them; there are several views of the Alton Towers and Hospital complex, and an unusual full page plate of the Convent of Mercy in Bermondsey, a project

⁴⁰ GG Scott 1857, p120.

⁴¹ GG Scott 1995, pp 87; 373.

⁴² Eastlake 1970, pp 164, 165.

⁴³ *Building news*, vol lli, 1887, p 352, pl 371.

⁴⁴ Waterhouse 1897-8. See also a letter in response, Nicholson 1898.

scarcely referred to elsewhere in the literature, from a drawing by Francis D. Bedford. A plate provided by Percy Morley Horder at the end of the series illustrated the original form of St Marie's Grange.⁴⁵ It should be noted that Waterhouse preceded his study with an insistence on the significance for Pugin of the mediaeval architecture of Wells.⁴⁶ Towards the end of the century several guide or local history books appeared which included references to residential buildings by Pugin; these include Greaney's *Guide to St Chad's Cathedral* of 1877;⁴⁷ Cruikshank and Jewitt's *Guide to the abbey of Mount St Bernard*, c.1882⁴⁸ and Bernard Ward's *History of St Edmund's College, Old Hall*, of 1893;⁴⁹ Greaney's guide made some useful reference to mediaeval collegiate precedent in Birmingham, and also to the pro-cathedral, subsequent school, building erected in Shadwell Street. He described the Bishop's house, and included an illustration of the cathedral (with its incorporated schools buildings at the eastern end) by Alphege Pippet.⁵⁰ A subsequent guidebook to St Chad's by different authors appeared in 1904.⁵¹

Pugin's role in the creation of a new domestic architecture was surely implicit in Muthesius' *Stilarchitektur und Baukunst* of 1902, the primary message of which was the regeneration of German domestic architecture on the English model;⁵² in that respect, Muthesius was adopting into the domestic sphere the call by his earlier

⁴⁵ Not identical in plan to that in Wedgwood 1994, pl 79, p 44.

⁴⁶ Following a quotation from Pugin's letter to Osmond on the glories of Wells, Waterhouse quoted 'a fellow student' finding the young architect near the town in something of a frenzy, standing outside a bivouac, dressed like a pirate and staging a performance with a huge beer flagon. Waterhouse 1896-1897, vol iii, p 168. The letter to Osmond is quoted in full in Ferrey 1861, p 75.

⁴⁷ Greaney 1877.

⁴⁸ Jewitt c 1882.

⁴⁹ B Ward 1893. Another late-nineteenth-century local history or guide referring primarily to Pugin's ecclesiastical work within a collegiate complex is Greaney 1899.

⁵⁰ Greaney, 1877, pp 10-1; 33; 34; facing p 16 respectively; at pp 24-6 he relates the building of Pugin's St Mary's Convent at Handsworth.

⁵¹ *A history of St Chad's Cathedral, Birmingham, 1841-1904*, Birmingham, 1904 (by the cathedral clergy); in the meantime, Greaney had written *The golden jubilee of St Chad's Cathedral Church*, Birmingham, 1891.

⁵² H Muthesius 1902; see in particular, p 66 of the English edition, H Muthesius 1994.

compatriot August Reichensperger, to use Pugin as an example for German architects.⁵³

1.4.4 Twentieth-Century Literature

1.4.4.1 Up to 1971

Until Piper and Summerson visited Alderbury and Ramsgate respectively for the *Architectural review* in the 1940s,⁵⁴ twentieth-century architectural critics discussing Pugin made no significant reference to his domestic architecture. Clark's *The Gothic revival* recalled Fergusson's observations, but addressed Pugin's theories in general and his ecclesiastical works. In spite of the sociological flavour of the book, Pevsner's *Pioneers of the Modern Movement* and its successor, *Pioneers of modern design*,⁵⁵ likewise avoided broadening their references to Pugin's domestic work. The *Architectural review*, however, had illustrated its then current new preoccupation with the English Picturesque when it had included an article by Ross Williamson on Alton Towers in 1941;⁵⁶ illustrating the magazine's other and complementary interest, Pevsner's 'a short Pugin florilegium' of 1943 presented the architect as a 'functionalist' when obliged to create new building types on the basis of his architectural principles: 'the theory of functionalism' was Pugin's 'great discovery'.⁵⁷ Pevsner remained consistent in this view over the next thirty years: at the outset of his *Sources of modern architecture and design* Pugin was presented as 'the first of our sources', characterised by 'a plea for functionalism';⁵⁸ this was restated and summarised in detail in the subsequent *Some architectural writers of the nineteenth*

⁵³ Reichensperger 1877.

⁵⁴ Piper 1945; Summerson 1948. This latter article includes a plan of St Augustine's apparently taken from the *Architectural review* in 1904, but this source is yet to be located.

⁵⁵ Pevsner 1936; new edition titled from 1960, *Pioneers of modern design*.

⁵⁶ Ross Williamson 1940, pp 157-64. The article is principally about the garden ornaments, and the references to Pugin limited and inaccurate, if sympathetic.

⁵⁷ Pevsner 1943, p 31.

⁵⁸ Pevsner 1968, p 9.

century.⁵⁹ In the intervening period Pevsner's contribution was apparently in the main vicarious: for the most notable work on the subject in the immediately following years was written by his student Stanton.

Stanton published 'Pugin at twenty-one' in the *Architectural review* of September 1951,⁶⁰ a presentation of Pugin's ideal 'Deanery' scheme of 1833. A year later, her lecture entitled 'Some comments on the life and work of Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin' was published in the *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*⁶¹: she claimed here that Pugin was 'the earliest critic to perceive that a new age cannot go on imitating the style of a former age, but must concentrate on the understanding of the best principles and thus find its own forms'.⁶² She expanded this further in 1954, in an article entitled 'Pugin: principles of design versus revivalism', published by the *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians (of America)*⁶³, here implying that Pugin, having discovered the 'principles' that lay behind Gothic architecture by the mid 1840s, was faced with the conscious choice of either reviving Gothic architecture, or founding 'a new style created upon the theoretical foundation of his principles, such a style to be free to develop its own forms of ornament'; Pugin chose the former, Stanton claimed, because he was 'addicted' to Gothic.⁶⁴ This piece also contained a discussion of the presbytery at Brewood and of Alton Castle, and noted that Pugin was at his most successful when not working from prototypes. The argument is a significant one in Pugin historiography, because in claiming that Pugin was aware of abstract principles of style, based on precepts of practicality and constructional honesty, he was foreshadowing the twentieth-century preoccupation with functionalism and non-historical architecture. Complementary to Stanton's developing interest in Pugin, the architectural critic and historian Henry-Russell Hitchcock included a discussion of some of his larger domestic architecture in his book *Early Victorian architecture in Britain*: the chapter entitled 'Manorial and

⁵⁹ Pevsner 1972, pp 103-22.

⁶⁰ Stanton 1951.

⁶¹ Stanton 1952.

⁶² *Ibid*, p 53.

⁶³ Stanton 1954.

⁶⁴ *Ibid*, p 21.

castellated country houses' includes some discussion of St Marie's Grange; Scarisbrick Hall; the Towers, the Castle and St John's Hospital at Alton; the Derby presbytery; St Augustine's; and Bilton Grange, as well as passing references to other works.⁶⁵ Hitchcock's conclusion was that Pugin had 'turned away from the earlier Picturesque way of using Tudor models for houses'.⁶⁶

On the other hand, a number of publications investigated Pugin's life from a point of view of specifically Catholic, or alternatively local, aspects, and these do contain some references to relevant buildings. The most significant is Trappes-Lomax's *Pugin, a mediaeval Victorian* of 1932;⁶⁷ this described in some detail the Hall of John Halle in Salisbury, St Marie's Grange and Scarisbrick Hall,⁶⁸ and included a gazetteer.⁶⁹ Perhaps significantly, Trappes-Lomax saw Pugin at the time as an almost forgotten or discredited figure.⁷⁰ Rope's *Pugin* of 1935 was almost a hagiography;⁷¹ Gwynn's *Lord Shrewsbury, Pugin, and the Catholic revival* of 1946⁷² was likewise primarily personal and Catholic in its approach, and the introduction (by Gosling), drew architectural descriptions from White's *History and directory of Staffordshire of 1851*.⁷³ Wans' *Short history of Scarisbrick Hall* of 1949⁷⁴ is an indication of increasing interest in the subject⁷⁵ following the Second World War. Specific

⁶⁵ Hitchcock 1954, vol i pp 220-34.

⁶⁶ *Ibid*, vol i p 234.

⁶⁷ Trappes-Lomax 1932. The author makes considerable use of Sirr 1918. This latter article is not concerned with domestic architecture, although it carries a title piece designed by CFA Voysey – almost exclusively a domestic architect, and a fervent admirer of Pugin whose own work became increasingly Gothic at this period.

⁶⁸ Trappes-Lomax 1932, pp 53; 62-4, and 89-96 respectively. In the case of Scarisbrick Hall, the author makes use of Cheetham 1906.

⁶⁹ *Ibid*, Appendix II.

⁷⁰ *Ibid*, p 313.

⁷¹ Rope 1935; marked 'nihil obstat' by the 'censor deputatus'. There is no reference to Pugin's domestic architecture.

⁷² Gwynn 1946.

⁷³ Referred to in Gwynn 1946, pp xxxi-xxxiv.

⁷⁴ Wans 1949.

⁷⁵ In addition, mid-century guides or local history books describing institutions where Pugin principally designed ecclesiastical buildings include Buscot 1940, and Milburn 1964.

attention by architectural historians to domestic work included two detailed descriptions in *Country life*: Oswald on Albury House in 1950,⁷⁶ then inaccurately attributed more significantly to Pugin, and Girouard's detailed description of the whole of the Alton Castle and Hospital complex in 1960,⁷⁷ which followed two articles on Alton Towers and Pugin's work there by Hussey.⁷⁸ Hussey's use of Scarisbrick Hall to mark the end of his three-volume series on houses of the Georgian era must have testified to Pugin's newly re-established position as a domestic architect of note, and his conclusion should be quoted here at length:

An illustration of [Pugin's] 'great hall', the portion of Scarisbrick for which he was wholly responsible, can fitly end this survey...because the nature of both its design and its relationship in plan express the fundamental change taking place in the ethics of architecture, as expounded in Pugin's famous tract. Together they introduced a new moral fervour into architecture, according to which the assumptions of humanism were soulless fallacies, and branded as ignoble compromise the neo-classical notion of synthesis uniting the truths of historical styles and current science. Thereafter architecture, taste and structure, proceeded in diverging paths.⁷⁹

Taken together with the contemporaneous Pevsner-Stanton 'functionalist' argument, this comment must mark the zenith of Pugin's revived reputation in the mid twentieth century as a domestic architect.⁸⁰

Stanton's monograph *Pugin*, of 1971, was based on the research the author had previously undertaken under the direction of Pevsner,⁸¹ and provided a chronological

⁷⁶ Oswald 1950.

⁷⁷ Girouard 1960.

⁷⁸ Hussey 1960, pp 1246-9 (garden) and 1304-7 (house).

⁷⁹ Hussey 1958, p 26.

⁸⁰ Which thenabouts reached Norway, in the form of a chapter in Bøe 1957. Bøe suggests in this, his doctoral thesis at Oxford University, that Pugin converted to Catholicism because he wanted to be a social reformer (p 33), and concludes his study by adopting the line taken by Stanton in 'Some comments' of 1952.

⁸¹ For which see Stanton 1950.

catalogue, and some description, of all of Pugin's known domestic and residential works.⁸² Her conclusion here was more cautious than in 1954: this time Pugin's contribution to architectural thinking was his concern 'for the whole building, for the unification of style, purpose, structure and decoration'.⁸³ The monograph included some analysis of Pugin's influences and sources, particularly attributing these to his collection of sixteenth and seventeenth-century topographers such as Hollar and the Merians whose work he collected. In fact Stanton's contribution to Summerson's *Concerning architecture*⁸⁴ of 1968 had already suggested, even if not specifically in respect of domestic architecture, that Pugin may have also drawn upon quite different sources, such as the caricatured graphic representations of contemporary street architecture (for example, Cruikshank's illustrations to Egan's *Life in London*,⁸⁵ which also in its frontispiece and terminology seemed to use classical architecture as a metaphor for moral depravity) on the one hand, and political theorists or writers such as Carlyle and Cobbett, or Southey and Digby on the other. There was something of a Stantonesque interpretation of Pugin in Macaulay's *The Gothic revival 1745-1845* (1975); although Pugin's built work was largely confined here to interior design and ecclesiastical work in Scotland and the north of England, his is a presence that dominates the book.⁸⁶

1.4.3.2 After Stanton

The most comprehensive study of Pugin's domestic architecture to date is the chapter by Wedgwood in the book accompanying the V&A exhibition of 1994 referred to above:⁸⁷ this includes detailed references to St Marie's Grange, Scarisbrick Hall, the Bishop's House in Birmingham, Bilton Grange, Alton Castle, and St Augustine's, amongst others.

⁸² Stanton 1971; passim, but principally at chapters 6 and 7.

⁸³ *Ibid*, p 193.

⁸⁴ Stanton 1968.

⁸⁵ Egan 1821.

⁸⁶ Macaulay 1975; see for example p 175.

⁸⁷ Wedgwood 1994. This article details most known sources of archive material relating to domestic architecture including those listed in sub-section 1.4.2 above.

Watkin has established a basic dichotomy in writing about Pugin in *Morality and architecture* in 1977, in which he placed Stanton's position from 1954, which he summarised as seeing Pugin adopting Gothic as a rational system of building construction, in contrast with his own view that Pugin 'seized on any and every argument which can be used to justify [Gothic's] revival, though the argument from religious truth and from functional or technological necessity took precedence over any aesthetic arguments'.⁸⁸ Watkin's interpretation of Pugin, which has been subsequently presented as part of his conclusion to his edition of Soane's Royal Academy lectures, includes some discussion of the former's domestic architecture: he shared with Soane the understanding that architectural symbols carry meaning; that certain features (such as porches or bay windows) have a cultural and social value; a regret at the demolition of historic buildings (notably, the Bishop of Ely's palace at Holborn), and an accusation that architectural work is now carried out by speculators, surveyors and builders rather than by architects proper.⁸⁹

Girouard's *The Victorian country house* included a detailed discussion of Scarisbrick Hall; the opening section of the book also described (and illustrated) Pugin's proposal for Garendon Hall, and noted the similarity between Phillips, Pugin's client there, and Disraeli's fictional 'Eustace Lyle'; elsewhere, the author saw Puginian influences in Pearson's Treberfydd in Breconshire.⁹⁰ Stefan Muthesius' *The English terraced house* (1982) is a further unusual example of a discussion of Pugin's influence exclusively within the domestic field. Muthesius concluded that 'neither Pugin nor Ruskin were particularly interested in the domestic house', but that Pugin's attitudes were 'extremely influential': he championed truthful materials, the notion of the 'cosiness of mediaeval life', 'beauty in the picturesque form of the small old houses', and probably most significantly, the relationship between 'truth' and 'propriety' which must be expressed in the creation of the new small house.⁹¹

⁸⁸ Watkin 1977, p 20.

⁸⁹ Watkin 1996, pp 341; 342; 438-43.

⁹⁰ Girouard 1971, pp 60-3; 28-30; 83-4.

⁹¹ S Muthesius 1982, pp 247; 199; 255; 243.

In 1987 Belcher produced a critical bibliography of Pugin.⁹² This *per se* contained no substantial new reference to his domestic architecture (other than a comprehensive guide to newspaper references to the opening of certain buildings), but indicated the growing interest in the subject in general. Since the mid 1970s, a number of guide or local history books have been published which may have some bearing on an analysis of Pugin's domestic architecture; these include books on Pugin's cathedrals at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Birmingham and Nottingham, the monastery complex of Mount St Bernard's Abbey, and the churches of Staffordshire, St Thomas of Canterbury, Fulham, and St Augustine's, Ramsgate; and new guides to St Chad's and to Scarisbrick Hall.⁹³ O'Donnell's 'Pugin at Oscott' (1988) referred to the gate buildings, and in particular the North Lodge, at the College.⁹⁴ Some reference to Pugin's methods of designing and supervising work, and his influence on projects such as Horsted Place, was detailed in Spencer-Silver's monograph on George Myers; the book included a list of projects executed by Myers for Pugin.⁹⁵

The view identified earlier by Watkin as characteristic of Stanton and Pevsner has been noticeably absent in subsequent Pugin literature with the exception of Saint's 'The fate of Pugin's true principles', included within the book accompanying the exhibition held at the V&A in 1994.⁹⁶ Literature about Pugin has, however, increased in volume and scope very considerably over the last decade. In addition to the book of the exhibition referred to above, a catalogue was produced for a further exhibition held at the Bard Graduate Centre for Studies in the Decorative Arts in New York in 1995-6. Of particular importance to the subject under discussion here are the articles by Wainwright entitled 'A.W.N. Pugin and France' (which is concerned almost exclusively with non-ecclesiastical issues), by Saint and by Atterbury.⁹⁷ Two

⁹² Belcher 1987.

⁹³ Horner & Hunter 2000; R Hill 1999; Bartlett 1998; Higham & Carson 1997; Cummings 1994; Hodgetts 1987; Hasted 1987; Lacey 1985; Evinson 1976. Some of this list is derived from O'Donnell 2000b, which also mentions a number of earlier guidebooks to ecclesiastical projects.

⁹⁴ O'Donnell 1988.

⁹⁵ Spencer-Silver 1993.

⁹⁶ Saint 1994.

⁹⁷ Wainwright 1995; Saint 1995; Atterbury 1995b, in Atterbury 1995a.

colloquia, the proceedings of which were published during the course of 2000, yielded further contributions on domestic architecture: O'Donnell, on the country house practices of A.W.N. and E.W. Pugin,⁹⁸ and Wedgwood on A.W.N. Pugin's visits to Northern Europe.⁹⁹

Pugin's buildings at Alton Towers and elsewhere in Staffordshire have been described in detail by Fisher.¹⁰⁰ A detailed investigation of the fabric of St Augustine's is being produced for The Landmark Trust by Drury, and the last issued update of his report appeared in February 2001.¹⁰¹ This work, carried out in collaboration with the architect Donald Insall, includes measured drawings of the house and presbytery complex in their current form, and clarifies certain parts of the project, such as the arrangement of the entrance court and the tunnel through the cliff, that have never previously been determined by historical documentation. Drury also notes Pugin's varying ways of representing the south elevation of the building, both in advance of and subsequent to its construction. O'Donnell's *The Pugins and the Catholic Midlands*¹⁰² has provided a gazetteer of the work of A.W.N and his sons throughout the Midlands; and Hill contributed an article on Pugin's domestic interiors to *The Victorian* in 2002.¹⁰³

Finally, it must be noted that the Pugin Society now regularly publishes material by Pugin scholars in the form of its newsletter *True principles*. An account of Pugin's domestic architecture by Hill was published in *Architectural history* (volume 46) just

⁹⁸ O'Donnell 2000a.

⁹⁹ Wedgwood 2000.

¹⁰⁰ Fisher 1999, 2000, 2002. Photographic evidence in the former of the house before its despoliation in 1952 is drawn from the survey carried out for the National Monuments Record in 1951. There is some reference to Pugin's work at the Alton Castle and Hospital complex, and references to local guides. An earlier publication, Fisher 1995, mentions without description the presbytery, convent and school complex in Cheadle.

¹⁰¹ Drury 2001. There has been a continuous sequence of informal updates and a final version will be published.

¹⁰² O'Donnell 2002.

¹⁰³ Hill 2002b.

as this dissertation was being submitted.¹⁰⁴ My own published research is included in the bibliography (Appendix E) below.

1.4.4 Summary of Literature Survey

Both Pevsner and Stanton saw Pugin's houses (and his shop design from *An apology*) as an attempt to create a new building form on the basis of the theory contained largely within *The true principles* – a view consistent with that of Scott, whose *Remarks* refer to the lack of precedent for modern domestic Gothic architecture, which, he writes, 'leaves more to the imagination and inventive power of the architect, and leaves him more unfettered'.¹⁰⁵ Because of the increased and widening interest in Pugin's work in the various fields of the applied arts, combined, perhaps, with the success of the onslaught contained in *Morality and architecture*, this approach to Pugin's domestic architecture has all but disappeared from modern criticism, and treatment of the buildings has been subsequently largely art-historical – that is to say, based primarily on historical sources and on stylistic comparison. Notable exceptions include a contribution to the *Architectural review* in 1984 by Peter Davey,¹⁰⁶ and the central role accorded by Crook to Pugin's architectural 'realism' in his domestic architecture, and his influence not only on his contemporaries but also on the subsequent path of architectural development (in *The dilemma of style*, of 1987), re-presented (to some extent) in the same author's recent *The architect's secret*.¹⁰⁷ A further more general description of Pugin's historical role in theoretical debate appears in Forty's *Words and buildings*.¹⁰⁸

That said, certain buildings have never been discussed by architectural writers in any degree of detail: these must include the extant lodge at Clarendon Park; the Convent

¹⁰⁴ Hill 2003.

¹⁰⁵ GG Scott 1857, p 18.

¹⁰⁶ Davey 1984; Davey 1980 had similarly launched a history of the Arts and Crafts movement with a chapter on Pugin.

¹⁰⁷ Crook 1987, especially chapter 2; Crook 2003, *passim*.

¹⁰⁸ Forty 2000, pp 297-8.

of Mercy, Bermondsey; the presbytery and convent at Cheadle; the presbytery at St Peter's, Woolwich; the clergy house in Nottingham; and the Ward House at St Edmund's College, Ware; the almost entirely destroyed auxiliary buildings at St George's Cathedral, Southwark; the unrealised Garendon House and Hornby Castle schemes, and the demolished St Ethelburga's Convent of Mercy and orphanage in Liverpool.¹⁰⁹ In addition, there is a growing number of residential buildings attributed partially or extensively to Pugin since the Stanton chronological gazetteer of 1971 that require investigation.

Consistent with Pevsner and Stanton's interpretation of Pugin, some nineteenth-century writers (including Ferrey, Eastlake and Muthesius) credited Pugin with critical influence over the subsequent development of the Gothic Revival, and yet little analysis of the architectural form that this presumed influence took has been published. A rare example is to be found in Thompson's *William Butterfield* of 1971, which noted Pugin's encouragement of the single ridgeline in domestic architecture.¹¹⁰ Such an analysis is likely to include specific aspects of Pugin's designs – such as the form of his kitchens, or his approach to landscaped settings – that have not yet been discussed. Some individual aspects of criticism that have emerged – such as Wainwright's observation that Pugin's incorporation of fragments of mediaeval buildings within his own work links him to antiquarian neo-classicists (and distinguishes him from the next generation of Gothic revivalists),¹¹¹ and his reference to the French influences upon Pugin¹¹² – have yet to be followed up in the form of detailed references to his domestic architecture.

¹⁰⁹ Coote 1970, an unpublished undergraduate dissertation entitled 'The convent and collegiate architecture of A. Welby Pugin', should be mentioned here.

¹¹⁰ Thompson 1971, pp 206-7.

¹¹¹ Ferrey 1978, p xxiii.

¹¹² Wainwright 1995, passim.

1.4.5 Victorian Residential Planning and Parsonages

Girouard's *The Victorian country house* of 1971 (second edition 1979) remains the most useful overview of grand early and high Victorian domestic architecture; Franklin's *The gentleman's country house and its plan* of 1981 further provides concise information on the larger house plans of the period.

There is very little literature describing in detail the architecture Anglican parsonages during the early nineteenth century and nothing of a methodical, analytical nature. The most comprehensive remains Savidge's *The parsonage in England: its history and architecture*, of 1964. To this can be added Bax's *The English parsonage* of the same year. Hammond's *The parson and the Victorian parish* of 1977 provides an insight into the working lives of these buildings.

The collegiate and eleemosynary architecture of the period do not appear to have been analysed comprehensively at all.

2 The Historical and Theoretical Background to Pugin's Residential Architecture

2.1 Introduction

Joseph Gwilt's *Encyclopædia of architecture* of 1842 describes a mediaeval hall house in the form of a quotation from a mid-sixteenth century source, 'Andrew Boorde, of Physike, Doctor':

Make the hall of such fashion that the parlor be annexed to the head of the hall, and the buttrye and the pantrye at the lower end thereof; the cellar under the pantry sett somewhat at a base; the kechyn sett somewhat at a base from the buttrye and pantrye; coming with an entrie within, by the wall of the buttrie; the pastrie house and the larder annexed to the kechyn. Then divide the logginges by the circuit of the quadrivial courte, and let the gatehouse be opposite, or against the hall doore; not directly but the hall doore standyng abase of the gatehouse, in the middle of the front enteringe into the place. Let the prevye chamber be annexed to the great chamber of estate, with other chambers necessary for the buildinge, so that many of the chambers may have a prospecte into the chapel.¹

A three-room house, which today appears to have been built as a simple cottage, was in fact likely to have been built originally as a farmhouse: a farm labourer more probably lived in a ramshackle hovel. The vast majority of the most modest of houses were below the consideration of architects. Bartell, in 1804, described 'eight to ten, or a dozen persons, crammed into a wretched hovel, seldom comprising more than two, and sometimes only one apartment';² some years later, Elsam reported that 'in many parts of the united kingdom these habitations were the most miserable huts that can be described'.³ In 1830, T.F. Hunt noted that there was wide agreement that the lower

¹ Gwilt 1842, §427 p 185. Andrew Boorde, or Borde (1490?-1549), was a writer, traveller and physician from Sussex; the quotation is from his *Dyetary* of c1542.

² Bartell 1804, p 90.

³ Elsam 1816, p 2.

orders were 'miserably lodged',⁴ but in spite of the attentions of these authors, and many more, to the conditions of the rural poor, Loudon could still observe in his *Encyclopaedia* of 1833 that 'Indeed, it has never formed any part of the business of Architects of eminence, either in France or Britain, to study the improvement of the habitations of the poor';⁵ to a popular audience, Mary Russell Mitford could give a memorable example to which something of a moral lesson was subsequently drawn: 'Tom's cottage was, however, very thoroughly national and characteristic: a low, ruinous hovel... tattered thatch... half-broken windows... one long, straggling, unceiled, barn-like room, which served for kitchen, bedchamber, and hall'.⁶

The architectural world of Mitford's era was dominated by the practice of some four architects with public positions, of whom two, James Wyatt and John Soane, had already established their reputation by the end of the eighteenth century. Soane's fellow Attached Architects to the Board of Works, John Nash and Robert Smirke, complete the quartet frequently referred to by contemporary architects and authors. At the same time, the continuing significance of Picturesque theory amongst architects of the period can be illustrated by the fact that as late as 1830, more than thirty-five years since the publication of Uvedale Price's *An essay on the picturesque*, and fifty since Payne Knight's work at Downton Castle, a progressive neo-Tudor architect and pattern-book author such as Hunt could still present Price's work as the basis for his own architectural theory.⁷

This chapter investigates the background to the primary issues discussed by Pugin in his writings and associated with him: the establishment of new and distinct architectural principles; the association of 'truth' with 'beauty'; the Englishness of Gothic; and the lack of historical precedent for the modern residential building. Discussion is necessarily limited to how such issues were seen by writers from 1800

⁴ Hunt 1830, p 1.

⁵ Loudon 1833, §1364 pp 645-6.

⁶ Mitford 1936: 'Tom Cordery', pp 79-80.

⁷ See, for example, Hunt 1830, p 75: the author 'has preferred borrowing...largely from Mr Price'.

to 1850: this will provide the context for a subsequent examination of way in which Pugin's theories were embodied in the domestic and residential buildings that he designed and built, and the way in which his work exemplifies a new effort on the part of architectural writers to introduce scientific principles into their working method. In conclusion, this chapter looks at Pugin's own theoretical writing on the subject of domestic architecture.

2.2 *On Architectural Theory*

2.2.1 'Convenience, Construction, or Propriety'⁸

John Loudon is an example of a writer who addressed some of these issues during the period in advance of Pugin. Three years after his arrival in London from Scotland in 1803 he published his first comprehensive work on landscape design, the two-volume *Treatise*. Although suffering from considerable physical handicap, his startling industry as a writer and practitioner – by the mid-1830s he was editing five monthly publications simultaneously – provided nineteenth-century England with its first comprehensive architectural critic. Loudon's emphasis was on the practicality of design, and he was undogmatic about style; it is probable that the very scale of his writings, and in particular of his 1124-page illustrated architectural *Encyclopaedia* with its numbered paragraphs, provided subsequent writers not only with a model for a scientific structure for their books but also with an enhanced idea of the scope of architectural writing and the application of principles to practice.

For someone who apparently designed so few buildings, Loudon had many architectural 'principles' in relation to residential architecture, and he referred to them throughout his works. His *Treatise* of 1806⁹ contained about two pages of 'principles', or rather the constant reassertion of five or six significant ones. 'Utility,

⁸ Pugin 1841a (*True principles*), p 1.

⁹ Loudon 1806.

convenience and beauty'¹⁰ 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';¹¹ a page later he proposed 'beauty, utility and economy'.¹² Another variation appears some chapters later: 'conveniency' and 'ornament' are, by Part III, the two leading principles of architecture.¹³ 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';¹⁴ generally, 'harmony lies between discord and variety',¹⁵ and that 'wildness is an exquisite beauty'.¹⁶

But 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.¹⁷

In his description of a country residence¹⁸ Loudon 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

¹⁰ *Ibid*, vol i, p 14.

¹¹ *Ibid*, p 15.

¹² *Ibid*, p 16.

¹³ *Ibid*, p 68.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, p 26.

¹⁵ *Ibid*, p 35.

¹⁶ *Ibid*, p 39.

¹⁷ *Ibid*, vol ii, p 407.

¹⁸ *Ibid*, pp 589 ff.

Grecian villa is called for'.¹⁹ 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'.²⁰ 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',²¹ and rooms should face the view.²²

Loudon is a young man in 1806: his language is sharp, and his principal target is the prevailing landscape architecture of Humphry Repton and Repton's precursor Lancelot Brown – the former the target of an angry appendix. Loudon notes that Brown would hide a house's offices below the house, excepting only the stables: the building would therefore appear from the entrance drive as a pure geometrical form.²³ In Loudon's alternative version, 'all the offices are brought into view – all the buildings are made low, irregular, and suited to the ground'.²⁴ The farm, the kitchen garden and the garden itself become part of the composition of the house; the whole merges with the landscape. A sarcastic reference to Repton's methods explains Loudon's view of landowners who aim to show off their wealth through the prominence of their house in the landscape;²⁵ for Loudon, 'there is a dignity, propriety, and ingenuity' in an indirect, winding approach where the house reveals itself gradually.²⁶ Where Repton's results were 'affectedly graceful',²⁷ Loudon strove 'to create or heighten *natural* character';²⁸ he furthermore suggested that 'a proprietor ought generally to retain the same residence or residences all his life', in order to see what he is accomplishing over time in the landscape.²⁹ Loudon's solutions were, he

¹⁹ *Ibid*, p 604.

²⁰ *Ibid*, p 612.

²¹ *Ibid*, vol i, p 112.

²² *Ibid*, p 160.

²³ *Ibid*, vol ii, p 640.

²⁴ *Ibid*, p 644.

²⁵ *Ibid*, p 688.

²⁶ *Ibid*, p 590.

²⁷ *Ibid*, p 650.

²⁸ *Ibid*, p 644 (my italics).

²⁹ *Ibid*, p 676.

claims, cheaper than Repton's:³⁰ he works with the natural environment instead of against it. In the course of his summary, he revealed the political aspects of his proposals: 'rural improvement demands attention from its general INFLUENCE IN SOCIETY'; by cultivating the neglected, and by superior management, increased stability, production and wealth can be achieved.³¹ Loudon's views on 'principles' were not inflexible; in fact he exhorted his readers not to exaggerate when adopting them,³² and criticised Repton's attempts at finding fixed ones, which have resulted in 'only confusion and incongruity'.³³

Loudon's criticism was not reserved for Repton: he 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'.³⁴ In fact, at the period of the publication of the *Treatise*, books containing plans, views and outline specifications for model houses continued to appear at a current rapid pace: William Atkinson's *Views of picturesque cottages*³⁵ had appeared in 1805; Gyfford published his *Elegant cottages*³⁶ in 1806; and in 1807, his *Small picturesque cottages*;³⁷ that year also saw Lugar's *The country gentleman's architect*,³⁸ and Dearne's *Sketches in architecture*.³⁹

Gyfford was unlucky in his career as a practising architect,⁴⁰ and, sadly, his 'elegant cottages' indicated some considerable failure to grasp tectonic reality: his perspectives were distorted because the vertical axis was improbably exaggerated; he resorted to much use of the blind window to resolve internal planning difficulties, and the ones

³⁰ *Ibid*, p 652.

³¹ *Ibid*, p 680.

³² *Ibid*, vol i, p 169.

³³ *Ibid*, vol ii, p 700.

³⁴ *Ibid*, vol i, p 156.

³⁵ Atkinson 1805.

³⁶ Gyfford 1806.

³⁷ Gyfford 1807.

³⁸ Lugar 1807.

³⁹ Dearne 1807.

⁴⁰ Colvin 1995, p 442.

that did open appear to be attached to the external face of the wall,⁴¹ as if he was unaware of their constructional process or purpose. He had an academically uncritical approach to style: 'the different styles adopted, although analogous to the Grecian and Gothic characters, are nevertheless governed by the immediate circumstances of each, consequently form select compositions, deduced discretionally from either';⁴² in fact, the landscapes to both his classical and gothic schemes were indistinguishable in character. Although his accompanying text was a short one, Gyfford's introduction to his plates was characteristic of the many contemporary villa pattern-books in raising a number of quite different subjects without the writer being able to provide any kind of rational or ordered discussion of them. Gyfford's subsequent *Small picturesque cottages*, for example, contained the claim that his 'Select Architectural Designs' were 'useful to all Gentlemen...combining taste and convenience with economy',⁴³ whilst providing no evidence to any of these claims, other than a wide variety of styles – wider, in fact, than in his previous work.

Robert Lugar, on the other hand, was an accomplished architect; *The country gentleman's architect* was a technological guide for the profession, concentrating on agricultural arrangements. Like Loudon, he approached the subject of design from the point of view of an appreciation of the landscape, in this case with an agricultural perspective; he provided practical advice regarding the siting of cottages and dairies. His chosen style of buildings progresses from Tudor to Greek as buildings rise in status and, unlike Gyfford, he designed buildings that do look like proper constructions. His treatment of the technical aspects of heating and washing, and their incorporation into the design of a house, was comprehensive and detailed; he avoided talk of 'principles' as such. In almost every respect he thus differed from the author of a third pattern-book of 1807, Thomas Dearne. Dearne's *Sketches in architecture* avoided the dangers inherent in publishing estimates, as Gyfford had done, and furthermore eschews reinventing the wheel: 'The component parts of architecture may, with much propriety, be compared to the letters of the alphabet, and I should

⁴¹ Gyfford 1806, *i.e.* at pls vii-ix.

⁴² *Ibid*, p viii.

⁴³ Gyfford 1807, p vii.

think that man's time misemployed who should propose to add to one of the other'.⁴⁴ His principles – he called them 'the two grand essentials' – are stated at the outset: 'convenience and economy',⁴⁵ and he employed them himself, limiting discussion to one feature only in each of the buildings he proposed. In one instance this was the provision of two elevational treatments for the same plan: one was '*tout à fait riant*', which was 'better calculated to meet the public taste', whereas the other was 'more sober and dignified' and thus 'appropriate for a rectory or vicarage-house'.⁴⁶ It is an example of how pattern-book writers characteristically intended their proposals to suit an existing way of life rather than generating a new one; indeed, many seem to have had a particular interest in the wellbeing of the retired gentleman.⁴⁷

This characteristic type of house pattern-book appears to fizzle out by the early 1820s; the retirement of Josiah Taylor, following the disastrous fire at his 'Architectural Library' in 1822, deprived London of the publisher or seller not only of the works of Stuart and Revett and Soane, but also of Malton, G. Richardson, P. Nicholson, Lugar, Gwilt, Pocock, Dearne, Gandy, Aikin and Plaw;⁴⁸ in any case, an economic recession soon followed. With the significant exception of Hunt, whose publications attracted the interest of the *Quarterly review*,⁴⁹ and of P.F. Robinson, who became one of the first vice-presidents of the Institute of British Architects, Loudon had by the early 1830s the field to himself. By the time he came to publishing his *Encyclopaedia*, he had so large a mass of information at his disposal that he required a thoroughly consistent and ordered way of presenting it. Providing a model for subsequent encyclopaedists such as Bartholomew and Gwilt, he ordered his text into parts, chapters, and numbered paragraphs, and he announced at the outset: 'We have commenced our work with Designs, rather than with Principles, because in the

⁴⁴ Dearne 1807, p 7.

⁴⁵ *Ibid*, p v.

⁴⁶ *Ibid*, p 9, pls x-xii.

⁴⁷ For example, Dearne 1807, pl i.

⁴⁸ This partial list is derived from Taylor's friend Britton; see Britton 1849 (*Autobiography*), p 240.

⁴⁹ Reviews of Hunt's *Designs for parsonage houses, alms houses, etc.* (Hunt 1827a) and *Exemplars of Tudor architecture* (Hunt 1830) were the basis of the article 'Old English Domestic Architecture', *Quarterly review*, vol xlv, July 1831, pp 471-504.

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'.⁵⁰ 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,⁵¹ examples are sometimes presented because of their failings.

The scale of Loudon's thought remained at all times large: 'The leading principle of architecture as a useful art, is fitness for the end in view; as an art of design, expression of the end in view; and, as an art of taste, expression of some particular Architectural style'.⁵² Pattern-books, in particular Malton's *An essay on British cottage architecture*, had hinted about expression,⁵³ but Loudon went on to show precisely how it could be achieved in practice. There were certain functional features that Loudon approved of: a central stair; efficient organisation of ventilated and lit spaces under a single roof; internal fire breasts. The plans provided by his contributors – 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'.⁵⁴ And in referring to 'The beauty of fitness'⁵⁵ he was acknowledging the potential for picturesque massing that may follow from raising an elevation from a convenient plan.

The choice of style was evidently not a matter of 'principle' *per se*; judging by the examples given, he has a preference for Tudor or Gothic, and yet 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

⁵⁰ Loudon 1833, p 1.

⁵¹ See, for example, Dearne 1807, p vii; Elsam 1816, p viii.

⁵² Loudon 1833, p 4.

⁵³ Malton 1804, which owes much explicitly to Price and Payne Knight, attributes an appropriate extract of poetry to each of his designs.

⁵⁴ Loudon 1833, §29 p 15.

⁵⁵ *Ibid*, §366 p 183.

monastic style; and rich extensive plains the Grecian or Roman manner';⁵⁶ he soon noted that '*The Fitness of a Style for Accommodation, Comfort and Convenience* may naturally be supposed to influence our judgments in respect to its external effect; but, in this point of view, our belief is that the Grecian, Gothic, and Italian styles are altogether equal'.⁵⁷ 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.⁵⁸ During the course of his observations on the 'Perpendicular Pointed Style' he 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 proto-Puginian 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'⁶¹ ... 'In a cottage of the smallest size, having a living room, a bedroom, and a closet, the windows to each of these will be of different dimensions'.⁶² The lack of distinction between signalling an internal function on the exterior of the building and the propriety of its architectural form would, nevertheless, distinguish the compiler of the *Encyclopædia* from the author of *The true principles*: 'Turrets and projections of all kinds...convey the idea of commodiousness and convenience; it being supposed that their object, in modern houses, is to supply closets and cabinets, and other minor apartments';⁶³ and Loudon was not, apparently, concerned with the propriety of a particular building type, or type of construction, in respect of a particular geographic location: of an early design he noted that 'This may be

⁵⁶ *Ibid*, §1652 p 773.

⁵⁷ *Ibid*, §1654 p 774.

⁵⁸ *Ibid*, Design XVI, pp 65-7; pls 114, 115.

⁵⁹ *Ibid*, §1878 p 928.

⁶⁰ *Ibid*, §1888 p 935.

⁶¹ *Ibid*, §2195 p 1112.

⁶² *Ibid*, §2198 p 1112.

⁶³ *Ibid*, §2198 p 1113.

considered a comfortable dwelling for a gardener or bailiff in Britain; or for a small proprietor in America or Australia'.⁶⁴

Loudon cannot be considered exceptional in his proposition that 'beauty' and 'use' were mutually related in architecture. Hunt's *Architettura campestre* had quoted from Pope's *Ethic epistles*: 'tis use alone that sanctifies expense / And splendour borrows all her rays from sense';⁶⁵ appropriately, Hunt's reviewer in the *Quarterly review*⁶⁶ went on to observe that 'In Architecture, of all the arts, it is most true that "*Beauty never dwells where use is exiled*"'.⁶⁷ He continued that 'Many of the characteristics of our early domestic architecture seem to have been determined by the nature of the materials employed'.⁶⁸ 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?';⁶⁹ in contrast, he referred to 'the valuable publications of Mr. [A.C.] Pugin and others' in enabling craftsmen to execute 'elegant ancient designs'.⁷⁰ And indeed from this date on, 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 1833⁷¹ is derived from particular Italian examples: a porch in plate xxxvii is 'copied from a farm house, situated near Florence'; plates li-liv are based on

⁶⁴ Possibly, on the other hand, this was a very small concession to his publishers in five cities of those countries. *Ibid*, §121 p 54.

⁶⁵ Hunt 1827a, p 10. The quotation (the spelling of which was modernised) is from Pope 1735, p 91 lines 171-2.

⁶⁶ The reviewer is identified by the Wellesley Index as the economist G. Powlett Scrope.

⁶⁷ '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'. In fact the correspondence of beauty to use was a common theme in mid 17th century poetry, and was identified in particular with Pope, for which see Barrell 1972, pp 61; 73.

⁶⁸ *Ibid*, p 492.

⁶⁹ *Ibid*, p 493.

⁷⁰ *Ibid*, p 500.

⁷¹ C Parker 1833.

an original building situated on the banks of the Tiber; and plates lx-lxii have 'a correct example of an Italian Porch'.

By the late 1830s any distinction as to the adoption of different principles for a house on the basis of its size or status was becoming unusual; it is as if the application of principles to architecture had generated a different sort of argument, contained within architecture itself and not attributed to it by metaphor from philosophy or literature. An notable example of this new scientific approach to design is provided by Alfred Bartholomew, whose brief editorship of the *Builder* was cut short by his premature death in January 1845. Bartholomew began his career as a writer on the fireproofing of dwellings. His *Specifications* of 1840⁷² was perhaps primarily intended for architects now required to provide detailed drawings and specifications at the signing of a contract at the outset of a building project;⁷³ however, the technical text was preceded by a concise encyclopaedia of architectural history, structure and construction. He never referred to one type of architectural approach as being more appropriate to a certain class of building; as such, his own principles – those of structural integrity – can be considered universally applicable within architecture. He was aware that technical literature twenty years beforehand was in 'a coarse state of vagueness',⁷⁴ and his approach to his subject is that of technical suitability based on his twenty years' practical experience: 'It is the architect's business, to produce the greatest convenience strength duration and beauty, out of the funds which are entrusted to his care'.⁷⁵ In fact, the period in which Bartholomew was writing is characterised by an increasing number of technical architectural publications of various kinds, which would, in the 1840s, become very substantial; an example contemporaneous with the *Specifications* is S.H. Brooks' *Designs for cottage and*

⁷² Bartholomew 1840.

⁷³ The obligations upon an architect when a building was to be submitted for contracting in gross is referred to further in section 5.2 below.

⁷⁴ *Ibid*, preface §III.

⁷⁵ *Ibid*, I-XIX-§72.

villa architecture: this is predominantly a detailed construction manual, and the author is distinctly non-judgmental about style.⁷⁶

Joseph Gwilt's *Encyclopædia* of 1842 was published after Pugin's *The true principles*, but the author took pains to point out that his own work had been in preparation for some nine years.⁷⁷ His conclusion on the subject of use and beauty lies in a quotation from Archibald Alison's *Essay on the nature and principles of taste* (1790):

I apprehend that the beauty of proportion in forms is to be ascribed to [fitness] and that certain proportions affect us with the emotion of beauty, not from any original capacity in such qualities to excite this motion, but from their being expressive to us of the fitness of the parts to the end designed.⁷⁸

It was not, then, the novelty of 'principles' themselves, but their increasing specificity and application to architecture which characterised the period; as Professor Donaldson summarised, in his *Preliminary discourse* of 1842 – in effect, a précis of his forthcoming lecture series at University College, London – 'A recurrence to first principles was never more essential than at this moment. For not only our own school, but those of our continental neighbours have reached a most critical period. We are all in fact in a state of transition'.⁷⁹

⁷⁶ SH Brooks 1839. See for example Brooks' comment that 'every building ought to exhibit that peculiar style which is indicative of the particular uses for which it is erected...in the majority of cases, the Gothic style of architecture for modern designs is to be preferred to the more classical, although a selection of that kind may seem to be attended with a considerable degree of difficulty', p 30.

⁷⁷ And, ungenerously, AC and AWN Pugin are conflated in his bibliography; Habershon's *Ancient Timber Houses* is mentioned but not AWN Pugin's similarly titled book of the same year. Gwilt 1842, Section IV.

⁷⁸ *Ibid*, §2496 p 674.

⁷⁹ Donaldson 1842, p 29.

2.2.2 'The Beautiful and the True'⁸⁰

Part I of Bartholomew's *Specifications* is preceded by God's own awful warning to stuccoers:

והוא בנה חיץ והנם טחים אתו תפל⁸¹

'Low, very low, is the abasement which the extensive use of external stucco has brought upon English architecture',⁸² he notes later; for the author attributes excellence in architecture to purity of structure, and stucco, notoriously, had been used to cover up jerrybuilding.⁸³ The essence of Bartholomew's writing is the expression of the structural truth of a building in its form and method of construction. In revering Christopher Wren for the structural solution of the dome of St Paul's Cathedral – 'Wren had more science in his head and heart, than a thousand Sir John Soanes in their whole souls and bodies'⁸⁴ – he indicated that that structural frame did not necessarily have to be visible, but it had to provide the governing principle, and he quoted with approval the Scots scientific writer John Robison: "the structure of a roof may therefore be exhibited with propriety, and made an ornamental feature...the roof is in fact the part of the building which requires the greatest degree of skill, and where science will be of more service than any other part".⁸⁵

This visible, structural purity is the great advantage of Gothic architecture: 'In Pointed Architecture, all is structural'.⁸⁶ Hiding the necessary parts of a modern building is an unnecessary dishonesty; of chimneys he writes that 'All that expense which is

⁸⁰ Pugin 1841a (*True principles*), p 76.

⁸¹ 'One built a wall, and, lo, others daubed it with untempered mortar', at *Ezekiel* ch xiii.10 (AV). The significance of the verse is explained by its continuation: 'Say unto them which daub it with untempered mortar that it shall fall'.

⁸² Bartholomew 1840, I-XXXII-§302.

⁸³ Nash's practices had been under public scrutiny since the Select Committees of 1828-31.

⁸⁴ Bartholomew 1840, I-XLII-§384.

⁸⁵ Robison 1822, vol i, §554; quoted in Bartholomew 1840 at I-LVIII.

⁸⁶ Bartholomew 1840, Preface §XXI.

frequently so absurdly, and with such ill-success, expended in the concealment of chimney-shafts, should be rather used in ornamenting, and in rendering agreeable, members so necessary to the comfort of domestic buildings'.⁸⁷

In spite of the generally peppery tone (and idiosyncratic syntax and spelling) of Bartholomew's observations and prescriptions, he was a writer of some significance; his technical ideas include central heating systems;⁸⁸ his vision for the future of the profession is based on the model of a masons' guild⁸⁹ (with a prohibition on the professional indignity of the open competition);⁹⁰ and in his observation that the work of building has both a sacred and a mystical quality, he is looking well forward into the nineteenth century: the restoration of 'national buildings as Wells Cathedral...is more like the work of enchantment than human labor'.⁹¹ It is possible that he had the contemporary campaign, begun in earnest in 1823, to complete Cologne Cathedral on his mind. Hence, perhaps, the more uplifting tone of his other opening biblical quotation: והאנשים עשים באמונה במלאכה ועליהם: 'And the men did the work faithfully'.⁹²

But in a sense, however, Bartholomew was primarily giving more scientific and comprehensive claims for an idea voiced well before by Loudon. In 1806, with his engagingly catholic approach to architectural styles, Loudon had written not only that 'the principles of good taste...are always in unison with those of good morality'⁹³ but had also made an explicit link between 'truth' and architectural design. In the course of a discussion of his principles, he remarked that 'the opposite of symmetry is disparity or disproportion; which being inconsistent with use, fitness or truth, is always displeasing in the extreme'.⁹⁴ By the 1830s he had become more specific:

⁸⁷ *Ibid*, I-CX-§901; and see Belcher 1987, § D227; §D659.

⁸⁸ Bartholomew 1840, §905.

⁸⁹ *Ibid*, I-CXIV.

⁹⁰ *Ibid*, Preface, §xxxviii; and at §963-5.

⁹¹ *Ibid*, I-XV-§34.

⁹² II Chronicles xxxiv.12 (AV).

⁹³ Loudon 1806, vol i p 45.

⁹⁴ *Ibid*, p 31.

astonishingly so, for the subject that inspires this choice of word is, of all things, the practice by architects of building technically redundant drip moulds above the windows of their Gothic elevations, where the depth of the mullions or eaves already provides sufficient shelter. He is moved to mention this untruthful practice twice in his *Encyclopaedia*,⁹⁵ and the source he gives for his choice of word is an unexpected one: the '*Epistle to Lord Lowther On Building and Planting*', for which he gives the date as 1776 – "From truth and use all beauties flow".⁹⁶ Elsewhere he refers in general to the 'honest' use of ornament: 'when a house is so small that it cannot be reasonably supposed to possess such appendages as a chapel and a dining-hall, it becomes a piece of contemptible affectation to finish its exterior with members which are naturally applicable to those appendages alone; and the only cause, therefore, which good taste can sanction in such a case, is, to treat the subject as what it *is*; writing an honest and obvious character with correct detail, and as much of the picturesque as circumstances will permit'.⁹⁷ Bartholomew's *Specifications*, a year in advance of the publication of *The true principles*, transformed these incidental observations into an architectural system, one that enlisted the historic example of Gothic architecture, but which fell short of proposing any particular style.⁹⁸

The use of the word 'truth', or the suggestion of it, to justify a type of architecture had evolved throughout the eighteenth century: although it has been traditionally considered more significant to Continental than to English theory, the use of the word by English sources shows that it had already become an established, if inconsistent, concept in local architectural circles.⁹⁹ The employment of 'truth' in architecture

⁹⁵ Loudon 1833, §476 p 237 and §1434-7.

⁹⁶ Actually, James Lowther, *Some thoughts on building and planting, to Sir James Lowther, of Lowther Hall, Bart* [1776?].

⁹⁷ Loudon 1833, §1886 p 938; italics in the original.

⁹⁸ 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 a reference to himself.

⁹⁹ 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' (at p 297).

varied, from Loudon's concept of practical commonsense, to Bartholomew's insistence on structural integrity. As early as 1821, Francis Palgrave had written in the *Quarterly review* that 'from architecture, the earth derives its moral physiognomy',¹⁰⁰ apparently a reference not just to the 'morality' of the built form itself, but to the honesty with which that form expresses the actual geological nature of the earth itself. And in E.J. Willson's letterpress accompanying the first volume of A.C. Pugin's *Examples*, the specimens represented in the plates are described as 'collections of personal memoirs, original letters, wills, or other documents of genuine history; whilst books of modern architectural designs rather resemble fictitious narrative, or historical romances'.¹⁰¹ 'Honesty', 'truth', and 'morality' are all employed by architectural writers before *The true principles*; but in no case are they explicitly woven together to argue for a single, comprehensive, architectural style.

2.2.3 'We are not Italians, we are Englishmen'¹⁰²

The early 1820s were the background to a high water mark of English interest in the mediaeval architecture of Normandy.¹⁰³ The first substantial illustrated English work on the subject was Dawson Turner and Cotman's *Architectural antiquities of Normandy*, fully published in 1822. Cotman's drawings of Norman site were romantic sketches illustrated with antique or religious figures, somewhat after the manner of the plates illustrating the first volume of Charles Nodier's recent *Voyages pittoresques et romantiques dans l'ancienne France*.¹⁰⁴ The publisher and topographical writer John Britton was clearly attuned to the fashionable interest in Normandy, and for the potential demand amongst architects for accurate Norman detail; Cotman's work was not much to his taste, although he drew upon Cotman and Turner when he could not find sufficient trustworthy local antiquarians to help him in the preparation of the

¹⁰⁰ '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.

¹⁰¹ AC Pugin & Willson 1831 (*Examples*, vol i); p vii.

¹⁰² Pugin 1841a (*True principles*), p 65.

¹⁰³ Described in Brittain-Catlin 2002a.

¹⁰⁴ Nodier, Taylor & de Cailleux, 1820.

letterpress that accompanies his own volume.¹⁰⁵ This, the *Engraved specimens of the architectural antiquities of Normandy*, was illustrated by A.C. Pugin, and appeared from 1825 to 1828. Cotman had illustrated some fifty-three sites; Pugin, thirty-one, many of which had been included in Cotman's list. In Britton's publication the picturesque ruins of Cotman are transformed into measured drawings;¹⁰⁶ the transformation that in general characterises early nineteenth-century antiquarianism, from a depiction of romantic remains to the studied analysis of historical evidence, is thus effected for Normandy in the course of a few years. In any case, regardless of their scientific value, the publicised remains of Norman sites soon provided English architects with new sources of inspiration; a design by Robinson of 1827 for a house 'now erecting in Hampshire' is based on elements from the churches of St George de Bocherville, Graille, Holy Trinity Caen and Fontaine le Henri near Caen.¹⁰⁷

The impression is of increasing scholarly interest, and in 1823 the Cambridge scientist William Whewell went to have a look for himself,¹⁰⁸ with the assistance of his student Kenelm Digby.¹⁰⁹ The Gothic style appealed to Whewell because of its structural purity, and it is presumably for that reason he was praised by Bartholomew, who wrote in 1840, without further elaboration, that Whewell's report was: 'another of those gigantic strides, which, in an incredibly short time, have in the commencement of the nineteenth century, been made on the road to the revival of Gothic Architecture';¹¹⁰ the printed text of Donaldson's *Preliminary discourse* likewise referred in glowing terms to Whewell's researches, which, together with those of Whewell's Cambridge colleague Willis, 'reflect the greatest credit upon their

¹⁰⁵ Britton, AC Pugin & Le Keux, 1825-8 (*Normandy*); see, for example, pp xx; 40.

¹⁰⁶ Britton's publication is intended for 'the architect' and 'the man of science', whereas Cotman's was for 'the amateur and the antiquary'; *ibid*, pp 3-4.

¹⁰⁷ All four buildings had been illustrated by Cotman. P Robinson 1827, Design no ix. In the 'Address' prefixing his *Domestic architecture in the Tudor style* of 1837, the author acknowledges the 'very excellent works' by Britton, AC Pugin and others.

¹⁰⁸ For which see Whewell 1842.

¹⁰⁹ See also Pevsner 1972, p 108.

¹¹⁰ Bartholomew 1840, I-XXIII-§252.

penetration and learning'.¹¹¹ A subsequent work by Whewell, *Remarks on the complete Gothic and After-Gothic styles in Germany*¹¹², is in fact a description of the eight phases of increasing structural impurity through which German Gothic fell into stylistic degeneration. The richness and variety of foreign examples had clearly an important role: they could be used to illustrate the technical analysis and development of the mediaeval Gothic style. Whewell kept an eclectic collection of prints and drawings from his foreign travels¹¹³ which he used privately to illustrate his theories; as Master of Trinity College, he was soon able to promote Gothic architecture in practice.¹¹⁴

As it became less likely that Gothic was an English invention, those reluctant to grant primacy to the French could find new ways of asserting the special role of England in the development of the style: there was the matter of where it lasted longest, where it reached its finest development, and how it developed best after the flowering of what Rickman had termed the 'Decorated' style. This last was at least a point many critics could agree on: the answer was of course England, which alone had the 'Perpendicular'.¹¹⁵ Best suited of all, however, to most new domestic architecture was another style, no less English, which in the 1830s began to grow in popularity.

In 1831, in an article entitled 'Old English Domestic Architecture', published in the *Quarterly review*¹¹⁶, the reviewer¹¹⁷ of some recent architectural publications addresses the question of the national character of architecture:

¹¹¹ Donaldson 1842, note 1 to p 31.

¹¹² *Archaeological journal*, vol vii, 1850, pp 217-36. Whewell, along with the Cambridge Camden Society Secretary Webb, had been a founder member of the British Archeological Association in 1845; the society's interests included mediaeval Gothic architecture as well as pre-Norman subjects, and the inclusion of it must surely be an indication of the academic process of establishing the English character of English Gothic.

¹¹³ In the library of Trinity College, Cambridge (Whewell archive, catalogue no ix. 1.15). The collection includes sketches by Digby.

¹¹⁴ And see sub-section 6.1.1.1 below.

¹¹⁵ It was, for example, 'exclusively English' according to Loudon 1833, §1875 p 927.

¹¹⁶ *Quarterly review*, July 1831, pp 471-504.

¹¹⁷ See n 66 above.

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 also in turn modified by the original stock, as well as by the locals 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.¹¹⁸

The '*old English style*' is, the reviewer wrote, particularly appropriate therefore to country buildings because of the lack of harmony with neighbouring buildings that would result from its appearance in a town,¹¹⁹ but yet the effect is a fine one: 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'.¹²⁰ The Elizabethan and Jacobean styles are approved of, chiefly because of their 'effect';¹²¹ they were 'a natural compound of the old and long respected Gothic, with a new rival and opponent, the Roman'.¹²²

Popularised by Walter Scott and by A.C. Pugin's *quondam* pupil Joseph Nash,¹²³ the 'Tudor' or 'Elizabethan' style was approved of by Loudon in 1833:

it is more picturesque and ornamental; it accords best with rural scenery; and as it admits of great irregularity of form, it affords space for the various

¹¹⁸ *Quarterly review*, July 1831, pp 471-2.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid*, p 474.

¹²⁰ *Ibid*, p 480.

¹²¹ *Idem*.

¹²² *Ibid*, p 484.

¹²³ In the illustrations for Nash 1839-48; for which see also C Brooks 1999, pp 192-3; and Mandler 1997, pp 41-5.

offices and conveniences necessary in a country house. It is also, I think, better suited to our climate than the Grecian style...the Elizabethan [is] most adapted to the habits of refined and peaceful times.¹²⁴

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'.¹²⁵ It was, however, decried by some architectural theorists for its impurity and perhaps precisely for its Englishness: Gwilt considered it a style resulting from the abandonment of church control on architecture; it contained, he added, an 'imperfectly understood adaptation of classic forms to the habits of its day in this country...[it was] full of redundant and unnerving ornament'; although admittedly 'Neither... are the English, as a people, susceptible of high feeling in respect of the production of art'.¹²⁶ For Bartholomew, it was a style 'founded in ignorance and corruption'.¹²⁷

Only one author drew particular attention to the local domestic architecture of the half-timbered house. Following a visit to Hadzor in Worcestershire,¹²⁸ Matthew Habershon 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. Habershon gave examples of some substantial half-timbered constructions (some drawn by his pupil Ewan Christian), 'all estimated as being within 50 years of Queen Elizabeth';¹²⁹ his intention was to render the examples 'scientifically useful'.¹³⁰ Oddly, his own designs included made no use of half-timbered construction at all;

¹²⁴ Loudon 1833, §1678 p 792.

¹²⁵ *Ibid*, §1875 p 927.

¹²⁶ Gwilt 1842, §437 p 195.

¹²⁷ Bartholomew 1840, I-LXVIII-§623.

¹²⁸ Habershon 1839, dedication.

¹²⁹ *Ibid*, preface p vi.

¹³⁰ *Ibid*, preface p vi.

although he illustrated the Old House in the Market Place, Preston,¹³¹ there is nothing in his own work which echoed that building's exposed structural skeleton and continuous horizontal bands of windows. A decorative application half-timbering was, on the other hand, recognised by novelists as well as by architects as being a national style: Disraeli's 'Hellingsley' house, the appearance of which in *Coningsby* denotes the final stage in the apotheosis of its eponymous hero, is 'built in the time of the Tudors, and in its elaborate timber framing and decorative woodwork...vigilantly and tastefully preserved'.¹³²

2.2.4 'The smaller detached houses which the present society has generated, should possess a peculiar character'¹³³

By 1840 J. H. Parker was able to include in the third volume of his *Glossary of terms* a comprehensive list of surviving mediaeval houses, which included most known examples quoted by other writers up to that date.¹³⁴ His were mostly substantial manor houses, but his inclusion of some smaller houses is significant, for early nineteenth-century writers had determined unambiguously that there were no significant surviving mediaeval precedents for a modern *small* house. Britton's first four volumes of the *Architectural antiquities* refer to nothing smaller than a manor house, with the exception of a curious timber construction in Islington.¹³⁵ The fifth volume, from 1826, had intended to be more concerned with castellated and domestic architecture, and yet Britton's preface noted that he had found this 'impracticable';¹³⁶ 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. 1]. This house surely made a deep impression on him, because twenty years later he included it in his own drawing

¹³¹ *Ibid*, pl 2.

¹³² Disraeli 1881, p 360.

¹³³ Pugin 1843a (*Apology*), p 38.

¹³⁴ Parker 1840, pp 67-77.

¹³⁵ Britton 1809 (*Architectural antiquities*, vol ii).

¹³⁶ Britton 1826 (*Architectural antiquities*, vol v), preface.

illustrating the finest examples of ancient domestic architecture, preceding a text by the Reverend Charles Boutell:¹³⁷ in spite of Parker's list, Britton had evidently not been convinced by any other candidate for primacy in the meantime. The choice was a strange one. An experienced topographical writer such as Britton cannot surely have failed to see that Winwall House was formed from remains of a monastic building, as is evident from the lack of architectural or practical relationship between the surviving features of Norman architecture and the small farmhouse then built around them.¹³⁸ As such, it was clearly not a surviving Norman house. Perhaps its haunting and isolated location – in Gibbet Lane, overlooking a path between two villages – had had its effect on him.

In this volume, Boutell wrote of domestic architecture 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 art.¹³⁹

He could give no surviving examples until the fourteenth century. Between the dates of the two Britton publications referring to Winwall House, 1826 and 1840, no writer can be found who gave a contrary opinion, mainly because the most humble timber houses of any kind were clearly beneath criticism.¹⁴⁰ Habershon, in his preface of 1839, notes that 'All writers who speak of this period agree that the lower orders especially were most miserably lodged';¹⁴¹ Bartholomew made no reference at all to early domestic structures; and slightly later, Gwilt wrote that 'In London, towards the

¹³⁷ Britton & Boutell 1846 (*Early domestic architecture*). The other examples are Tudor or later.

¹³⁸ The illustration by G. Cattermole and J. Le Keux of 1819 gives an impression which surely at the time must have been erroneous; in reality, the exterior east wall of the modern house is probably the interior west wall of a much older dwelling. Parker's list of 1840 recognises the true nature of the building.

¹³⁹ *Ibid*, p 5.

¹⁴⁰ See for example the *Quarterly review*, April 1821, p 126: 'Our old dwelling-houses are usually composed of timber frames, filled in with plaster'.

¹⁴¹ Habershon 1839, Preface, p xiii.

end of the twelfth century, the houses were still built of timber, and covered with reeds or straw'.¹⁴² Furthermore, the phenomenon appeared to be universal: Turner's text to Cotman's *Architectural antiquities of Normandy* had earlier noted 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.'¹⁴³ He then referred to 'Winwal [sic] 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'.¹⁴⁴

And yet topographical writers did 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 A.C. Pugin and Willson's *Specimens of Gothic architecture* (1826) illustrated the Norman Jew's House in Lincoln: was it insufficiently 'English', or too extravagant to serve as a simple precedent? Surprisingly, no reference is made by topographical writers to the apparent suitability of surviving domestic buildings in monastic complexes to serve as a precedent.

Had the topographical and historical writers broadened the scope of their researches, they would have found no shortage of evidence for pre-Tudor single detached houses, for after 1811 the incumbents of ancient parsonages were applying in writing for mortgages from the Queen Anne's Bounty to improve houses considered uninhabitable by the rising standards of the time.¹⁴⁵ There were 1,700 buildings of this type unfit for use by 1833;¹⁴⁶ one example is that at West Dean in West Sussex, which

¹⁴² Gwilt 1842, §393 p 170.

¹⁴³ Cotman & Turner 1822, p 67.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid*, pp 67-8.

¹⁴⁵ Best 1964 describes this process.

¹⁴⁶ Virgin 1989, p 147.

was in part twelfth century;¹⁴⁷ a typical hall-type building. An architect called S.H. Turner of St Marychurch submitted in 1837 plans and an elevation of the house he was proposing to demolish at Abbotskerswell in Devon, for the approval of the Bishop of Exeter [fig. 2].¹⁴⁸ Certainly much 'research' by topographical writers was serendipitous: they consulted local antiquarians, or would send their artists to visit a known antiquity, and these might come across an interesting specimen on the way: this can be deduced by plotting the location of, for example, Britton's Norfolk *Antiquities* on a map.

The parsonages that appear in the 'villa books' of the period do not carry any characteristics drawn from ancient examples. Papworth had illustrated 'a vicarage or farm house' in his *Rural residences*,¹⁴⁹ as well as 'a vicarage house, in correspondence of the architecture of the neighbouring church',¹⁵⁰ although the church is not visible in his plate, and given the Gothicky nature of the house, any stylistic similarity was improbable [fig. 3]. In common with many other contemporaneous villa pattern-book writers, Papworth had not yet learnt how to *look* at surviving Gothic buildings. A younger generation, brought up with Loudon and Britton, clearly 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. A halfway stage is exemplified by Hunt, whose *Designs for parsonage houses* intersperses some drawings of surviving Tudor detailing between his own proposals, and quotes 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".¹⁵¹ Hunt can perhaps

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid*, p 148.

¹⁴⁸ The drawing is enclosed with the documents relating to the building of the parsonage. Devon RO (no catalogue no).

¹⁴⁹ Papworth 1818, p 37.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid*, p 45.

¹⁵¹ Whitaker 1801. Quoted in Hunt 1827b, pp 29-30.

identify accurate historical sources,¹⁵² but cannot yet emulate them, 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.¹⁵³

Since the policy of the *Ecclesiologist* was to build churches according to mediaeval precedent, it was perhaps predictable that at first it devoted so little space to the small parsonage house, a building type which apparently had none. The first reference to the subject did not appear until Pugin had completed at least seven Catholic presbyteries, in the form of a notice without architectural description in July 1845 of the completion of new parsonages at Coalpit Heath, Brasted and Tofts;¹⁵⁴ the following year there was a single reference, to Marchwood parsonage by Woodyer:¹⁵⁵ this had 'that peculiar character which ought to distinguish a parsonage', without illustration of what this might mean. Very short notices followed in February 1848 of three parsonages by the partnership of Mallinson and Healey at Low Moor and Wyke in the West Riding of Yorkshire, and at Swinfield; each was in a different style, and the reviewer noted that he preferred the Middle Pointed style of Wyke, but considered the 'Debased Third-Pointed' style of Swinfield unsuccessful.¹⁵⁶ Four months later, there is another short but this time favourable notice of 'two Pointed parsonages', Monkton Wyld in Dorset and Buxted in Sussex, by Carpenter: most significant here is the observation that 'Most of the specimens we have seen, which aim at anything better than late Third-Pointed, seem rather timidly to avoid glaring faults, than boldly to seize the spirit of the earlier style. Nuremberg should be more studied by our architects'.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵² 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.

¹⁵³ Hunt 1827b, pl viii.

¹⁵⁴ By Butterfield, Carpenter and Daukes respectively; *Ecclesiologist*, vol iv, July 1845, p 189.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid*, vol vi, December 1846, pp 238-9.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid*, vol viii, February 1848, p 258.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid*, vol viii, April 1848, p 321.

The subject was pursued in earnest, it appears, only by the 'Architectural and Archæological Society for the County of Buckinghamshire', which was founded in January 1848. The Society's inaugural meeting was not only reported in the *Bucks herald* for 3rd February of that year, but in the august pages of the *Ecclesiologist* itself;¹⁵⁸ in time, it could count William Butterfield, E.B. Lamb, George Gilbert Scott, and Britton's collaborator Boutell amongst its members. A particularly active member of the society, the Rev. A Baker, gave a paper entitled 'Hints for Improvement in the architectural character and arrangements of Parsonage Houses' in April 1849;¹⁵⁹ the *Ecclesiologist* did not give the text of Baker's remarks, subsequently pronouncing them 'exaggerated';¹⁶⁰ it did, however, later report in some detail on comments Baker had received about them from 'an eminent church architect' which were read out at a subsequent meeting of the Society: these dealt with entry and dining arrangements, the necessity for the parson to be close to his flock, and the superfluity of Baker's suggestions for an oratory and a cloister; in general, the anonymous but eminent architect was approving: the parsonage was to be '*real, simple, and religious, as you have well said*'.¹⁶¹ Parker's *Glossary* evidently had had little immediate effect, for it appears that it was not until the time of Scott's *Remarks* that it had been established amongst architects that there were 'many' examples from the thirteenth century, and some previous even to that;¹⁶² by then, Scott also had the first two volumes of J. H. Parker's *Some account of domestic architecture of England* to draw upon.¹⁶³

2.2 Collegiate Architecture

There is one branch of domestic architecture throughout the survey period that was apparently ignored by critics and writers: the modern collegiate residential building. The colleges of Oxford and Cambridge were generally given as the best mediaeval

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid*, vol viii, February 1848, p 249.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid*, vol ix, April 1849, p 328.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid*, vol ix, June 1849, p 402.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid*, vol x, August 1849, p 57-8. The meeting had been held the previous June.

¹⁶² GG Scott 1857, p 2.

¹⁶³ JH Parker 1852, 1853.

examples; they were illustrated by A.C. Pugin in the first volume of the *Examples*, and Britton had additionally shown Eton College in the second volume of the *Architectural antiquities*. In the days before the rebuilding of the public schools, and when Roman Catholic monastic needs were of marginal interest, the subject of new collegiate architecture does not seem to have arisen. Henry Hakewill's school at Rugby of 1809-15, the only significant new collegiate structure illustrated in Ackermann's *Public schools*,¹⁶⁴ passed without comment although it clearly bore little resemblance to any mediaeval structure [fig. 4]; likewise, the substantial and prestigious neo-Gothic buildings of Wilkins, and of Rickman and Hutchinson in Cambridge in the 1820s and 1830s seem not to have attracted the attention of Loudon or Britton.¹⁶⁵

2.3 Pugin's Writing on Domestic Architecture

Pugin wrote very little about domestic architecture in general, and less still about his own work: the extent to which his comments on church building can be abstracted to apply to houses must always be in doubt. There are sections on domestic (or 'civil') architecture in *The true principles* and in *An apology*; there are descriptions of various institutional projects in *The present state*; and there are occasional comments made to correspondents. In addition, there is Powell's testimony in regard to Pugin's working practices.

The texts of the two editions of *Contrasts* do not specifically refer to the design of new domestic architecture, although the plates give examples: John Soane's house in Lincoln's Inn Fields is contrasted with a timber-fronted house in the Rue des Horloges in Rouen; the mediaeval Bishop of Ely's Palace in Holborn is contrasted with the Bishop's new residence in a terraced house in Dover Street [fig. 5];¹⁶⁶ and, in the 1841

¹⁶⁴ Ackermann 1816.

¹⁶⁵ Ackermann's splendid illustrated volumes on Cambridge University, Combe 1815, came too early for any of the new residential buildings of the 1820s.

¹⁶⁶ The house by Sir Robert Taylor, 1772-6 (Colvin p 996).

edition (from which the Soane plate was dropped), a caricature of a Benthamite poor house is contrasted with a mediaeval hospital based on that of St Cross in Winchester [fig. 6].

The text of *The true principles* includes sections on 'collegiate' and 'civil' architecture,¹⁶⁷ contrasting the mediaeval buildings of Oxford (in particular, Magdalen College, in restored mediaeval form [fig 7a]), Cambridge, Eton and Winchester with modern classical work, and includes an idealised house of the fourteenth century [fig. 8] and the section on the advantages of the exterior chimney [fig. 9]. A passage immediately following this last is dedicated to praise of the architecture of Catholic England, which is summarised as being 'at once strong and hospitable'.¹⁶⁸ The section on 'civil' architecture, which here refers mainly to domestic architecture, is that which includes the exhortation 'Another objection to Italian architecture is this, — we are not Italians, we are Englishmen.' According to this passage, the triumphant progress of classical architecture would mean that 'Europe would soon present such sameness as to cease to be interesting'.¹⁶⁹ A substantial part of this section is given over to ridicule of the castellated and the 'Abbey' styles of modern domestic architecture then prevalent in England, principally emphasising the superfluity of historical detailing and bad constructional practice.

In describing mediaeval domestic architecture by way of contrast, Pugin explains its superiority in the following terms:

they were substantial appropriate edifices, suited by the scale and arrangement for the purposes of habitation. Each part of these buildings indicated its particular destination: the turreted gate-house and porter's lodging, the entrance porch, the high-crested roof and Louvred hall, with its capacious chimney, the guest chambers, the vast kitchens and offices, all formed distinct and beautiful features, not *masked or concealed under one monotonous front*, but by their variety in form and outline increasing the

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid*, pp 53-4; pp 54-63.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid*, p 61.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid*, p 56.

effect of the building, and presenting a standing illustration of good old English hospitality; while the venerable parish church in the immediate vicinity, with its grey spire and family chantry, showed that the care spiritual was not neglected by our ancestors in the erection of their temporal dwellings.¹⁷⁰

This passage provides the most succinct description on Pugin's part of the aims of the house; the remainder of the chapter is concerned with the way in which an old house indicates the station of its owner and his responsibilities towards others: 'Catholic England was merry England, at least for the humbler classes'.¹⁷¹ In conclusion, he refers to the modern practices of attaching gothic detailing to what is essentially a classical mass and arrangement; and of using Gothic forms in order to create a picturesque effect regardless of plan.

An apology is principally directed towards asserting the appropriateness of pointed architecture for modern building. Making a general comment at the beginning of the book, Pugin writes that 'Styles are now *adopted* instead of *generated*, and ornament and design adapted to, instead of originated by, the edifices themselves'.¹⁷² The book includes a short section entitled 'Civil Architecture', which contains the passages most significant to Pugin's novel approach:

Any modern invention which conduces to comfort, cleanliness, or durability, should be adopted by the consistent architect; *to copy a thing merely because it is old, is just as absurd as the imitations of the modern pagans*. Our domestic architecture should have a peculiar expression illustrative of our manners and habits: *as the castle merged into the baronial mansion, so it may be modified to suit actual necessities*; and the smaller detached house which the present state of society has generated, should possess a peculiar character: they are only objectionable when made to appear diminutive representations of larger structures. And it is not only

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid*, pp 60-1.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid*, p 61.

¹⁷² Pugin 1843a (*Apology*), p 2.

possible, but easy, to work on the same consistent principles as our ancestors in the erection of all our domestic buildings.¹⁷³

The section concludes:

Every building that is treated naturally, without disguise or concealment, cannot fail to look well.

If our present domestic buildings were only designed in accordance with their actual purposes, they would appear equally picturesque with the old one! Each edifice would tell its own tale, and by diversity of character, contribute to the grand effect of the whole.¹⁷⁴

The section is accompanied by a plate showing two typical elevations, entitled 'The Consistent Principles of Domestic Architecture Applied to Modern Street Buildings' [fig. 10].¹⁷⁵ It is in the following section, 'Modern Inventions and Mechanical Improvements', that Pugin makes the observation that 'The whole history of Pointed Architecture is a series of inventions'.¹⁷⁶

The *Present state* articles include some lengthy descriptions of domestic and residential buildings.¹⁷⁷ The greater part of these descriptions is given up to lists of accommodation provided, with some reference to historical precedent, the significance of the religious symbolism employed in the detailing, and some historical recollections. Only in the case of the Birmingham Bishop's House, which, uniquely of all Pugin's residential architecture, is provided with a published plan, does he provide any theoretical observations regarding its design [fig. 11]. Firstly, a footnote refers to

¹⁷³ *Ibid*, pp 38-9.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid*, p 39.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid*, pl vii.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid*, p 40.

¹⁷⁷ Of the following: St John's Hospital (pp 117-20; pl v of part ii); Mount St Bernard's (pp 121-6; pl vii of part ii); the Birmingham Bishop's House (pp 127-33; pl xi of part ii); the Handsworth and Liverpool convents (pp 133-5; pl xii of part ii); and the 1841 scheme for Downside Abbey (pp 135-7; pl xiii of part ii).

a contemporary fashion for building residences for clergy in a style and arrangement that suggests that they were parts of a church. This is followed by the comment that 'it is impossible to build substantially in any style so cheap as the pointed or Christian'.¹⁷⁸ After suggesting some evidence for this, he writes that historical clergy houses '*exhibited a solid, solemn and scholastic character, that bespoke them at once to be the habitations of men who were removed far beyond the ordinary pursuits of life*', and gives the examples of surviving historical examples at the Vicars' Close in Wells and of St Cross:

defaced and modernised as they are, they inspire reverence and respect...This impression is not produced by richness of detail, for they are remarkably plain for the most part; but it is owing to the absence of all artificial resources, and the severity and simplicity in which they have been raised; there is no attempt at concealment, no trick, no deception, no false show, no mock materials; they appear as true and solid as the faith itself.¹⁷⁹

The concluding part of the section describes in some detail the vulgarity of a modern Anglican cleric's house, and a further footnote refers to the despoliations of historic buildings for the use of modern households.¹⁸⁰ The detailed description of the Birmingham house that follows includes the claim 'that convenience has dictated the design, and that the elevation has been left in that natural irregularity produced by the internal requirements to which we owe the picturesque effect of the ancient buildings.'¹⁸¹ In the light of these comments, first published the year before he designed St Augustine's, his own subsequent remark that his house was '*fit to receive a Bishop*' must be understood not necessarily to mean that it was splendid inside, but that it was suitably 'severe', convenient, and irregular.¹⁸² Pugin's acceptance of

¹⁷⁸ Pugin 1842 (*Present state* pt ii), p 128. This could be contrasted with the surprising question put to Bloxam regarding the latter's brother-in-law's house at Camelford: 'you must let me know whether the house is to be built *well* or *cheap*' (11.11.1845): Belcher 2003, pp 476-7.

¹⁷⁹ Pugin 1842 (*Present state* pt ii), p 129.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid*, p 131.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid*, p 132.

¹⁸² Pugin to Griffiths, 16.3.1845: Belcher 2003, p 364.

modern requirements for Anglican parsonages seem to have occasioned a sigh: 'I shall be glad to build the parsonage house although I suppose the *nursery* must be a prominent feature. still we may as well get all the good we can'.¹⁸³

Other references to his own domestic and residential work are extremely limited: a letter from his client Thomas Wyse, in which the latter records Pugin's views in the context of proposed alterations to his house in Waterford, provides the most detailed description of Pugin's theoretical approach to domestic architecture – mentioning in particular economy of building, truth, convenience and consistency – albeit at second hand.¹⁸⁴ Pugin's own only detailed reference to any of his layouts appears in his description of his proposals for the Master's Lodge of his 1843 scheme for Balliol College, Oxford, (see Appendix A, 1843) below. This description, together with Pugin's illustrations, forms his only complete picture of a domestic scheme; he referred in correspondence to his houses at Alderbury and Ramsgate as being 'Catholic', and comfortable, and he did make some technical observations on occasion, but he never made any remarks that could be understood as theoretical assessments or proposals in respect of his domestic or residential architecture. In first introducing St Augustine's to Bloxam, he described the house as 'not very Large but convenient & solid'.¹⁸⁵ His response to the attack on him in the *Ecclesiologist*, printed in the *Tablet*, makes little defence of his Nottingham clergy house, described as 'in one word, a piece of mere builder's Gothic', other than to state that it was 'a simple, convenient residence, without any pretensions whatsoever'.¹⁸⁶ Some minor aspects of the practical side of Pugin's approach were recorded by Powell: 'for God's sake avoid mitred joints'.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸³ 4.10.1843: Belcher 2003, p 116. This may be an early reference to the Rampisham house, although Rooke entered the parish only as a curate on 1st January that year: parish record book. He did, however, have many children. His predecessor as rector, William Pace, had by 1843 been in the position for 47 years, so Rooke may have allowed himself to plan for his future prospects.

¹⁸⁴ Wyse's letter is reproduced in Belcher 2003, pp 493-4.

¹⁸⁵ 26.9.1843?: Belcher 2003, p 110.

¹⁸⁶ 'The artistic merit of Mr Pugin', *Ecclesiologist*, vol v, no 7 (January 1846), p 13; *Tablet*, vol vii, no 30 (31.1.1846), p 69.

¹⁸⁷ Wedgwood 1988, p 183. Pugin's architrave beading necessarily required a mitred joint.

His correspondence, particularly to Bloxam, throws little light on the theory of his design methods: most intriguing here is his repeated admiration for the 'spiral' form, which in its context is understood to mean 'the form of a spire' rather than a helical progression: a postscript to a letter to Bloxam notes simply 'every form is spiral in Xtian architecture'.¹⁸⁸ The pamphlet of 1850 entitled *Some remarks on the articles which have recently appeared in the "Rambler"* is the most abstract of Pugin's formal writings on architecture: it is here that he describes 'black-letter' typography as corresponding 'to the principles of the architecture; [the letters] are composed of vertical lines'.¹⁸⁹ A footnote to the same page reads '*it is in dress as in architecture, whatever is superfluous or unnecessary is bad in taste. Enrichment must be confined to the decoration of that which is really useful in attire*'. And it is here that he declares

I have passed my life in thinking of fine things, studying fine things, designing fine things, and realising very poor ones...'

'I can truly say that I have been compelled to commit absolute suicide with every building in which I have been engaged, and I have good proof that they are little better than ghosts of what they were designed; indeed, had I not been permitted by the providence of God to have raised the church at St Augustine's, I must have appeared as a man whose principles and works were strangely at variance.'¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁸ 16.5.1843: Belcher 2003, p 54.

¹⁸⁹ Pugin 1850 (*Remarks*), p 7.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid*, p 11; p 13.

3 The Architectural Context of Pugin's Residential Architecture.

3.1 Introduction

The contemporary architectural debate described in Chapter 2 above provides only part of a depiction of the architectural context of Pugin's domestic architecture; in order to complete the picture, a representative description is given here of comparable domestic and residential architecture of his period.

In spite of the many houses erected during the early part of the 1800s, there was little variation of style and layout in small house design. This chapter concentrates on the design of the Anglican parsonage: Pugin designed at least two parsonages, and the design of his Roman Catholic clergy houses was carried out during a period of considerable building activity in the Anglican world, which is amongst the best documented of its period. In common with the practice elsewhere in this dissertation, the examples have been preferred where it has been possible to view and assess the building.

This chapter defines the physical and stylistic characteristics common to contemporary parsonage architecture, and an example of a representative parsonage-building architect is given. A description of contemporary bishops' houses, almshouses, and of institutional residential buildings is also given; and a final section describes the work of early nineteenth-century Roman Catholic architects before Pugin. This chapter provides, therefore, the point of comparison for Chapter 7 below, which describes the characteristics of parsonage and house building after the upheavals of the late 1830s and early 1840s.

My attribution source for all the buildings mentioned in this chapter is summarised in Appendix B, which also gives the county in which buildings are located, and lists the status of parsonages.

3.2 *Parsonages*

The very large amount of building documentation available for the 1830s and 1840s – particularly in the case of parsonages, which required the architect to supply plans, specifications and certificates for approval by the bishop when applying for a mortgage from the Queen Anne's Bounty – makes it possible to establish the conventional layouts and nature of stylistic detailing in the period at which Pugin's career began, and also forms the basis for some investigation into the degree to which architects' works changed during the period in which his reputation was established.¹

Up to the period in which Pugin established his practice, Anglican parsonages had developed a prominent plan type which was repeated across England with limited variations only. This was the central corridor type, in which the ground floor of the house was bisected by a corridor which ran between two of the principal ground floor rooms from a door at the entrance or garden front of the house to a staircase at the rear [fig. 12]. The staircase was sometimes on axis with the corridor, and sometimes at right angles to it: this latter type is referred to below as the L-corridor type [fig. 13]. In larger houses, the staircase would necessarily be top lit; its location is only very rarely signified on elevations. Beyond the staircase were offices and the kitchen. In many cases, parsonage remodellings and extensions consisted of applying this layout onto an older and simpler house. This was for example the case at Nacton, where John Whiting extended the existing house in 1837 [fig. 14].²

Deviations from this basic layout in most early nineteenth-century parsonages are extremely rare. The only significant variation is one in which the entrance is placed on one of the two shorter ends of a rectangular plan, towards the back of the house from the garden, and the rooms are laid out in a continuous row facing the garden with the entrance corridor acting as their spine. This is referred to below as the 'back-corridor'

¹ Note also the reference to the Bounty in section 2.2.4 above.

² My site visit, 22.2.2001.

type [fig. 15]. In a house such as this, the staircase might be placed further back into the house, beyond the corridor, as is the case at Bossall, a substantial house costing at £1,150 and designed by James Pritchett in 1838.³ Here, the principal elevation of the house was a sequence consisting of study, drawing room (in the centre) and dining room. The house was designed in Tudor-Gothic style, with little ornamentation beyond hood moulds and a pointed front door [fig. 16]. Pritchett was perhaps satisfied with this approach for he designed a variation of it, at Thornton-in-Pickering in 1841, here continuing the spine corridor directly into the kitchen office wing and placing both staircases within it and along its axis. This house was in classical-Georgian style and Pritchett designed a row of blind windows along the corridor elevation.⁴ There are rare examples of spine plans in other parts of the country from different periods: Arthur Browne had used this type at Horning in 1820;⁵ another East Anglian example can be found at Bredfield (William Bilby, 1836).⁶ Interestingly, the plan of a much more ambitious venture, the proposed Tudor-Gothic Master's Lodge at Magdalene College, Cambridge, by Edward Blore in 1834 was a variation of the spine plan, and an unusual departure for the architect.⁷ Here, the entrance was from the centre of the spine corridor rather than at the end of it. On entering the house, one thus would have encountered a corridor running lengthily to the left and to the right; the stairs and offices were to the right, 'behind' the spine.

Other deviations do occur: many late Georgian houses – including parsonages, such as Lugar's at Yaxham, of 1820⁸ – have substantial, central halls; significantly, however, these central halls rarely act as the staircase hub of a house, but more usually as the main space along the entrance route. An imposing staircase was much more likely to be tucked away, as it was at the Boxford parsonage of 1818, by the versatile and picturesque architect Mark Thompson: grand as it is, it merely forms part of a back-

³ My site visit, 5.5.2002.

⁴ BIY, MGA 1841/4

⁵ My site visit, 23.2.2001.

⁶ My site visit, 22.2.2001.

⁷ The building was not executed because of its excessive cost – estimated as up to £4,800. Hyam 1989-90. Further reference to Blore is given below at section 3.3.

⁸ My site visit, 23.2.2001.

corridor plan [fig. 17].⁹ Georgian parsonages essentially compartmentalised the living arrangements into separate rooms, and although the corridors were necessary for access, and perhaps for effect, they were not living spaces with a distinct character or purpose in their own right.

It was, however, the central-corridor and L-corridor types which predominated, and this is remarkable since they generated a problem particular to symmetrical, classical-Georgian architecture. Because the central bay of the principal or garden elevation contained only a corridor, it was narrower than the two bays either side, and this caused a conflict with the type of architecture where the central bay of an elevation is invariably the dominant one. A number of different devices were used to balance this. Most commonly, the architect ignored the discrepancy between the size of the bays in designing the front elevation, placing the door and windows in the centre of the bays along a flat façade with no vertical emphasis. Sometimes he extended the apparent width of the central bay outside the building by adding a broad porch: this was the case in an ambitious remodelling in Tudor-Gothic style of the parsonage at Galby in 1829 by William Parsons [fig. 18].¹⁰ The effect could equally be achieved in classical buildings by adding a pillared portico, such as at Tenbury in 1843 (Edward Smith) [fig. 19].¹¹

One advantage the Tudor-Gothic style had over the classical-Georgian variations was that it was better suited to this planning problem, since the house neither had to be symmetrical, nor have a wider central bay: indeed there were many examples of symmetrical or almost symmetrical Elizabethan houses with a projecting narrow central bay.¹² Many parsonages were built in which the central bay was conspicuously narrower, and in the form of a narrow projection topped with a gable not unlike a pediment. The form suited larger houses, and was used by Thomas Jones, c1830, for

⁹ My site visit, 21.2.2001.

¹⁰ My site visit, 29.4.2002.

¹¹ My site visit, 18.5.2002.

¹² Some of these buildings must have been known to architects and antiquarians – Thomas Hopper, for example, had reconstructed the interior of a paradigmatic house of this type, Kentwell Hall in Suffolk, in c1825-6: Colvin, p 515.

the deanery at St Asaph [fig. 20].¹³ The combination of the Tudor-Gothic central projection with the classical-Georgian formula and symmetry accounts for the confusion at Hardingham, where Joseph Stannard Snr and Jnr, Wilkins' contractors at King's College Cambridge, produced in 1833 a Gothic central bay to a front elevation otherwise entirely classical;¹⁴ and not far away at Nacton, where Whiting's extension of 1837 did the same [fig. 14].

In Tudor-Gothic parsonages, and also in Picturesque-Italianate ones, the central bay could be recessed: this is what C.J. Carter did on the south elevation of his parsonage at Louth in 1832 [fig. 21]¹⁵, and likewise Thomas Greenshields at Swilland, more than ten years later in 1843.¹⁶ In the meantime, many parsonages without architectural pretensions were built on that model, for example at Sutton (Suffolk), by the 'ingenious but dubious' Peter Thompson in 1840.¹⁷ In the bishop's house in Lichfield of 1804-5, mentioned here rather than in section 3.3 below because of its very modest size, the middle, minor bay is made almost to disappear between the adjoining bays, the bargeboards of which are made to intrude down into the floor below the gable (alterations by Joseph Potter) [fig. 22].¹⁸

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 corridor plan, and variations of it, 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. 23].

¹³ My site visit, 11.5.2002.

¹⁴ My site visit, 23.2.2001.

¹⁵ My site visit, 4.5.2002; and see sub-section 7.6.3 below.

¹⁶ My site visit, 22.2.2001.

¹⁷ My site visit, 23.2.2001. The character assessment is at Colvin, p 975.

¹⁸ My site visit, 15.5.2002.

There were two varieties of this elevational type: in one, the type was used as an entrance elevation, with a 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.¹⁹ Others used this as a garden front, with rooms served by the central corridor from behind, running from the front door at one of the two sides. The type was well established by the time that Pugin came to practise architecture: Mark Thompson, essentially a carpenter who designed parsonages in different styles around Suffolk from c1810, designed a parsonage at Lound in 1818 which had both gothic and classical touches, but, remarkably, the asymmetrical gable-and-wall elevation was proposed to be in the classical-Georgian style [fig. 24].²⁰ London architects as well as provincial ones used the gable-wall composition in conjunction with central corridor plans. Matthew Habershon illustrated his recent design for Aston Sandford parsonage in his book *The ancient half-timbered houses of England* of 1839;²¹ this small house was of this type and the style was Tudor-Gothic with sash windows [fig. 25]; he built a similar, but larger, parsonage at Rockland St Mary in Norfolk in 1839.²² Both houses are central-corridor types: in the smaller house, the stairs runs along the axis of the corridor; in the larger one, they conform to the L-corridor variation and at right angles to it. The prevalence of the type is illustrated by the fact that the following year, another London architect, Robert Parris, submitted a plan of the same type, for the nearby village of Rockland St Peter's; his stylistic treatment was, however, more authentically Tudor-Gothic [fig. 26].²³

¹⁹ An example of this type at Boxham is described in further detail at section 6.5 below.

²⁰ According to his perspective, at Norfolk CRO DN/DPL1/3/38. The house has been altered but may not have been built exactly as Thompson proposed it. The house is remarkable in that by enlarging the central hall, Thompson made some attempt at varying the corridor plan but did not propose a true pinwheel. The very large rectory at Boxford likewise has a Gothick front and a classical-Georgian rear, and has a large central hallway with a stair: My site visit, 23.2.2001.

²¹ Habershon 1839, p 18. The drawings and mortgage application file are at Lincs CRO, MGA 208, dated 12.4.1837.

²² My site visit, 23.2.2001.

²³ Norfolk CRO, DN/DPL1/3/53 (incorrectly filed as DN/DPL1/3/52 in 2001).

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. Essentially, plans remained much the same, and elevations were given freer treatment. 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. Indeed, some buildings illustrated a degree of confusion: like the parsonages at Hardingham, Nacton and Lound, 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. Thompson himself did this at Ormesby Hall (1810), a mansion rather than a parsonage, which applied buttresses, hood moulds and castellations to a smooth Regency frontage.²⁴ A particularly interesting example of the confusion that had opened up with the flowering of the villa-book Picturesque can be found at Averham in Nottinghamshire. William Paterson, a Nottingham builder, designed alterations in 1838 to a large rectory.²⁵ 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 distinctly Tudor in massing: unlike an Italianate tower, in the manner of a Charles Parker *Villa rustica* (or for that matter, a recent executed example of one, such as at Donthorn's Moulton St Michael parsonage of 1831-2),²⁶ Patterson's tower is a narrow and minor projection from the façade of the house, and it is flanked to the right by a shallow projecting chimney on a blank wall, in Tudor fashion.

3.3 *Major Anglican Residences*

²⁴ Illustrated in JP Neale 1824, pl xiv.

²⁵ This was not a new building, as Colvin, p 742, implies. BIY, MGA 1838/1; my site visit, 30.4.2002.

²⁶ My site visit, 20.2.2001.

The fact that considerable building of substantial Anglican residences took place during the first half of the nineteenth century will provide the context in which Pugin's large clergy houses at Birmingham and Nottingham can be assessed, if not also his large country houses at Scarisbrick, Bilton, and that projected for Woodchester Park.

In the 1820s, Rickman and Hutchinson remodelled Rose Castle in Carlisle (1828-9), Atkinson and Sharp built the 'New Residence' in York (1824-5), and Fowler the Archdeaconry of Cornwall at Exeter in 1829-30; in 1832, Hopper rebuilt Danbury Place in Essex (later the residence of the Bishop of Rochester); in 1829 Blore designed a new residential wing for Lambeth Palace in London, and in 1830-1831 he built a large new entrance wing to the Bishop's Palace at St Asaph. These projects can form a basis for comparison with Pugin's work, especially when seen in conjunction with other works by the same architects.

Rickman and Hutchinson, Pugin's predecessors at Scarisbrick, carried out what was primarily a remodelling job for the Bishop of Carlisle at Rose Castle, turning gothic alterations of a largely classical house into a Gothic castle.²⁷ It therefore provides evidence as to which of the earlier parts of the refurbishment of Scarisbrick Hall can be stylistically attributed to Pugin. In planning terms, however, Rickman was obliged to adapt the labyrinthine layout he was working with, and did not establish a coherent new plan.

The 'New Residence' in York by Atkinson and Sharp is arranged like a parsonage with a symmetrical south front, towards the minster, comprising a narrow bay flanked by two larger ones.²⁸ 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 sixteenth-century type semicircular oriel at the centre of the first floor. The elevation is topped by two major gables and one central gablet; the suggestion is that the mixed style has

²⁷ There is a lengthy description in J Robinson 1989.

²⁸ Colvin dates the building 1824-5. My site visit, 27.12.2001.

been used to elevate the building from being merely a parsonage or a minor clergy house [fig. 27].²⁹

The Archdeaconry of Cornwall, north-east of the cathedral in Exeter, was designed by Charles Fowler in 1828 and is also essentially designed in the manner of a parsonage but on a larger scale.³⁰ It has a symmetrical front towards the close, with an off-centre entrance on the western side flanked by a broad, but shallow, chimney. The house is in an unusual Tudor-Gothic style, since it is built of rough stone and is also castellated between the two shouldered gables of the south elevation: it seems possible that Fowler may have been influenced by Cotehele nearby, which is built of the same stone laid similarly in places [fig. 28].

At Danbury Place, there was an asymmetrical arrangement of front door and large stair hall on the entrance, west, side; a wide passage bisected the house from west to east, however, and thus the garden, east, side was a symmetrical major-minor-major bay arrangement [fig 29]. Much of the work by Blore at Lambeth Palace, derided by Pugin,³¹ required considerable work within existing historical fabric, but the residential wing was mostly new. The plan consisted of a central corridor running east-west 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 central corridor [fig. 30].³² Blore reused this design of 1829 almost simultaneously in the form of the substantial additions, including a new entrance façade, at St Asaph in Flintshire.³³ He was here invited to double the size of an existing classical house ('attributable' to

²⁹ My site visit, 27.12.2001. Later buildings in the 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 (1830-3), and 8-9, and 12 Minster Yard, by Pritchett, 1837, and 1830s respectively.

³⁰ My site visit, 25.7.2001.

³¹ Pugin 1843a (*Apology*), p 14, n 10.

³² RIBA LDC; London County Council 1951, pp 100-1, pls 62, 80.

³³ My site visit, 11.5.2002.

Samuel Wyatt)³⁴, and he did this by building along the whole of the west side of the existing building, doubling its depth. Here 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 [fig. 31a]. It seems possible, then, 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 used a broad, shallow chimney which rises from directly above the front door to provide a central accent.³⁵ The broad central bay of the house has plain mullioned windows; the bays either side were originally intended to have projecting angled oriels, again with Jacobean detailing, although these were dropped in execution [fig. 31b].

3.3.1 Blore

Blore's large country house practice, whilst too extensive to be properly discussed here, does provide some further examples of his characteristic methods which provide useful comparisons with his contemporaries' work, and his dominance during the period of Pugin's working life requires some further description. Although the greater part of his country house commissions were executed in a Jacobean style, he remained to some extent a hybrid designer: he tended, for example, to group all principal rooms within one single volume, under a common roof or roof height in the traditional manner of classical massing. The continuous lengths of roof ensure that his houses have a horizontal character to them, an effect strengthened by string courses or balustrades. Largely flat fronts, generally a wide central bay flanked by two smaller bays, combined with roof balustrades, and generous use of small lucarne windows at

³⁴ According to *PAG Clwyd* 1986, p 440.

³⁵ He was thus echoing a characteristic feature of the Jew's House in Lincoln well before Pugin did.

regular intervals (for example, at Kingston Hall of 1843,³⁶ or Thicket Priory of 1844-7, the latter for a clergyman),³⁷ create an effect which is more Scottish than English, possibly derived from houses such as Traquair or others in the area around Abbotsford, to which the young Blore had contributed in 1816-23; and yet the detailing appears to be still that of Stamford, where he had grown up. In detailed design, he was, particularly in the 1830s, attracted to hybrids: at St Asaph's he made no attempt at Gothic or Jacobean joinery detailing, and at the contemporaneous Warminster Town Hall, for example, he designed a Jacobean front to an otherwise classical-Georgian building.³⁸ In planning terms, he continued along the model of St Asaph's, preferring the use of a large, usually central hall and in time developing this to become the central circulation space of the house. Soon after the St Asaph house was completed, Blore designed Pull Court, for another clergyman, the Rev. Dowdeswell, in 1834-9.³⁹ Here the whole of the entrance front, facing a courtyard, is given over to an entrance hall, with the stairs in Jacobean fashion occupying one of the two symmetrical side bays. By the time of Great Moreton Hall (1841-6), the hall and stairs occupied the whole of the central part of the house.⁴⁰ Blore preferred on every occasion to arrange rooms *enfilade*: this was the case both at Pull Hall and at Great Moreton Hall. By way of contrast, in a much later house, the Headmaster's house at Marlborough College (1845-8), he provided a staircase hall at the centre of a house.⁴¹

³⁶ My site visit, 2.5.2002.

³⁷ My site visit, 3.5.2002.

³⁸ V&A Print Room, 8734.

³⁹ My site visit, 19.5.2002.

⁴⁰ V&A Print Room, 8710.1-235. Access to house impossible in 2002 because of foot-and-mouth disease.

⁴¹ *Ibid* 8736.22.

3.4 *Almshouses or Benevolent Foundations*

This section investigates several projects built during Pugin's period of professional activity, which may provide some comparison with his own approach to smaller residential projects, including not only the St John's Hospital in Alton and the St Anne's Bedehouses in Lincoln, the only almshouse projects as such, but throw light on the significance of the Gothic 'Residence for the Poor' of 1841, and his smaller residential projects and ideas in general.

A very large number of almshouses were built during the 1840s, and the projects listed below are intended to provide a broad geographical and chronological sample.

The benevolent nature of almshouse foundations seems to have established them in the eye of their patrons as being so intimately connected with 'Old England' that their style was invariably Tudor-Gothic: This convention was established early in the nineteenth century: a typical example can be found in the work of Robert Smirke, who in 1822-7, having completed Eastnor Castle in a castellated Gothic, designed St Katherine's Hospital in nearby Ledbury in the Tudor style [fig. 32]. The buildings presented a series of regular gabled bays to the street as if they formed part of a Tudor mansion, but the apartments were in fact reached by walkways at the rear.⁴² A later example of a classical architect apparently feeling obliged to engage with Tudor-Gothic is that of C.R. Cockerell who designed the Seckford Hospital in Woodbridge, Suffolk, in a style apparently of his own devising in 1835-40. The building takes the form of a shallow U, with the open court facing the road; there is a central hall visible above the main porch, and the bays facing the road have a continuous brick colonnade of Tudor four-centred arches within the volume of the building, each two-window bay separated from the next by pier-like lesenes: above are mullioned windows in seventeenth-century style [fig. 33].⁴³

⁴² My site visit, 9.2.2002.

⁴³ My site visit, 22.2.2001.

Wightwick's Devon & Cornwall Female Orphanage, in Plymouth of 1841, in the form of a five-bay classical house, is therefore unusual, and all the more surprising from an architect who frequently practised in Gothic.⁴⁴ On many occasions, an architect faced up in a Tudor-Gothic style a building that was symmetrical in layout (and, being largely composed of the regular bays of identical units, would have suited a classical-Georgian elevation): this was the case for example at the Master Mariners' Almshouses in Tynemouth of 1837, by John Green and his son Benjamin Green, the latter a pupil of A.C. Pugin and a near contemporary of A.W.N. Pugin.⁴⁵ The Greens had built in Jacobean styles before, and their almshouse complex, a U-shape facing a grassed terrace above the main road from Tynemouth to Newcastle, was detailed in a more authentic fashion than Smirke's building; and yet the symmetry, the design of the ends of the U in a pavilion-like form, and the absence of any feature which might disclose differing functions within result in a building of classical form [fig. 34]. Pugin's illustration of 'Contrasted Residences for the Poor', which illustrated an almshouse complex based on the Hospital of St Cross at Winchester, and which might have inspired more a mediaevalising type of design, did not appear until the second edition of *Contrasts*, in 1841, and almshouse architects continued to ignore it. The Booksellers' Retreat, south of Kings Langley in Hertfordshire, was designed by William Henderson Cooper in 1845-6, but the design could have been prepared forty years earlier.⁴⁶ A symmetrical terrace of residences with a projecting central and end bays presents a Gothic face on the entry side, but the rear elevation has sash windows, and the rendered narrow end elevations are tricked out with blind windows, a pediment, and a quatrefoil ornament in the manner of a gothick folly [fig. 35].

A simple U-shaped plan on a smaller scale could more convincingly imitate historical examples, even where executed by classical architects. George Basevi is considered primarily a classical architect on the strength of his London terraced housing and the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge, but he designed Tudor-Gothic buildings where

⁴⁴ The choice may have been due to the urban nature of the site, which favoured a single block. RIBA LDC, Wightwick [96] 1, 2.

⁴⁵ My site visit, 6.5.2002.

⁴⁶ My site visit, 20.3.2002.

the context suggested it, both at Stamford (in 1832) and at Ely (in 1844-5).⁴⁷ Those in Ely are symmetrical, and single-storeyed, and the Tudor detailing is restrained and relatively authentic; the gable bases, for example, are no longer shouldered and suggest the influence of changing fashion [fig. 36]. Some almshouses did take on a more historicist character: in Oundle, in 1837, J.W. Smith built a second courtyard alongside Laxton's Hospital of 1611;⁴⁸ in his own version, Smith imitated the scale of the original, but by emphasising a cornice and adding a gablet, he gave the building more of a 'Jacobean' character than the essentially vernacular building ever had [fig. 37].

The projects mentioned here were symmetrical, or almost symmetrical: others tried different layouts. In a narrow site perpendicular to Saviourgate in York, Pritchett designed in 1840 a series of almshouses in the form of a two buildings: one was a terrace, with projecting bays at the ends, and the other, closer to the street, consisted of a three-bay house with a wide and projecting central bay topped with a pediment like gable: the detailing was Gothic, with both pointed windows in projecting bays and at the ends of the buildings, but with plain square-headed mullioned windows elsewhere [fig. 38].⁴⁹

3.5 *Collegiate and Residential School Buildings*

At the time of its foundation, Mount St Bernard's was almost the first new monastery to be built in England since the reformation: it was preceded by new buildings of 1832-5 at Downside by Goodridge, although these in practice mainly served the school, rather than the Benedictine monastery which was largely housed within an

⁴⁷ Ely: my site visit, 18.3.2002.

⁴⁸ My site visit, 29.4.2002.

⁴⁹ Lady Hewley's Hospital: My site visit, 27.12.2001.

existing manor house.⁵⁰ Description of recent practice in monastic design would therefore be very limited, but some reference is made to other Catholic schemes, such as for example the re-established French monastic houses in England, in section 3.7 below. Brief mention is however be made here of the design of new residential schools in a Gothic style prior to the establishment of Ratcliffe College in the mid 1840s.

The major Oxford and Cambridge collegiate buildings in a neo-Gothic style of the 1820s, particularly those at Cambridge, have been extensively described.⁵¹ Wilkins' new buildings at Trinity (1821-5), Corpus Christi (1823-7), and King's (1824-8) Colleges were characterised by mainly symmetrical facades with little if any variation in plane or colour, continuous parapet heights, distinctive 'front' and back' elevations, moulded decoration, and a disregard for the historical link between features of Gothic architecture and the use they were put to: at King's, the dining hall oriel is symmetrically placed on its façade [fig. 39]; at Trinity's King's, now New, Court, bay windows were used for staircases [fig. 40]; at Corpus Christi, the Master's Lodge occupies what appears from the front to be merely a communal residential wing symmetrical to that on the opposite side of the symmetrically placed chapel [fig. 41]. Internally, Wilkins, and Rickman and Hutchinson at St John's College New Court (1825-1831), maintained the mediaeval staircase access plan.⁵² All these characteristics can also be seen in the less prestigious projects carried out contemporaneously for the Colleges: for example Arthur Browne's work at Emmanuel College (1824; 1828); and William Brookes' at Peterhouse (1825) [fig. 42].⁵³ The range of decorative detailing was very limited; Wilkins appears to have

⁵⁰ *Downside College, its origins and principal features*, 1890, pp 4-5, describes the functions of Goodridge's building. According to Birt 1902, pp 182-3, this Gothic scheme was chosen by the monks in preference to a classical and symmetrical proposal by another architect.

⁵¹ See for example Willis & Clark 1886 (as below).

⁵² Attributions from Willis & Clark 1886, vol ii, pp 652-9 (Trinity); Willis & Clark, 1886 vol i, pp 302-4 (Corpus Christi); Willis & Clark 1886 vol i, pp 564-5 (King's); Willis & Clark 1886, vol ii, pp 277-9 (St John's).

⁵³ Emmanuel: Willis & Clark 1886, vol ii, pp 716-7; Colvin p 171. Peterhouse: Willis & Clark 1886, vol i, p 39.

drawn on East Barsham Manor for his tower at Trinity [fig. 40b]; and Rickman and Hutchinson, conceivably, on the octagonal lantern at Ely for St John's, but elsewhere details are limited to pointed windows and Tudor-Gothic pattern-book styling [fig. 43].

On the other hand, the early nineteenth century was a comparatively quiet period for substantial new residential school buildings, particularly those in a Gothic or Tudor-Gothic style. Pugin himself described in *An apology* the new buildings of his own school, Christ's Hospital, where the original monastic complex, already altered by Hooke and Hawksmoor, was further rebuilt by John Shaw (Senior) from the mid 1820s.⁵⁴ Pugin directed his attack not only to stylistic inconsistency – the building's gothic facing gave way to 'an elevation not dissimilar to that of the Fleet Prison' along the back elevations – but also at the departure by the architects from the monastic layout in favour of 'enormously high' walls.⁵⁵ Other school buildings in London during this period included work by Blore: additions to Charterhouse included a Master's house in an undistinguished castellated style, with plain mullioned windows below hood moulds [fig. 44].⁵⁶ In spite of his involvement with various schemes in Dean's Yard, and a connection with Westminster School, Blore does not seem to have executed any work there.⁵⁷ He did, however, design an almost, but not quite, symmetrical block, with a central castellated tower and large straight-headed traceried windows, for the Bedford Charity School in 1829-30;⁵⁸ perhaps bored with his familiar scholastic repertoire, he designed entire new boarding school in the form of a campus type arrangement of symmetrical, freestanding buildings in a

⁵⁴ Work by the Shaws at the school is listed in Colvin, pp 862-3. Pugin's 'Autobiography' records that he witnessed the laying of the foundation school of Shaw's hall there: Wedgwood 1985, p 24 and p 29 n 10.

⁵⁵ Pugin 1843a (*Apology*), p 14.

⁵⁶ V&A Print Room, 8716.103 (ground floor plan), 8716.110 (elevations). The complex was in fact a combination of school and almshouses

⁵⁷ There are drawings of various minor projects drawn for the school in the V&A Print Room, 8741.62 and 8741.114.

⁵⁸ V&A Print Room, 8728.5.

Queen Anne style at Marlborough College, established for sons of the clergy, in 1843.⁵⁹

Residential school buildings were rarer still: Wilkins' Haileybury of 1806-9 was a monumental, symmetrical classical building, similar to James Wyatt's almost contemporary Royal Military College at Sandhurst.⁶⁰ Mention should, however, be made here of the new Gothic school building at Rugby of 1809-1815, for this was illustrated in Ackermann's account of the English public schools and appears to be the only significant new residential school building in a Gothic style of the period immediately preceding Pugin's.⁶¹ Henry Hakewill designed both the schools building and the school house as freestanding and separate structures [fig. 4]. This latter is an approximately L-shaped building, with a porch at the internal angle of the L topped by a tall octagonal turret. The building is built of grey brick and castellated; windows are square-topped, on one wing with lancet tracery; different internal functions are not determinable from the exterior, and the effect is of a utilitarian residential block with the porch of a house added. Pugin wrote in *An apology* that the Rugby school buildings had 'bad battlements and turrets'.⁶²

3.6 *Architects Working in Historical and Ecclesiastical Architectural Ensembles*

At the time that Pugin's working life began, there had been recent examples of architects working within cathedral or minster precincts, which provide the contextual setting for his own similar attempts at creating ecclesiastical ensembles.

A clear example of this type of work can be seen at York. In general layout, the new buildings at York were imitative of the historic close. The New Residence [fig. 27]

⁵⁹ Only the chapel was Gothic. The contract drawings of 1846 are in the V&A Print Room, 8736.

⁶⁰ Both were Greek; Sandhurst Doric but Haileybury Ionic, and both with hexastyle porticoes.

⁶¹ Ackermann 1816, to which AC Pugin was an illustrator and subscriber. The names 'Northmore' and 'Pugin' appeared carved into the walls of College dormitory of Westminster school.

⁶² Pugin 1843a (*Apology*), p 11.

was the first of a series of new buildings that redefined the minster close during the reigns of George IV and William IV. It stood to the north west of the minster, set some distance away from it and beyond the ruins on the archbishop's palace. It did not therefore imitate the potentially romantic, or Picturesque, siting of the latter: as a single volume, set within its own enclosure, the house is performing the equivalent of a Georgian townhouse, unresponsive to the architecture of the church.

The later buildings, on the other hand, primarily by Pritchett, increasingly make some imitation of an historic and irregular close. The first of Pritchett's surviving buildings, the St Peter's School building at the east of the church (with C Watson, 1830-3), still attempts a Georgian-type siting – it is symmetrical, and it presents itself face-on to those approaching from the west end of the minster – from the 'front' of the close; however, it is detailed as a Gothic building.⁶³ A few years later, in 1837, Pritchett added 8-9 Minster Yard, at right angles to the school building and to the west of it: this building also appears freestanding and is symmetrical, but faced with Gothic detailing, which to some extent is derived from the fifteenth-century former library of the Minster (which is attached to the south-west corner of the south transept) [fig. 45].⁶⁴ At some point during the 1830s, Pritchett added 12 Minster Yard, adjacent to, but stepped back from, an existing eighteenth-century house. This last intervention in the close is a small semi-detached structure, and has the east end of St Michael le Belfry church immediately to its west.⁶⁵

In general, the new buildings in York imitated the style of the organic, historic form of the minster yard, and yet in their symmetry and placing on the site they were not remarkably different from the great buildings erected in the city during this period in the classical-Georgian style. There was no attempt to redefine the character of the close, to enclose any part of it, or perhaps significantly, to engage any part of the minster itself in a new architectural ensemble: the scale of the school and of 8-9

⁶³ My site visit, 27.12.2001.

⁶⁴ *Idem.*

⁶⁵ *Idem.*

Minster Yard would certainly have allowed such a thing, had the architects intended it.

That pattern is invariably repeated in other interventions in major church closes throughout the period studied. A building for King's School, Rochester, by Vulliamy, in 1841-2, is located to the south of the church; its symmetrical Tudor-Gothic elevation faces west [fig 46].⁶⁶ This indicates that whereas Vulliamy was able to reject the primarily Georgian detailing of the existing domestic buildings around the site – the Minor Canons Row of 1736, and the Deanery, refaced in 1765 are located close by, to the west and north respectively, he did not depart from their formal approach (and he did not, apparently, adopt any architectural detailing from surviving Gothic architecture on the site). He did express any of the internal functions of the school on the exterior of the building, and thus he did not imitate anything of the organic nature that a mediaeval school building might have had, or seek to link the school building to the church by physical connection or by orientation. As late as 1847, a comparatively sophisticated Gothic house such as Burn's Deanery at Lincoln, described in section 7.5 below, is designed to turn its face northwards, away from the church and with no architectural and almost no physical connection to it.

A study of work in cathedral or minster closes in the 1840s leads to the conclusion that architects (and, presumably, their ecclesiastical clients) did not intend to change anything in the nature of the relationship of the church itself to the surrounding buildings that formed its architectural context or housed its auxiliary officers or offices. New work was, essentially, a neater version of original structures, and in tidying up the surroundings of the church, the church structure itself could be more clearly perceived as a freestanding object: this had, after all, been the aim of James Wyatt in carrying out his alterations to cathedrals.⁶⁷

⁶⁶ My site visit, 18.11.2002.

⁶⁷ Wyatt carried out his improvements to Lichfield, Salisbury, Hereford, Durham, and Ely cathedrals between 1787-1805: Colvin, p 1112-3.

3.7 *Roman Catholic Architects*

Roman Catholic architecture in England was predominantly, if not almost exclusively, classical in England before Pugin's rise: the reference to the architecture of Italy combined with the fact that the classical style was associated with Dissenters made it unsurprising that this was so. Pugin's appeal to a revived mediaeval English Catholicism, and his dislike of the experience of Irish Catholic worship may be seen to be evidence of his rejection of what he perceived as a predominantly Continental and Roman approach to religion.

There were few Roman Catholic architects active in Britain following the Catholic Relief Act of 1791. Those whose work had become recognised were John Tasker; James Taylor; and Joseph John Scoles.⁶⁸ Tasker's early work was necessarily primarily secular, although some of it was on a grand scale: he designed Spetchley Park in 1811 for the Berkeley family, subsequently Pugin's clients, in a Greek Revival style.⁶⁹ A further connection with Pugin is that Tasker also made proposals for Downside, in 1814, and also in a classical style.⁷⁰

Taylor, a generation younger, similarly built some London housing, mainly conventional terraces in Islington, but the launch of his professional career almost coincides with the 1791 Act, and therefore was able to take on a different character.⁷¹ The Roman Catholic chapels that he designed in London included that at St George's Fields which was superseded by Pugin's church. More significantly, he designed the large classical central building for St Edmund's College, Old Hall Green near Ware, in 1795-9, and for St Cuthbert's College in County Durham in 1804-8. St Edmund's College was described by Pugin as a 'priest factory', a reference more to its

⁶⁸ Joseph Ireland (c.1780-1841) did not work significantly in the field of residential or domestic architecture. Colvin, pp 528-9.

⁶⁹ Tipping 1916.

⁷⁰ O'Donnell 1981b, p 231, n 1.

⁷¹ Taylor's career is described in Colvin, p 961.

appearance than to its methods [fig. 47].⁷² It has fifteen equal and almost identical bays across its front, with a pediment and tall balustrade. Ground-floor windows are arched, and the second and eleventh windows at that level have Gibbsian surrounds.⁷³ The Ushaw building likewise has fifteen bays: the common architectural language indicates the fact that both were built for the exiled Douai community. In spite of an architectural form borrowed from that of a large eighteenth-century house, both of Taylor's buildings were designed to form the front part of a quadrangle; that at Old Hall Green has a wide cloister-like corridor.

The third significant Roman Catholic architect of this period is Joseph John Scoles, whose career ran for more than ten years either side of that of Pugin's. Scoles had been articled to Joseph Ireland, himself a Catholic, from 1812, and had practiced on his own account from 1819. Between 1822 and 1826 he had travelled widely throughout the countries of the eastern Mediterranean, and subsequently made his name through the publication of the ancient architectural monuments of the region.⁷⁴ In spite of this grounding in classical and Byzantine architecture, Scoles' work of the 1830s was predominantly, but not exclusively, Gothic, and it included substantial work such as St Peter's Church at Stonyhurst College (1832-5), which was popularly believed to have been inspired by the chapel of King's College, Cambridge.⁷⁵ During the 1840s, Scoles' work became more authentic; his church of the Immaculate Conception at Farm Street in London, commenced in 1844, successfully accommodates Pugin's high altar, and yet in the same year he started his classical church at Prior Park College in Bath. These two very different buildings established his professional reputation.

Scoles designed few residential buildings, but some of them indicate that he was prepared to experiment, possibly with elements of the Levantine architecture he had

⁷² Pugin's remark is quoted in B Ward 1893, p 148.

⁷³ My site visit, 20.3.2002.

⁷⁴ According to his *DNB* entry of 1897 (vol li) by SJ Nicholl, he provided measurements for an AC Pugin publication of 1828, the *Sections of capitals and mouldings taken from the best examples in various Greek and Roman edifices*, drawn by Francis Arundale.

⁷⁵ For example, as late as 1901 by Gruggen & Keating 1901, p 90.

seen in his youth. The surviving presbytery beside St James's Church in Colchester (1837) is an indication of his approach: the brick-built church is in a Romanesque style, with bold square flanking buttresses, with further buttresses, scarcely more than lesenes, projecting from them.⁷⁶ The presbytery, to the liturgical South of the entrance front, is a two-bay, two-storey brick house with arched windows to the street; the front wall is overlaid with projecting brick lesenes, and a balustrade with imitation-brick machicolations [fig. 48]. It is essentially a conventional brick villa but given a fortified, and dignified, appearance by the addition of some bold, and cheap, external brick modelling.⁷⁷ Scoles later demonstrated a similar approach in the much grander clergy house built for his temporary Oratory at Brompton in London (from 1849). But Lord Shrewsbury, Pugin's most loyal client, thought that 'Even Scoles is *very far* inferior to Pugin'.⁷⁸

Finally, one significant Roman Catholic institution not designed by a Roman Catholic architect should be recorded here. This is St Mary's College, New Oscott, with which Pugin had many professional and personal connections. The building was designed by Potter, who is referred to above in section 3.3 in respect of his Tudor alterations to the Bishop's House at Lichfield. He was a prolific architect who had moved from the naïve, classical style of his Newton's College in Lichfield to predominantly Tudor-Gothic and Gothic styles; perhaps the experience of having designed two lunatic asylums in addition to private houses, churches and parsonages made him an eminent candidate for the design of a large new institution. The Oscott being was a symmetrical composition in a Tudor style, imitative of a Tudor college building [fig. 49].⁷⁹ It was built from 1835-8, until Potter was displaced in favour of Pugin. It is thus the only one of the three large Catholic institutions that made some reference to the late sixteenth-century Elizabethan architecture of Stonyhurst, the most splendid public building housing a Catholic institution in the post-Relief Act era.

⁷⁶ My site visit, 19.3.2002.

⁷⁷ For which see sub-section 7.3.1 below.

⁷⁸ Photocopy, HLRO PUG/3/2/104, undated.

⁷⁹ My site visit, 14.4.2003.

4 The form of Pugin's domestic and residential architecture.

'The whole history of Pointed Architecture is a series of inventions: time was when the most beautiful productions of antiquity were novelties.'¹

4.1 *The Plan*

4.1.1 Introduction

Pugin's domestic and residential architecture is listed chronologically in Appendix A below. It falls into two distinct categories: houses, and other residential buildings. This chapter describes how Pugin's planning deviated from the conventions described in Chapter 3 above; the focus is on buildings where Pugin had some control over the overall layout of the building; some reference is made, however, to substantial enlargements or alterations to other buildings where these display evidence of a meaningful pattern.

Pugin's very smallest new houses – the Mousehill Cottage and the Counslow Lodge – consisted of little more than an adjacent kitchen and scullery; other small houses – the Uttoxeter presbytery, the Bilton gardener's cottage, the easternmost Alton schoolmaster's house – have standard central-corridor plans with a room either side of a staircase. Most other new domestic and residential buildings except for St Marie's Grange, Bilton Grange, and the Chelsea convent have distinct plan types. He used quadrangular, cross-corridor and peripheral corridor plans for both houses and institutions, and he developed a pinwheel plan for six house schemes. The plan types of the new buildings can be further categorised as shown in the table below; unidentified schemes and some of the smallest houses with no distinct geometrical type have been excluded from this table.

¹ Pugin 1843a (*Apology*), p 40.

A.W.N. Pugin's English Residential Architecture in its Context

PLAN TYPE	PROJECT	APPROXIMATE DESIGN DATE
HOUSES		
QUADRANGLE TYPES	Birmingham: Bishop's House	autumn 1840
	Nottingham: clergy house	probably late 1841
	Garendon Hall scheme	1841
	Dartington Hall scheme	1845
CROSS-CORRIDOR TYPES	Scarisbrick Hall	early 1837
	Keighley: presbytery	1839
	Warwick Bridge: presbytery	mid 1840
	Balliol scheme – master's lodgings	spring 1843
	Alton Castle	late 1843 / early 1844 onwards
	London: Fulham presbytery	prob Summer 1847
PERIPHERAL CORRIDOR	Manchester: St Marie's scheme	January 1838
	Derby: presbytery	March 1838
	Cheadle: presbytery	early / mid 1842
	London: Woolwich presbytery	probably spring 1842
	Brewood presbytery	probably early 1843
PINWHEEL	Ramsgate: St Augustine's,	by September 1843
	Liverpool: Oswaldcroft	from c. 1844
	Lanteglos: rectory	early 1846
	Rampisham: rectory	by March 1846
	Woodchester Park scheme	c. March 1846
	Wilburton: New Manor House	Autumn 1848
UNIQUE TYPES	Alderbury: St Marie's Grange – corridorless L-shape	by January 1835
	Bilton Grange – corridor with parallel sequences	not before late 1841
	Hornby Castle – courtyard largely without cloister	1847

PLAN TYPE	PROJECT	APPROXIMATE DESIGN DATE
INSTITUTIONS		
QUADRANGLE TYPES	Mount St Bernard's Abbey	late 1839
	Downside 1 st scheme	1839
	Downside 2 nd scheme	1841
	Alton: St John's Hospital	late 1841
	Ratcliffe College	1843
	Liverpool: RC girls' orphanage	1843
	Nottingham: Convent of Mercy, 1 st phase	probably mid 1844
	Unidentified college scheme in RIBA LDC Wedgwood 1977, [77]	unknown
CROSS-CORRIDOR TYPES	Handsworth: Convent of Mercy, 1 st stage	early 1840
	Liverpool: Convent of Mercy, 1 st stage	probably late 1841
	Oxford: Magdalen College School, 1 st scheme	by November 1843
	Oxford: Magdalen College School, 2 nd scheme	before September 1844
	Oxford: Magdalen College School, 3 rd scheme	September 1844
	Cotton Hall	after September 1846
PERIPHERAL CORRIDOR	Liverpool: St Oswald's Convent of Mercy	1844?
	Handsworth: Convent of Mercy, cloisters	1844-5
	Lincoln: St Anne's Bedehouses,	March 1847
	Liverpool: Convent of Mercy, subsequent stages	from 1847
	London: Hammersmith Convent of the Good Shepherd	probably early 1848
	Cheadle: St Joseph's Convent of Mercy	1848
UNIQUE TYPES	Chelsea St Joseph's convent and school: symmetrical with central corridor	mid 1841

4.1.1 Corridor Plans

4.1.1.1 quadrangular plans

A quadrangular plan is one that has a corridor, or cloister, running continuously, or almost continuously, around an orthogonal courtyard; on an upper floor, the corridor is moved to the centre of each block, with rooms facing outwards. Pugin is known to have seen mediaeval quadrangular buildings in his youth, including the few surviving residential examples, such as at Oxford, which provided him with suggestions for modern building; he may not however have in his youth have been familiar with the staircase plans characteristic of these buildings, and assumed that they were based typically around a courtyard arrangement in the manner of the original cloister at Magdalen College.² Pugin's increasing interest over time in corridor schemes was contrary to established practice; even Rickman and Hutchison's New Court scheme for St John's College Cambridge, with its long entrance cloister, has its residential rooms arranged around a conventional staircase layout. By contrast, Pugin's ideal scheme for St Marie's College, of 1833, is already based around two courtyards; a cloister runs the whole of the way around the eastern one, and most of the way around the western one: these provide access to the important rooms, which are at the corners or centres of the sides.

Pugin's earliest institutional designs, and also some early house designs, are arranged around quadrangles in this fashion, although his use of the form is more complex than first appears. His first executed project in this form was the south and east ranges of Mount St Bernard's Abbey, but the first significant example is the Bishop's House in Birmingham. Here a narrow central corridor, taking up three sides of a tight quadrangle, provides the scheme with its dominant feature, since a visitor to the Great Hall of the house, its principal public space, must necessarily walk along so much of it. A visitor arriving at the front door in Bath Street, must turn left and up some steps, then right, up more steps, right into the stair tower, rightwards up a spiral stair, right

² AC Pugin & Willson 1823 (*Specimens*, vol ii) had illustrated Brasenose College; and in 1830 (*Examples*, vol i) had shown details of various Oxford colleges.

onto a landing, right again and along to the end of the corridor before reaching the screens passage of the house: a distinguished visitor making his way to the dais must turn right and continue to the end of the room. In other words, the architect has designed the building so that the visitor must process almost as far as it is possible to do to reach a space which is, in fact, almost adjacent above right of the front door; and must do most of this along a corridor merely five feet wide. The more important the visitor, the further they have to go. The authority of the bishop can be seen from the street, yet his chambers are protected by being deep within the building [figs. 50, 51, 52].

No other courtyard scheme repeats this complexity: to achieve a sophisticated effect Pugin turned instead to peripheral corridors, which are described separately below. At the next quadrangular scheme to be built, the clergy house at Nottingham, the cloister is a continuation of a processional way leading from the sacristy at the south-east end of the church: it forms a simple L-shape around an internal court; the stairs are placed at the end of it, adjacent to the entrance hall at the west end. The major public rooms of the residence are placed along the western side of the block, the furthest from the sacristy, and are reached primarily through the private front door on that side. Offices and parlours are reached from the east, at the junction between the sacristy corridor and the house, from which there is access to a chapter room, which forms the north side of the courtyard [fig. 53]. The upper floor of the house originally had a corridor around three sides, but this became a full four-sided cloister when an upper floor was added above the chapter room.³ By placing arches at right angles to each other at the junctions of the sides of this corridor, Pugin cheaply and logically achieved a proscenium effect, which compensated for the cheap and practical nature of the rest of the planning. Kitchen offices appear to have been in the basement, reached through the single stair hall.⁴

³ The brickwork of wing of this floor is different from the rest of the building, but the joinery and masonry details are similar or identical.

⁴ The location of the original kitchen has been assumed, since there is now no room in the house with an oven recess; conceivably, there was a kitchen on the site of the chapter house, and the latter was built later. The room adjoining the assumed kitchen appears to have been a reception room of some kind, or possibly a clergy dining room, since the first 6"-1 mile OS map (of 1883) shows there to have

Pugin's monastic schemes – Mount St Bernard's, and the two Downside schemes, were quadrangular. At Mount St Bernard's 'the cloister garth' had a two-storied building along the South and West sides, completed by a single-storey cloister, running along the south aisle of the abbey church, and in front of a chapter house on the east side [fig. 54].⁵ The scheme was later extended westwards to create a guest house, the public spaces of which, on the first floor of the westernmost block, were reached from a staircase by the public entrance.⁶ All Pugin's ecclesiastical residences to date already demonstrate a characteristic trait: they have their principal public entrances scarcely raised above ground level.

The drawings for the first Downside scheme suggest that Pugin intended designing an entire cloister to the east of the existing buildings, continuing Goodridge's block southwards and then eastwards, possibly as a first stage in a further development.⁷ The southern wing was composed of three major spaces: a calefactory at the west end, a gateway in the centre, and a refectory towards the eastern end, adjacent to a kitchen court further east [fig. 55]. The second scheme of 1842 abandoned this almost classically balanced scheme and more logically positioned both the calefactory and the refectory along the northern arm of a new cloister to the north of an imagined new abbey church. A major entrance hall and staircase were positioned at the north-east corner of the main cloister, and the eastern arm of this cloister extended northwards to provide access to a long gallery, and then anti-climatically, to privies and a back door. The northern arm of the main cloister extended alongside the refectory to the north-west corner, where a further branch ran northwards into the kitchen area. The composition of the various kitchen offices within independent volumes reads as an attempt at exploiting the different functions and required volumes of the spaces in a

been a bay window facing east into the court. The basement contains two low chambers with brick vaults, with little ventilation or natural light. There is no evidence that there were freestanding kitchen office buildings outside the house, other than a small structure, possibly a greenhouse, visible on Salmon and Wyld's map of 1860, and also on the OS map of 1883.

⁵ Leics CRO, DE 992 /4; Pugin 1842 (*Present state*, pt ii), pl vii; my site visit, 1.5.2002.

⁶ *A concise history of the Cistercian order*, 1852, p 292; and see Appendix A, 1839, below.

⁷ The orientation is derived from a link to the existing buildings shown on the drawings: this is not entirely clear, but is confirmed by that of a chapel contained within the scheme.

picturesque way: there are a very large number of external walls and roofs relative to the area concerned [fig. 56]. Pugin's *Present State* perspective illustrates the main cloister, the partial cloister of the kitchen court, and two further, complete, cloisters to the east of them, with no specific purpose indicated:⁸ he clearly saw the quadrangle form as an extendable way of enclosing and accessing spaces [fig. 57].

The St John's Hospital, Alton, scheme of the same year is a further quadrangular scheme, although here the cloister is an entrance court, in an open-sided U shape, and the cloister runs along two sides only – at the south-east corner, it runs directly into the school buildings [fig. 58]. At the north-west end of the northern arm, the route into the chapel is achieved by turning right into a cross corridor, and thence once more right – achieving on a rural scale something of the route of the Birmingham scheme. Pugin's sketch of 24th December 1841 shows the two facing sides of the U to spread apart; in practice, they are parallel.⁹

A final scheme of the same year is that for Garendon Hall. Here it would have been possible to imitate a surviving historic collegiate or domestic scheme, in which the different functions of the house have separate entrances, the result, at least in the case of a domestic building, of their having grown over time around a hall house with a screens passage. In Pugin's scheme, however, there is a corridor running around three and a half sides of the courtyard on the ground floor. The great hall is placed across the court from the entrance, and in the corner, in traditional manner, and is provided with a set of steps running from a porch and parallel to the axis of the hall (as at, for example, the College Hall of Westminster School but not in any Oxford or Cambridge college); but it may be reached internally, by climbing the stairs in the hall adjacent to the gatehouse and proceeding along the corridor which provides an internal spine to the major public rooms on the upper floor. On the outside of this spine corridor, facing south, the principal rooms are linked to one another internally in the following sequence: anteroom, great drawing room, library, small drawing room, and small

⁸ The text of Pugin 1842 (*Present state*, pt i), pp 110-12, gives no explanation.

⁹ The sketch is not reproduced in with the rest of the letter in Belcher 2001 pp 306-9, but can be seen in the document from Franklin at HLRO, PUG/3/1/17, and in Fisher 2002, p 65.

dining room; and thence, directly or back via the corridor, to the dais at the end of the great hall. The chapel is situated diagonally opposite the courtyard from the dais of the hall, at the north-east corner [fig. 59].

This plan thus indicates Pugin's attempt at fusing a pure quadrangular scheme with the requirements of a modern house, which was done by establishing two parallel lines of access: a corridor around the internal courtyard ran parallel to a series of public rooms connected *en filade*. Each room could be entered either by a public room at either end, or from the side. This established a sequence of minor and major spaces. Possibly the corridor merely provided a separate access for servants; at any rate, it constituted a central part of the planning of the house. The house also provides an example of major rooms whose principal axes are at right angles to each other, a feature that Pugin was later to develop extensively.

The last scheme designed upon these lines was for Dartington Hall, where a great hall with a courtyard to one side of it already existed: Pugin's new residential wing was reached by continuing through the screens passage from the old courtyard; his proposed library and study continued parallel to the great hall, in a manner imitative of the dormitory of a monastery. The scale was much smaller than that of Garendon, but something of the principle remained, for here too the major rooms are linked internally, around an L-shaped route. The route from the screens passage to the first of the reception rooms was to be characteristically indirect: one would pass through a stair hall created out of the old fabric, and then turn right and then left within a new corridor, before turning left again into the room: it would have been possible to proceed directly into the room from the stair hall, but Pugin chose not to propose it [fig. 60].

There are three further quadrangular plans for institutions, at Ratcliffe College, the Liverpool orphanage, and the Nottingham Convent.¹⁰ At Ratcliffe the cloister is again

¹⁰ There was also a fully quadrangular scheme for the Convent of the Presentation at Waterford in Ireland, drawn in 1841 (reproduced at HLRO, PUG/3/11/339). This is the only one in which the cloister continues around four sides of a central quadrangle, all the rooms theoretically accessible from

entered from a passageway extending to the front of the building, the visitor turning left or right to reach the major rooms which are reached from it; the staircases are minor spaces to the side. At Liverpool, the entry is from a porch on the south-east side which leads up to the south-east corner of the cloister, which proceeds around the south, west, and north sides; the chapel is immediately to the right of the entrance and reached from the point where the porch meets the cloister [fig. 61]. Finally, the Nottingham convent indicates a further development: entry is immediately into the south-east corner of the cloister. The southern arm of the cloister, which was a gift from one of the members, was on the ground floor an open colonnade but on the floor above a cul-de-sac until the later wing was built. The residential parts of the convent were arranged along the other two wings, the east and north wings; the refectory was on the north-east corner and the chapel above it. The original position of the stairs was at the north west extremity of the building, beyond the kitchen:¹¹ to enter the chapel from the front door, one had to walk the whole length of the ground-floor corridor, rise one floor, and then turn left, left, and left again into the chapel. To reach the near end of 'Our Lady's Cloister' on the south side from the entrance, one thus had to walk the full length of the east and north sides twice over [fig. 62].

A further quadrangular type scheme for an unidentified project is amongst Pugin's drawings at the RIBA LDC: the project is for an almost symmetrical boys' and girls' school, with a central gatehouse, chapel and priests' lodgings.¹²

4.1.1.2 cross-corridor types

A cross-corridor type is one in which rooms are arranged either side of two or more corridors which themselves cross at right angles. This was the idea behind the Scarisbrick Hall plan, and in time it developed in both domestic and institutional

it, although Pugin's drawing indicates that many of them are entered from each other, or from front and rear passages linking the cloister with the outside, or to the stairs: the intention is presumably to create long sequences of walls with minimal interruptions from doors.

¹¹ This is derived from the position of the windows on the north side; my site visit, 2.5.2002.

¹² Wedgwood 1977, [77] 1, 2, dated 1841, where its chimney bays are compared to those at Ratcliffe College.

projects to form one of Pugin's characteristic motifs throughout his career; in particular, it gave him the opportunity of placing one or more staircases at the interstices, thus considerably magnifying the sense of space in a confined area. An early sketch, of the late 1820s, shows a plan of a bedchamber with corridors running along the outside of two of its adjacent walls, the two meeting at the landing of a flight of stairs; one of the two corridors terminates in a spiral stair [fig. 63].¹³

The Scarisbrick Hall plan was devised to link existing rooms with new ones; there is no evidence that Pugin suggested a courtyard plan, and his own house, which was a simple sequence of rooms in an L shape without corridors, may have encouraged him to pursue a more condensed shape. Furthermore, his Deanery scheme had been arranged around two corridors: one entrance corridor ran parallel with the screens passage, along the short end of the great hall, and a further one ran at right angles to it, linking the four other major ground floor rooms. Pugin used an approach similar to this at Scarisbrick. The short and broad north-south entrance corridor runs through the screens passage to a junction with the major east-west corridor leading from the Rickman rooms at the west end of the house to the kitchen room at the east. This major passage has a section in which the upper floor is narrower than the ground floor, allowing light to filter down. There is another cross (north-south) corridor at the eastern end of this double-height section; staircases are located at the far western end, adjacent to the Rickman part of the house, and at the northern end of the second north-south corridor [fig. 64]. To summarise, the great hall and all the new rooms are located in clusters with a corridor running around two or three sides of them; and the corridors themselves provide more than mere access.¹⁴ The narrow sequences both above and below the central junction of the major corridors, in particular the narrow bridges leading from the junction into the upper areas of the great hall, recall Pugin's experience in stage design and mechanics, if not also of boats [fig. 65].¹⁵

¹³ Wedgwood 1977, [5] 75 verso.

¹⁴ According to Cheetham 1906, the hall in some form predated Pugin.

¹⁵ For which see, for example, Wedgwood 1985, 107 f 44v-56.

The Handsworth convent is a hybrid between a quadrangular design and a cross-corridor type: the east-west entrance corridor leads directly towards the chapel, and crosses a second corridor just to the west of the cell block.¹⁶ This north-south corridor leads at its southern end to the kitchen, and at the northern end provides access to the parlours; it then turns right and becomes a cloister around the 'Jerusalem' court, continuing around its eastern side and eventually leading into the western end of the chapel [fig. 66]. From Powell's drawing, which is more accurate than Pugin's perspective [fig. 67], it can be seen that the northern arm of the cloister originally overran the junction with the north-south corridor, and continued to the street in the form of an oratory; the low roof of the cloister emerging likewise: it is a further indication that Pugin began to understand that the architectural quality of a corridor could be derived not only from the route, but from the junction, and that the junction could form a space in its own right. At Scarisbrick he had terminated the northern end of the upper north-south corridor as an oratory-like space; from now on he found he could provide these enriched spaces as sequences along the corridors rather than merely at the terminations. It has not been possible to trace the exact plan of the first stage of the Liverpool convent, but the cloisters were apparently designed in sections – leading from the front door towards the courtyard, and around the northern and southern ends of the courtyard – rather than in a continuous quadrangular form. The western side of the courtyard was taken up, on the principal floor, by the community room [fig. 68].

The very unusual plan of the Warwick Bridge presbytery, almost contemporaneous with the Handsworth convent, is a further and subtle development of the cross-corridor type [fig. 69a]. The corridors here are in the form of a T. An entrance passage leads from the porch, continuing to a cross-passage running north-west south-east. The kitchen is divided from this passage by a timber screen, creating something of the effect of a screens passage on a miniature scale;¹⁷ the two principal rooms, a library and sitting room, are reached from this cross-passage to the right. The cross-passage is

¹⁶ O'Donnell 2002, p 71, sees some similarity between this plan and that of Browne's Hospital in Stamford.

¹⁷ This is Andrew Saint's comment.

redundant in practical terms, since it would have been possible to reach all the rooms by continuing the entrance corridor a few feet further into the centre of the house. It is thus there to provide a tiny cloister, providing the priest with a framed view of the eastern end of the church, through pointed windows, every time that he left his library. Possibly Pugin considered a future covered link between the two. In support of this proposition, it can be noted that the small and unremarkable presbytery at Uttoxeter, of 1839, was connected to the church by a corridor labelled by Pugin as a 'cloister' [fig. 70].¹⁸

The plan for the Master's lodgings at Balliol College was a compact scheme devised around two short cross-corridors: one led directly from the street towards a pre-existing room, which was to serve as a dining room, at the back (north) of the site; the second one branched off to the left, approximately halfway along its length, and was composed of the staircase hall. This was only partially screened from the other corridor, allowing the space to flow freely between the different circulation areas [fig. 71]. From the first floor there was a separate staircase which rose to the second floor above the entrance door. Pugin had early designed something very similar in the Keighley presbytery design of 1838: it is the grand junction of the stairs (with a central column at their base) with the central section of the entry passage that redeems his design from being merely a conventional central corridor type [fig. 72].¹⁹

The frustrated Balliol scheme forms the basis for the master's apartments in the three schemes for the Magdalen College School in Oxford, from late 1843 to late 1844. All three schemes are all cross-corridor types, at some cost to the convenience and the practicality of the plan.²⁰ The first scheme was based around two corridors. The scheme took the form of an H, with the central bar running north-south, perpendicular to the High Street, and with the two side wings facing the entrance to the college, parallel with the latter's chapel and hall block [fig. 73].²¹ A major corridor or cloister

¹⁸ Research Library, The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles (870366).

¹⁹ Of the type described in Chapter 6 below; the plan is Wedgwood 1977, [73] 2.

²⁰ There is some description of these in Brittain-Catlin 2002b.

²¹ R White 2001, #600.

ran along the full length the two classrooms and parallel to the historic buildings of Magdalen College, in imitation of the mediaeval one therein. At the master's house end, the corridor terminated in a small square lobby adjacent to the stair hall, from which the second corridor runs westwards to the privies. On the upper floor, there was a central corridor which ran above the centre of the classrooms, with cells for the boys either side: this terminated opposite the door into the master's bedroom. The fellows no doubt commented on the obvious problems: the single staircase for boys and master alike ran adjacent to the latter's private rooms, and space was wasted by contriving to bring the cloister corridor out to a back door by cranking it around the end of the dining room (which was thus detached from the kitchen).

Possibly they also disliked the rival cloisters facing the college, for on the second scheme these were brought around to the far side of the schoolrooms, out of sight. In this version, Pugin reoriented his block to suit a more accurate ground plan (his original one was very probably based on his guess as to the land available) [fig. 74]. The schoolrooms now ran along the gravel walk off the High Street, and the master's house occupied the corner with Longwall Street. Both boys and master had their own entrance. Because of the reorientation of the building, the north-south corridor was now the minor one, and it led from the boys' entrance to the kitchen yard; the east-west corridor linked the master's entrance to the schoolroom; and the two corridors crossed at a junction close to the entrances of each. At this junction were the master's stairs (in a large stair hall) and two almost spiral stairs: one for the boys and the other for the servants. On the landing of the floor above there was an additional dog-leg stair above the boys' entrance leading to the second floor: four staircases, with a distance of no more than eight metres between the furthest away of them. It should be noted that the master's private stair was oriented so that on arriving at the upper floor, he would have to walk the full two sides of a gallery in order to reach the school wing, something that could have been avoided, had the architect so desired, by reversing the direction of the stair. The east-west corridor, as mentioned above, provided the beginnings of a cloister on the yard side; in order to continue the effect, there was to be a 'cloister for wet weather' with its back to the kitchen yard. This 'cloister' – an

open corridor about eleven metres long and three metres wide – was unreachable except by going out into the rain.

The final scheme had a more compact footprint but still had three major staircases [fig. 75]. The master's rooms now faced the college, and his entrance was through a spacious stair hall: the stairs climbed up through three sides of the room. The boys' entrance was from Longwall Street; each of the two entrances was located at the end of a corridor, and these crossed outside the master's stair hall. The boys' stair was located diagonally across from this crossing, but was reached from the east-west corridor leading to the school room. The north-south corridor, leading from the boys' entrance, reached the kitchen area, with a further, servants' stair to the left immediately beyond the boys' stair. On the upper floor, the east-west corridor passed the length of the first dormitory and rose by a few steps to reach the second one, to allow for the increased height of the schoolroom below it, but also, no doubt, to make the entry to it more impressive. The boys' route to the upper dormitory was thus not so much the tight spiral form of the Birmingham Bishop's House, but more of a loose corkscrew. Similarly, in the small building at Cotton Hall Pugin provided an entrance building, with four major rooms on the ground floor (and two further floors above) and a link between the church and rest of the complex. A passage led directly ahead from the entrance tower through to an existing building. Beyond the first section of the entrance passage there was a junction with a link running off perpendicular to the left: this led out directly to the garden. From this cross passage, there was a third passage leading back eastwards, terminating in an oratory; and from this, a further passage leading at an angle to the western end of the church. The easternmost end of the community's building was therefore composed of four sections of corridor, each running in a different direction [fig. 76].²²

²² William Faber wrote to Lord Shrewsbury on Ash Wednesday 1848 to state that 'you say you will not build ye junction between between ch & house unless it becomes ye novitiate...if it does not become ye novitiate then we will ask you to help in ye other part of ye cloister to ye extent ye junction would have cost you' (Brompton Oratory Archives, Correspondence vol 27, letter 36). Lady Shrewsbury had herself given a donation for the part of these cloisters called the 'ambulacrum' (ibid, letter 37, 25.8.1847). But there is no explanation as to why there were so *many* of them.

Two further cross-corridor schemes remain. That at Alton Castle was designed soon after the first of the Magdalen schemes, and possibly therefore also bears some marks of Pugin's attempts to realise a scheme of this type on an impressive scale. The first of the two corridors to be built ran east-west along the line of the ramparts of the mediaeval Alton Castle; on the north side it overlooked the ravine over the Churnet, and on the other, it provided access for a suite of rooms. This corridor terminated at both extremities in a staircase, the eastern one beyond the narthex (or, conceivably, ante-chapel)²³ of the chapel into which the corridor flows. This narthex acts as the junction with the north-south corridor, which runs down to the third staircase at the southern end of the building. This last corridor is on the court, not the ravine side [fig. 77].

There are two major problems in the planning layout of Alton Castle, which make understanding of it difficult. The first is that the kitchen and the three reception rooms are extremely far apart: there is no obvious reason why the former could not, for example, have been located in the basement of the southern wing, and yet nothing in the chimney locations suggests that this was proposed.²⁴ Conceivably, the kitchen on the ground floor was intended as a first-stage dining room, and the room below it a kitchen, although the latter would have been cramped and scarcely ventilated. Secondly, a letter from Pugin to Shrewsbury of 28th September 1848 reports that 'Mrs. Hibbert tells me that the window in the library looks exceedingly well'.²⁵ The only external ornamental windows in the Castle that might have attracted Mrs Hibbert's interest are the two oriels to an upper room of the southern block. This room however would have been unsuited to being a library, since it has almost no available lengths of wallspace for bookshelves; in any case, this is in part of the Castle that is absent from the sketch dated 1849. One possibility is that she was referring to the internal traceried window between the chapel narthex and the chapel; this raises the possibility that the whole of the narthex was in fact conceived as a hall, called a

²³ For the characteristics of an Oxford college that appear in this building, see sub-section 4.3.2.3 below.

²⁴ Nor does the kitchen fireplace, as built, show any signs of ever having been used as such. My site visit, 14.5.2002.

²⁵ 28.9.1848, Wedgwood 1985, cat. no 59.

'library', and that the chapel itself was intended to be entirely separate from it [fig. 78]. This would, at least, explain how what appears today to be an integral part of the chapel could have been proposed by Pugin as part of a circulation route between the two wings of the house. Another possibility must be that the window was demolished or moved when the building was continued southwards.

The only remaining project which can be classified as being a cross-corridor type is the small presbytery in Fulham [fig. 69b]. Here, an entrance passage leads directly to the stairs, not unlike a common central-corridor parsonage plan type; but it crosses another corridor leading between the dining room and kitchen to the kitchen yard. The potential symmetry of such an arrangement is however blunted by the fact that the southern part of the house was located up against the sacristy, and the dining has its window to the west and not to the front. The plan is in every other respect unremarkable. There was, anecdotally, a door from the dining room leading directly into the eastern end of the adjacent church, but without clear evidence to this effect it appears that Pugin preferred the priest to walk into the church either via the back yard and the sacristy, or through the front door and around the south-east sides of the church. This arrangement indicates that he had conceded nothing in this respect even after Catherine McAuley's vocal irritation at the lack of a covered way between convent and chapel at Bermondsey.²⁶

Mention should be made here of minor alterations to existing buildings, in which a corridor performing a humble role is made into a substantial architectural feature of sizeable breadth and length: this is true of the service wing at Grace Dieu (probably 1841) [fig. 79]; to some extent, of the service wing at Hardman's house, St John's (in 1842), and especially of the kitchen corridor at Albury House (1848) [fig. 80]. The plan of the clergy buildings and convent at St George's Southwark (by 1843) is largely unreconstructable, but the surviving portion has a broad corridor along the northern side [fig. 81].

²⁶ She was sufficiently annoyed about it to write an acrostic poem on the subject, which is kept at the convent's archives. This persuaded the priest, Butler, to have a covered way built. My visit, 20.3.2003.

4.1.1.3 peripheral corridor

A peripheral corridor type is one in which the plan is arranged around a long, usually winding, corridor which sometimes adheres to the perimeter of the site in order to be longer than its function would require. The first appearance of this is hinted at rather than clearly shown in the drawings for the church of St Marie's, Manchester, in 1838, for the drawings of the church indicate 'communication with the priest's house' from the South-East corner of the sanctuary; since the priest's house is at the South-West corner of the site, this 'communication', which is not indicated elsewhere, would have run the full length of the church, possibly running around the East boundary of the priest's garden and then along the southern boundary of the site. Pugin soon put this into practice at his Derby presbytery, where the dining room at the front, Western, end of the site could be reached from the church by a corridor that wound its way around the parlour and large staircase hall [fig. 82].

Less rigid experimentation with the idea came with the presbyteries of 1842-3. At Cheadle, where he was remodelling an existing building, the entry passage runs alongside two sides of one of the two existing front rooms to the north-west and then proceeds rightwards up the dog-leg stairs, before turning right into the large public room at the back of the house on the first floor: in other words, it mimics on a small scale the complexity of the Birmingham Bishop's House, although without winding tightly around a court. At Woolwich, at about the same period, he drew a conventional terraced-house type with stairs at the centre between the two rooms, but on execution continued the front entry hall right back to the sacristy adjoining the liturgical East end of the church, a distance of some sixteen metres beyond the house porch [fig. 83]. This involved running a separate section of pitched roof along the length of this corridor, with an impractical valley gutter between the corridor and the church's

Northern flank.²⁷ Finally, at Brewood in 1843, a simple central-corridor plan is varied with the addition of a porch that has a front door at right angles to the main axis; on turning into the main part of the house, the central corridor continues all the way through the house and, axially, out through the rear yard towards the site of the school and schoolmaster's house [fig. 69c].²⁸

It was perhaps the Nottingham Convent scheme, with its long corridor route requiring the nuns to walk its entire length twice to reach the end of the cloister from the front door, that encouraged Pugin to develop the peripheral corridor type to extremes. At St Oswald's, the convent was located away from the road and beyond a school building. Here a front door in the schoolyard street wall leads into a cloister some twenty-one metres long. Turning left at the end of this cloister, one enters the convent, and faces a further corridor ten and a half metres long, and beyond that a stair. This corridor turns to the right, and continues another eight and a half metres beyond the stair hall into a parlour at the back of the house, adjacent to the kitchen yard and facing the site of the presbytery. Rising rightwards up the stair one arrives at the Western end of the chapel. The route from street to rear parlour through this small house with cells for only six nuns and a mother superior, is forty-three metres, eight metres longer than the length of the neighbouring church [fig. 84].

By October 1844 Pugin had designed a covered way to link the Handsworth convent eastwards towards a new House of Mercy on Brougham Street. This new cloister was linked to the old one at the north-east corner, and ran adjacent to the site boundary up to the north-east corner, and then turned and continued southwards. A link was provided with a corridor that ran through the House of Mercy to the street beyond. A little later, Pugin added a further two bays to the cloister to provide access to his new church of St Mary. This arrangement naturally maximised the garden of the convent – a link extending orthogonally eastwards from the old cloister would have divided the

²⁷ Pugin was not troubled by valley gutters, as not only his architecture but also, explicitly, a letter to William Dunn of 28.4.1842 indicates: Belcher 2001, p 343.

²⁸ Which, although built later, had always been part of the scheme, according to BAA, B1386 (see Appendix A, 1848-51, below).

garden in two – but it also provided the nuns with a cloister of almost baroque scale, which descended following the natural levels of the site eastwards, was divided with proscenium arches, and was roofed with a fine carved timber open roof [figs. 85, 86].

It is from this point that Pugin's original concept of the courtyard as being an almost indeterminably increasable grid (as in the second Downside scheme) is replaced by a more original idea of a cloister spreading itself around a building in a kind of embrace, whilst creating dramatic effects on a scale beyond that of the rest of the building. The first opportunity to proceed with this idea occurred with Sibthorp's Lincoln almshouses. Contrary to common practice with other architects, these were here designed in a L shape exploiting the site, but the further branch of the L was split into two parallel wings; one wing, that attached to main terrace of almshouses leading from the road, is merely an open corridor: at the end of this, one can proceed to Sibthorp's adjoining private garden and then to his house, or turn right and then right again to reach the second major terrace. This section of open cloister certainly provides a covered walkway for residents of both terraces that does not pass along the front of other dwellings, but had this alone been a specific requirement of Sibthorp's, it could easily have been achieved by providing a direct covered link between the two terraces, rather than the double dog-leg Pugin designed [fig. 87].

The Liverpool convent was also extended by Pugin in the later 1840s, and as with the original scheme there, the exact extent of his work is untraceable.²⁹ However, certain features are apparent. A new corridor was attached to the north-west corner of the community room, and this wove around the north, west and south sides of the northern part of the site, connecting the original building with a novitiate block and school building; in places, the external cloister ran parallel with an inner cloister, designed to protect the nuns further from the weather [fig. 88]. The Hammersmith convent is harder still to reconstruct, but the 1:500 Ordnance Survey town plan of 1894 shows that new and existing buildings were attached with sections of cloister, and that a further strip of cloister was provided for access from Fulham Road (now Fulham Palace Road).

²⁹ I have reconstructed Pugin's work as far as possible in Appendix A, 1847, below.

It was at the Cheadle convent, designed in 1848, that the peripheral corridor reached its most developed form [fig. 89]. Here again Pugin was working with an existing building, located at the north-west corner of the site. He designed a cloister around two sides of the north-east corner of the site, including an exit into the adjacent churchyard to the east, and an oratory at the junction of the two sides. The cloister runs along the street, presenting only a tall blank wall to the outside. On reaching the fabric of the existing building, the cloister turns south-east, but not exactly parallel to the first wing of the cloister [fig. 90]. This short section of cloister opens into the convent garden, and one turns right to enter the house. Proceeding directly through the remodelled back room of the old house, one reaches the north-western end of a narrow internal corridor that runs along the south-west boundary of the site, reusing some old walling. After thirteen metres, and a change in level, the corridor enters the community room; at the far end of this room, on the same axis, the corridor reappears as a further external cloister and continues for three bays before ending in a garden shed (that is likely to have been a privy). The whole covered route from the churchyard through the house is no less than sixty-six and a half metres, well over twice the length of Pugin's most splendid church nearby. Since the chapel is above the community room, the distance thence from the churchyard is similar.

4.1.2 Pinwheel Plans

The pinwheel plan is Pugin's second entirely original plan form: Chapter 3 above has shown that it had no clear precedent in any of the many early nineteenth-century parsonages studied during the course of the research undertaken for this thesis. A pinwheel plan is one in which a central stair hall, a sizeable room and approximately square, provides the hub for three major reception rooms; these are arranged about this hall in such a way that the major axis of each is rotated by ninety degrees from that of the adjacent one; while this rotation is expressed externally with separately gabled roofs of equal height, and breaks in the wall plane. Pugin first proposed a large square staircase hall at his Derby presbytery; he then executed one on a larger scale at

the otherwise unusual plan at Bilton Grange, and also in the second Downside Abbey scheme: these are the apparent precedents for his pinwheel plans in the early 1840s.

Pugin designed six pinwheel-plan houses over five years: St Augustine's, by September 1843; Oswaldcroft, probably after September 1844; the Lanteglos parsonage, in early 1846; the Rampisham rectory, by March 1846; the Woodchester Park scheme, the only one not realised, around March 1846; and Wilburton New Manor House, his last known commission for an entirely new house, in Autumn 1848. In each of these houses the plan is slightly different, but based on the same principle: the plans provide evidence that Pugin was in each case refining his last attempt, rather than rethinking the plan afresh.

Pugin had long experimented with sequences of spaces where the axis rotated by ninety degrees between adjoining rooms; possibly he was influenced by the rotating effect characteristic of the French cathedral plan, in which the vista at the end of an aisle is closed by an altar or an ambulatory turning towards the *chevet*.³⁰ The narthex at the West end of the St Marie's, Ducie Street, scheme runs north-south, as a kind of ante-transept, and very probably derived from the ante-chapel at Magdalen College, Oxford. In his domestic work, the sequence of parlour, library and chapel at St Marie's Grange could be seen as being similar: the long axis through the first two is balanced by the perpendicular axis of the last [fig. 91].

The plan for St Augustine's is, however, without any clear precedents in Pugin's domestic work [fig. 92], although it does bear some resemblance to how St Marie's Grange may have been arranged following his alterations of 1841. It should be noted that this was the first new house that Pugin had designed since his ideal Garendon Hall scheme some two years previously; and he had never previously designed a house of this intermediate scale. Here, a drawing room, a library, and a dining room rotate anticlockwise about the central hall in sequence, although there is no direct link between the last two. The rotating pattern continues with the kitchen wing projecting

³⁰ He valued highly the effect of an altar at the end of an aisle: see his letter to Shrewsbury of 17.8.1841: Belcher 2001, p 262.

back towards the north, entrance, court: this feature was never repeated. The direction of rise of the stairs follows that of the rooms, and thus also the route to the bedrooms above. At St Augustine's, the complex approach route from Screaming Alley to the west, whereby the visitor turned right into the external court, and right again through a gatehouse before reaching the front door, meant that the spiral route through the house starts well outside it; it is notable that this external part of the route is clockwise, whereas its continuation within is anti-clockwise. Although the face of the southern gable of the house is flush with that of the dining room wing to its east, Pugin later drew the house as if the gable projected, marking his belated acceptance of the fact that so distinct an arrangement on plan should be expressed externally.³¹ The stair balustrade, which has been thought of as deriving from the ornamental timber work Pugin saw, and draw, in northern France, contains an abstract pinwheel motif which might, perhaps, have been intended as a symbolic figure for the plan of, and concept behind, the whole house.³²

St Augustine's is the only pinwheel scheme in which there is no room door in the hall facing the entry. At Oswaldcroft, Pugin reversed the direction of the plan, which now goes clockwise starting from a breakfast room at the north-west corner [fig. 93]. The public way was again to the north, and access was here designed from the north-west corner, by way of a lodge. A drive led across the north face of the house. This enabled him to place the reception rooms on the eastern side, overlooking the house of the local vicar apostolic where he was building a chapel in 1845, whilst the service end was alongside a public lane to the west. A further significant variation was that the plan of the stairs within the hall was reversed, so that the bottom step was encountered directly on entering the hall from the lobby. The stairs here run anti-clockwise around the stair hall, contrary to the rotation of the rooms: the practical effect of this arrangement is to create a separate stretch of gallery above for the occupants of the main bedroom from that for the other residents, again lengthening walking distances.

³¹ As Drury has suggested, Drury 2001, figs 1.4, 1.6.

³² There is some similarity between this design and those shown by Pugin in Pugin 1836a (*Antient timber houses*), particularly to the timber compartments of houses at Abbeville shown in pls 14 and 15.

The rooms have different proportions from those in Ramsgate – the north-eastern breakfast room is here a small room, though it may have originally corresponded directly with the drawing room to the south of it. The drawing room and a further reception room – which may have been the original dining room – are separated from each other by a broad archway. The drawing room fireplace is therefore on the wall opposite to this arch and expressed externally.

At Lanteglos, the rooms again run clockwise around the stair hall: study, drawing room, dining room; the service wing continues westwards of the dining room, along the same axis; and, as at Oswaldcroft, the stairs run in the opposite direction, starting close to the entry door [fig. 94]. Pugin attempted a variation here, in which the entrance porch runs into the centre of the house, essentially taking up part of the volume of the study and separating it from the stair hall: the intention was surely to keep visitors to the rector away from the family area of the house, perhaps in accordance with the rector's own instructions. At Rampisham, the rooms again run clockwise, but the order is changed: here it is dining room, drawing room (or library), and finally study: this means that the dining room is the furthest of the principal ground-floor rooms from the kitchen, and the study must be reached by crossing the stair hall [fig. 95]. The staircase direction is, however, 'corrected' in that it again replicates that of the rooms. At Woodchester Park, the rooms were to run anti-clockwise – drawing room, library, and dining room – and the stairs again mirror their direction. A fourth room was added, creating a simpler volume for the main block: this is designated 'study', and it is located in the place where there was a windowless strongroom in St Augustine's [fig. 96].³³ Woodchester Park is the only large house with the full range of offices that Pugin designed without the requirement to reuse an existing building, and the kitchen offices form a separate geometrical form in their own right around two courtyards; it is remarkable, however, that the chapel was relegated to form part of the easternmost of these two courts, adjacent to the butler's pantry: the implication is that Pugin distanced it from the principal rooms in order to create a suitably long entrance route. The entrance tower, and the direct approach to it from the west likewise suggest improvements derived from the personal experience of the Ramsgate house.

³³ The strongroom is Paul Drury's interpretation: Drury 2001, p 8, §2.3.10.

The final pinwheel plan is that at Wilburton New Manor House: the study, drawing room and dining room are arranged anticlockwise, but the stair rises clockwise [fig. 97].

4.1.3 Unique types

The plan of St Marie's Grange has been touched on above. It should in addition be noted that entry was directly into the stair tower, at the base of the (anti-clockwise) spiral stair tower. From here the entry route turned to the right, and continued through the contiguous parlour and library, alongside the eastern wall of both, reaching a water closet in a garderobe tower on the southern side. The Library did not have a distinct major axis: the perception of it would depend on whether entrance was from the parlour or the chapel.

At Bilton Grange, Pugin may have been persuaded by his client into an unusual plan type.³⁴ Pugin appended a series of major rooms to the eastern side of an existing house: a long gallery, and alongside this a drawing room and library which together have the same length, and which face south-east [fig. 98, 99, 100] A kitchen and dining room were laid out along an axis perpendicular to that of the gallery and reached through a staircase hall. The plan of the new part of the main house does contain some characteristic spiral sequences – for example, the route from the *porte cochère* involves turning to the right within the entrance hall, and turning right again through a stair hall into the dining hall; and the route into the drawing room and library requires making further turns: right from the hall, left along a gallery, left into the drawing room, and left again into the library. The stair hall itself was still a minor element of the planning; the dominant feature is the gallery, over thirty metres long yet less than five-and-half metres wide. It crosses the width of the whole of the main block of the house and leads directly into the garden [fig. 100a].

³⁴ This is discussed in Stanton 1950, pp 469-70; and Stanton 1971, p 176. It is certainly reinforced by the reference to the house in *the Illustrated London news* (see sub-section 1.4.3.1 above).

At Hornby Castle Pugin completed designs for the ground and principal floors of the main block only, and his perspectives merely give a general picture of the layout of the rest of what was planned to be a very large complex [fig. 101]. The west and south sides of the existing buildings were remodelled and restored to provide public rooms on the first floor; the courtyard was retained, and Pugin's new east side provided a new entrance stair, a library (with three shallow oriels, similar to those proposed for Dartington Hall), and a long gallery. A further smaller gallery was to be created along the courtyard side of the old south wing – obliterating mediaeval remains – and yet Pugin resisted creating any continuous cloister around the courtyard, and turned the new staircase into a hub for the plan [fig. 102]. The kitchen was to be in a separate block, at some considerable distance, and on a lower floor, from the dining room, further suggesting that this was what he had indeed intended at Alton Castle.

The final building to require mention here is Knight's convent in Cadogan Street, Chelsea [fig. 143]. This is symmetrical, the only building in Pugin's entire output to be so. There is no indication from the work that Pugin was working on simultaneously that he was otherwise experimenting at the time with purely symmetrical forms. On the other hand, the project's requirements did suggest symmetry, since they evidently consisted of exactly equal requirements for boys' and girls' schools, and for monks' and nuns' accommodation; the chapel was for the use of all, and therefore was located at the centre. Boys and girls entered at the extreme ends of the building into stair halls; nuns and monks entered from their own doors either side of the chapel. These doors led into a corridor which linked them behind Western end of the chapel; doors close to the front doors led straight ahead into the school rooms; and the private rooms of the convent / monastery were located at the back of the chapel, facing north and across to the burial yard.

4.1.4 Planning and usage

Pugin's most characteristic planning forms both reflected and encouraged specific uses. In general, the corridor-plan types provided a place for procession: the first building of this type was the Bishop's House in Birmingham, where the route from entrance door to great hall wound itself around an internal courtyard. The lengthy processional way that resulted was not only as long as possible, but also shielded from the street and unwanted attention. In institutional plans, such as the cloister extensions at Handsworth, and the convents at St Oswald's and Cheadle, the processional way can be seen to be the dominant part of the plan. Winifrede M. Wyse, the niece of one of Pugin's clients, recalled nuns 'revelling above all in the cloisters he had given them, such a necessary item in religious houses for communication and for processions, both of which cloisters and processions had hitherto been obliterated under the penal laws'.³⁵ Pugin's interest in religious processions can be demonstrated by his illustration of them in several of his published etchings: they can be seen in the mediaeval plates illustrating 'Contrasted parochial churches' and 'Contrasted college gateways' in both editions of *Contrasts*, and in his view of Magdalen College, Oxford, in *True principles*.³⁶ Figures in his views of modern urban scenes are, by contrast, in many cases seen to be standing about without purpose, or hurrying in an undignified fashion. The corridor schemes suggest that Pugin adopted the processional way as an architectural demonstration of Catholic life, and the incorporation of long routes into buildings was therefore consistent with his call both for 'convenience' and for 'propriety'.

In the case of the pinwheel-plan houses, Pugin's practical aims are less evident. The disadvantage of a double-height entrance stair hall was principally that the communication between doors, including bedroom doors, was exposed to arriving

³⁵ This was in relation to the Convent of the Presentation at Waterford, designed in 1841; undated tss, HLRO, PUG/3/13/348.

³⁶ 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 sub-section 6.2.1 below, and also Brittain-Catlin 2001, Brittain-Catlin 2002a.

strangers: this defect was criticised by Eastlake in 1872.³⁷ In fact, Pugin's entrance stair halls were too small to act as living rooms, and the direction of the stairs and planning of the gallery above were sometimes planned in order to maximise walking distances between rooms, as noted in sub-sections 4.1.1.2 (in relation to the second Magdalen College School scheme) and 4.1.2 above. The conclusion might therefore be that Pugin saw the pinwheel type as a way of impressing the processional form on domestic life, rather than an attempt at reviving the historical form of the mediaeval hall house: the need to walk across changing axes in these houses certainly complements the dynamic character of their graphic form.³⁸

Although there is little detailed record of how Pugin's houses were used in practice, it is possible to recreate to some extent the way in which the architecture may have influenced life in them. The clergy houses were occupied before the Roman Catholic Church formulated instructions on domestic living for priests; records generally show however that a housekeeper was in residence, but the modest nature of these houses does not allow for any significant architectural separation of the living spaces of the two types of occupant. The larger clergy houses at Birmingham and Nottingham were organised around corridors, and communal life must have given plenty of opportunity for processing, formally or informally, between the various public spaces. The pinwheel houses appear to have been designed regardless of the particular domestic needs of the occupants: Rooke, at Rampisham, had a growing young family similar to Pugin's; Wilburton New Manor House, on the other hand, was designed originally for a recently wed couple but occupied eventually by a widow who evidently found it most convenient.³⁹ Life at St Augustine's was chronicled in some detail by Powell.⁴⁰

³⁷ Pugin was himself soon aware of this defect, as an undated letter to Hardman, HLRO PUG/1 /559 (quoted in Hill 2003, p 168) makes clear. However, he persisted in it at least until the design of Wilburton New Manor House in 1848.

³⁸ There were domestic religious processions within St Augustine's: see Pugin's undated letter to Hardman, HLRO PUG/1/951 (quoted in Hill 2003, p 168).

³⁹ See Appendix A, *1848-51*, below. Albert Pell had married in September 1846 (Pell family records).

⁴⁰ Published as Wedgwood 1988.

4.2 *Orientation and Location*

4.2.1 Orientation

Pugin did not often have the opportunity to orient his buildings the way in which he wished to. Since he believed that churches should be orientated eastwards and yet was not always able to achieve this in practice, it is likely he was similarly frustrated in respect of his residential buildings.⁴¹ In the case of private houses he generally, but not always, followed conventional orientation, by placing either the kitchen offices or the entrance elevation to the north. At St Augustine's, both of these were positioned to the north, and therefore those entering walked in facing the blind gables of the kitchen buildings to the left, and of the drawing room to the right. To enter a house on its short side, into an elevation with few windows, was not unusual in contemporary domestic architecture; but to enter a new house on its long flank, most of it composed of windowless walls, was unprecedented in 1843, and brought to its extreme at Oswaldcroft and Wilburton [fig. 103]. As Chapter 3 above describes, small parsonages built around a central corridor often had their main entrance between the two main rooms – that is, on the south side where possible, or towards the best aspect.

In fact the entrance to Pugin's first house was also from the north, across a drawbridge to a windowless north wall; the principal rooms faced west, although the windows were very small and the view towards Salisbury Cathedral was little accommodated [fig. 104]. The chapel faced east, and it was the largely windowless garderobe tower side that faced south.

In the case of all four large quadrangular houses, Pugin had some degree of freedom. The Birmingham Bishop's House was built in an extremely restricted site, but both north-west and south-east elevations were available, and Pugin could have orientated the chapel eastwards, or almost eastwards, had he chosen to do so. In the event, the

⁴¹ His reasons for the eastwards orientation are detailed in Pugin 1841c (*Present state pt i*), p 314.

chapel faced south-west, and it was the bishop's private chambers that were lit by the morning sun.

In Nottingham, and in the Garendon and Dartington Hall schemes, he had the freedom to orient the building any way he chose. At Nottingham, larger residential rooms were located above the western wing; the rest of the building contained small chambers for clergy. The formal entrance to the residence is parallel with the west end of the church, and the 'business' entrance is adjacent to the sacristy corridor. At Garendon the chapel is oriented eastwards, and the principal rooms southwards, similar to an historical collegiate arrangement. At Dartington the principal rooms face south-east, and the view northwards (to the church, in fact) is screened by the fourth side of the cloister.

At Scarisbrick, the opportunities for changing the principal orientation of the house – southwards – were limited; the projecting business room, with the attached clock tower, could have faced east but had no windows on that side; Pugin's perspective shows an unbuilt structure on that side of it, with windows suggesting a chapel.⁴²

Likewise, at Balliol, he had no real freedom to reorient major rooms; at Alton, the principal rooms face all directions except northwards, which was towards the view. At Warwick Bridge, Brewood and Fulham, the entrance was beside the principal ground floor room and faced southwards; in all three cases, the view towards the church was the determining factor [fig. 105].⁴³

It is at the pinwheel houses that the choice of orientation is the most significant, because the three major rooms can all face different directions – one of which is shared with the hall window. Since the effect of the sun's path through the day are so remarkable a feature of its interior, it is likely that Pugin designed the Rampisham house in such a way as to exploit it. The stair hall faces east, the dining room south, the drawing room or library south and west, and the study west. Because of the depth of the stair hall with its large window, and the relative shallowness of the study beyond, the morning light penetrates through into the study, and for much of the day

⁴² Wedgwood 1977, [64] 1 (1836).

⁴³ See sub-section 4.2.3 below.

the sun shines indirectly through the house along the length of the principal route through it, that is, along the western side of the hall and in the direction of the kitchen wing. This means that door openings along the route, the staircase balustrade, and even other minor projecting features such as fireplaces catch the light, or reflect shadows into it in a continuously changing pattern that would not be possible in a conventional corridor type plan, or a rectangular plan with a central hall. Pugin's earlier remark in his 'Autobiography', that 'It was through the perseverance I had to serve as a stage carpenter all the season [of 1829] that I acquire the thorough knowledge of the practical part of the stage business which has so materialy served me since' would seem to be demonstrated by the sophisticated natural lighting effects of the pinwheel plan.⁴⁴

The entrance to St Augustine's, to the Lanteglos house, to Oswaldcroft, and to Wilburton Manor House is, however, from the north side – it is these houses that present an unadorned long north side on approach.⁴⁵ The obvious advantage of this arrangement is that on walking directly through the house one arrives at the southern side. The orientation of St Augustine's on its plot must be due to Pugin's desire to build his adjoining church so that the latter faced exactly east; in this he was frustrated, and the church is parallel to the road.⁴⁶ At Woodchester Park the entrance was from the west, but, unusually, the major rooms faced as many directions as possible: that is, the two major rooms with two or more external walls had openings in each of those walls. It could be that the experiments with the exact sequence of rooms were related to the orientation of the house; but the most significant aspect of their

⁴⁴ Wedgwood 1985, p 28. Armstrong-Wilson 1998 is a depiction of the house from the point of view of a resident and throws some light upon detailed aspects of the planning, including raising the possibility that the occurrence of groups of three in the overall form – the three main gables, the three main blocks – are themselves a representation of the Trinity.

⁴⁵ The north front of Bilton Grange is also the entrance front; Pugin and Hibbert planned a long aspect from a north lodge towards the house in 1846, but this did not materialise until after 1861; Edwards 1997, pp 20, 22.

⁴⁶ To have continued the church on the same axis would perhaps have breached building lines. *All* Pugin's perspectives that illustrate house and church together incorrectly show both buildings as being orthogonal to one another, as indeed does a bird's-eye perspective, probably by EW Pugin, dated by Drury as 1872-3 and reproduced in Drury 2001 as pl 3.5.

planning in that respect was the *limitation* the architect placed on the views or egresses in the various directions: this is discussed in sub-section 4.2.2 below.

In the Liverpool orphanage, the chapel faced south, and in the Chelsea convent it faced north; the first, temporary chapel at Ratcliffe faced north, but the first permanent one east. In all of the other major institutional buildings it faced east. There is no consistent pattern in the disposition of any of the other major rooms of these buildings.

4.2.2 Location

Pugin was not interested in landscape, in landscape or garden design, or in the location of a building within its site as forming part of the single composition.

In only one project did he make any true concession towards any of the above: Woodchester Park. He wrote to Leigh on the subject of the latter's then proposed church project that 'Nothing can be more beautiful for effect than the scite' as if to agree with a point that Leigh had made; and he drew design perspectives of the house that show it in its picturesque surroundings [fig. 106].⁴⁷ The plans for the house show a door opening from the drawing room onto the terrace outside. Pugin must have reacted to his client's interest in landscape in the same way that he was able to adopt other inconvenient requests from clients he valued, for of all the pinwheel-plan houses, only the last, Wilburton, has a door into the garden from one of its principal rooms [fig. 107]. A garden door was subsequently added to the drawing room at St Augustine's by E.W. Pugin, indicating that one was needed, and it was during E.W. Pugin's period of supervision that a garden door was added to the dining room at Oswaldcroft.

Sub-section 4.2.1 above referred to the restricted views from Pugin's first house in its naturally picturesque site in Salisbury, and also to the arrangement of rooms at Alton Castle that ignores the view across the ravine towards Alton Towers. Sub-section

⁴⁷ Glos CRO, letter: D2258 P4 (photocopy); drawings: D1011/P15/1-3.

4.3.1.2 and section 5.3 below refer to the smallness of windows or of windows too high up to see out of. Most significantly, Pugin's drawings for houses generally show the house sitting on an entirely flat landscape: the two Calvary hills included in his *Present State* drawing of Mount St Bernard's monastery are symbolic rather than realistic [fig. 108].⁴⁸ His long perspective view of the Deanery scheme exaggerated the flatness of the surrounding area. In fact, nearly all Pugin's drawings of ideal schemes set the buildings in almost flat landscapes relieved only by very gentle distant slopes;⁴⁹ the only exception from all the illustrations in the four major publications is the terracing of a garden, which presumably was an unavoidable fact, in the depiction of the Liverpool convent.⁵⁰ Pugin thus made an exception to his normal practice when he consciously used Middleton's commissions at Oxenford to create an ideal composition of farm buildings: this is implied by the two perspectives he drew showing a view of them to be seen when leaving and entering the Park [fig. 109].⁵¹

In his drawings, Pugin always showed the quadrangles of his courtyard buildings as blank rectangles. His perspective drawings for St Augustine's show a plain lawn to the south of the house; to the south of this he designed a bedded garden which is reconstructable from a map of Ramsgate of 1849, and from Powell's description: 'The garden was masculine in design, "no arbour for catterpillars (sic) to drop on you" but beds well dug out of the chalk, the best of Kent soil carted there, reservoir in centre, and various novel fences to break great gales.'⁵² Significantly, the later and finished perspective shows a tent erected on the lawn [fig. 110]. There is a walled garden at

⁴⁸ Pugin 1842 (*Present state*, part ii), pl vii.

⁴⁹ This may have been in imitation of the topographical drawings he collected: see the conclusion to sub-section 6.2.2 below.

⁵⁰ Pugin 1842 (*Present state* pt ii), pl xii.

⁵¹ Photographs of undated drawings, in the Surrey HC at 1248/33/56 & 57.

⁵² Wedgwood 1988, p 175. For more on the reference to 'arbours', see section 8.1 below. Pugin's perspective is that first drawn in 1848, and then prepared for exhibition at the Royal Academy in 1849; the latter is in a private collection but reproduced in Wedgwood 1995, p 59, pl 105; the map of 1849 is reproduced as pl 1.7 in Drury 2001; see also further discussion of the garden *ibid*, section 2.7, p 16.

Bilton Grange, some distance from the house, which also has an octagonal tank in the centre, and which appears to be Pugin's work.⁵³

Pugin did enjoy the view of the sea, and Powell records him explaining the plate-glass windows below the stained-glass panels with the words 'A Sin to block such views'.⁵⁴ None of Pugin's extensive writings makes any reference to the role of landscape in architecture; his collection of topographical drawings was largely of depictions of buildings or towns; and his closest artist friends, most notably J.R. Herbert and William Etty, were all primarily portraitists or painters of the human body, not landscape painters, although it should be noted that Etty shared Pugin's enjoyment of sea views, and produced beach scenes and seascapes.

4.2.3 Architectural Ensembles

On rare occasions, Pugin had an opportunity to create a new architectural ensemble of ecclesiastical and residential buildings: this was the case to some extent at Handsworth, at St Oswald's in Liverpool, and around St Chad's in Birmingham (where the Bishop's House faced the church on an urban site, to the liturgical North West), but particularly at Nottingham where he designed St Barnabas' church, the clergy house and the convent on a single large site. Here, Pugin designed his buildings to stand at orthogonal angles to one another, and placed the enclosed convent garden between the convent building and the clergy house; he thus rejected the opportunity to recreate the appearance of an historic cathedral close, with its irregular buildings placed around an open green. In all his town sites, his architecture is entirely urban: it seems possible that he associated the open appearance of the modern cathedral close with the post-reformation Church of England; likewise, Pugin rejected the free and Picturesque landscaping of developments such as Nash's Blaise Hamlet, which must have been intended to suggest an ideal rural development.

⁵³ Stylistic attribution; my site visit, 21.8.2001.

⁵⁴ Wedgwood 1988, p 175.

When designing in a relatively unrestricted site, he had considerable freedom in the positioning of the presbytery in respect of the church, and his approach was different. At Warwick Bridge, for example, the angle of the presbytery relative to the church is inexplicable in practical or rational terms: it seems that he planned a picturesque composition, best viewed from the approach to the West end of the church. The result is that the presbytery is seen at an obtuse angle, creating an effect very similar from that seen in some of his early designs and drawings, where the facades of buildings are characteristically seen in this way. It was thus also distinct from contemporary practice: modern parsonage architects never appear to have designed the front door to be visible from the main entrance of the parish church [fig. 105].⁵⁵

4.3 *Form*

Paul Thompson has established a series of criteria for defining the characteristic form of an architect's buildings by referring to characteristics of wall, roof, colour, form, and composition.⁵⁶ The variation of forms and methods in the buildings of Butterfield is very much greater than that in Pugin's domestic and residential work, not least because of the brevity of Pugin's career; therefore, a highly condensed version of Thompson's categories has been adopted below, and also provides a means for testing the attribution of a Pugin building. Some examples of misattribution are discussed in section 4.5 below.

4.3.1 Wall

4.3.1.1 materials, colours and surfaces of upper and lower levels of wall

⁵⁵ 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. At Marlow, Pugin located the west door of his church so that it would have been directly visible from the front door of the neighbouring *Anglican* rectory (but for the garden wall).

⁵⁶ Thompson 1971, pp 128-342.

Pugin *in every case except St Augustine's* preferred a single material of homogenous colour for the whole of the face of a wall (excluding window mullions, frames and quoins), and for all the walls of a new building.

At St Augustine's, facing bricks are arranged in horizontal bands of irregular widths, in three colours, on the south and west fronts alone. As discussed below, this may have been for economic or practical reasons.⁵⁷ The only significant exception apart from St Augustine's occurs when he employed a damp-proof course of hard brick. At the Nottingham convent, this blue brick rises in steps, maintaining height of about eighteen courses above ground level on the cloister side as the level of the street outside rises towards the west of the site. Externally, therefore, a few courses only are visible; internally, the effect is remarkable for its coarse, unfinished appearance [fig. 111].⁵⁸ Similarly, the only difference between the treatment of the upper and lower surfaces of the wall in other buildings is that the lowest courses are thicker; the uppermost course of the thickening of the wall is brought down to form an integral part of the detail of the front door jamb [fig. 112].⁵⁹

Two of Pugin's buildings were apparently rendered from the start in order to match pre-existing work: these were the service wings at Grace Dieu and at the Hardman house in Birmingham. Elsewhere he built in brick, unless a local stone was available, as was the case in the Alton buildings, and at Lanteglos and Rampisham: he did not employ the Roman cement so characteristic of early nineteenth-century Tudor-Gothic collegiate work. In some of the brick buildings – for example, the Brewood presbytery and the Nottingham clergy house – the quality of the brick was so low that its colour varies, in patches, across an external wall. Some brick buildings are decorated by monograms or crosses in blue brick; the Uttoxeter and Brewood presbyteries have blue brick decorative 'voussoirs' (they are not actually constructional) over doors or windows [fig. 113]. When using stone, Pugin often used local rubble formed into

⁵⁷ See sub-section 4.3.3 below.

⁵⁸ My site visit, 2.5.2002.

⁵⁹ See also section 5.3 below.

broadly horizontal although still irregular courses: this was the case at Rampisham, where the effect of the rubble is refined by the smallness of the stones used; at Lanteglos (polyphant with dressings of blue elvan), and at Oxenford (Bargate stone for walling, and Pulborough for dressings) [fig. 114, 123d]. At the Mount St Bernard's and Shepshed buildings there is a dramatic exception to this type: the random rubble work of Charnwood stone is coarse in the extreme, and the voussoirs crudely expressive of their function: Pugin's drawings indicate that this was the effect he wanted [fig. 115].⁶⁰ Otherwise, his stone and render-faced buildings have no surface decoration.

The Ward house at Old Hall Green was an extension to an existing building, which appears to account for the fact that Pugin used different walling materials on different walls. Here, the oriel windows to the south of the pre-existing house, and the new bays to the north of it, are built in grey brick, matching the older house. However, the back of the pre-Pugin house seems to have been built of red brick, and thus Pugin was able to introduce this into his own work, on either side of the new southern oriel block, and elsewhere at the rear [fig. 116].⁶¹

Pugin preferred to use English bond – which was not used in *any* of the contemporary or near contemporary parsonages forming part of the present research. This preference is unexplained and has no practical or constructional explanation; he made no reference to any historical precedent – indeed, he neither illustrates nor refers to brickwork detailing in *True principles* – and it might be suggested that he adopted it because it was distinct from conventional practice, or, simply, because it was 'English'. The rows of headers in English bond do however recall Pugin's stated preference for small units in building materials: he stated this of stone in *True principles*, and elsewhere of slates.⁶² He used English bond in his first house and, subsequently, in every residential building that was built by Myers apart from the

⁶⁰ Leics CRO, DE 992/1-4. The Whitwick presbytery building does not share this detail, reinforcing the suggestion that the greater part of the exterior walling predates the Pugin or Puginesque work there (see Appendix A, 1847).

⁶¹ And see sub-section 4.3.2.3 below.

⁶² Stone: Pugin 1841a (*True principles*), p 18; slates, see p 126 n 82 below.

first, the Derby presbytery and then again, without explanation on his part, at St Augustine's: here parts of the walls facing south and west, the prevailing winds, are up to 2' 4" thick, and include cavities, which may account for the choice of bond.⁶³ Otherwise, he used Flemish bond only where other builders were involved, for example in all the brick Cheadle and Uttoxeter buildings. The Brewood presbytery, built by Myers, is in English bond; the school, whose attribution is uncertain, is not. The design of the Oxenford farm buildings provides an example of how Pugin's attitude to the form of his buildings could change for a single project, neither deriving from previous experience nor leaving subsequent traces in his work. The gatehouse in particular, which functioned as a house for the lodgekeeper, is a much more plastic composition than any of Pugin's previous gatehouse schemes [fig. 117]. This was achieved by the virtual absence of horizontal or vertical lines. The window embrasures are, for example, so extensively splayed at the cills that they do not read as horizontal insertions into the fabric; the stair turret merges into the face of the wall on the south elevation; the vertical edges of the gatehouse on the east side is tempered by splayed buttresses; and there are no impost mouldings on the major archways: the imposts on the north, park, side continue down into the jambs without interruption. Pugin had regularly used diagonal buttresses on his gatehouse lodges; here the buttresses are for the first time large enough to constitute wall planes in their own right.

In some buildings, Pugin compensated for lack of expensive materials by modelling complex forms from cheap ones. In his first cheap house at Derby, the only decoration on the exterior of the building, apart from the cusped lancets, was a monogrammed plaque on the chimney [fig. 118]. He subsequently applied this approach to the Bishop's House in Birmingham, built and faced in brick, with very few stone dressings or decorative work. Chimney shafts widened as they rose; there were no hood mouldings to the square-headed windows, although the pointed window at the west end of the great hall did have one. The staircase was enclosed in a distinct tower within the volume of the courtyard. Pugin's rectangular-plan bay window made its first appearance here, as a north light at the end of the high table in the great hall. The

⁶³ The gatehouse at Clarendon Park, post-St Marie's Grange but pre-Myers, is built of Flemish bond.

building appears to be carved out of brick [fig. 51]. At the Nottingham clergy house, he returned to the idea of an arrangement of chimneystacks arching over a window first seen in the Deanery scheme of 1833, marrying it to a tripartite form seen, for example, at the short sides of the mediaeval barn at Glastonbury. The resulting chimney projection forms a gable; the plane is cut back to admit two ground-floor windows [fig. 119]. A further unconventional feature of this house is the pair of large mullioned windows in the assumed scullery at the north-west corner of the ground floor: the northern one of the two directly abuts the crosswall [fig. 120]. All windows had plain square-headed lights; there was no decorative carving beyond hood moulds with label stops on the east and west front doors, and a monogrammed cartouche commemorating R.W. Willson⁶⁴ on the chimneystack on the south side. Internally, there is only one ornamental fireplace, and no finished exposed timberwork in the ceilings except in the corridor leading to the sacristy. A view of the house from the south-east side of the church confirms that this sculpted form forms a coherent part of the compositional massing of the whole ensemble [fig. 121].⁶⁵ The convent, designed as the clergy house was reaching completion, was similarly plain and derived its external quality from the massing of brick forms [fig. 122]. Even at Rampisham, a comparatively expensive project, decoration is limited to the tracery of the stair window, the dropped hood, decorative panels and oratory window of the porch wing, and a further monogrammed cartouche on the southern chimney [fig. 123].

At Oswaldcroft, the range of decorative detail on the outside of the house was very limited, making the north elevation into an composition of orthogonal openings set into a flush wall determined by the plan and by the stair levels; external Gothic detailing is entirely limited to the porch, the square-headed, ogee tracery of the stair window, and the original dining room windows, which are depressed lancets under square heads and topped by hood moulds. It is again the modelling of the overall form of the house, rather than its decoration, which accounts for its appearance [fig. 103a].

⁶⁴ Or, conceivably, Wiseman, who was vicar apostolic of the central district at the time of the completion of St Barnabas.

⁶⁵ As an illustration of Pugin's awareness of these complex compositions of a church with auxiliary buildings, a letter to Shrewsbury refers to the new schools at Cheadle as forming 'a fine mass of buildings & group well with the church'. HLRO, PUG/3/1/2, 21.4.1848.

In only one late project, the presbytery at Fulham of 1847, did Pugin appear to attach more importance to decoration (in the form of comparatively rich tracery and internal joinery) than to originality of form; and it is interesting that this was the only residential project in which his client was a woman [fig. 124].

4.3.1.2 buttresses, jambs, and windows

Pugin's residential buildings did not require buttresses, and in executed buildings (although not in ideal schemes) he generally modelled the surface of a wall using the shafts of chimneys, in the manner that he had illustrated in *The true principles*.⁶⁶ Three built projects used buttresses to provide a visual separation between regular bays: these are Mount St Bernard's, St John's Hospital in Alton, and the novitiate extension to the Liverpool convent. The surviving drawings at Ratcliffe marked 'Calvary House' have these buttresses, where they are aligned with cross walls of partitions. In some other schemes, such as the larger rooms in the Magdalen College School projects, buttresses are shown which would probably relate to the construction of an open roof. Since there is no evidence that Pugin calculated loads, it can be reasonably assumed that he adopted buttresses in these situations because they accorded with mediaeval practice and emphasised the structural integrity of the building material.

At the Derby presbytery Pugin placed a buttress on the wall that faced the church, between the stair hall and library on the one side, and the parlour on the other [fig. 118].⁶⁷ At Wilburton New Manor House, but not apparently otherwise in an executed building, Pugin used buttresses to mark the demarcation between the principal and kitchen areas of the house from the garden elevation: this situation arose because uniquely amongst the pinwheel houses the kitchen windows share a principal garden

⁶⁶ Pugin 1841a (*True principles*), p 52.

⁶⁷ This buttress does not appear in any of his drawings for the house.

elevation with the dining room [fig. 125].⁶⁸ At the Terrace in Windermere he used buttresses to indicate party walls [fig. 126]; as at Wilburton, these continue outwards the line of a load-bearing wall within. At Wilburton the buttress is probably structurally redundant; but at Windermere it marks in each case a change in ground floor and chimney levels, and thus may have some constructional function.

Pugin did however use corner buttresses, in particular ones turned at 135° to the adjoining walls, to decorate the corners of several gatehouses or towers; these are discussed in section 6.1 below.

In respect of jambs, Pugin used few different types, and these are discussed in further detail in section 6.1 below. Many of his stone window surrounds were entirely flush with the wall: this is most strikingly the case in the early presbyteries at Keighley and Warwick Bridge, although this was perhaps experimental, as this pattern was not repeated in later buildings [fig. 127]. The most remarkable jamb detail was in the quadrangle of the Handsworth convent and at the Spetchley school designed at least a year later: the cill at the head of the timber windows was concealed by a course of chamfered brick headers, which cannot have themselves any structural value: they are presumably sitting over a hidden iron lintel. This type of lintel was described by Bartholomew's *Specifications* as a 'silly freak',⁶⁹ and blatantly departs from Pugin's aim of expressing structural forms externally. The detail was not unknown to late Georgian parsonage builders – for example at Nacton in Suffolk, by Whiting (1837) [fig. 128].⁷⁰

Pugin's window design was not consistent or marked by progressive development throughout his career – for example, the plane of the glass in relation to the front of the wall varied over time. He also varied the detailing of jambs throughout a single building: reconstruction plans of St Augustine's prepared by Donald Insall Associates Limited show that *every* ground-floor window (apart from the two forming a pair in

⁶⁸ He also used the device in his first Magdalen College School scheme of 1843.

⁶⁹ Bartholomew 1840, I-LXIII-§573.

⁷⁰ Referred to in section 3.2 above.

the dining room) is different from others, in respect of its jambs, its mullions, or both; and he also varied the detailing of windows around a continuous corridor or cloister, as was the case at the Liverpool orphanage. The detailing of the windows at the Chelsea schools is markedly different from that of the clergy house buildings at Southwark, which were simultaneously under construction, even accounting for the fact that two different contractors were involved [fig. 129]. At Alton Castle, Pugin mixed straight-headed, traceried windows with pointed ones; the latter are used (apart from in the chapel) for the corridor on the southern wing. Internally here, Pugin employed both joinery and stonework details not seen in other projects; and although there are drawings for several projects (including the Balliol College scheme of 1843) showing broad, depressed pointed windows, it was only here that he actually employed them, in the ground floor of the south elevation of the north-western block [fig. 130].

Nevertheless, certain characteristics emerge. He tended to use relatively small and few windows on the face of a building; on occasion this caused dismay amongst residents, and is discussed in the context of his professional relationships at section 5.3 below. Secondly, the head of his upper-floor windows did not project into the masonry triangle of the gable above, except in the case very small buildings, such as the gatehouse at Oswaldcroft, and the similar but unexecuted Mousehill cottage [fig. 131]. In this respect, his work is distinct from that of contemporary Tudor-Gothic architects, and by comparing the north and south bays of the grey-brick wing of the Ward House at Old Hall Green, one can see that this difference betrays the hand of two different architects [fig. 116c]. Thirdly, the free disposition of windows on the entrance elevations of the pinwheel houses, especially as Oswaldcroft and Wilburton, was remarkable, and had no parallel in contemporary or historic gothic architecture. At Oswaldcroft, even the small gatehouse has a remarkably asymmetrical front gable bay [fig 131a].

4.3.2 Roofs

As Thompson has observed, Pugin's roofs tended towards a continuous ridge.⁷¹ He achieved this on occasion by designing a large number of gables, that is, by breaking down the roof into a number of sections and thus allowing him more control over the height of the sections. This resulted on occasion in long valley gutters (at St Augustine's and Oswaldcroft in particular) but enabled him to make other distinct roof forms – kitchens, lanterns, chimneys – seem more prominent than they would have done against a background of different ridge heights.⁷² In this way he can be contrasted in two different ways with Tudor-Gothic architects: he neither shared the tendency of Blore to place as much of the bulk of the house, kitchens included, as possible under a single height, nor that of Picturesque architects to break down the main part of the house into different heights and volumes.

4.3.2.1 open roofs

Pugin used open timber roofs not only for great halls but also in corridors and cloisters; on occasion he used a sequence of different open roofs to give character or sequence to an internal route. His specifications require red pine for his domestic roofs; that for the clergy buildings at Southwark requires that the roof be framed 'with bolts and of wrought iron where required'. The rafters are invariably chamfered; and in most cases, there is an ornamental bracket attached to the base of the rafter and descending onto a corbelled timber projecting from the wallplate; in addition to its structural role, this bracket could be exploited in order to bear an internal ceiling. The wall behind was built up internally, disguising the wallplate level itself. [fig. 132a, b].⁷³ A variation occurs in the east side of the upper floor of the cloister at the Nottingham convent, where the intermediate bracket is reduced to a wedge [fig. 132c]. This contrasts strongly with the adjoining length of cloister to the south, 'Our Lady's Cloister', which was for contemplation rather than for access: it has a ceiled roof with an exposed timber frame, the section being a waggon type composed of five

⁷¹ Thompson 1971, p 206.

⁷² The valley gutter at St Augustine's supplied a water tank in the attic.

⁷³ This purpose can be understood by comparing Pugin's drawing of the proposed finished interior of St Augustine's Church in Ramsgate with the open roof as it actually is: the brackets have been left exposed.

sides of an octagon. At the Cheadle convent, the exposed roof of the cloister has small additional struts between the rafters and the brackets projecting from the wallplate [fig. 132a].

This type of differentiation between sections of corridor by means of differing roof or ceiling treatments, each expressed externally, is characteristic. At the entrance to the Alton Hospital, the first lobby has a flat ceiling; the cloister leading northwards to the chapel is a monopitch (lean-to), also expressed externally, terminating in a proscenium-type arch at the north-east corner of the cloister. The next section to the north, however, has a double-pitched truss with a high timber tie-beam; and the lobby at the end of this section, now under the gatehouse, is again flat but with exposed joists.

The chapel of the Birmingham Bishop's House had a trussed double-pitched roof internally, but externally was a monopitch: Pugin must have been required to avoid an eaves gutter along a party wall, but he did not wish to give that requirement expression internally [fig. 51d].

In some buildings, for example the convent at Cheadle, the treatment of the cloister roof joists provided the most significant decoration within the building.

4.3.2.2 flat ceilings

Rooms generally, however, had flat ceilings; some (of all periods) were subdivided with exposed timber ribs in a grid pattern, the primary members larger and set on corbels; he specified these ribs to be stained and varnished yellow pine.⁷⁴ He did not follow the Tudor-Gothic practice of decorating this ribbed ceiling with applied tracery patterns.⁷⁵ Pugin's rooms do not have plaster cornices.⁷⁶

⁷⁴ At Rampisham. Wilts & Swindon RO, D28/6/11.

⁷⁵ For example, Rickman in his west wing of Scarisbrick.

⁷⁶ A further indication that he was not involved in the detailed specification for the Lanteglos house. See also sub-section 5.1.4 below.

4.3.2.3 pitch and coverings

Pugin referred to the equilateral triangle as a representation of the Trinity as the second of the 'great doctrines' which are introduced in the opening chapter of *Contrasts*.⁷⁷ In practice, he did not always achieve this, and his gables were generally pitched at an angle less than 60°. They are, however, generally well over 45°, emphasising the verticality of his own buildings, itself the third 'great doctrine' [fig. 133].⁷⁸

Pugin's 'verticalising' of his own buildings, before and after construction, indicate his attempts at breaking away from the conventionally horizontal character of English Tudor Gothic: A perspective drawing of the Derby presbytery, prepared in 1837, shows that he had originally intended to decorate some of the windows on the gable facing across the church with square hood moulds, and he drew a bold horizontal string course between the two principal floors;⁷⁹ his subsequent drawing, prepared for publication before July 1840, alters the proportions of the windows and chimney to stress the verticality of the design, although the house itself might well by now have already existed; and in construction, he added the structurally redundant buttress. By contrast, he was obliged by local precedent to design low-pitched castellated gables in 1844 for the later Magdalen College schoolroom schemes [fig. 134a]. Although he then and subsequently protested vehemently,⁸⁰ on at least two further occasions he

⁷⁷ Pugin 1841b, (*Contrasts*, 2nd ed), p 3. The gable of the principal front of his recent presbytery at Uttoxeter can be measured as 51° from his drawings; that at Ramsgate is approximately 55°; but that at Rampisham, of 1846, is 60°.

⁷⁸ For which see also section 4.4 below.

⁷⁹ This is the drawing copied in the Conway Library of the Courtauld Institute, the origin of which is unknown. This early sketch must have served a contemporary artist who engraved the building and conventionalised its exterior into a more typically contemporary Tudor-Gothic design: by adding a firm horizontal string course between floors and hood moulds to the upper window, amongst other changes, Pugin's design was deprived of its austerity and verticality. The artist or publisher of this was 'Rock' of London; there is a copy in the Derby LHL (no cat. no).

⁸⁰ An undated letter to Bloxam, which probably relates to his 1848 proposals for Magdalen College School, reads 'I will prepare & send you another plan indeed I think I better send you 2 one with a lead

incorporated these into his own projects. The Hornby Castle scheme of 1847 shows a shallow castellated gable above the new chapel, [fig. 101]; and a gable of this type was realised over the southern oriel at Alton Castle, which also includes a canted string course with bosses, characteristic of historic Oxford collegiate work [fig 134b].⁸¹

Nearly all Pugin's roofs were covered in slate, specified by him at Southwark as 'Ladies slates 2 ½" Lap';⁸² at Rampisham he used 'blue tiles', and relegated old slates from the pre-existing house to the roof of the kitchen outhouse. At Oswaldcroft he used slates with the bottom edges trimmed at the corners at 45°, giving the effect of octagons; he also did this at cloister of St Oswald's convent, of which the same client was a benefactor [fig. 135]. The use of bargeboards at St Augustine's, and the bold mortise-and-tenon jointing of them at the eaves, is unique amongst Pugin's executed projects, with the exception only of those Pugin used when extending the Ward house at Old Hall Green [fig. 136; fig. 116c].⁸³

4.3.3 Inherent Colour

Pugin did not generally produce coloured drawings of the exterior of his domestic buildings; the known exceptions include watercolour sketches of St Marie's Grange,

Roof like those on the college & another with a high roof this latter will be cheaper and look better but not so characteristic of the period at which the college was erected.' MCO, MS 528 /164. This view was reiterated in MCO, MS 528/166, /168 and /170. One of Pugin's alternative schemes does have a gable of this type (R White 2001, # 609). The gable in the third scheme of 1844 is a compromise, neither low nor high (*ibid*, #605).

⁸¹ There is one below the shallow castellated gable at the west end of Magdalen College Chapel. The dropped hood mould at Alton Castle may be a recollection from a recent collegiate building, Salvin's gable and oriel at the Master's Lodge, Trinity College, Cambridge.

⁸² In the context of a possible substitution of his preferred 'ladies' for 'duchesses', Pugin explained that 'the smaller the slate the better the Roof will Look but I do not wish to insist on the point'. To William Dunn, 14.7.1843?: Belcher 2003, p 91.

⁸³ The unexecuted cottage design for Mousehill, of 1842, also has bargeboards, and with uncharacteristic waney edges to their soffites; it further has prominent mortise-and-tenon joints above the wallplates [fig. 131b]; LRO, filed with 720 KIR 136.

and the 1849 Royal Academy perspective of St Augustine's.⁸⁴ In both cases, the exterior colours are muted and homogenous. It is probable that he chose not to spend time on what would have been essentially drawings for display rather than production drawings, although his buildings were by nature limited in colour range because of the limited number of different materials used for the exterior, for In avoiding external timberwork or rendering, and by using slate roofing and local bricks, he reduced the opportunities for colour-making. He evidently did not believe that a building's skin should itself be decorative, beyond the markings with blue bricks in some of the houses, and some monogrammed cartouches; and decoration on the interior could be added once a sound exterior had been built.⁸⁵ St Augustine's again provides an exception which the architect is not known to have referred to: there are stripes of different colour brick along the south and west front; this raises the possibility that the consigned bricks appeared in three distinct shades, and that architect and contractor decided to use them rather than discard or mix them [fig. 137].⁸⁶ Variations in colour on the exterior of a building come about through variations in the material itself; possibly, he was not troubled by large patches of variation in colours where cheap bricks were used.⁸⁷

Internally, however, the use of colour was sophisticated even where it was simple. Chamfered timber ceiling joists along walkways and the exposed ribs of flat ceilings were varnished. He specified coloured paving tiles of different sorts: decorative encaustic tiles for hallways, and blue and red, or black and red, coloured tiles for service passages [fig 138a]; rooms were boarded. By these devices the routes through

⁸⁴ Both are in a private collection, and illustrated in Wedgwood 1995, p 44 pl 78, and p 59 pl 105. He evidently also produced a watercolour of Bilton Grange, for his Royal Academy submission, although apparently resentful of the time this would take: Wedgwood 1988, p 183. The Southwark drawing referred to there has a single colour wash. By contrast, he did in fact make finished coloured drawings of stained glass window designs – there are volumes of these in a private collection.

⁸⁵ A point he made in respect of church building, for example in a letter to Shrewsbury, 8.7.1843: Belcher 2003, p 90.

⁸⁶ Perhaps significantly, he did not indicate the stripes in the brickwork on the south front of St Augustine's in his Royal Academy perspective. There are also red stripes on the slightly later (c1845) cartoon room walls.

⁸⁷ Such as at Brewood and the Nottingham clergy house (sub-section 4.3.1.1 above).

the building were given special treatment; essentially, the coloured areas of decorated rooms were linked by the inherent colours, or monochrome patterns, of otherwise undecorated passages. The curious pattern of tiles, which produces an optical illusion of movement along diagonal lines, in the kitchen at St Augustine's and at Wilburton is evidently original [fig. 138b].

4.3.4 Detailing

Pugin's device of chamfering materials and of devising junctions between the chamfers, in accordance with the material used, provided him with a way of detailing even small or cheap buildings in such a way as to leave his mark. In so doing, he created an entirely comprehensive decorative system which was unique to him and which unites all his work.

He stated at the beginning of *The true principles* that '*all ornament should consist of the enrichment of the essential construction of the building*'.⁸⁸ Enrichment, according to his description, means cutting away from the body of the structural work. The chamfering of the arrises of structural timber, derived from the use of the mediaeval (and later) adze for structural timbers, is the cheapest way of achieving an ornamental result in accordance with this principle; it does not require any lengthily acquired expertise; furthermore, he exposed the grain of the timber by avoiding paint.⁸⁹ He used chamfering patterns from the first, at St Marie's Grange: the major timber ceiling ribs are chamfered, and in one case, the exposed angle is further moulded with ogees; window embrasures are chamfered, and although it is difficult to gauge which are primary, some stone door stops may also have been [fig. 139]. Chamfering provided the system of decoration for every building that followed. The chamfering of the frames of timber windows first proposed for the third lodge scheme at Scarisbrick was first realised in the Handsworth convent. They have deeply chamfered edges along each of the external sides of the frame, and the chamfer is scooped upwards about half an inch before the joint: this produces a scallop shape [fig. 128a]. The same scooped chamfer appears at Handsworth on the structural members of timber doors, on

⁸⁸ Pugin 1841a (*True principles*), p 1.

⁸⁹ As his friend Etty noted in 1845: see Belcher 2003, p 368 n 5.

banisters, the edges of fireplace surrounds and on the various members of the open roofs. Stone door embrasures are chamfered, the cut arris terminating towards the foot not in a scoop but in a pyramidal projection that reconciles the splay to the orthogonal plan of the base of the jamb [fig. 140]. Henceforward, these chamfers appear on every Pugin building. A more sophisticated pattern appears on some stone pillars, such as those on the east garden terrace at Bilton Grange: the square pillars terminate in an octagon, which is itself then chamfered along its horizontal arrises, creating a form that appears to be spiralling out of another, especially in the case of the major pillar at the southern end of the terrace, which has two further pyramidal transitions, each at a different level, below it [fig. 141].⁹⁰ The first surviving project which included a completely comprehensive set of matching details in Pugin's final chosen form was St Augustine's. Powell's comment that 'He never repeated himself except in some favourite mouldings and tracery' must surely apply to more consciously decorative detailing only.⁹¹

The second characteristic and decorative feature of Pugin's detailing is the 1/4" beading used to mask the junction between a door frame and an adjoining wall [fig. 142]. There are examples at St Marie's Grange, but it cannot be ascertained whether they formed part of the original building campaign. There are similar examples in the original Potter building at St Mary's College, Oscott,⁹² and it may be assumed that these were part of Potter's work, and that Pugin had seen them there on or soon after his first visit in March 1837. Following various experiments, he eventually used this for all but the grandest of reception rooms, such as those for example at Bilton Grange, where he used a complex Houses of Parliament-type architrave set; it is notable that when the bead detail was copied by other architects, such as by Fowler at his parsonage in Bovey Tracey, and by J.A. Hansom for the presbytery of St George's in York, as late as 1850 and 1856 respectively, it was relegated to service rooms in the kitchen wing or attic, and the major rooms had more conventional, broader,

⁹⁰ These piers are different from those visible in the perspective attached to the sales particulars of 1860, but on stylistic grounds they seem most probably to be Pugin's.

⁹¹ Wedgwood 1988, p 182.

⁹² My site visit, 14.4.2002. There are also other joinery details in this building that Pugin adopted experimentally, for example the half-hexagonal architraves in the Cheadle and Whitwick presbyteries.

architraves. The beading is noticeably cruder when carried out by contractors other than by Myers – as was the case at the Chelsea convent [fig. 143], for example.

It is in contrast to the discipline of this consistent vocabulary of form that the series of door surrounds at St John's Hospital and Alton Castle are all the more surprising. Doorways from the eastern, central, wing of the hospital cloister have asymmetrical stone surrounds; in the case of a pair of doors either side of a cross-archway across the corridor, the stone door jamb breaks away from the arch and continues across the wall to meet the arch [fig. 144a]. In other doors, for example the refectory, the stone is asymmetrical: on the left-hand side the stone follows the arched moulding and jamb down to the ground in a straight line; on the right, it projects upwards and sideways to give the effect of half a spandrel, and quoins, but not all the way down to the floor. Something similar occurs at Alton Castle nearby, where doors leading onto the north-western stairwell have irregular stone surrounds [fig. 144b]. In the castle, there are several rooms in which stone corbelling or archways break through the plaster of a room: this occurs, for example, in an upper bedroom on the north-west wing, where there is a series of three projecting corbels linked with arches supporting the increased girth of a chimney stack above [fig. 145], and also in one of the principal rooms on the first floor of the south wing, where a substantial stone pointed arch breaks through the wall above a small entrance door.⁹³ These last two examples are, more blatantly than the door surrounds, expressions of the construction of the walls. The fireplace surrounds at the Windermere terrace houses likewise have irregular stonework, quite out of character for the small scale of the rooms [fig. 146].⁹⁴ This type of work, which was to some extent echoed by later 'muscular' Victorian architects, was not explained or referred to by Pugin in any known correspondence.

4.4 *Summary: Pugin's Characteristics*

⁹³ Note also Catlin 1984.

⁹⁴ My site visit, 8.4.2003.

With the exception only of the smallest houses, Pugin's plans are entirely different from the conventional planning described in Chapter 3 above. They are the only aspect of his residential architecture that undergoes continuous development throughout the course of his career. He learned early on that using a corridor as a basis for a plan carries with it certain distinctive qualities: the view at the termination of the corridor, the treatment of the junctions between corridors, the placing of staircases at interstices between corridors, and the potential for enhancing the ritual quality of life, especially ecclesiastical life, inherent in the use of long routes between rooms are all increasingly developed in his plans, to the extent that a relatively small residential building, the convent at Cheadle, is primarily planned along a single corridor, and the rooms themselves are, as architectural elements, subsidiary to it. It is evident here, as at the simpler Nottingham convent scheme, that Pugin designed his corridor schemes in order to *increase* the amount of circulation space, not to minimise it.

Fergusson's comment that Pugin's architecture was derived from theatrical effects is certainly born out to the extent that the corridors testify to a competence in making a grand vista with modest means,⁹⁵ but fail to do justice to the fact that Pugin had broken out of what were very clear conventions in residential layouts. Furthermore, the different treatments of open roofs in these cloisters provided Pugin with a cheap and effective form of decoration that entirely met the requirements of his 'principles'.

By contrast, the pinwheel houses have little or no corridor in their public areas. The plan allowed Pugin to create distinctive wings out of each separate room, in accordance with demand that 'An architect should exhibit his skill by turning the difficulties which occur in raising an elevation from *a convenient plan* into so many *picturesque beauties*'.⁹⁶ It is precisely this point that appears to contain the solution to the question as to why Pugin designed his buildings in the way that he did. His buildings are representative of their constructional method, in the sense that every part distinctly describes the way in which it held together.⁹⁷ By arranging rooms in

⁹⁵ Fergusson 1862, pp 318-9 and note. Fergusson does not specifically refer to domestic architecture.

⁹⁶ Pugin 1841a (*True principles*), p 72.

⁹⁷ This is what Crook glosses as 'ornament expressing structure', in Crook 2003, p 37.

pinwheel fashion, each part requires a separate roof, which stresses the individuality of that room, or pair of rooms, from the outside; this is further emphasised by allowing each pinwheel room to break forward from the plan of the wall of the room that is adjacent to it, as he wished he had done at Ramsgate; on the other hand, by maintaining a continuous roof height his work is distinct from that of Picturesque architects seeking to differentiate different rooms for visual pleasure. By orienting the main rooms in different directions, the house explicitly relates to the different position of the sun during the day. Elsewhere, by weaving corridors around rooms, the shape of that room and its construction become apparent. By designing a disposition of windows on an entrance front that relates to the organisation inside, for example by giving unexpected prominence to the service stairs at Oswaldcroft and Wilburton, it is possible to demonstrate externally the internal arrangements, and also to create a type of façade that is the product of the planning requirements of its era quite irrespective of historical precedent. By preferring an overhanging eave to a parapet, the method of roofing is exposed. By creating decoration by cutting from materials, rather than by gluing or joining them, the physical nature of that material is revealed. In this last respect, at least, Pugin's writings and practice are united, and it is possibly here that his 'principles' met their most receptive audience: Donaldson wrote in 1842 of the present day that 'Perhaps there was never a period in this Country when construction was generally better understood',⁹⁸ and in common with other commentators, he drew attention to the newly widespread competence amongst architects in the design of roofs:⁹⁹ it seems plausible in that context that Pugin's narrative plans, and his consistency in the use of materials, appealed to architects who had themselves been persuaded on the importance of an understanding of the physical characteristics of a building.

Further investigation as to Pugin's motives in his designs forms the basis of Chapter 8 below.

⁹⁸ Donaldson 1842, p 33.

⁹⁹ *I.e.*, such as Bartholomew 1840, I-LVIII, quoted in sub-section 2.2.2 above.

4.5 *Misattributions*

Pugin never designed any residential buildings in anything other than a Gothic or Jacobean-vernacular style;¹⁰⁰ he designed no sash windows, no blind windows, no cement pattern-making, no rendered window surrounds; and only the Lanteglos rectory, executed without his supervision, has conventional classical-Georgian decorative joinery internally, for example architraves. Generally, an attributed building that is inconsistent in its use or treatment of detailing or building materials is likely to be a misattribution.¹⁰¹

On these grounds alone it is possible to discount dubious attributions, including Castle Rock, near Mount St Bernard's in Leicestershire, and Langley Hall, Kirk Langley, which are both given as possible attributions in the *PAG*.¹⁰² The former certainly has some Puginesque elements externally, and appears to have been inspired by Pugin's work at Mount St Bernard's, but has decorative work similar to that on the south gatehouse there, which is dated 1855. Both the combination of brick voussoirs with a rubble stone wall, and the insertion of a window through an external chimney piece are contrary to Pugin's practice; at most, the building may have been based on a sketch that Pugin made.¹⁰³ The latter building was built from 1833 onwards, before

¹⁰⁰ The porch at West Cliff Lodge, Ramsgate, erected in special personal circumstances, might be considered to be the only exception; see Appendix A, 1847.

¹⁰¹ The recent edition of *PAG Bucks* corrects at p 468 its earlier misattribution of the school and convent house at Marlow to Pugin: its mixture of walling materials betrays the hand of EW Pugin.

¹⁰² *PAG Leics* p 128; *PAG Derbys*, p 261.

¹⁰³ My site visit, 1.5.2002.

Pugin's working career began, and is a conventional symmetrical central-corridor type Tudor Gothic house with sash windows and roman cement quoins.¹⁰⁴

Stanton's monograph made several false attributions. The presbytery at Kenilworth was designed by Gilbert Blount, and its Puginesque exterior hides a conventional central-corridor plan;¹⁰⁵ for that at Dudley, see Appendix A, 1838, below. Stanton also attributed the presbytery at Banbury to Pugin.¹⁰⁶ Built in the late 1830s, alongside Derick and Hickman's church, the building shares no plan characteristics with Pugin's near contemporary presbyteries at Keighley and Warwick Bridge, and includes features such as broad depressed windows with crude, flat tracery and low roof pitches. Some of the fitting out of the house is Puginesque - there are round-beaded architraves - and it seems likely that Pugin may have interfered towards the completion of the project. He may, for example, have counselled the addition of the entrance porch and corridor, which convert a standard central-corridor plan into a cross-corridor plan, and which also make the front door of the house visible from the main entrance to the church, both typically Puginian devices.¹⁰⁷

There is considerable anecdotal attribution to Pugin. A recent local guide to Reading attributes the now-demolished Caversham Court to him; but the building was cement-rendered, and characteristic of Tudor Gothic in its detailing.¹⁰⁸ Similarly, Gold's *Biographical dictionary of architects at Reading* lists a half-timbered *cottage ornée* at 1, St Peter's Hill, behind the site of Caversham Court, as being Pugin's work in 1840: it also has a mixture of external materials, and does not resemble Pugin's earlier, Frenchifying, half-timbered designs for lodges at Scarisbrick.¹⁰⁹ Misattributions to Pugin of work by Hansoms are commonplace, for example in the case of the novitiate

¹⁰⁴ Craven & Stanley 2001, p 126; my site visit, 12.5.2002.

¹⁰⁵ Stanton 1971 p 201; BAA, P/182.

¹⁰⁶ Stanton 1971, p 198; the attribution is echoed in Belcher 2001, p 267 n 1.

¹⁰⁷ My site visit, 15.4.2003.

¹⁰⁸ H Hill 2001, p 190.

¹⁰⁹ Gold 1999, p 144; my site visit, 27.5.2002. The author also attributes 'restoration' work at Caversham Court to Pugin.

building at Dunchurch, Rugby (in Thakray and Thakray)¹¹⁰ and the now-demolished convent of St Vincent de Paul in Derby, (by Craven).¹¹¹ The case of the pre-existing house at Old Hall Green is discussed above at sub-section 4.3.1.1. and also in Appendix A, *1846*, below.

¹¹⁰ Thakray & Thakray 1987, pp 20-1.

¹¹¹ Craven 1989, fig. 40. Record of Hansom's involvement there is in the archives of the Holy Child Convent in Mayfield.

5 Pugin's Professional Method

'We build too Quick in general.'¹

5.1 Clients

Out of the approximately 83 domestic and residential schemes listed in Appendix A below, only 21 were designed for clients who were themselves to be a resident or occasional resident of the building.² Of the total of 62 executed schemes, only 14 were designed for the exclusive use of those that paid for them: these include Pugin's own two houses, and a number of minor works, such as the alterations to 10, Cheyne Walk; St John's in Handsworth for Hardman; the service wings at Grace Dieu and Albury; and the porch at West Lodge, Ramsgate. The only projects designed and built, or substantially rebuilt, for the residential use of those who paid for them were Scarisbrick Hall, Bilton Grange, the Lanteglos and Rampisham rectories, Oswaldcroft, the Ward house at Old Hall Green, and Wilburton New Manor House. Pugin used Bloxam as intermediary when corresponding with Bird, at Lanteglos, who was Bloxam's brother-in-law: Bloxam appears to have offered to pay Pugin's fee for the work.³ In only six out of the 83 projects, therefore, did Pugin maintain a direct professional relationship between architect and user-client for the design of a new or substantially new building; and from these six projects, Charles Scarisbrick at the start of Pugin's career, and Lady Pell at Wilburton at the end of it, are the only clients who

¹ Pugin to Shrewsbury, 29.9.1841: Belcher 2000, p 276.

² 'Approximately', because 83 includes ideal schemes, and doubtful but possible attributions (such as the Brewood schoolmaster's house) and partial or remodelling schemes, such as the subsequent additions at the various convents. I have included the 'Hall of John Halle' and the Magdalen College gateway, since these were part of a residential or domestic scheme.

³ This is implied in Pugin to Bloxam c18.10.1845: Belcher 2003, p 459.

did not directly emerge through Pugin's previously established Catholic and Anglo-Catholic circles.⁴

Nearly all his projects were therefore commissioned or paid for by fund-raisers or private benefactors for the use of other people. From within this body of clients, two distinct Roman Catholic circles can be identified: Shrewsbury, Phillipps and Hardman in the Midlands; and London clerics including Griffiths and Wiseman (as fund-raisers rather than funders), and the St Edmund's College circle, in the South.⁵ Walsh in Birmingham, for example, was in communication with T. J. Brown at Downside, and mentions Pugin in a favourable context not long before Brown turned to Pugin with a commission for his abbey.⁶ In all instances where Pugin was designing for a new institution, his appointment seems to have been determined by, and at the pleasure of, the primary mover or benefactor.⁷ Shrewsbury made it a condition of giving funding to a building project that Pugin should be the architect, and in the case of buildings erected at his expense, or partial expense, Pugin reported through private correspondence on progress of work directly to him.⁸ In for example the case of the Nottingham buildings, Pugin is not known to have corresponded on the subject directly with Sibthorp, who was also a major contributor. In all the projects referred to in Appendix A below, he is known to have been party to a legally binding contractual

⁴ Hibbert (Bilton) was related by marriage to the Shrewsburys; Sharples (Oswaldcroft) was a major figure amongst Liverpool Catholics; Rooke (Rampisham) came to Pugin from Bloxam, as did Ward. Scarisbrick's connection to Pugin through the European ecclesiastical antiques trade is described in for example Tracy 2001, pp 59-60. Pell's son Albert, who was originally intended to live in the new house, had been a near contemporary of leading Camdenians at Trinity College, Cambridge, matriculating in 1839 – one year after Webb, and whilst JS Neale was a Scholar at the College. This may account for the connection, although Pell was not a member of the Cambridge Camden or Ecclesiological societies. See Venn 1953, p 79.

⁵ Griffiths himself had a long connection with St Edmund's College, having been both student (from 1805) and President (1818-33).

⁶ Walsh writes that he is 'going to commence a noble church by Pugin', 4.3.1839. Downside Abbey Archives, K185.

⁷ There is no written evidence that anything else was the case.

⁸ See also O'Donnell 2002, p 13.

obligation – in other words, acted himself as contractor – in only one instance.⁹ In accordance with standard practice, he did not himself, for example, sign the contract drawings of the Bishop's House in Birmingham: these were signed by Myers & Wilson, the contractors, but not by the architect.¹⁰

5.1.1 Relations with Clients

The relations between Pugin and his domestic and residential clients can be remarked on in certain respects. Most significantly in terms of the scope of his work, Pugin took on work which he did not find congenial, and was persuaded to adapt his design methods for clients he respected or whose patronage he wanted to pursue. At Oxford, he designed a series of low-roofed, parapetted schoolrooms for Magdalen College School because the college insisted on this characteristic feature of its historic buildings. At Oxenford, he designed a spring house, in effect a gothick folly, at Middleton's insistence.¹¹ He drew the line, however, at a request from Bloxam's brother regarding a possible commission for a new house: 'I cannot bring myself to touch the debased style of James [I]. beg of your brother and do something like the sketch I send you. *Simple pointed* – severe & yet good...if however he still adhere to the base period I really cant work on it, & I am sure you will not blame me.'¹²

Contemporary reports between clients on Pugin's professional reputation can be found. It is remarkable how rapidly he established himself in the eye of the public, on the strength of very little built work: as early as 1837, Wiseman wrote in the *Dublin Review* that 'Mr Pugin is an architect of acknowledged merit, and of established

⁹ I exclude from this category the various contracts and contractual specifications, for example that at Wilburton referred to below, which named Pugin as architect or otherwise responsible for the quality of the works.

¹⁰ BAA, APD/P1/7-11. George Myers was in partnership with Richard Wilson from at least 1831 until June 1844.

¹¹ See Pugin's letter to Middleton, 5.7.1842, in Belcher 2001, p 362, and n 3, *ibid*.

¹² 11.11.1845: Belcher 2003, p 477. See sub-section 6.1.1.3 below for Pugin's attitude to Jacobean architecture.

reputation'.¹³ Some clients remained loyal perhaps because of his personality or reputation: the various building failures at Lincoln did not, apparently, adversely affect relations between Pugin and Sibthorp.¹⁴ Sibthorp later turned to his architect again when funds had been found for a chapel; Pugin declined the invitation; following the dispute between Sibthorp and Myers, he wrote that he did not want to work with a 'strange builder'.¹⁵ Sibthorp's biographer found the relationship between Pugin and Sibthorp a well-matched one: the former was 'rather difficult to work with', and the latter 'sorely tried artists and architects, by his taste for eclectic tastes in colour, etc.'¹⁶ Sibthorp himself declared in 1849 that 'I find *no one* to compare with Pugin in my judgment', and that 'I like Pugin much, with all his peculiarities'.¹⁷ Both Shrewsbury and Sharples remained loyal clients until the end.¹⁸

Frederick Oakeley, responding to an invitation from the Master of Balliol in February 1843 to give his view on Pugin's professional abilities, replied

I have an opportunity of getting at Lord S[hrewsbury]'s opinion of his practical abilities and skill. I never heard any doubt expressed upon this point; but, as you say, it does not necessarily follow that his practical powers are equal to his genius and theoretical knowledge. Of his great attention to his work there seems to be no doubt; he gives himself, I understand, wholly to what he is about; and often surprises the workmen by

¹³ 'Pugin on Ancient and Modern Ecclesiastical Architecture' [a review of *Contrasts*], *Dublin review*, vol iii, October 1837, p 360. The attribution to Wiseman is from Belcher 1987, D32 pp 169-70.

¹⁴ See section 5.4 below.

¹⁵ MCO, MS 528/153, dated 'Xmas Eve' (probably 1849). The chapel was designed by Butterfield.

¹⁶ Fowler 1880, p 88 and n 1.

¹⁷ *Ibid* 1880, p 108; extracts from letters of 16.10.1849 and 3.11.1849 respectively. Pugin wrote in 1841 that he found Sibthorp 'a very edyfing man' (in a letter to Shrewsbury, 24.12.1841: Belcher 2001, p 308); and at Sibthorp's last encounter with Pugin in 1850, the former found the latter 'as usual, very agreeable': Fowler 1880, p 111.

¹⁸ Letters from the Franklin collection, copied at the HLRO, make this clear: see for example letters from Shrewsbury to Pugin (HLRO, PUG/3/2/106, 28.11.1850; PUG/3/2/112, 1.3.52); and Pugin's letter to his wife Jane about Sharples (HLRO, PUG/3/6/257; undated).

a sudden appearance among them when they are supposing that he is 100 miles off.¹⁹

Shrewsbury's comments, which Oakeley promised in this letter, have not been recorded, but Pugin soon afterwards wrote to Michael Forristall at St George's Fields with an endorsement of himself in a similar vein:

I can assure you that the report about my being indifferent to any building but a church is entirely without foundation & like many other lies about me is put forth by interested persons for private ends. I enter into any building which I undertake with the greatest interest in fact I feel bound by conscience to do so independent of other inducements.²⁰

Others reported on him less favourably. His associate at Downside Abbey, Brown, received a letter of caution from Edward Doughty in 1839:

I am glad that you have delayed building and will take the liberty of cautioning you respecting Mr Pugin. I have no doubt that he would be happy to increase his fame at the expense of your pocket, he never was famed for Economy and I would advise you in the first place to double his Estimate & then calculate how much more you can afford to spend without *inconvenience* to yourselves, but this is only my private opinion pray keep it to yourself and not as you make think proper.²¹

Rosmini, at Ratcliffe, was a tiresome client who eventually abandoned Pugin for Charles Hansom.²² A 'desperate row' blew up with the nuns at Hammersmith, who threatened to employ another architect, but the storm apparently blew over.²³ Pugin fell out with Ward not because of any defect in the house he designed for him but on

¹⁹ Balliol College Oxford archives, D.21.50B, dated by writer 27.2.1843.

²⁰ 27.5.1843: Belcher 2003, p 66.

²¹ Downside Abbey archives, K227.

²² Leetham 1950, pp 12, 17-8.

²³ HLRO, PUG/3/6/258, not dated.

the subject of rood screens;²⁴ on the other hand, his professional relationship with Hibbert at Bilton had a particularly catastrophic ending.²⁵

5.1.2 Fees

Pugin's fees for designing buildings are indicated in his correspondence:²⁶ he twice offered his services for the rectory at Lanteglos at 2½ per cent of the estimated building cost of £1,500;²⁷ he eventually rounded this down by £1 10s to £36, having discovered that a strange builder would be engaged, and that he would have no further involvement after delivering his drawings.²⁸ He thus preferred on this occasion to give up control over a project to charging a higher fee, ensuring the upholding of his principles and his reputation: he had no clerk, and the travelling time would have been considerable. He proposed to charge Scarisbrick 5 per cent for superintendence, in addition to the 2½ per cent charge for supplying design drawings, excluding travelling expenses.²⁹ He charged five guineas, later reduced to five pounds, for the design of a schoolroom alone for Magdalen College School.³⁰ A letter from Ullathorne to Heptonstall preserved at Downside Abbey similarly refers to Pugin's fee for working

²⁴ Pugin wrote to Ward in October 1848 that 'I can only say that the less we have to do with each other in future the better, for I must plainly tell you that I consider you a greater enemy to the true religion than the most rabid Exeter Hall fanatic'. W Ward 1889, p 155.

²⁵ The denouement, brought about equally by the professional demands Hibbert made on Pugin, but also by the client's vulgarity, is best described in a letter from Pugin to Hibbert of 21.1.1852, reproduced in Stanton 1950, at pp 469-70.

²⁶ The records of fees in the 'Diary' do not distinguish between architectural and other works; for example, for Sharples at Oswaldcroft he was also engaged in extensive interior design work.

²⁷ Pugin to Bloxam, late 11.1845: Belcher 2003, pp 481-2; MCO, MS 528/53 (not dated)

²⁸ Pugin to Bloxam: MCO, MS 528/65, not dated. This may even have been on the basis of a more expensive house: 7.12.1845, Belcher 2003, pp 482-3, refers to a cost of £1700 – £1900.

²⁹ This was in connection with Scarisbrick's proposed convent, in a letter of 11.5.1845?: Belcher 2003, p 389. Pugin referred to this here as the conventional payment due to an architect for these services.

³⁰ MCO, MS 528/166, not dated; and MS 528/165, 14.2.1849, respectively.

drawings for 'a church and residence' as being 2½ per cent.³¹ These fees are less than his charge for the design of a church, which Pugin quotes as 5 per cent of the cost of the building, and expenses, 'as are usually paid to all architects'.³² Rooke, at Rampisham, recorded that he paid his architect £102 8s in connection with the rectory.³³ The cost of the house was £1,734, and since the fee amounts to nearly 6 per cent, the latter must be assumed to include Pugin's travelling costs, which could be substantial: it is, however, less than the 7½ per cent (excluding travelling expenses) he had earlier quoted Scarisbrick, which implies that his fees were higher where Myers was not to be contractor for the work.³⁴ In a letter to Champernowne containing his fee note for the design of a chimney at Dartington, he gives his travelling expenses for a return journey at £9 17s (noting that a single journey from London to Exeter cost five pounds) and his daily attendance charge as three guineas a day.³⁵ In certain projects, for example the design of Mount St Bernard's, he gave his professional services, including expenses, free of charge;³⁶ in the case of the Magdalen College School designs, he accepted a 'kind gratuity' from the President.³⁷ There is no evidence in Pugin's correspondence that his initial estimates for buildings (which were prepared together with Myers) were consistently inaccurate or unrealistically small.

5.1.3 Competitions

Pugin did not participate in competitions for any of his domestic or residential commissions. He wrote to Bloxam, in an ambiguous sentence that might refer to the

³¹ Downside Abbey archives, L396, dated 16.6.1845, and in connection with Leigh's building plans at Woodchester.

³² Pugin to Riddell, 2.1.1841: Belcher 2001, p 185.

³³ Rampisham parish record.

³⁴ In a letter of 11.5.1845?: Belcher 2003, pp 388-9.

³⁵ Devon CRO, Z15/37/15/1.

³⁶ Purcell 1900, vol i p 78, quoting Phillipps' letter to his father dated 2.10.1839; Palmer [?] 1852 p 282.

³⁷ 24.4 1844?: Belcher 2003, p 283.

possibility of holding a competition either for the Magdalen College School buildings, or alternatively, for the new buildings at Balliol College, that 'I would not enter into anything like a competition on any consideration for obvious reasons'.³⁸ These reasons might not only have been his previous unhappy experience in the St George's, Southwark, competition, or his notoriety amongst the protagonists of religious debate in Oxford, but purely professional. Such objections had recently been defined at length in Bartholomew's *Specifications*: the author had written that 'modern competitions end in a brawl or disgusting quarrel'; competition entry proposals were designed for visual effect amongst lay judges; as such they were inconsistent with the professional aims of the architect, which were 'to produce the greatest convenience, strength, duration and beauty, out of funds which are entrusted to his care'.³⁹ Pugin's horror of any association with competitions was such that he did not want as much as to be *thought of* as having participated in one: 'it lowers me completely'.⁴⁰ This suggests that it was not only for want of a clerk that he avoided them.

Shrewsbury told a correspondent, in connection with an ecclesiastical project, that Pugin 'would be ready to lay his plans before the Committee for approbation without any remuneration & if adopted, to undertake the Superintendence of the Building for a very small charge – perhaps for 2 or 3 per cent, instead of five, the usual charge'. If Shrewsbury was representing him correctly, Pugin was evidently sometimes prepared to compete commercially, even if not artistically.⁴¹

³⁸ 21.11.1843: Belcher 2003, p 134.

³⁹ Bartholomew 1840, I-XVIII-§52 and I-XIX-§72 respectively; there is a detailed description of the failings of a modern limited competition at Part 1-XVIII-§46-71; he summarises: 'In fact, it may be taken as a rule, with very few exceptions, *that architectural competition, produces the worst design, to be executed in the worst manner, of the worst materials*'. *Ibid*, 1-XVIII-§59.

⁴⁰ 24.11.1844?, Belcher 2003, pp 283-4, which refers to the competition for Magdalen College School.

⁴¹ The correspondent was probably Phillipps, and was regarding a proposed competition for a St Mary's Chapel, Manchester, possibly that eventually erected by Weightman and Hadfield in Mulberry St in 1848.

5.1.4 Architectural and social hierarchies

Perhaps because his work largely predates George Robert's anonymous publication *Speculum Episcopi* of 1848,⁴² Pugin made no special reference to the architectural hierarchies implicit in the design of the religious houses and institutions that made up the great bulk of his work. Indeed, he made no formal statement of his attitude towards social hierarchy of any kind, or of the way this might take architectural form, beyond general comment such as the description in *True principles* of the duties of hospitality of the 'ancient gentry'.⁴³ He illustrated this description with an etching of a mansion house aligned with a church, and with a gatehouse building at the front of the house: these provide a clear hierarchy between the three building types.⁴⁴

In practice, he enjoyed few opportunities to demonstrate how his own buildings fitted into a coherent social and architectural hierarchy, and this in itself may account for his silence on the subject; in any case, the contrast between the little he wrote about domestic architecture and his great attention to ecclesiastical architecture indicates the subservient role of the former in respect of the latter. At neither Scarisbrick nor Bilton is there any sequence of detached outbuildings, designed by Pugin himself, which might throw light on how he saw his buildings reflecting social hierarchy in terms of their layout. At Alton there is only the simple gesture of the separation of the Castle, which may have been intended as a residence of the Shrewsbury family, from the complex of hospital, school, presbytery and schoolmasters' houses on the other side of the ravine, and the social status of all these latter buildings was approximately equal. As described at sub-sections 4.2.1 and 4.2.3 above, he contrived to position the entrance doors of churches and presbyteries so that their entrances were visible together, the presbytery always taking a subservient role. This provides a contrast with the often imposing character of a contemporary Anglican parsonage, although it should be added that the sites for these were not determined by their architects but by

⁴² See sub-section 8.2.1 below.

⁴³ Pugin 1841a (*True principles*), p 61.

⁴⁴ *Ibid*, p 60.

the location of glebe land, and Pugin's two large rectories, at Rampisham and Lanteglos, were in any case out of sight from their attached churches.⁴⁵

Pugin created no special relationship between the use of materials in his houses and their status beyond the fact that he used stone rather than brick where he could afford to, which was usually, but not always, the case in larger buildings: Scarisbrick is faced with stone, but Bilton not. The smaller buildings as well as the Castle at Alton are faced in ashlar; the presbytery and the convent at Cheadle are both brick. The transition from stone to brick marks out the subservient character of the Nottingham clergy house from the attached church of St Barnabas, but there is no reason to suppose that Pugin would not have preferred stone for the house too, had it been financially possible. Like most of Pugin's residential architecture, all these smaller buildings were built by a benefactor for the use of others, as described in further detail at section 5.1 above: this fact gives these buildings an unusual social status when compared to the residential architecture of contemporary architects in general, and in itself makes comparison at this level problematic. The fact that he designed half-timbered buildings for gatehouses and not for larger houses – unlike later Gothic Revival architects – may on the one hand indicate that he saw timber work as being inappropriate for higher-status work, but is just as likely to show that he believed it to be an impractical material for a modern dwelling.⁴⁶ In stylistic terms, Pugin was not consistent in his application of structural decoration: the plain and largely unornamented Bishop's House in Birmingham contrasts with the delicately decorated tracery of the small Fulham presbytery. Although in general he made little use of pointed windows in his executed domestic architecture, it can be noted that he did use them for presbyteries: at first in many of the windows at Keighley, Warwick Bridge and Uttoxeter, and later more sparingly, such as at Brewood. At Rampisham the single pointed window designates an oratory. However he also designed a pointed stair window for Ward, for his house at St Edmund's College.

⁴⁵ At Lanteglos the site is on the other side of the road from the east end of the church, but the house is situated further back, so as to be located on a slight eminence.

⁴⁶ See Appendix A, 1837, below in relation to the Scarisbrick lodge designs.

In general, Pugin used different types of decoration to express a route through a building: a change in the detailing of window embrasures or roof joists is an indication of movement from place to place, and not of the particular social prestige of a building or function. This is most blatantly illustrated in the northern entrance fronts of Oswaldcroft and Wilburton New Manor House, where the wall is broken with large and irregular windows indicating the position of the major and minor staircases. In this respect, therefore, Pugin's architecture is distinct from that of conventional contemporary attitudes to the propriety or status of a residential building; and it does not imitate any historical convention. The fact that he usually deployed the same type of unornamented joinery for rooms of all types within a house is discussed at sub-sections 4.3.4 above and 8.2.1 below. He further departed from conventional practice in the design of higher-status rooms by avoiding plaster cornices. He did, however, vary the design of fireplaces according to the status of a room. Drawings in the 'Myers Family Album' show that he invested considerable time in the design of ornamental fireplaces for the principal rooms, but those in the upper storeys of all residential buildings are invariably limited to a selection from a very small number of examples that he repeatedly used.⁴⁷

5.2 *Architect and Master Builder*

Pugin's short working career coincides with the period in which contracting in gross was increasingly preferred to contracting in measure. He described himself as an architect, and also by the archaism *coementarius* (on the drawings for the 1839 Downside scheme); never as a 'surveyor', or, in spite of being an experienced joiner himself in his youth, as a craftsman of any description.

As such, he is representative of a new type of architect, detached from the financial affairs of builders, which emerged simultaneously with the dominance of contracting

⁴⁷ The fireplaces for Oswaldcroft appear in the 'Myers Family Album' at p 111.

in gross.⁴⁸ The two phenomena are combined, for contracting in gross freed the architect from the responsibility of measuring executed work with the aid of published tables, an activity which was open to abuse, inaccuracy, and disputes about the quality of work, and which required considerable manpower.⁴⁹ By the beginning of the nineteenth century, the alternative was for the architect to provide one or more contractors with detailed measured drawings and specifications from which a price could be agreed in advance of the contract being signed. The *Fourth report of the Commissioners of Military Enquiry of 1806-7*, which was concerned with public expenditure, had been satisfied of the advantages to the public of such a system;⁵⁰ John Nash's Buckingham Palace *débâcle* highlighted the dangers of accelerating costs when prices and quantities are not agreed in advance; and, in order to protect the architect from suspicion of acting in a contractor's interests against those of his own client, members of the Institute of British Architects were from 1834 forbidden to 'carry out any measuring except on work they themselves were superintending'.⁵¹

M.H. Port has summarised: 'if, as [E.W.] 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'.⁵² In addition, as the very existence, and the central theme, of Bartholomew's *Specifications* make clear, pricing in advance and the signing of a comprehensive building contract required the preparation of exhaustive written and drawn documents.⁵³ Pugin's long association with the master builder George Myers was dependent upon a number of characteristics of the new system.⁵⁴ Firstly, the very fact

⁴⁸ The processes and their historical development in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries are described in Cooney 1955-6; and Port 1967.

⁴⁹ From the meticulous daybooks kept by John Soane's office, in John Soane's Museum, it is possible to gauge the considerable number of man-hours required for this process.

⁵⁰ See Cooney 1955-6, p 175.

⁵¹ Port 1967, p 110.

⁵² *Ibid*, p 109.

⁵³ 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.

⁵⁴ Pugin almost never made reference to Myers' partner Wilson in his correspondence.

that that Pugin had no means of producing working drawings meant that he was dependent on another person to do this, or avoided undertaking work that required this; and secondly, he was dependent upon Myers for the latter's ability to understand his intentions from the few drawings he did in fact produce: a common source of dissatisfaction with the new system was the contractor's complaint that an architect had not provided sufficient information at the outset.⁵⁵ Pugin and Myers were, in effect, partners in the business of designing and constructing, but distinguished from a formal partnership in the sense that their financial affairs were accounted for separately. Pugin's fees were dependent upon Myers' charges where the two worked together, as they did on all but rare occasions (such as in work carried out on Shrewsbury's estate, and in Chelsea), because Pugin's fees were a percentage of Myers' charges; and Pugin insisted on Myers being used, thus either precluding competitive tender, or ensuring that Myers submitted the lowest cost, as he may well have done for some of the Oxenford farm buildings.⁵⁶

Nevertheless, Pugin chose this path. Although his percentage would have been from a lower sum, he was saved the time and expense of preparing drawings, and the inconvenience of working with unknown builders. The significance of this decision is further emphasised by the point, summarised by Port, that 'the development of the architectural profession, involving separation of design from execution, was a main factor in limiting the initiative and depressing the status of the craftsman'.⁵⁷ By maintaining close practical links with Myers' craftsmen, whilst maintaining a formally separate architectural practice and requesting prices in advance, Pugin overcame this obstacle: he managed to offer his clients the advantage of pre-pricing, and yet maintain control over the craft input. At Albury, perhaps eventually finding Drummond a difficult client, he suggested that Drummond should employ Myers, and that he himself would act as Myers' consultant.⁵⁸ The extent to which Myers may

⁵⁵ See for example Port 1967, p 101.

⁵⁶ Myers and Wilson's tender of £2,052 for the gatehouse is dated more than a month after their principal rival's of £2,694: Surrey HC, 1248/33/51 and 1248/33/36 respectively.

⁵⁷ Port 1967, p 101.

⁵⁸ That is the implication of the undated letter in the Drummond Papers, C/17/42, quoted in Spencer-Silver 1993, p 35.

have been responsible for building details that apparently contradict Pugin's published theories – such as the hidden lintels at Handsworth and Spetchley – cannot be determined, but it seems improbable that a project such as Handsworth should have so prominent a detail that Pugin would not have objected to it.

Pugin occasionally referred to individual craftsmen in his correspondence, although often he mentioned only their employers, Myers, Hardman, Minton and Crace, and used the phrase 'your man' in relation to a craftsman who has caught his attention.⁵⁹ He did not know Crace's Christian name until 1849, five years after their partnership had started;⁶⁰ and it is noticeable that his travails with the various stained-glass makers he employed at the beginning of his career appear to cease when the work is done by Hardman's own employers or sub-contractors. There is no evidence in any of the documentation surrounding Pugin's residential architecture that in practice he had any interest in the type of personalised craft work associated with the later arts and crafts movement. Examples of Pugin's contractual methods are detailed in sub-section 5.2.1 below.

5.2.1 Contracting in Gross

Pugin was obliged on occasion to make contractual drawings for his clients, including specifications. The process of obtaining a mortgage from Queen Anne's Bounty for the rectory at Rampisham required him to sign certificates affirming his professional competence and estimating the value of the materials at the existing parsonage, to submit full drawings and an estimate, and a specification. This entire set survives, providing the most complete documentation of any of Pugin's residential and domestic buildings, and not indicating any variation from any other architect or surveyor's professional method, although the specification is comparatively sparse.⁶¹

⁵⁹ Throughout the correspondence with Crace at the RIBA LDC, (PUG).

⁶⁰ RIBA LDC, PUG 6/1, dated by Crace February 1849.

⁶¹ Omitting for example the drains, for which see n 82 below. The full set is at Wilts & Swindon RO, D28/6/11.

A further building contract exists for the rebuilding of Wilburton New Manor House. The agreement signed by Myers dated 16th October 1848 for the erection of the new manor house at Wilburton is an example of a building contract to which Pugin and Myers were parties, the former as named architect rather than signatory.⁶² The document states that Myers is contracted

to erect a house at Wilburton for the Honorable Lady Pell according to the plans and specification and to the entire satisfaction of A.W. Pugin the Architect, for the sum of Two thousand four hundred and seventy-five pounds finding all Materials and Labour according to plans and specifications and completing the same by Midsummer 1849.⁶³

Whilst working at Wilburton, Myers made some alterations to the family's older property, the Berristead: there are Pugin-type internal doors on the ground floor.⁶⁴

There are some examples of diversions from Pugin and Myers' regular contractual arrangements. The contract for the new gateway at Magdalen College, Oxford, names Pugin himself as responsible for the erection of the works; he was to enter into a personal contract with Bloxam. Pugin was asked for a draft: in his reply, the architect agreed to erect the gateway 'in a workmanlike & substantial manner', including the completion of all the decorative works, and 'to forfeit five pounds for every week on & above the time specified *untill* the same be duly compleated.'⁶⁵

Pugin thus made himself liable for the actual construction of the gateway, on the one hand possibly revealing his professional inexperience, but on the other, establishing the direct responsibility of the architect for every aspect of its construction.⁶⁶ This

⁶² A further example is a draft contract supplied by Pugin, in which he names himself as 'master of the work', prepared for Lord Midleton in June 1842: Belcher 2001, p 356.

⁶³ Pell, vol iii, p 565.

⁶⁴ *Ibid*, pp 561-2, records some occasional payments to Myers outside the new manor house contract.

⁶⁵ MCO, MC:FA7/3/1AD/1/11.

⁶⁶ This is distinct from naming himself the arbiter of workmanship in specifications, for which see below.

arrangement betrays the conservatism of the college, for the architect's personal responsibility for the completion of a building was characteristic of contracting by measure, where the architect himself in effect employed the contractor, agreed costs, and passed the invoice to the employer. It seems therefore possible that this was the college's condition for Pugin's appointment of Myers and Wilson without competitive tender (of which there is no record): furthermore, Pugin himself had written to Bloxam at the outset that the cost 'would not exceed £643'.⁶⁷ Pugin's draft was rewritten by Matthew Bloxam for the college, incorporating the conditions that Pugin had proposed,⁶⁸ and Pugin noted in the 'Diary' that he signed it on 15th April 1844. In fact, he continued to act as contractor to a limited extent in his domestic architectural practice, since Hardman's metalwork day books continuously record items that he bought, and his account records itemise various architectural elements such as windows.⁶⁹

At quite an advanced stage of his career he was still distressed by the documentation required by contractual requirements. When it appeared that Magdalen College at Tubney would require a full set of working drawings for approval and tender, Pugin appears to have threatened to resign, and he returned to the job when the college accepted Myers' tender.⁷⁰ Later however he was required to furnish a formal certificate of some kind, and wrote to Bloxam in consternation that

If you will Let me have the form of certificate you wish I will forward it to you immedi ally but as I never had anything of this kind before I am ignorant of the way in which it should be worded.⁷¹

⁶⁷ MCO, MC:FA7/3/1AD/1/10.

⁶⁸ MCO, MC:FA7/3/1AD/14 (final contract); MC:FA7/3/1AD/20 (Bloxam's invoice for his services).

⁶⁹ Belcher 2003, p 128 n 1, discusses an example of this at Albury Park.

⁷⁰ That is the connotation of MCO, MS 743/73, of 13.5.1844, in which a correspondent writes to Bloxam that 'you are certainly unfortunate in respect of your architect having given up the work'; followed by Myers' tender of 1.7.1844 (MCO, MS 743/85), and Pugin's reappearance thereafter.

⁷¹ 13.4.1845: Belcher 2003, p 374.

As noted above, Pugin's method is distinct from that of his contemporaries in his reliance on Myers' methods, to avoid the need for extensive working drawings. A clear example can be seen at Oxenford, where the need to avoid unnecessary drawings and the desire to see Myers employed were emphatically united in an anxious letter to Middleton.⁷²

In fact, Pugin's own drawings indicate that he was a speedy but efficient draughtsman – for example, he drew window jambs in plan at a scale of ¼" to the foot without a ruler, and yet at a consistently accurate angle of 22½°. He sometimes indicated by variations in colour wash brick and stone, and a mass floor above a brick vault; he did not design or draw foundations [fig. 147].⁷³ The drawing for the cottage at Mousehill is a complete set of working plans and details on a single sheet [fig 148].⁷⁴ There are several examples of Pugin's method of transferring instructions to his builders in the form of formal and informal specifications; in the case of the clergy buildings at Southwark, both Pugin's draught and a final, professionally prepared specification exist.

Pugin's daily working practice has been described in detail by J.H. Powell, John Hardman Jr's nephew, who was Pugin's only permanent assistant, and who assisted him from December 1844 until Pugin's death, with the exception only of the first half of 1848. He lived with the Pugins until his marriage to their oldest daughter Anne in 1850, acting at first essentially as Pugin's draughtsman. Having mastered the 'house style', he was subsequently allowed to work on decorative design projects but not, apparently, on the design of residential buildings.⁷⁵

⁷² 5.1.1843: Belcher 2003, pp 3-4. A further explicit reference of his desire to avoid the preparation of detailed working drawings, which falls outside the domestic and residential category, is in connection with the building of Tubney church. See letter of 8.5.1844: Belcher 2003, pp 195-6.

⁷³ These traits are all to be found on for example the drawings for the Bishop's House, Birmingham, BAA, ADP/P1/7-11.

⁷⁴ LRO, filed with 720 KIR 136.

⁷⁵ For which see Wedgwood 1988, Introduction; and Powell's own account of Pugin's methods, *ibid*, 'Pugin at Work', pp 181-2.

5.3 *Practical Considerations*

The Handsworth convent has retained a transcript of an undated letter apparently written by Pugin to Hardman, which probably gives an accurate picture of the items of building which the young architect considered important:

I herewith send the drawings for the convent in which you will perceive I have studied the greatest economy, but if you observe anything in which a still further saving may be affected please mention it.

I intend 2 bricks for all the walls with blue headers occasionally work in pattern.

I wish the roof tiles with blue tiles over the front part of the building & chapel but over cells may be slate as well as cloisters.

As regards joist flooring boards – & roof over kitchen & offices I leave the dementions to you as you must estimate for them as light as can be consistent with the required strength. The partitions between cells of nuns may be exceedingly light & plastered but the partitions which run up & down must be well framed as they will help carry the joist for the whole bearing is too long without.

‘The upper partitions over these must help the roof as the walls are so much lower than the ceiling of the upper story. I cannot get a beam to the principals – these partitions above and below must be well framed and well braced & then plastered on both sides.

The whole of the rooms alleys etc are quite plain, plastering without any moulding whatever & plain chamfered skirting 4 x ¾ round the rooms – cloister & cell windows to be framed in deal –

The rafters of cloisters dressed and stained plaster between.

The rooms marked paving are blue & red tile like Derby.

The paving of chapel not to be estimated for except for the altar steps which will be of ruled stone.

You will observe which are stone – entrance doorway

Inner door

Door into chapel

‘All the others are wooden frames –

– Doors according to drawing

Staircase according to drawing

Lead lights & Quarries with casements to windows

Fire Places according to Drawing

You must arrange a store under the chapel – which must be arced over – with an entrance door.

A cesspool must be provided for Privies and a flue for Hot air to be carried from stove chamber to under chapel & brought up by the side of kitchen fire Place – as shown on dotted line.

Front wall according to plan’.⁷⁶

In terms of comparison with contemporary professional method, Pugin's buildings contained a generous provision of water closets;⁷⁷ and he liked to include serving

⁷⁶ This letter is not quoted in full in Belcher 2001, which refers to it at p 142 n 7, giving a tentative date of 1840.

⁷⁷ He noted to Bloxam, in connection with the first Magdalen College Scheme, that he was providing an upstairs water closet close to the dormitory: ‘this altgh unknown to antiquity is really essential for health’; 24.10.1843?: Belcher 2003, p 123. By way of comparison, Bartholomew's *Specifications* allowed for one water closet and two further privies in a first-rate house (II-II-§§ 1339-40); two water

hatches between a kitchen and dining room. One is specifically mentioned amongst the extras for Wilburton New Manor House.⁷⁸

The progress of works at the clergy buildings in Southwark, however, gives the most complete picture of Pugin's professional method. Sketches including an elevation, a perspective, and a block plan exist for a second preliminary scheme as early as 1839 [fig. 149].⁷⁹ Although the appearance of the buildings subsequently altered, the basic layout of the complex remained as it was in the final scheme. At some point before mid 1843, Pugin produced an outline specification, which is comparable in detail to the outline specification he had produced for the first phase of the Handsworth convent:

The wall of houses & schools to be faced with yellow brick all the dressings of windows doors copings buttresses &c to be worked in Bath stone, as also the fireplaces throughout the house all the rooms to be finished in plaster without ornaments the doors, skirtings, staircase &c to be worked in red pine & stained like oak, except the external doors which will be framed in oak. The houses & schools are to be finished ready for occupation with the exception of grates and other fixtures.⁸⁰

This short statement bears the character of a description which would enable Myers to suggest an estimate for the works, possibly for fund-raising or general budgeting purposes. By June 1843, fund-raising had progressed to the extent that Pugin could write to Forristall at Southwark enclosing a specification for the buildings.⁸¹ The drawings have not survived, but Pugin's specification does, and so does a professionally rewritten version of it, which Myers can be assumed to have had

closets in second and third-rate houses (II-II-§§ 1208-9), a single water closet in a rectory II-XXIII-§2717), and none in a fourth-rate house.

⁷⁸ Pell, p 571. It has subsequently been converted into a communicating door. There is however a serving hatch with characteristic Pugin detailing at the St Oswald's Convent of Mercy in Liverpool.

⁷⁹ These are the drawings in the care of the Cathedral administrator (uncatalogued). Pugin signed and dated the drawing '1839'.

⁸⁰ Uncatalogued item in Pugin Letters file, SAA.

⁸¹ 6.6.1843: Belcher 2003, p 73.

prepared in order to form the basis of a contract: this document shows that Myers merely added in points about drains and cesspools.⁸² The specification itemises the types of stone for each of the various uses: the Bath stone originally specified for dressings and ornamental fireplaces was downgraded to Caen stone.⁸³ The document is almost entirely a list of the materials to be used, rather than a schedule of works.

Work was already well under way three weeks later, for Pugin was able to report to Forristall that 'nothing can be more satisfactory than the progress of the work'. He added that

everything that can be done to make the building secure & substantial has been attended to & Mr Myers has introduced many things not originally intended but which are great improvements for Light, dryness, & c. I wish particularly to draw your attention to this point, staircases—steps fire places & c *are all built in with the* walls—the whole building will be as solid as a rock. it is the real old principle of constructing revived & I feel quite satisfied that that the whole job will be well carried out to the smallest detail.⁸⁴

There could be no clearer evidence that much of Pugin's constructional detailing was in fact learned on site from Myers' methods. By September, Pugin had issued a certificate authorising Myers 'to receive the commission on the instalment for the convent & houses at St Georges as they fall due, without any further orders for myself', and indeed, no further distinct certificates for this part of the St George's project have been retained by the church authorities.⁸⁵

⁸² The two specifications are uncatalogued, in the 'St George's Building Box' file at SAA. Leatham records from events at Ratcliffe College that Pugin had 'a curious habit of omitting drains' from his specifications: Leatham 1950, p 12.

⁸³ In fact, pollution caused even the Bath stone used at the eastern end of the church itself to deteriorate rapidly, according to the *Builder*, vol vi no 292 (3.9.1848), pp 439-40.

⁸⁴ 26.7.1843: Belcher 2003, p 96.

⁸⁵ 7.9.1843: Belcher 2003, p 105.

Pugin's correspondence reveals certain recurrent weaknesses of construction. Those resulting from matters of design are discussed in Chapter 4 above; others were invariably related to dampness, aggravated by the fact that the buildings were often commenced in the late Summer, and thus were open to the rain during building works: 'we build too Quick in general', as Pugin commented on this point to Shrewsbury, continuing 'Alton is beautifuly dry – because it has not been too hurried in execution'.⁸⁶

This problem may have had some serious repercussions. At least one friend of McAuley thought that the dampness and gloom of Pugin's Bermondsey convent [fig. 150] contributed to the death of the foundress of the Order. McAuley herself wrote bravely that 'the convent will not be finished for another year, nor dry in three years, but our unceasing engagements have contributed to preserve us from the bad effects of a damp house';⁸⁷ but more bluntly, her associate Teresa White wrote that 'I always thought that the Bermondsey foundation was the beginning of her death sickness'.⁸⁸ Sullivan has recently more generously summarised thus: 'Until the year 1839 Revd. Mother had enjoyed good health... when she left us to begin the foundation at Bermondsey she seemed likely to live many healthy years. But this first of Pugin's convents was built most inconveniently, and she got cold immediately on her arrival. The air of London was uncongenial to her, but more so still the spirit of the sisters.'⁸⁹ Mary Austin Carroll wrote bluntly in 1883 that 'The convent looked like a prison. It is so near the Thames that the springtides which periodically occasion so much distress do not always spare it. In 1852 the water was two feet deep in the kitchen and other apartments of the lowest story, and fish were caught in the refectory'.⁹⁰ The convent at Cheadle also suffered badly from damp during its first severe winter.⁹¹ Other buildings similarly aroused antagonism: Joseph Bowdon, President of Sedgley Park,

⁸⁶ On 29.9.1841: Belcher 2001, p 276.

⁸⁷ To Sr M Elizabeth Moore, 17.12.1839: Bolster 1989, p 108.

⁸⁸ Quoted in Savage 1949, p 291 respectively; no date or provenance.

⁸⁹ Sullivan 1995, p 212.

⁹⁰ Carroll 1883, p 84.

⁹¹ *Ibid*, p 472.

described the Bishop's House in Birmingham as 'the most gloomy place I ever saw'.⁹² Another of Pugin's residents, Robert Richmond, parish priest at Brewood, described the building of his house to his brother in the following terms:

The house has been covered in about 3 weeks, but they have not yet begun to plaster it, as the walls were too wet. I have got coals to make fires, but they are not of so much use as they should be, as the windows are not in, & nothing against the window places, to keep the rain and damp out. I have written a brisk note to Mr Myers about that, & hope it will be set right soon, or I shall write to Pugin. I am very much displeased about the neglect, particularly as it is now winter – it is too bad.⁹³

Pugin's surviving manuscript specifications for the clergy buildings at Southwark and Rampisham, and his working drawing for the latter, make no reference to damp courses. A survey carried out by Bishop Bagshawe of Nottingham in 1877 noted that the clergy house in the city showed 'signs of damp internally in Dining Room, and in Secretary's Bed-Room'.⁹⁴ Surprisingly, Bartholomew's *Specifications* makes little reference to the problem, suggesting that architects were not preoccupied with it.⁹⁵ By the time of Rampisham Pugin was attempting to deal with the problem, adapting one of Bartholomew's localised solutions and specifying battens to the internal walls of principal rooms.⁹⁶ More substantial solutions are apparent in the Nottingham convent: the use of damp-proofing brick courses has been referred to at 4.3.1.1. above [fig.

⁹² Quoted without source in Buscot 1940, p 154. The comment must have been made relatively close to the building's construction, for Bowdon died in 1844.

⁹³ Richmond to his brother: BAA, P99/8/43, dated 19.11.1843.

⁹⁴ Bishop Bagshawe's Red Books, Volume D, 'N StB', p 3; Nottingham RCDA.

⁹⁵ Bartholomew 1840, II-III-§1230 specifies 6" lime core around basement floors and walls adjacent to the earth for first class houses only; elsewhere (II-XXII- II-XXIII-§§2532, 2534) he describes brick piers, isolated by lead, which isolate ground floor sleepers from the damp. At II-XXI-§2408 he specifies iron airbricks. These are the only references to integral damp proofing in masonry.

⁹⁶ *Ibid*, II-XXI-§2444 specifies bond timbers of scanting, projecting 1" inwards from a masonry wall to provide an air gap between it and the plaster battens, in the design of 'an additional wing to a Villa'. At II-XXIII-§2530 he suggests ¾" of 'best new quick pure Parker's cement' as a waterproofing stucco. These complete the references in the *Specifications* to waterproofing.

111b], and some rooms of the first phase (1846) were never plastered at all.⁹⁷ St Augustine's has cast iron airbricks under a suspended ground floor, and Pugin drew these on the Mousehill Cottage drawing.⁹⁸

Richmond reported to his brother on 8th December 1842 that the required land had been conveyed to himself, to Wiseman and others;⁹⁹ by November 1843 he was describing the progress of the construction at Brewood:

You were afraid I should be increasing expense by making changes in the house. I was aware of the danger, but the changes were necessary, & some were to the builders benefit, & some to mine; so when Myers came, & examined, he said the house would cost no more than first proposed.¹⁰⁰

The changes Richmond made to the house must surely include the lowering of the cills of bedroom windows: these are unusually low, and seem to reflect Richmond's concern about the darkness of Pugin's buildings [fig. 151]. This too he shared with McAuley.¹⁰¹ Richmond had objected to darkness in churches in general earlier in the same letter; his improvements may conceivably have included extending the south-west room backwards at the expense of the kitchen behind, since the former is longer and narrower in proportion than Pugin's rooms generally are; a larger room above the kitchen would also have facilitated a more efficient arrangement upstairs.¹⁰² But the

⁹⁷ My site visit, 2.5.2002.

⁹⁸ LRO, 720 KIR 134.

⁹⁹ BAA, P99/8/42.

¹⁰⁰ Richmond to his brother, BAA, P99/8/43, dated 19.11.1843.

¹⁰¹ McAuley wrote to Sr M. Angela Dunne on 26.12.1839: 'Mr Pugin, the architect, was determined we would not look of the windows. They are up to the ceiling. I could not touch the glass without standing on a chair. I do not admire his taste, though so celebrated': Bolster 1989, pp 114-5. In a letter of 4.2.1840 to Walsh, McAuley wrote 'The Convent in Bermondsey is not well-suited to the purpose. The sleeping rooms are too large, the other rooms too small, the corridors confined and not well-lighted all the Gothic work outside has made it expensive. A plain, simple, durable building is much more desirable': *ibid*, pp 120-1.

¹⁰² Modern alterations have made it difficult to ascertain which of the two service rooms was kitchen and which scullery. Pugin's sculleries do not always have fireplaces; the presumed scullery here, at the

damp and the dark cannot have benefited his health: he died shortly after the house's completion, aged 62.¹⁰³

At both the Keighley and Uttoxeter presbyteries, narrow windows on the entrance front were replaced later in the nineteenth century by large areas of glazing.¹⁰⁴

5.4 *Site Visits*

It is difficult to ascertain to what extent Pugin directly interfered with work on site, since the 'Diary' usually records the town of destination only; furthermore, the missing 'Diary' years of 1843 and 1846 coincide with the building of many of the projects, including Rampisham, Oswaldcroft, Bilton, and the Ward house. Wilburton was built entirely during the period covered by the 'Diary', and visits to the site should be identifiable therein. After visiting Wilburton on 24th August 1848 – a week after the signing of the contract between Pell and Myers – Pugin was in the area only once again before the due completion of the house: this was on 26th April 1849. It is clear from detailed drawings, in the 'Myers Family Album' and elsewhere, that he compensated for the few site visits he made to projects by communicating building details, mainly decorative details, in an incessant stream to Myers, marking each one with the project title.

north-west corner of the house, probably did, since it is back to back with the front reception room fireplace. The presumed kitchen, at the north-east corner, does have evidence of a large fireplace opening – hence its attribution. There is further biographical information about Richmond in Husenbeth 1845. The irregular fixings of the architraves of the doors to the rooms above the sitting room and kitchen also point to Richmond's interference. My site visit 15.5.2002.

¹⁰³ On 20.6.1844, a week after the opening of the new chapel at Brewood. Following the demise not only of Richmond but also of his nephew (in 1848) as the successor parish priest at Brewood, Pugin felt himself able to speak his mind about Richmond *oncle* and his interference in the design process: the decoration of the chancel at the church was 'a most lamentable and almost ludicrous example of private judgment in colour...I have seen slime tracks of snails describe much better figures'. Pugin 1850 (*Remarks*), p 11.

¹⁰⁴ Uttoxeter: my site visit, 12.4.2003; Keighley: my site visit, 9.4.2003.

Pugin visited the site of the small school and house building at Spetchley a large number of times, in April 1841 to supervise the laying out of the site, and again in June, August, and December,¹⁰⁵ implying (given the relative intensity of the visits to the size of the project) that he was interested in pursuing the patronage of this landed Roman Catholic family further; in this case he was to be disappointed. His advice was sought on occasion in order to rectify building defects in newly constructed buildings. In a letter to Bloxam of February 1850, Pugin accepted that he would have to go to Lincoln to inspect the St Anne's Bedehouses, which he had designed, but not supervised the construction of, for Sibthorp.¹⁰⁶ He did this in the course of a day's journey from Hull to Birmingham on 26th February.¹⁰⁷ In a more detailed letter, the date of which is unclear, he described the major faults of the construction to Bloxam, doing his best to absolve Myers from blame, and thus implying that Sibthorp's too small budget was to blame for problems which included cheap zinc guttering and the use of Caen, rather than Bath, stone. He concluded his letter with the following comment:

I feel satisfied that if I had had whole control of the work as the architect from the beginning there would have been no cause of complaint but I am sure you must feel have not had a chance. & it will be quite a loss to me to supply drawings when I am not regularly employed & allowed travelling expenses &c to enable me to inspect the work.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁵ 'Diary', 29.4.1841; 8-9.7.1841; 10.12.1841.

¹⁰⁶ MCO, MS 528 /143; datable to 8.2.1850.

¹⁰⁷ 'Diary'.

¹⁰⁸ MCO, MSS 528/147; which Pugin improbably dated 11.1.1850. Pugin had earlier visited Lincoln on 7-8.8.1849 ('Diary'). Bath stone had been heavily promoted by commercial interests since the opening of the Kennet & Avon canal; and the windows at St Augustine's had been built in 1843-4 of Caen stone, and Pugin may by now have had opportunity to regret this. Sibthorp may have fallen into line – a late, undated, letter from Pugin to Hardman, states that 'we are going to finish his job' (HLRO, PUG/1/590).

6 The Historical Sources of Pugin's Residential Architecture.

6.1 *English Sources*

I have seen some glorious things & believe me I have profited by them. I will never perprtrate anything foreign in England again.¹

In a letter to the Oxford Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture, Pugin wrote

I have not only visited every Cathedral and Abbey church in England and several thousand parochial churches, but I have also inspected [not] in a cursory and superficial manner, but with deep thought, making careful drawings and notes of the same.²

Powell recorded that his employer 'poured out fifteenth-century details like a conjurer'.³ There can be no doubting the vast extent of Pugin's memory of architectural detail, to which his sketchbooks can further testify; and yet he made little reference to historic domestic or residential buildings by way of examples for modern architecture. More striking still is the fact that the number of such buildings to which he referred in his own designs is extremely limited.

Five years into Pugin's working lifetime, the canon of buildings held up as exemplary of English mediaeval architecture was clearly established and repeated with few variations in the writings of antiquarians. The third edition of J.H. Parker's *Glossary of terms* (1840), a book composed from acknowledged sources that included Britton's *Dictionary, Architectural antiquities*, and *Cathedral antiquities*, works by Chambers

¹ Pugin to Rock, 3.3.1840: Belcher 2001, p 133.

² Quoted in Stanton 1950, p 346; undated.

³ Wedgwood 1988, p 182.

and Gwilt, and Matthew Bloxam's *Monumental architecture and Principles of Gothic architecture*,⁴ includes text and footnote lists of leading houses, by century, without omitting any significant structure discussed by other authors. Pugin's own references to favoured buildings are drawn to a large extent from houses that appear on Parker's list.

Pugin illustrated very few historic domestic and residential buildings in the course of his publications and correspondence. He was actively involved in the last two volumes of his father's *Examples*, executing the posthumous third volume with T.L. Walker and Edward Willson. The second volume included drawings of Kenilworth Castle, Thornbury Castle, the Deanery and the Bishop's House in Wells; and the Abbey kitchen and barn, the George Inn and the Tribunal House in Glastonbury. The concluding volume illustrated the Vicars' Close (by Pugin himself) and Great Chalfield and South Wraxall manor houses (by Walker). The text of the first edition of *Contrasts* referred approvingly to a small number of mainly Tudor palaces;⁵ these were removed from the second edition, which carried a new appendix describing parts of the monastic buildings of Durham.⁶ Pugin's view of the demolished Ely Palace in Holborn was copied from a plate in John Britton's *Picturesque antiquities* dated 1828 [fig. 152].⁷

The true principles likewise makes little reference to specific English domestic architecture. Lecture II refers to the open roofs of Westminster Hall, the 'collegiate halls of Oxford and Cambridge', and those of the 'palatial edifices at Eltham, Hampton Court, Croydon, and many others belonging to manorial residences'.⁸ He refers in passing to 'the ancient timbered houses of which such interesting examples

⁴ Bloxam's book of 1829 appeared in many subsequent editions under the title *The principles of Gothic ecclesiastical architecture*; this was its name by the time of the 3rd edition of Parker's book.

⁵ Pugin 1836b (*Contrasts*, 1st ed), p 4: Richmond, Greenwich, Hampton Court, Nonsuch, Thornbury, East Barsham, Oxburgh Hall, and Cowdray House.

⁶ Pugin 1841b (*Contrasts* 2nd ed), Appendix IV.

⁷ Other references to historical buildings in *Contrasts* are given above in section 2.3.

⁸ Pugin 1841a (*True principles*), p 34. Hampton Court had been illustrated in AC Pugin 1823 (*Specimens*, vol ii), and Eltham and Croydon in AC Pugin 1830 (*Examples*, vol i).

yet remain in many of our old cities, especially at Coventry, York, and Gloucester', and illustrated a restored Magdalen College, Oxford [fig. 7a].⁹

An apology likewise makes very little reference to medieval residential architecture. A footnote describes the recent destruction of part of the old complex of King's College Cambridge (for Cockerell's university library building) and of the desecration of the aspect of Oxford at St John's College due to the contemporary erection there of the Ashmolean Museum by the same architect.¹⁰ A passage is dedicated to a general description of the 'spires', 'venerable piles', and other characteristics of various parts of England, without reference to specific buildings.¹¹

The *Present State* articles, which in their republished form comprised the fourth and last of Pugin's illustrated architectural texts, are not concerned with historic residential architecture with the exception of the passing reference to ancient Cistercian monasteries that accompanies plate vii (Mount St Bernard).¹² Pugin's publications thus follow a distinct line of development: *Contrasts* illustrates existing historic buildings (or buildings modelled on them) as a simple statement of architectural correctness; *The true principles* illustrates Magdalen College as an ideal type, the principles of which are to serve as an example; and *An apology* refrains from presenting any building as a model at all, whilst introducing the idea of 'generating' new architecture on the basis of architectural principles.¹³ Thus, in spite of his well-known aphorism that 'Another objection to Italian architecture is this,— we are not Italians, we are Englishmen',¹⁴ Pugin did not present *any* historical English residential architecture as a model for modern architecture; this was unconventional in that illustrated books about new domestic and especially Gothic or Tudor-Gothic architecture generally suggested models or historical examples to copy.¹⁵

⁹ Pugin 1841a (*True principles*), pl ix.

¹⁰ Pugin 1843a (*Apology*), p 3, n 3.

¹¹ *Ibid*, pp 20-1.

¹² Pugin 1842 (*Present state*, pt ii), pp 121-6.

¹³ See section 2.4 above.

¹⁴ Pugin 1841a (*True principles*), p 56.

¹⁵ And sometimes both, for example, Hunt 1830.

His unpublished writings and drawings do, however, indicate his familiarity with certain sources. In general, his early correspondence has far more reference to existing buildings than his later letters. This does not necessarily indicate a busier schedule, since his travels around England continued at the same rate throughout his working life until 1850; but possibly his increasing familiarity with English architecture made newly discovered examples of it less remarkable to himself. One of his earliest recorded letters, to William Osmond in 1832, describes his excitement with the town of Wells;¹⁶ in a later letter to the same friend he further remarks on the Vicars' Close there, 'most interesting & beautiful'.¹⁷ It was to Osmond also that he described his excitement at finding himself in Oxford, 'where at every turning you meet a buttress and face an oriel window'.¹⁸ Shortly afterwards, Pugin remarked on the 'exceedingly curious' parts of the Bishop's Palace in Norwich.¹⁹ In a further letter to Willson, of 22nd August 1834, he attempted to entice his correspondent to East Kent on account of 'Several curious Manor houses all in the vicinity' [fig. 153].²⁰

Thereafter references are few, and are sometimes presented as 'authorities' for details of specific projects: an undated letter to Shrewsbury, quoted by Stanton, gives the origin of the detailing for the opening on the south tower at Alton Castle as Browne's Hospital in Stamford.²¹ Pugin described this turret as 'very picturesque'.²² A letter to J. P. Wilson at Downside stresses the precedent for a quadrangle to the north of the abbey church – 'I could find you hundreds of examples for it'.²³ Pugin's private writings do not make much reference to English historical precedents, and only the 'Diary', with its references to places visited, provides any further written indication of historical sources. He claimed on occasion explicit English precedents for his

¹⁶ 20.9.1832: Belcher 2001, pp 12-3.

¹⁷ 27.10.1833: Belcher 2001, p 18.

¹⁸ 30.1.1834?: Belcher 2001, p 23.

¹⁹ To Willson, 28.2.1834: Belcher 2001 p 30.

²⁰ Belcher 2001, p 39.

²¹ The original and Pugin's version of it are illustrated in Fisher 2002, pls 51 and 50 respectively.

²² An undated letter presumed to be of 1848, given in Stanton 1950, at Appendix VIII, p 26; see also Fisher 2002, pp 71-2.

²³ 4.12.1841: Belcher 2001, p 296.

ecclesiastical work: his statement to Rock that he would 'never perprtrate anything foreign in England again' comes in the context of Norfolk churches,²⁴ and he told Shrewsbury that the plan of St Barnabas' church was arranged 'strictly from the Large *parochial churches of Nottinghamshire*'.²⁵ Yet there is but a single similar remark in respect of his residential work: when he describes to Bloxam his rejected proposal for the Reading presbytery as being in the style of the Jew's House in Lincoln,²⁶ which would certainly have been his only domestic building in the Norman style. The most distinctive feature of the street elevation of the Jew's House is its chimney, which rises up from a hooded porch above the front door, and Pugin must have seen it many times on his visits to E.J. Willson; he used a variation of it twice in an early project: on the west side of the warden's lodgings at St John's Hospital, and on the rear, north, elevation of the easternmost schoolmaster's house there [fig. 154].

His unpublished drawings are also surprisingly limited in the scope of their references to English historical domestic architecture, even of monastic examples. In general terms he was attracted to boldly vertical structural compositions seen from below, where chimneys diminishing (like buttresses) in width towards the top, tall and narrow castellated towers and tall gables are the most distinctive factors: some or all of these are invariably the major elements in depictions of English houses, whether identifiable or not, and his style of drawing exaggerates them.²⁷ The suggestion of English mid-fifteenth century work on the Garendon Hall scheme, with castellated ranges and towers, horizontal string courses, shouldered gables, and narrow turrets at the entrance gateway and at the west end of the great drawing room, is very rare in Pugin's work at this date, with the exception of his continuing work at Alton Towers during the 1840s.

²⁴ Letter dated 3.3.1840: Belcher 2001, p 133.

²⁵ Although he once wrote to Shrewsbury that he had been 'examining a vast number of foundations for antient hospitals etc.', he was referring to the regulations of these institutions and not their design. 5.7.1841?: Belcher 2001, p 298. St Barnabas' – letter of 28.11.1842: Belcher 2001, p 290

²⁶ 13.9.1840: Belcher 2001, p 142.

²⁷ See for example the sketchbook of 1845/1848, at Wedgwood 1977, [111], most typically at ff 38 (Bishop's Palace, Maidstone) and 58 (unidentified), both of 1848; and Wedgwood 1985, 1006 f 11 (Oundle), 1845.

In comparison to his extensive folios of drawings from the continent, Pugin drew very few identifiable historical English residential buildings. The greatest number appear in the sketchbook of the late 1820s which includes views of Winchester Cathedral and the Hospital of St Cross; the debtors' prison at Southampton; and three views of street scenes in Wells, including one of the Vicars' Close looking south from within.²⁸ The same sketchbook contains sketches for the Glastonbury kitchen published in the second volume of the *Examples*; it also contains the prophetic sketch for the house with rooms set in an arrangement of corridors and staircases [fig. 63].²⁹ It is remarkable that there is no evidence that Pugin was again to make such detailed studies of English historical domestic architecture. When, for example, making drawings from Lanercost Abbey in Cumberland, he made no sketches from the extant parts of the abbot's lodgings there;³⁰ nor is there any record of his having visited some of the mediaeval ecclesiastical remains best known for the survival of their domestic quarters, such as Wenlock Priory or Muchelney.

The omission of these two structures, both post-reformation houses formed from monastic remains, is particularly intriguing. The abbot's parlour at Muchelney of c.1508 is composed entirely of elements that Pugin used in his own designs: straight headed, traceried windows, a broad horizontal ornamental fireplace, a hooded and pointed stone door embrasure, and a ceiling composed of a grid of exposed joists whose major members rest on stone corbels [fig. 155]. The proximity of Muchelney to Glastonbury suggests a visit, but no record has been found. Likewise, Pugin may have visited the former prior's lodgings at Wenlock Priory without record, for example when travelling between Shrewsbury and Cheltenham on 17th March 1836.³¹ The upper gallery of this house is more similar than any other known English historical source to his typical cloister designs, for it has an open double-pitched roof of closely spaced exposed joists [fig. 156]. In fact, the external-corridor plan, highly unusual in mediaeval architecture, is more similar in type than any other known historical

²⁸ Wedgwood 1977, [5], ff 48, 41, 38, 9, 7, 15 respectively.

²⁹ Wedgwood 1977, [5] 75 v; and see sub-section 4.1.1.2 above.

³⁰ Lanercost is recorded in the sketchbook of 1841 at Wedgwood 1985, 1002 f 46.

³¹ 'Diary'.

precedent to some of Pugin's cloister plan layouts [fig. 157]. The eastern elevation of the house has paired lancets under depressed arches with almost straight archivolt, in the manner Pugin appeared to be imitating at south elevation of the northern block of Alton Castle [figs. 156b, 130].³²

On the other hand, a small number of drawings of historical buildings supplied him with a very large number of the details or formal arrangements that he himself went on to use. Most notable in this respect is the west elevation of the late fifteenth-century Bishop's Palace in Hatfield, which includes many of the features he was himself to use, including for example substantial buttresses at corners that are continuous with the front wall plane: these appear prominently in his Oxenford gatehouse designs of 1841, in his second scheme for Downside Abbey the following year, and at least as late as 1847 in the Windermere terrace houses. Pugin himself made sketches of this building, and a full elevation by F.T. Dollman appears in the book of preparatory sketches for the *Examples* volumes.³³ This volume, by A.C. Pugin as well as his son and his pupils, includes other buildings that were to serve A.W.N. Pugin to a great extent: a door at St John's College, Oxford, drawn by A. Shaw, that was to be remodelled as the door to the gatehouse at Oxenford; various straight-headed traceried windows, drawn by Benjamin Green; and the detailed drawings of the gatehouse at Kenilworth Castle, called 'Leicester's Gatehouse', drawn by Dollman.³⁴ The significance of Kenilworth to Pugin must be stressed: he himself drew at the Castle for the second volume of the *Examples*, he visited it on many occasions, he designed a chapel for the village in 1841, and he painted (and

³² Wenlock Priory, but not Muchelney, was described and illustrated by Britton 1814 (*Architectural antiquities*) vol iv. There is a lengthy illustrated description of the prior's house in *Country life*, vol xxi, no 537 (20.4.1907) pp 558-62, and some discussion of the house in its historical context in Wood 1965, pp 203-4, 206, and pl 16. The house was drawn for several topographical publications in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The abbot's lodgings at Muchelney are likewise described in Wood 1965, at p 23, pl xiiiB.

³³ See Wedgwood 1977, p 26: AC Pugin [10] 15, ff 24, 26, dated 1829. The planar buttress was in a wing at the southern end of the west elevation, which has since been demolished. Dollman's drawing is at Wedgwood 1985, 1073 ff 73-4.

³⁴ Wedgwood 1985, 1073, ff 60, 50, 36 respectively.

prepared designs for) the sets for the ballet based on Walter Scott's novel at Covent Garden in 1831.³⁵ It is however not in fact an exaggeration to state that Pugin's English historical sources for his own domestic architecture were drawn more from sketches and drawings by his father or his father's office than from his own recorded observations – indeed, two of A.C. Pugin's sketchbooks further contain detailed drawings of buildings in Lincoln (including the Jew's House), Tattershall and Oxford,³⁶ and it may well be that A.W.N. Pugin's interest in timber buildings was also derived from his father, who made many unpublished drawings (in the RIBA LDC and V&A) of these structures. Occasionally, however, it is Pugin's own drawings that throw some light on his work: an early drawing of some significance is one of a gateway leading to a cathedral in an imaginary scene, for the gateway arch is composed of a stepped and ornamented brick gable [fig.158].³⁷ Wedgwood dates this drawing to 1831-2, and it provides a stylistic authority for the otherwise improbable attribution of the Clarendon Park lodge. Finally, Pugin's predilection for historical romances on stage, and his knowledge of historicising fiction, raise the possibility that these too supplied him with ideas.³⁸

6.1.1 The Englishness of Pugin's Architecture

Pugin's use of English historical precedent in his residential architecture can be discussed in three categories: the generic types of detail he used; the use of historic quotations in his work; and his overall compositional types in comparison to historic buildings.³⁹

³⁵ Wedgwood 1985, p 28.

³⁶ Wedgwood 1977, AC Pugin [5], [6].

³⁷ Wedgwood 1985, 104 p 54.

³⁸ See section 8.1 below.

³⁹ The discussion of Pugin's formal composition and design strategy is discussed independently, at Chapter 4 above.

6.1.1.1 generic detailing

It is possible to identify certain types of detailing that Pugin preferred and thus to some extent distinguish his work from that of Tudor-Gothic or of other contemporary practitioners. To define and model his buildings, he used bay windows, often set under gables, and he had a tendency to prefer rows of gables to rotating the direction of the ridge through ninety degrees to create a continuous roof space; he used buttress-like chimneys; corner buttresses at 45° to the two wall planes; and increasingly, eaves overhangs rather than parapets. His selection of detail was sometimes explicitly English – for example in the use of castellated towers with stringcourses ornamented with bosses running below them. A drawing of c1833 of the Elizabethan Marmion gatehouse at West Tanfield in North Yorkshire, a rare rendition of an English non-ecclesiastical structure, illustrates what might broadly be called an ‘English’ type of tower house: castellations, a square-headed mullioned window with a hood moulding, an unrelieved wall surface, a narrow but deep oriel window, a broad, four-pointed arch doorway, corner buttresses continuous with the plane of the front wall, and projecting horizontal courses at the base which rise and fall with no apparent practical justification for doing so [fig. 159].⁴⁰ Pugin used all these devices on occasion in his work.

Pugin's pinwheel houses, and other schemes such as the drawing room range at Bilton Grange, make use of the device of a bay window set under a gable or gablet [Fig. 160a]. This is a common device in late Tudor and Jacobean architecture, and had survived in Pugin's time in large quantities at Stamford in Lincolnshire, where two-storey bays under gables were so common a feature of street elevations, at least until the early seventeenth century, as to give them the character of a generic type for residential architecture. Pugin's version differed, however, in that unlike the Stamford houses the plane of his gables was at the face of the main front wall and not forwards with the front, or near the front, of the bay window itself. [Fig. 160b] In other respects, however, there are distinct similarities: the Stamford houses typically have

⁴⁰ Wedgwood 1985, 995 f 4.

very simple square or oval mouldings at the mullions, and the mullions themselves are flush with the wall face of the bay window structure. A typical pattern has four untraceried, untransomed lights at the front face: this is often the case in Pugin's examples, too. It should be noted that Pugin's bay windows, particularly those at Bilton in the early-mid 1840s, also bear some resemblance to that of the new façade of the Master's Lodge at Trinity College Cambridge, carried out by Salvin during 1842 [Fig. 160c].⁴¹

From the period of his design for the 'Deanery' onwards, Pugin experimented with sculptural forms for chimneys. At the 'Deanery' he had used a projecting chimney in roughly triangular form in elevation to create a centrepiece for the north elevation, perhaps an early transformation of the Lincoln Jew's House chimney [fig. 119a]. He was able to execute a similar device on the south elevation of the Nottingham clergy house [figs. 119b]. He is not known to have drawn historical examples of this type of bifurcating chimney, but he did sketch similar ones. It seems possible that he saw his version as a development of an historical device that he did quote on occasion: the gable end with three lesenes, creating a marked 3/2 division on an end façade.⁴² This derives from the abbey barn at Glastonbury, although in fact, some similar examples of this elevational arrangement exist in France [fig. 161].⁴³

⁴¹ For which see Willis & Clark 1886, vol ii p 626. Pugin was in contact with Trinity Camdenians from November 1841 at the latest – see Belcher 2001, p 283 n 4 – and he wrote to Middleton that 'the round church at Cambridge is restoring [under Salvin's direction] *exceedingly Well*' (5.1.1843; Belcher 2003, p 4). He cannot therefore have failed to see at least the new Old (now 'Great') Court elevation of the lodge, which by then was nearing completion.

⁴² He used this on the 1841 Downside scheme; and the Oxenford barn is almost a reduced scale version of the Glastonbury original.

⁴³ Pugin was by no means the first to use the Glastonbury barn end elevation in modern work: Blore's stable yard at Goodrich Court, V&A Print Room 8743.11, of 1828-31, incorporated a similar gable, although punctured by depressed-arch openings at ground floor level.

Most remarkably, in terms of its similarity to Pugin's work, in the case of the west end of the priory church at Perrières, north-east of Falaise in Normandy, where the door is built into a thickening of the wall surface that turns into two lesenes above [fig 161b]; unfortunately there is no record, although there is some distinct possibility, that Pugin knew of this building.

Pugin's favoured use of a row of gables has been discussed in Chapter 4 above; one distinct precedent which he would have known was the seventeenth-century work added to 'Leicester's Gatehouse' at Kenilworth. Here the two gables, which other than using the same stone conflict boldly in style with the adjoining gatehouse, form a remarkable composition which Pugin appears to be imitating on occasion [fig. 162].

Other specific elements can be drawn from common English vernacular use. Pugin frequently used corner buttresses at 45° to the two wall planes. These appear at South Wraxall, at the Tudor stable building at Kenilworth and at many other buildings [fig. 163]; they are not characteristic of the architecture of Northern France or Western Germany, and they do not appear on any of the buildings included in the books on Normandy by Nodier, Cotman and Turner, and Pugin *père*.

The chapel at Alton Castle has often been described as having a Rhenish quality to it, but in fact the type – a tall polygonal chancel end – although rare is not unprecedented in England, and Pugin visited one example of it, at the late fourteenth / early fifteenth-century chapel at Warkworth Castle in Northumberland [fig. 164]. He made sketches on his visit on 6th September 1848, shortly after submitting to Shrewsbury his proposals for the south tower at Alton.⁴⁴ He had been before to the Northumbrian coast – in October 1842 – and since it is not known when exactly the chapel was designed, it is certainly possible that he was aware of this English 'authority'.

Pugin's described his 1841 Downside Abbey scheme as 'an exact revival of one of the larger English monasteries' and states towards his conclusion that 'Each portion of this edifice will bespeak its purpose, from the chapter-house to the kitchen'.⁴⁵ As 'an exact revival', the style is, for the first time amongst these large ideal projects, not late fourteenth-century but early middle-pointed, perhaps mid-thirteenth century:⁴⁶ none of the windows of the domestic block have square heads; nearly all are single or double

⁴⁴ 'Diary'. The sketches are at Wedgwood 1985, 1013 ff 57, 61-4.

⁴⁵ Pugin 1842 (*Present state* pt ii), pp 106, 107.

⁴⁶ In so far as they can be clearly seen, the church windows of Pugin's proposal are perhaps closest in English terms to the early C13 building at Lincoln Minster.

lancets. There are no parapets, no shouldered gables and no oriel windows of any description on the domestic buildings [fig. 57].

6.1.1.2 some historical details

Kenilworth and Ludlow castles also provide historical precedents for many of Pugin's own details, including those closely associated with him. Kenilworth for example has doorways (to the hall) with stone beaded jambs – an effect Pugin was copying when specifying for his own doors and windows his characteristic simple timber 1¼" beads, a detail that has no evident precedent in eighteenth or early nineteenth-century domestic joinery [figs. 165a, 142]. The battered stone base, between buttresses to the exterior walls of the hall, was used by Pugin in, for example, the roadside elevation of the station gatehouse at Alton; and he experimented with a pair of facing fireplaces, Kenilworth-hall fashion, in one of his later schemes for a school room for Magdalen.⁴⁷ At both Kenilworth and Ludlow, the broad mullioned and transomed windows have irregular quoins that merge into the surrounding stonework: this became another characteristic feature of Pugin's detailing, for example at Rampisham [figs. 165; 123a, b].⁴⁸ Perhaps because no mediaeval timber skirtings survived Pugin designed ones that are in all but the most prestigious surroundings very low and with a simple bevelled top.

In fact, Ludlow Castle provides considerable precedent for many of Pugin's stone details [fig. 166]. Surviving fireplaces at the castle include examples of simple chamfered jambs, the type that he adopted for minor rooms; larger surviving fireplaces have corbelled lintels. The state apartments of the castle contain examples of adjacent arched openings at right angles to one another, a feature echoed in the many examples in Pugin's work where a cloister or corridor reaches an internal corner: these can be seen at Ratcliffe, the Nottingham convent and clergy house, at

⁴⁷ In a scheme of 1848, R White 2001 #608. He stressed however in three letters to Bloxam that the arrangement was impractical: MCO, MS 528/166, /168, /170 (all undated).

⁴⁸ There are, of course, many examples of window surrounds camouflaged by their quoins merging into surrounding ashlar, particularly in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, for example at Montacute.

Wilburton, and elsewhere. Ludlow has an oriel arch, and two external stone stair turrets (one round, as used by Pugin at Mount St Bernard's, and the other polygonal, as at Grace Dieu); and there are many examples of shouldered arches.⁴⁹ Pugin used these extensively in the Bermondsey convent, in the windows of the 'long gallery' at the north-east corner of his Downside design of 1841, and elsewhere as door openings, such as in the cloister at Woolwich.⁵⁰ Indeed, the great variation in window type across single facades of the state apartment block of Ludlow Castle – where there are cusped lancets, broad mullioned and transomed windows and oriels within deep bays, small straight-edged windows and tall early-middle-pointed windows along the same front – to some extent provides an 'authority' for Pugin's mixture of window types and heights, characteristic of the entrance elevations of his pinwheel houses.⁵¹

There are some minor historic decorative details which he clearly liked and used repetitively. His early experience working on the restoration of the Hall of John Halle in Salisbury provided him with a model, dating from the late fifteenth century, for a fireplace type ornamented with a row of quatrefoils over the opening: he used this pattern many times over the course of his career [fig. 167];⁵² on rare occasions he copied more substantial models: fireplaces for both Downside schemes, of 1839 and 1841, have pyramidal stone canopies, such as the early fourteenth-century example at the old deanery at Lincoln – a more obviously gothic precedent for a more obviously gothic design [fig. 168].⁵³

⁴⁹ That is, openings with a straight head but with the two angles of the head reduced by convex mouldings – see fig. 166a.

⁵⁰ Both Downside schemes have a further resemblance to Ludlow in that the refectories have five bays – as does Ludlow's great hall.

⁵¹ There is no clear record of Pugin having visited Ludlow, although Wedgwood 1985, 989, appears to be a view of the town. The castle was a known antiquarian site, with guides published in 1794 (by William Hodges), 1822 (Thomas Wright) and anonymously in 1848. Turner illustrated the castle in his series of English castles.

⁵² The fireplace at Salisbury is not unique for its period; Wood 1965 illustrates other examples, such as those at Red Lion House, Burford; Bindon House, Axmouth; and Cannington Court, Somerset, all from the same period: pls XLIIId, XLIIIf, and fig 79 p 270 respectively.

⁵³ Several examples of these pyramidal fireplaces were built during the twelfth to fourteenth centuries.

Pugin used straight-headed windows with tracery in many of his schemes. The second volume of the *Examples* had illustrated an example of one at Raglan Castle, which has three cusped lights, and he knew the type also from his survey of the Angel Inn, Grantham, which appeared in the first edition of *Contrasts*.⁵⁴ The type most clearly linked with Pugin, however, is specifically one that has two cusped lights and above them a central soufflet⁵⁵ with a half soufflet either side, and topped by a further two half soufflets terminated by the straight head. Pugin may first have seen detail at the early fourteenth-century hall of the former parsonage at Marlow, which he was likely to have seen at the end of 1844, when visiting Danesfield and Charles Scott-Murray, the patron of his church of St Peter in Marlow itself [fig. 169a].⁵⁶ His use of the motif in primarily domestic designs certainly dates from that point, since it appears in the chapel building at Ratcliffe College, which is likely to have been designed at about this time. St Augustine's, designed prior to 1844, has untraceryed straight-headed windows in the stair hall; Oswaldcroft and the Rampisham rectory, designed very probably after the presumed visit to Marlow, have tracery in their straight-headed windows [fig. 123a]. Variations developed over time: at the Nottingham convent (1845) a window into the cloister by the entrance door has a double cusped light with a pair of trefoils above; and by the time of the design of Wilburton New Manor House, in 1848, it has evolved into a motif that unites all the major windows of the house, with cusped circlets in place of the soufflets [fig. 169b, c].

6.1.1.3 identifying some patterns of Englishness

In general, in spite of his recorded views on the subject – his acknowledged preference for late fifteenth-century models, and his rejection of ‘the debased style of

⁵⁴ Pugin drew these windows in detail amongst his preparatory sketches for the *Contrasts* plates: Wedgwood 1985, 124 f 6v.

⁵⁵ That is, an ogival quatrefoil.

⁵⁶ The windows (on the north and south fronts of the house) are still extant; Pugin designed a variation of it for the south window of the chancel of his adjacent church. A further example had existed at Northborough manor house, near Peterborough, but this had been filled in by Pugin's time when the hall was subdivided horizontally in the seventeenth century.

James',⁵⁷ Pugin's architectural references are as often drawn from the seventeenth-century vernacular, for example of Stamford, as they are from the Gothic. A squat, castellated corner tower, with broad mullioned windows, such as that proposed for Magdalen in the second (and to some extent, also in the third) scheme, is necessarily drawn from a seventeenth-century source because there were no substantial houses that were both Gothic and widely glazed and unfortified [fig. 170].⁵⁸ Furthermore, Pugin evidently did not feel that his residential buildings should include historic architectural elements drawn from their local area.⁵⁹

It is difficult to delineate a distinct chronological pattern of development in Pugin's choice of historical reference during the course of his career – both in terms of general layout and in terms of detailing. For example, the bay window, square in plan, and with minimal detailing at the jambs and mullions, appears in the Birmingham Bishop's House of 1839, and then re-emerges at Cotton Hall some seven years later. It cannot thus be stated that as time went by, he increasingly preferred more simple, more historicist or more geometrical detailing. Although it occasionally appears that a distinct window type is emerging – the glass being set back further from the external plane of the frame, for example – the pattern is occasionally reversed. His work for the Houses of Parliament seems to have kept alive his curiosity in the field of ornamental design, and there is no evidence from his writings that he set himself an aim of changing his basic approach to house design.

The grouping of gables at either side of the flank of a hall had been a well-established feature of English mediaeval hall houses. The example of Great Chalfield was well-known to Pugin, as it was illustrated (by T.L. Walker) in the third volume of the

⁵⁷ In a letter to Bloxam, 12.1.1845: Belcher 2003 p 320.

⁵⁸ The corner tower in the second Magdalen scheme closely resembles that at Cotehele, which was published as Condy 1839 (and not as given in Brittain-Catlin 2002b) [fig 170b]. The sixteenth-century wing of Kenilworth Castle known as 'Leicester's Building' also has a mediaeval outline but large areas of glazing, which contrast with similarly large areas of blank wall, in a way that might be compared to the north elevations of Oswaldcroft and Wilburton.

⁵⁹ He did however vary his building materials in response to what was available locally: this is discussed in sub-section 4.3.1.1 above.

Examples, and although other examples of the type were known to antiquarians, it appears that this house had the most noticeable effect on the first generation of Gothic revivalists [fig. 171].⁶⁰ Although disregarding the mediaeval plan of the original, Pugin's Oswaldcroft groups a pair of gables (including the entrance porch) on the east side, and a single two-storey gable on the west side, of the northern flank of the house. The 'Englishness' of the type must have been apparent, for other architects soon followed his example: one such house is R.C. Carpenter's Monkton Wylde parsonage, of 1849-50.⁶¹ Pugin made use of another idea he must surely have observed from both of Walker's contributions to the *Examples*, for the origin of the otherwise inexplicably tortuous entry route to St Augustine's, crossing to the entrance front of the house not from the street front of the site but from a side gate on an alley, may be from a similar arrangement, on a grander and rural scale, at both Great Chalfield and South Wraxall manor houses

A further aspect of the Englishness of Pugin's residential architecture might be expected to flow from his familiarity with Loggan's series of engravings of Oxford and Cambridge colleges [figs. 7b, 172, 174a].⁶² In particular, Pugin proposed schemes for Magdalen College, for the site of Magdalen Hall (the buildings of which remained after the hall's removal to Catte Street, and which temporarily served the choristers' school), and for Balliol College. Pugin drew attention to Loggan's drawing of Balliol in his letter condemning Basevi's designs for the College.⁶³ He here described the drawing as 'most interesting' (and, indeed, wrote that 'many of the Plates in that work are admirable examples of the natural simplicity with which the inferior portions of the collegiate buildings were treated in olden days'): he particularly liked the way in which Oxford collegiate buildings varied across the course of the elevations in respect of the activities housed, thus having the essential character of the place about them. His own proposal for the College, however, deviated somewhat from the character

⁶⁰ A further rare example, which like Great Chalfield had not been substantially altered, could have been found at Cothay in Somerset, of c1480. According to Wood 1965, drawings published in the early nineteenth century show that Cumnor Place also had this arrangement; p 53 fig 21.

⁶¹ For which see sub-section 7.3.2 below.

⁶² Reference to Hollar's depictions of English architecture is made in sub-section 6.2.2 below.

⁶³ 19.2.1843: Belcher 2003, pp 16-8.

expressed by Loggan: although the addition of an extra floor would have the effect of stressing the horizontal proportions that Loggan had drawn, Pugin created a building largely composed of dominant verticals: he turned all the dormers into lucarnes, added a grouping of four bold verticals at the Master's lodgings end (in the form of an entrance tower, two two-bay oriels and a chimney stack rising uninterrupted from ground floor) and placed a pair of buttresses, and an oriel rising from a central pier at the east end. For the choristers' school at Magdalen, where he might have been tempted to follow something of the character of the Magdalen Hall buildings, and thus to design a structure with an almost flush face of three floors, he increasingly divided the new structure up into separate and vertical elements as the project ideas progressed; and he tried, as described above, to introduce a 60° pitched roof instead of the conventional Oxford low pitch. As this and the Balliol designs emphasise, he did not try to imitate historical architecture in his own new work. However, the fact that he reproduced an old map of Thanet from an early eighteenth-century antiquarian book in the stained glass of the west window of the drawing room at St Augustine's certainly indicates his continuing respect for English topographical writing [fig. 173].⁶⁴

6.1.2 Scottishness

The Master's Lodgings of the 1843 Balliol College scheme are distinguished by a type of window unique in Pugin's design work, in the form of projecting bay windows at attic level in the form of oriels corbelled out from the top of the wall; these are continued above the two full height oriels lighting the new drawing room. This may be a reference derived from the two trips to Scotland recorded in Pugin's diary during the course of 1842, the first since commencing this diary in 1835 [fig. 174b].

⁶⁴ The central panel of the window is based on a plate in Lewis 1723, which Pugin had in his library at the time of his death, catalogued at Watkin 1972, cat no 307. It was reset by EW Pugin into his new west wall of the drawing room.

6.2 *Continental Sources*

I would advise you without fail to make an excursion up the Rhine in the steam boats. go up to Mayence, you go so cheap & comfortably & Lovely scenes & c. on the Banks.’⁶⁵

6.2.1 In General

Pugin's references to historic continental architecture in his own domestic and residential architecture were in most respects different to those he made to English architecture. He made no reference to Continental domestic examples in his theoretical writings but filled sketchbooks with drawings from his travels to France, Belgium, Germany and Switzerland, bearing out Ferrey's observations that

With all his appreciation of the beauties of foreign art, he never hesitated to claim for the English churches and cathedrals a degree of excellence not to be surpassed by anything on the Continent; but admitted that in domestic and municipal architecture, foreign countries supplied a multitude of beautiful examples not to be found at home. He was especially delighted with Nuremberg, and the picturesque features of this ancient city afforded him most interesting studies.⁶⁶

His travels to the continent are listed in some detail both in the 'Autobiography' and the 'Diary'.⁶⁷ His first trip to France was a two-month visit to Paris in 1819, when he visited French relatives of his father; the 'Autobiography' records that he 'Spoke French a little and began to draw slightly'. A.C. Pugin himself had made drawings of Paris for Sauvan's *Picturesque tour on the Seine*, published in London in 1821, and it

⁶⁵ From Pugin's itinerary for Bloxam, 31.7.1844: Belcher 2003, p. 222-3 n 2.

⁶⁶ Ferrey 1861, p 225.

⁶⁷ They have been discussed in detail in Wedgwood 2000.

is possible that he took his son on early drawing tours.⁶⁸ A.W.N. Pugin recorded in the 'Autobiography' that he accompanied his father for the visit to Normandy in 1823 that was arranged to prepare material for the joint publication, by Pugin *père*, Britton, and the Le Keux brothers, of their *Architectural antiquities of Normandy*. He himself may have contributed in a practical way, for some plates – in particular, the frontispiece with its view of the Caen skyline through a romanesque arch – have elements of his own style [fig. 175].⁶⁹ Pugin's father had been one of the few British subscribers to the first volume of Nodier, Taylor and de Cailleux' *Voyages pittoresques et romantiques dans l'ancienne France*, first published in 1820; the illustrations of this book provided inspiration for A.W.N. Pugin in the creation of his own architectural works [fig. 176].⁷⁰ Most specifically, he copied from the Hôtel de Bourgtheroulde in Rouen, illustrated by Nodier, Cotman, and A.C. Pugin, for his first recorded scheme, Le Chateau, of 1833 [fig. 177].⁷¹ One detail of his work clearly derived from his French trips is the 'conduit house' by the junction of the two wings of the St Anne's Bedehouses in Lincoln [fig. 178]. This is a small octagonal structure with a conical roof; it resembles to some extent a Norman 'maison des morts', such as that at in the churchyard at Fontaine Le Henri.⁷² A trip to Holland in 1838 resulted, the following month, in the only one of Pugin's designs to have a consciously Dutch, or Flemish appearance: the stepped gables of the Bermondsey convent [fig. 150].

The sketchbooks containing Pugin's Continental sketches and his methods of preparing them have been discussed by Wedgwood.⁷³ Although the character of the work he sketched naturally varied with its location, certain specific preferred types

⁶⁸ Further drawings of Paris by AC Pugin were published in 1831 under the *Paris and its Environs*.

⁶⁹ A.W.N. Pugin is not himself credited in the titles of any of the plates.

⁷⁰ See Brittain-Catlin 2001; Brittain-Catlin 2002a. These articles arose as a result of the research undertaken for this dissertation.

⁷¹ For which see Appendix A below. Cotman's plate is no 64 and entitled 'House in the place de la Pucelle, at Rouen' in Cotman & Turner 1822; Nodier's plates, both of 1823, are at Nodier 1825, pls 157 (by Leger), 158 (Le Maitre) and 159-62 (Fragonard); AC Pugin's are pls 55 and 56, in Britton, Pugin & Le Keux, 1825-8 (*Normandy*), and drawn by 'A Pugin' in 1825.

⁷² Which Pugin had probably seen during the research for Britton, Pugin & Le Keux 1825-8 (*Normandy*), which illustrated the neighbouring chateau, pls lx – lxi.

⁷³ Wedgwood 2000, *passim*.

stand out. One of the most prominent of these is the *hôtel*, often with a stair turret, around a courtyard, separated from the street by a tall wall pierced by a gate, essentially the external form of the Bishop's House in Birmingham, but also of the Liverpool Convent of Mercy. He drew a series of these houses in his sketchbook of 1847, from houses in Amiens, Tours and Poitiers [fig. 179].⁷⁴ Other recurrent features in the drawings from the French part of the 1847 tour are gabled lucarne windows, an irregular disposition of windows set in large flush walls, prominent verticals, tall, sometimes asymmetrical gables, and some degree of half-timbering. At this point in his career he had very little yet to design, so these scenes may have been chosen because of the picturesque grouping of roofs and gables, reflecting his previous experimentation [fig. 121], as well as some specific features he liked and had employed himself. He may furthermore have increasingly distorted his drawings to bring out their 'Puginesque' qualities, especially in later sketches.⁷⁵ The only building on which he was to work that was to display the characteristics of these sketches in future was the convent at Cheadle, which was building during the course of 1848.

Although the Amiens-Tours-Poitiers drawings of the 1847 sketchbook provide the greatest concentration of features of Continental domestic architecture that interested Pugin, similar traits appear in many of his other sketchbooks, including some of the earliest ones extant. In his sketchbook of 1831-2 he was putting together buildings and urban scenes composed from what are clearly Continental examples.⁷⁶ A sketchbook from a Swiss tour of 1838 includes tall towers, flush with limited and irregular fenestration of the kind that Pugin was using at Alton Castle; like the Cotton Hall extension, the Spetchley school, and the Cheadle convent, it has an open timber belfry below a further pyramidal roof; elsewhere in the sketchbook there are examples of straight-headed traceried windows.⁷⁷ One recurring theme in this set of drawings is

⁷⁴ Wedgwood 1977, [106], ff 15a, 44a-d, 45a-d, 61, 62a. The drawing at Poitiers at f 6a2, top [fig. 179d], bears a marked resemblance to the Birmingham Bishop's House of 1839 [fig. 179e].

⁷⁵ Such as in the drawing identified as being of Angers of 1851 (Wedgwood 1985, 953), or the Alton Castle-like view of Kyburg of 1852 (Wedgwood 1985, 1033).

⁷⁶ Wedgwood 1977, [17]; in particular, ff 2 (a chateau on an island); 5 (a sea port); 10 (a chateau); 14 (a town, in the manner of a stage set); and 18 (a castle on a hill in a sea town), dated 1832.

⁷⁷ Wedgwood 1985, 1034 ff 27 (of the Rennwegbollwerk in Zurich) and 24b (Fribourg) respectively.

that of complex timber constructions, which recall the drawings both of ships' masts and of stage mechanics of some of the earliest drawings.⁷⁸

6.2.2 Published Antiquarian Sources

Stanton suggested that Pugin's domestic architecture was influenced by his collection of prints by Hollar, Dugdale, the Merian brothers, and other seventeenth-century architectural illustrators.⁷⁹ In particular, she noted of Hollar's architectural depictions of English vernacular architecture that 'details of buildings and their general massing, arrangement of chimneys, and pitch of roofs are perfectly legible', and that Pugin 'did not copy the buildings that Hollar and Merian had illustrated: he perceived their characteristics and came to understand the relationship between their parts, their proportions and their relationship to each other in an urban setting'.⁸⁰ One characteristic of Hollar that he did reproduce in his own buildings was the preference for an elevation consisting of a row of gables, not uncommonly three or four in Hollar's drawings: Hollar's *Fine and exact prospect of the famous city of London* showing both banks of the Thames before the Great Fire, has buildings such as these in the foreground; and Pugin imitated them in, for example, the garden front of his building at Cotton Hall [fig. 180]. It is an architectural decision that appears to go against good practice, since it results in a series of valley gutters on the front elevation that require either the piercing of a parapet or a secret gutter for rainwater egress at one end.⁸¹

A close inspection of the Merian works that Pugin possessed, however, indicates that these direct architectural influences must be limited. The several volumes of the

⁷⁸ Particularly impressive drawings of timber constructions appear at Wedgwood 1985, 1034, f 14 (the Spreuerbrücke) and f 27 above. Early sketches of ships' masts and stage machinery appear, for example, at Wedgwood 1985, 102 and 107 respectively.

⁷⁹ Stanton 1971, pp 155-9.

⁸⁰ *Ibid*, p 157; pp 158-9.

⁸¹ And the Cotton Hall building, which has the latter, has suffered badly from rainwater penetration: my site visit, 14.5.2002.

Topographia Galliae (1655-1661) provide a typical example [fig. 181].⁸² Firstly, the houses depicted in detailed views are almost exclusively fifteenth or sixteenth-century houses, in classical or classicising styles, of the type that Pugin deplored and did not sketch himself:⁸³ some are indeed similar to the type of castellated modern house that Pugin satirised. This is true of the small as well as the large depictions of buildings.⁸⁴ Secondly, where a Merian illustration of a town is drawn at a certain perspectival distance, all houses become simple rectangular prisms with gabled roofs,⁸⁵ even in the case of a substantial architectural monument, for example the Hôtel de Bourgtheroulde at Rouen, and the streets in the Merians' view of towns are generally blank white passages:⁸⁶ this is entirely different from the way in which Pugin chose to depict towns, and is also contradictory of his clear views about the appropriate hierarchy of forms to be displayed in town buildings, as demonstrated in his view of a 'Catholic Town in 1440'.⁸⁷ Thirdly, the Merian drawings have none of the emotional vigour that characterises works that Pugin generally admired; the vignettes of the Nodier volumes, on the other hand, are to a great extent concerned with Providence, romantic history, and the perils of the sea.⁸⁸ The Merian drawings occasionally include crucifixes or boats, but without any hint of what Pugin seems to have found personally attractive about these.⁸⁹ The Latin texts in the Merian volumes are of a dry

⁸² These were item no. 396 in the 1853 sale catalogue of Pugin's library, for which see Watkin 1972.

⁸³ Indeed, the implication of the contrasting views of the Chapelle Royale and the Place Royale, in a single plate, is that the modern view is preferable; Merian 1655 (*vol i*), pl 42. Pugin's low opinion of 'debased' architecture is succinctly expressed in a letter to Bloxam quoted at sub-section 5.1.1 above (11.11.1845: Belcher 2003, pp 476-7).

⁸⁴ For example, the Chateau de Marcoussy, between pp 18-19 in Merian 1656 (*vol iv*), 'Burgundiae et Provinciarum'.

⁸⁵ *I.e.*, like 'Monopoly' houses.

⁸⁶ Rouen is illustrated in Merian 1657 (*vol viii*), 'Ducatus et Provinciae Normandiae', at pl 21, and between pp 22 and 23; the Hôtel de Bourgtheroulde is indicated in the second plate as the 'Maison de Bouteroude', numbered 153.

⁸⁷ In the second edition of *Contrasts*, 1841.

⁸⁸ Sometimes in one drawing, for example, in Fragonard's vignette (*vol i*, p 95), and Vernet's (p 111); see also Brittain-Catlin 2001, p 6.

⁸⁹ For example, 'Prospect de la Porte Conference a Paris / de la Porte St Bernhard a Paris', in Merian 1655 (*vol i*), pl 76.

historical character, and are thus different from the type of foreign witness that Pugin introduced into his informal and published writings. Fourthly, much of the Merian volumes are given over to detailed views of fortifications, a subject in which there is no evidence that Pugin had any interest.⁹⁰ Fifthly, the type of bird's-eye view scenes employed by the Merians is primitive when compared to other examples that Pugin certainly had to hand – for example, not only those of the Nodier volumes, but also those of the artists employed by John Britton for his *Picturesque antiquities*.⁹¹ Pugin is not known to have made any explicit reference to his reliance on the Merian (or Hollar) volumes.

On the other hand, in September 1836 Pugin wrote to Willson that 'I shall have too much *need* of Dom Pom to be able to part with it even for a short season'.⁹² He was in all probability referring to the *Histoire de l'abbaye royale de St Oüen de Rouen* of 1662, by Dom J.F. de Pommeraye, which was, in common with the two Nodier volumes on Normandy, in his library at his death.⁹³ This volume provides every aspect referred to above as being missing from the Merian volumes: the book includes, for example, an historical text which describes the life and education of the patron saint of the abbey in such fashion as to imply that the richness of its architecture is a reflection of the richness of the spiritual life of its founder. Although the sections and elevations are crude, and are not accurate representations of the structural system of the building, there is a bird's-eye view of the whole of the abbey compound in which it is possible to identify the differing architecture of the structures housing the various functions of the abbey [fig. 182a]. Here there are many examples of square and polygonal corner turrets with pyramidal roofs, placed at the junctions between the principal buildings, as well as certain other more incidental devices that Pugin was to use frequently, such as dormer windows, and courtyards defining the intensifying sequences of penetration from the city into the enclosure. The volume also provides a further (and detailed) example of the Hôtel de Bourgtheroulde-type in

⁹⁰ Most of Merian 1656 (*vol iii*), 'Campaniae et Briensis', is devoted to plans of city fortifications.

⁹¹ The first volume of the Merian work is preceded by aerial views of Paris 'wie solche 1620 anzusehen gewesen', and at the present time (1654).

⁹² In a letter of 5.9.1836: Belcher 2001, p 62.

⁹³ See also Belcher 2001, p 63 n 5.

the form of the abbot's residence [fig. 182b]. In common with Pugin's use of English sources, his continental borrowings drew a great many details from a very small number of examples, and the overall effect was likewise not historicist.

It seems possible that Pugin collected other drawings of this period – such as the Merian works – in a search for similar depictions of enclosed architectural ensembles with this degree of precision. Certainly one aspect of drawing style common to Hollar, the Merians, and Pommeraye which Pugin did adopt was the invariably flat depiction of the landscape, common to all.⁹⁴

⁹⁴ See sub-section 4.2.2 above.

7 How Pugin Influenced Residential Architecture

‘We should have had no Morris, no Street, no Burges, no Shaw, no Webb, no Bodley, no Rossetti, no Burne-Jones, no Crane, but for Pugin.’¹

7.1 Introduction

Pugin's influence during his working lifetime and immediately afterwards can be measured in three ways: in the work of architects who knew him, or his work, and may have consciously imitated aspects of it; in the work of other architects who, whilst they would not be expected to be particularly sympathetic to Pugin's aims, changed their way of working in such a way as to raise the possibility of indirect influence; and in the work of provincial architects whose work shows that they reacted in some way to the changes demonstrated by nationally-known architects, and thus contributed to a change in conventional practice throughout the country. This chapter aims to indicate which elements of a mid-Victorian architect's work might be evidence of a reaction to Pugin's domestic architecture.

In common with Chapter 2 above, particular reference is made here to the design of the Anglican parsonage, and for the same reasons. Furthermore, Pugin designed only two schemes for substantial new country houses: Garendon Hall and Woodchester Park; neither was built or published. At Scarisbrick Hall he incorporated considerable existing fabric into his work, and at Bilton Grange, his only large house design to have been illustrated in the press by the mid-nineteenth century,² he was influenced by his client's wish for an unusual plan, and in any case designed his house around a substantial surviving core. This chapter concentrates therefore on smaller, rather than larger, contemporary work.

¹ Sedding 1893, p 144.

² *Illustrated London news*, vol xxvi no 725 (27.1.1855), p 93.

7.2 *Imitation and Inspiration*

7.2.1 Imitation

Pugin's influence is at its most distinct where his work has been directly imitated by others; this is particularly true of his style of detailing, which continued with a life of its own in the hands of other architects. This was not always related to the development taken by the plans or other aspects of architecture which Pugin had influenced, and the direct copying or imitation of his style continued for at least thirty years after his death. Examples of this imitation can occasionally be seen in the work of his immediate successors. Edward Welby Pugin, who developed a detailing style of his own, which was generally more flamboyant than his father's, designed early in his career at least one house which was imitative in plan and in detailing of his father's work: Burton Manor, in Stafford.³ As late as 1874 he copied the staircase balustrade from St Augustine's for the staircase leading to the tower and upper servants' rooms at Carlton Towers, designed by 1874 [fig. 183].⁴

The most consistently Puginesque designers from the late 1840s onwards were the various architect members of the Hansom family, who in places worked at or near to Pugin sites for his or other related clients, and who were recognised by T.H. King, the editor of *Les vrais principes*, as the only architects approaching Pugin's own standards; there were others, wrote King in 1850, '*mais à une grande distance*'.⁵ Pugin was probably referring to them when he that certain rivals '*steal their brooms ready made*'.⁶ He was also aware that their buildings were cheaper than his.⁷ In fact it

³ See Fisher 2002, pp 150-3.

⁴ My site visit, 30.1.03. A drawing dated 1873 was published in *Building news*, 20.2.1874. The detailing of the upper servants' areas at Carlton shows it to have been the work of EW Pugin rather than of J Bentley, who completed the lower rooms. The story is recounted in Girouard 1967, and referred to in Hall 1995.

⁵ King 1850, pp xx-xxi. In common with many others, even up to the present day, King may have conflated the work of the various members of the Hansom family.

⁶ Quoted from a letter, probably mid-1846, to Shrewsbury in Ferrey 1861, p 133.

was not until 1854-9, when they were working in partnership, that the work of J.A. and his brother C.F. Hansom was at its most imitative: it can be distinguished from that of Pugin in that their elevational proportions tend more towards the horizontal, and fenestration is more regular; likewise, there are few deviations from the basic elements of institutional planning which were introduced by Pugin.⁸ At Ratcliffe College, C.F. Hansom (1817-1888) continued Pugin's scheme in an almost identical style;⁹ the south and north wings of the quadrangle (1854 and 1858 respectively) reuse architectural features, such as window surrounds, devised by Pugin for his original east front, and continue his cloister plan without deviation [fig. 184]. The only distinct mark of Hansom's work is that his internal window cills are horizontal; Pugin's are angled. In making alterations to Pugin's original work on the east wing, Hansom further mimicked less sympathetic aspects of Pugin's style: he added a further, inner, corridor, which runs parallel to the original one on the ground floor, and above this he placed rooms with windows too high to see out of.¹⁰

Other projects of the 1840s and 1850s by members of the Hansom family reproduced Puginian characteristics on new sites. These reappear in projects of this period such as at the first building of the convent in St Margaret Street, Stone (Staffs) (1852-3), which is arranged around an orthogonal cloister, reached by a long perpendicular lobby projecting towards the street.¹¹ At St Clare's Abbey in Darlington (1855-8), the architects reproduced a Puginesque entrance lodge, in the style of those at Oscott, with a lateral buttress flush with the front face of the wall; and a similar entrance porch and a Puginesque canted bay window on the public face of the entrance block

⁷ Letters to Hardman, 25.6.1845 and 9.7.1845?: Belcher 2003, pp 410 and 412, refers to a 'Dr W', probably Wiseman, having made this complaint.

⁸ Although in partnership, correspondence relating to projects undertaken sometimes indicates that brothers took individual responsibility for the design and management of projects, and thence the attributions given here. JA Hansom's professional partnerships are listed in his obituary, *Builder* vol xliii no 2057 (8.7.1888), p 44.

⁹ See O'Donnell 2002, pp 107-8.

¹⁰ Leetham 1950, p 35. My site visit, 2.5.2002.

¹¹ My site visit, 15.5.2002. Although predating their formal partnership, this building is attributed by Pevsner to both brothers: *PAG Staffs*, p 268.

itself [fig. 185]. It is a telling distinction between the work of the Pugin and the Hansoms that the latter reproduced Pugin's round bead architraves for the upper, servants', rooms alone in the presbytery built at St George's Roman Catholic church in York (1856): downstairs, the mouldings are broader and more conventional for their period. In general, however, much of the Hansoms' work of this period appears to be consciously based on Pugin's style, to the extent that historians have on occasion misattributed the work of the former to the latter.¹² In 1862, J.A. Hansom (1803-1882) entered into what turned out to be an unsuccessful partnership with E.W. Pugin, which was terminated the following year.¹³ In spite of a few surprises, such as the staircase entrance hall at the presbytery of the church of Our Lady, Marychurch (Torbay) of 1865, which has a large curved staircase entrance hall,¹⁴ J.A. Hansom's work showed little progression throughout his long career. A late house, such as 'The Moors', at Bishopsteignton of 1868, is not essentially different in its layout or proportions from a late Georgian house, but for the application of some Gothic detailing [fig. 186].¹⁵

The work of C.F. Hansom eventually showed some further departure from the merely Puginesque. His early work at the Rosminian convent in Loughborough (1848-50) is almost Tudor-Gothic, but with Puginian detailing [fig. 187];¹⁶ but following the termination of his partnership with his brother his work became more plastic and more polychromatic than that of Pugin. In addition, his work later took on a more English appearance, with the Tudor style of Malvern College (from 1863),¹⁷ and at some of the later extensions to Clifton College. However, the detailing here continued to be on occasion consciously Puginesque – door cases in the tower of 1883, for example, are in the Bilton Grange style of more than thirty years previously.¹⁸ The long career of C.F. Hansom thus provided a continuous link between the Puginesque architecture of

¹² See section 4.5 above.

¹³ *Builder* vol xliii no 2057 (8.7.1888), p 44.

¹⁴ My site visit, 24.5.2002.

¹⁵ My site visit, 23.5.2002.

¹⁶ Laura Phillipps' diary suggests that Pugin himself was originally given this commission: 26.2.1842.

¹⁷ My site visit, 19.5.2002.

¹⁸ My site visit, 21.5.2002.

Pugin's own contemporaries, and the revived interest in Pugin's architecture that occurred towards the end of the nineteenth century.

Pugin's former co-pupil Benjamin Ferrey was originally a conventional Tudor-Gothic architect, as his gothicisation of Compton Valence parsonage in 1839 shows [fig. 188].¹⁹ His earlier new parsonages appear to have been based on standard L-corridor plans: this was the case at Tarrant Hinton in 1843, where the architectural detailing, although more sophisticated than four years previously, is nevertheless still Tudor-Gothic.²⁰ The entrance elevation of Ferrey's parsonage at Wavendon (Bucks) of 1848 is however very similar to that of Pugin's at Rampisham, a building Ferrey may have known since he was employed at the time as local diocesan surveyor, and again the detailing is refined; but Ferrey's plan is again a standard Georgian-type L-corridor plan, and thus his elevation lacks Pugin's large stair window on the entrance side [fig. 189].²¹ The L-plan is in fact suggested on the exterior by the large pointed window on the centre of the garden elevation which reveals the conventional location of the staircase: but for this, that side of the building would have appeared entirely Tudor-Gothic.

A little later, Ferrey achieved a marrying of the L-corridor plan with an arrangement of rooms that suggests that he had by now seen a pinwheel house. At Mentmore (1851) there is no large central hall beyond the inner stair hall, but the three major rooms, study, drawing room and dining room, are arranged in an approximation of a pinwheel, the change in axis between them signalled on the outside, from the front, by the projection of the drawing room wall beyond that of the study.²² The gesture is a modest one, however; up to mid-century at least, Ferrey is primarily an example of an architect who imitated Pugin's style in his parsonages, but without any radical change to their layout.

¹⁹ Wilts & Swindon RO, D1/11/77.

²⁰ Wilts & Swindon RO, D28/6/12.

²¹ Oxon CRO, MS Oxf Dioc b109.

²² Oxon CRO, MS Oxf Dioc c1540.

Other conscious imitators of Pugin's style include William Wardell (1823-1899), who described Pugin as 'our own great master',²³ and who designed a presbytery at Brook Green, Hammersmith, that includes the one characteristic Pugin device ignored by other Gothic architects: the house is linked to the church by a long peripheral corridor that extends from the North East corner of the church, winds around the site boundary, and emerges to form the spine of a back-corridor type plan [fig. 190];²⁴ but Wardell's move to Australia in 1858 and his lack of involvement with substantial residential building projects in Britain meant that he did not contribute much further to any great extent in the subsequent development of Pugin's ideas. Similarly, Weightman and Hadfield of Sheffield soon imitated Puginesque cloisters, with varying window openings, in their design for the monastery of the Holy Trinity near Market Weighton.²⁵

Some imitation can be seen in the work of Anglican architects. Ewen Christian designed Casterton Grange in 1848, a house that not only is designed around a central staircase hall, with radiating rooms on the ground floor, but also has an entrance front remarkably similar to the south elevation of St Augustine's: it has a four-storey square-plan tower to the right of a bargeboarded, gable-and-bay elevation [fig. 191].²⁶ Samuel Daukes, an eclectic architect, produced one imitation of Pugin's Bilton Grange style at Horsted Place: the house was built by Myers with a long central gallery reached from an offset entrance hall, similar to that at Bilton, and included elements designed by Pugin.²⁷ This was not an isolated example of Puginesque

²³ 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.

²⁴ Wardell's drawings for all the buildings on the site are in the Mitchell Library, Sydney, Australia; there are photographic reproductions in the Conway Library of the Courtauld Institute. The almshouses were open by 1851, the church consecrated in 1853. Evinson 1980 is about this complex of buildings.

²⁵ There is an undated etching of the scheme in AAW, St Edmund's College Archive, Stamfield Collection.

²⁶ My site visit, 8.5.2002: I am indebted to Mr Chris Morley for sharing his researches on his house with me. Much later, in 1880, Christian produced a more Puginesque plan for his St Edmund's parsonage in Salisbury, with major rooms marked by bay windows rather than projecting bays, around a staircase hall: Wilts & Swindon RO, D1/11/270.

²⁷ Girouard 1958b.

architecture by Daukes. Previously a conventional planner, he designed as early as May 1844 (when the plan of St Augustine's was still unlikely to be common knowledge amongst professionals) a parsonage for Toft cum Caldecote (Cambs) which has three major rooms in pinwheel fashion, although without a central staircase hall [fig. 192].²⁸ Myers, on the other hand, appears generally not to have reproduced Pugin detailing in contemporary works for other architects: the curate's house designed by Edwin Nash and John Nash Round, to face their broadly Puginesque church of St John in Penge in 1848, is entirely devoid of Puginesque detailing.²⁹

7.2.2 Inspiration

The *Personal and professional recollections* of George Gilbert Scott indicate that it was primarily both Pugin's writings (specifically, in the *Dublin review*) and the activities of the Cambridge Camden, latterly Ecclesiological, Society which were responsible for a change in architectural thinking during the early 1840s: no other personal testimony by a leading architect member of the Society as to Pugin's own influence appears to exist.³⁰ Surviving sketchbooks of Scott, Butterfield and Street in the RIBA LDC do not show that these architects drew Pugin's houses, although Scott, at least, certainly visited the vicinity of some of them.³¹ The evidence must be drawn from the buildings themselves: the planning of small houses, in particular of parsonages, changed dramatically during this period: the standard central, back and L-

²⁸ CUL, EDR/G3/39/ MGA 50. Earlier parsonages, for example at Brinsop and Colwall (both 1840) had conventional L-corridor and back corridor type plans respectively: Herefordshire RO HD8/15 1840 (both refs).

²⁹ My site visit, 27.2.2003.

³⁰ GG Scott 1995, p 87ff. Butterfield published no reference to Pugin; neither did Street, nor Street's son (Street 1888). Refer to sub-section 1.2.4 above for the *Ecclesiologist's* own references to parsonage architecture.

³¹ According to his sketchbooks, Scott was in East Kent in 1844-5 (RIBA LDC [159] 6); at St Chad's Cathedral in Birmingham in 1846-7 (RIBA LDC, [159] 53); possibly in or near Dorchester, by Rampisham, in c. 1865 (RIBA LDC, [159] 63); and in Ely, by Wilburton, on several occasions, including the early-mid 1850s and early 1870s (RIBA LDC, [159] 35, 56). He drew Pugin glass in 1851-2 (RIBA LDC, [159] 11, 15).

corridor plans began to be varied or substituted altogether for new and experimental plans. Whilst many provincial architects continued at least until mid-century to produce work of the type which had become familiar over the preceding fifty years at least, new plans designed by London architects indicate the influence of Pugin's writing or of his own buildings.

The many hundreds of small houses built during the Victorian period make a comprehensive survey of Pugin's influence impossible in the context of the present study. In addition, Puginesque principles were occasionally discussed without reference to their author: a lecture by William White, reproduced in the *Ecclesiologist* in 1851, describes a favoured way of designing small and medium-sized houses in a Puginesque fashion, but without any mention of Pugin himself.³² The architects represented below have been chosen from amongst their many contemporaries where each illustrates a distinct development of one or more of Pugin's characteristic devices.

The impact of the plans of Pugin's residential buildings is hard to assess in that none were published excepting the chamber floor of the Bishop's House in Birmingham, in *The present state*; this aside, the layout of the buildings must have been known only from his written descriptions (in *The present state* and elsewhere), and from the narrative nature of the elevations and forms of the buildings themselves. Even in that respect there is little evidence of how broad an audience his work reached: his perspective of St Augustine's was exhibited (without a plan of the house) at the Royal Academy only in 1849; other residential projects exhibited there included the Liverpool orphanage, and views of Bilton Grange (in 1844 and 1849 respectively).³³

³² White 1851. White further presented similar views two years later (White 1853). The articles are discussed (with some conflation between them) in Thompson 1968.

³³ *Tablet* vol v no 216 (29.6.1844) p 405; *Ecclesiologist*, vol ix no 36 (June 1849), pp 369-70.

7.2.2.1 Scott

In addition to the well-known passages in his *Recollections*, George Gilbert Scott further professed his debt to Pugin, ‘the great reformer of architecture’, in his *Remarks on secular and domestic architecture*:³⁴ it seems improbable in the light of his comments there that he did not make himself familiar with Pugin’s conventional small and medium-sized house plans. Scott’s primacy in this present list is further due to the significance he gave in his *Recollections* to A.C. Pugin’s measured drawings of Gothic buildings;³⁵ and Shrewsbury told Pugin that ‘Scott...came to Cheadle the other day & admired every thing *exceedingly*’.³⁶

Scott is further distinguished from the new Gothic architects of his generation by his having been in practice as an architect well before his ‘conversion’. In 1838 he had designed a simple central corridor plan type parsonage in classical Georgian style at Weston Turville. Later work emerging from the office of Moffatt and Scott was Tudor-Gothic in style, and the planning sometimes original: the parsonage at West Knoyle, designed in 1842, is an asymmetrical variation on the central corridor plan.³⁷ No plan for the parsonage at St Giles, Camberwell, designed in 1843 soon after the architect enlisted to the new Gothic cause, can be located, although with its flush-framed, square-headed traceried windows it may be considered the first Puginesque building of the Church of England.³⁸ A parsonage at Great Haseley, of 1847, indicates that although Scott’s style and detailing were blatantly historicist in a way that Pugin’s was not, he was experimenting with Puginian layouts [fig. 193].³⁹ The house

³⁴ GG Scott 1857, p 241.

³⁵ GG Scott 1995, pp 110-1.

³⁶ Photocopy: HLRO, PUG/3/2/110, undated.

³⁷ Wilts & Swindon RO, D1/11/90. 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 (D1/11/215).

³⁸ There is a partial view in Thompson 1971, p 348.

³⁹ Oxon CRO, MS Oxf Dioc b.103/7. Scott’s interest in English historic detailing can be deduced also from his sketchbooks at the RIBA LDC; for example, he drew both Lanercost Abbey and the prior’s lodging at Wenlock Priory, which, as noted above at section 6.1, Pugin apparently had not.

has a central, double-height staircase hall, but the study, drawing room and dining room are arranged along the same side of the house. The rooms are distinguished by different windows but otherwise form a formal elevation which is almost symmetrical in its massing.

The remarkable feature of Scott's much later plans is, however, that he adopted Pugin's pinwheel planning almost in its entirety. By 1863, at Tydd St Giles, he was still experimenting with large staircase halls whilst attempting an original plan: in this case, three corridors lead into the central hall at different angles, from to the front door, one from the dining room, and a third from the kitchen offices [fig. 194].⁴⁰ At Christ Church Ealing, in 1866, a porch leads directly into a large, square staircase hall; the drawing and dining rooms are axially aligned to the left, and the library is located opposite, to the right of the hall; the kitchen is at the back.⁴¹ Scott was clearly moving towards recognition of Pugin's hall-centred planning, and four years later, when building for another member of his family at Hillesden, his office produced a plan that closely resembles that of Rampisham or Oswaldcroft [fig. 195]. The axes of all three rooms leading off from the central stair hall are in fact parallel, but the similarity is unmistakable.⁴² The elevations here are in a vernacular, half-timbered style with clusters of brick chimneys, almost presaging the Queen Anne Revival. It seems therefore possible that the design was the work of one of Scott's assistants, for example George Gilbert Scott Junior or John Oldrid Scott, then established in their father's office.

7.2.2.2 Butterfield, Carpenter and Street

The work of the young architects associated with the ecclesiological movement indicates that at first, the most significant aspects of Pugin's influence in the field of domestic architecture are the historical observations that 'Each part of these [mediaeval domestic] buildings indicated its particular destination', and that 'the

⁴⁰ CUL, EDR/G3/39 MGA/91.

⁴¹ LMA, ACC 1083/2 (cc no 1704).

⁴² Oxon CRO, MS Oxf Dioc c.1479.

architects of the middle ages were the first who *turned the natural properties of the various materials to their full account, and made their mechanism a vehicle for their art*.⁴³

Pugin knew Butterfield well – he was ‘one of our best customers’, he told Hardman⁴⁴ – and later correspondence reveals that Butterfield looked to Pugin’s work for inspiration at least until 1851.⁴⁵ It appears that in his architectural work Butterfield was, similarly, attracted by the sculptural and formal potential of materials rather than by any imitation of his plans and layouts. The most distinct departure from a Puginian vocabulary of materials that appears in Butterfield’s work is the appearance of half-timbering, from the Alvechurch parsonage onwards, and at Baldersby in the late 1850s.

Butterfield’s parsonages reveal a continuous search for new plans without the formation of any particular type. At Coalpit Heath in 1844, at the beginning of his career, and in the year in which St Augustine’s was largely completed, he designed a house with a plan similar to an L-corridor type, except that the three major rooms were arranged along the length of the entrance elevation. The significance of this parsonage is that it is the first domestic building by an architect who designed from the beginning of his career in a way that reflects Pugin’s influence. The staircase was located ‘beyond’ the L of the corridor, almost hidden towards the back of the house. The major decorative architectural elements of the exterior of the house – the external chimney, the buttresses, the tall gables and the flush stone window surrounds – were characteristic of Pugin’s style, regardless of the fact that they were not local to the area.⁴⁶

⁴³ Pugin 1841a (*True principles*), p 60; pp 1-2.

⁴⁴ Photocopy: HLRO, PUG/1/582, not dated.

⁴⁵ Birmingham Central Library, 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’.

⁴⁶ Thompson 1971, p 85, makes this latter point.

Thenceforth, Butterfield's houses become less Puginesque in appearance; the plans varied, but he generally preferred to arrange his major rooms in a continuous row along the main elevation of the house, as if consciously displaying their functions to the outside: this occurs from Coalpit Heath at least up to the Landford parsonage of 1870.⁴⁷ The differing functions of the main rooms in this layout were expressed by varying the design of the various vertical bays on the exterior beneath a continuous ridge: at Alvechurch in 1855, for example, the bays increase in size, and massiveness, from west to east, from library via drawing room to dining room – in other words, the definition of the uses within is more blatant than was Pugin's standard practice.⁴⁸ Isolated Puginesque details occur, such as the square bay window of the Great Woolstone parsonage of 1851 which, although largely of timber, echoes that of the Bishop's House in Birmingham, or at Warwick Bridge;⁴⁹ but generally, as Thompson has noted, Butterfield appears to have taken his inspiration from Pugin's use of brick as a comprehensive building material, at for example the simple presbytery buildings such as that at Brewood, and concentrated his attention to the exploitation of this building material through the use of subtly differing planes (such as at Avington, 1847) and eventually through colour.⁵⁰ In general, his creation of three-dimensional forms through the paring of a material by complex patterns of chamfering, for example in his font and other smaller-scale ornamental designs, is, similarly, probably the closest of all his work to Pugin's. Butterfield did use a stair hall, pinwheel-type plan at least once, at Bamford (1862), but this is an isolated occurrence rather than a progression.⁵¹ The late parsonage at Landford is essentially a reversion to a conventional back corridor type.⁵² Butterfield used cloister and corridor plans in his institutional designs, such as those at St Augustine's College Canterbury and Keble College Oxford, but without Pugin's characteristic anchoring of the endpoint of these axes to a continuous route through a building, or to a perspective or view outside.

⁴⁷ Wilts & Swindon RO, D1/11/206.

⁴⁸ The plan is reproduced in Thompson 1971, p 108.

⁴⁹ *Ibid*, fig 60 p 152.

⁵⁰ *Ibid*; see particularly pp 356-60.

⁵¹ The plan of Bamford parsonage is reproduced in Thompson 1971, p 406.

⁵² Wilts & Swindon RO, D1/11/206.

The pattern established by Butterfield is repeated amongst other architects of his generation whose careers began as Pugin's reached its zenith: a continuous search for new plans, the adoption of several Puginian characteristics, and the expansion of Pugin's own novelties by the addition of features (such as half-timbering) considered English.⁵³ Philip Webb's Red House of 1859 provides an example of the direction in which Butterfield's Puginian characteristics were leading: it employs Pugin characteristics such as a homogenous walling material and the use of brick modelling instead of applied ornament or carving; internally it has a broad hall, and a staircase that links two major passages on both floors. On the other hand, it employs Butterfieldian sash windows, brick pattern-making, and curious forms such as round windows and pointed doors.⁵⁴ But Webb had worked in the office of G.E. Street, and it was surely the latter who provided the more immediate influence.

In the case of both of the two major parsonages designed by R.C. Carpenter, whom Pugin also knew,⁵⁵ the Puginian characteristic is a substantial central corridor. At Monkton Wyld parsonage, built to accompany Carpenter's church of 1849, the architect appears to have derived the required 'Englishness' by adopting the prominent architectural characteristics of Great Chalfield Manor in neighbouring Wiltshire: the house is arranged on the garden front between two stone gables, both of which are decorated with ornate traceried bays; and the major chimney of the house is placed on this elevation [fig. 196].⁵⁶ Great Chalfield Manor [fig. 171] is a hall house, with a single large room at its centre; Monkton Wyld parsonage on the other hand has an entirely different plan, essentially of the back corridor type, allowing the front elevation to be divided into three. The building thus demonstrates the conflicts

⁵³ Habershon 1839, in succession to many Picturesque and Tudor-Gothic architects, saw half-timbering as 'English'

⁵⁴ Crook has long ago noticed this joint parentage, in Eastlake 1970, preface p 14. Webb's hipped dormers were previously used by SS Teulon, in his design for his parsonage, c1846, at Kirmington, Lincs (RIBA LDC, [10]).

⁵⁵ 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.

⁵⁶ Great Chalfield had recently become well known through the inclusion of T.L. Walker's drawings of it in the Pugins' third volume of the *Examples* (1836-8).

inherent in trying to unite a historic genre with a convenient plan; it thus also highlights the fact that Pugin's plans were not necessarily trying to do either. The parsonage at Kilndown (1854-5) is similarly arranged around a central corridor, with a perpendicular extension at the entrance end in the form of a short external cloister, imitating a Puginian trait [fig. 197].⁵⁷

George Edmund Street, born in 1824 and thus a younger architect than Butterfield and Carpenter, likewise began to design parsonages during the period when Pugin's professional career was at its zenith; and he enjoyed, according to his son, 'intimate relations' with Benjamin Webb.⁵⁸ The design for his parsonage at Wantage was completed in November 1849, soon after he had left the office of George Gilbert Scott and following the display of the perspective of St Augustine's at the Royal Academy; its plan was based around a large and almost square staircase hall.⁵⁹ The principal rooms were not however arranged around it in pinwheel fashion: the drawing and dining rooms were located to one side of the hall, and the study at the other; the staircase window on the front elevation was at ground floor, rather than intermediate, level. Street gave written instructions in his accompanying specification that 'particular attention [was] to be given to making the Bond of the Masons on the exterior naturally irregular', and used flush stone window surrounds, rustic buttresses, a stone bay window, and other Puginian devices [fig. 198]. The house was Puginian too in its 'convenience': the original incumbent, writing later to Street's son, described it as 'one of the most convenient and pleasant of dwellings, and it has been a subject of never failing surprise to all who have seen it and inhabited it, that a house so bright and attractive could have been built for so small a sum of money as it actually cost'.⁶⁰ The design of Street's small houses subsequently however shows

⁵⁷ No original drawings have been located; from my site visit (2.3.2002) it appears that some alterations, including the extension of the kitchen offices were made to the house soon after completion, and the external cloister may have been added or altered at that time since the stonework differs slightly from that of the main part of the house. The cloister was evidently originally external to the front door of the house. Elliott 1995 has further details on Carpenter's domestic architecture.

⁵⁸ Street 1883, p 13.

⁵⁹ Oxon CRO, MS Oxf Dioc b.80.

⁶⁰ Quoted in Street 1883, p 15.

little developing interest in the genre: the plan of the Denstone parsonage is complex and unresolved, arranged about a central corridor which winds around the three principal rooms to reach a rear stair hall.⁶¹ In common with Butterfield, his interest in Pugin's work appears to have been largely limited to exploiting the planar qualities of building materials, and of trying to break away from conventional planning.

This search for new solutions, using some, but not all of Pugin's recent ideas, appears to have been characteristic of other young Goths: Henry Woodyer, for example, broke with conventional plans at Cove and Marchwood, with, in the former case, a small staircase hall and an asymmetrical layout.⁶²

7.2.2.3 Pugin and Modernism

It is the 'line of succession' derived from Pugin's work and continued by his proclaimed admirers – Scott, Butterfield, and thence from Webb to Shaw – that has dominated the twentieth-century discussion of Pugin described in sub-section 1.4.4 above. This thesis proposes that whereas there is almost no proof that these architects consciously used Pugin's work as a model, there is much evidence that substantial deviations from conventional planning date from Pugin's working period, and were executed by those architects who knew him. As a first stage, architects broke from conventional early nineteenth-century layouts; secondly, as the work of the Scott office suggests, as Pugin's domestic planning presumably became better known other architects increasingly incorporated his motif of the pinwheel, derived from external expression of the interior layout without Picturesque exertions. Furthermore, the modelling of complex forms from simple materials, in recognition of their physical characteristics, returned to English domestic architecture after a two-hundred-year disappearance. On these counts Pevsner's claim of Pugin as a 'functionalist' is not unreasonable:⁶³ in any case, Pugin's belief in expressing construction must have had

⁶¹ My site visit, 12.4.2003.

⁶² Cove (1845): Hants CRO 16M70/10/1; Marchwood (1846): *Ecclesiologist* vol vi (1846), pp 238-9, and note sub-section 2.2.4 above. See also Elliott & Pritchard 2002.

⁶³ See sub-section 1.4.4.1 above.

particular resonance at a time when architectural practice was tending towards a far more scientific awareness of construction from the period from Loudon's *Encyclopaedia* to Bartholomew's *Specifications*. Stanton's suggestion that Pugin was faced with a conscious choice between working in Gothic or adopting a non-historicist way of building based on abstract principles derived from Gothic, and that he chose the former because he was 'addicted' to it, is however a more problematic claim.⁶⁴ In the first place, none of Pugin's domestic architecture was essentially historicist; and late projects can show both on the one hand a remarkably original and idiosyncratic plan (such as the Cheadle convent), but on the other, a bored regression to the castellated Tudor-Gothic of the 1830s (in the near-contemporaneous Hornby Castle scheme). Secondly, and paradoxically, there is no evidence in his writing and sketching that Pugin consciously entertained any idea of a non-historical style of building; and whilst there is plenty that his buildings consistently avoid historical classification, there is also a good deal to show that his own 'principles', whilst usually technically consistent, were not greatly concerned with functionalism in the early-mid-twentieth-century sense. Bøe's more specific claim, derived from Stanton, that Pugin was on the edge of a stylistic breakthrough towards ahistoricism is similarly unresolved.⁶⁵ And yet on the other hand, if he was irrationally enamoured of historical Gothic architecture, as Watkin's answer to Stanton implies,⁶⁶ he would no doubt have reproduced mediaeval architecture: and this he never did, or wanted to.

But Pugin's work presented a younger generation of Victorian architects with a great deal of non-'functionalist' inspiration. As Stamp has recently described, G.G. Scott Junior, Bodley, Garner, and Pearson and others consciously revived Puginian aesthetics;⁶⁷ this is expressed too in their domestic work. The hand of this Scott and his brother John Oldrid has been referred to in relation to their father's late parsonages above. They soon emulated Pugin in at least one other respect: their Conservative Party Clubhouse at Boston, Lincolnshire, of 1873 has tall, Flemish, crowstepped

⁶⁴ Stanton 1952, p 53; Stanton 1954, p 21.

⁶⁵ Bøe 1957, especially at p 39.

⁶⁶ Watkin 1977, p 20.

⁶⁷ There is considerable description of Pugin's influence on these architects in Stamp 2002, particularly at pp 38-63.

gables, similar to those of Pugin's first convent at Bermondsey; in the case of both architects, it was a unique use of this form of decoration. Amongst other occasional gestures, Pearson echoed Pugin's smaller domestic work such as the Spetchley school in his schoolmaster's house at Llangasty-Talyllyn (Breconshire) of 1848-50; the garden gate is a miniature variation of one proposed by Pugin for Balliol College, Oxford [fig. 199].⁶⁸ A full study of this phenomenon lies outside the scope of this dissertation; but it is suggested that Puginesque elements surfaced amongst the rich variety of late nineteenth-century eclecticism: Shaw's Alderbrook, at Cranleigh in 1881, had for example a pinwheel plan, which was not then characteristic of country house planning [fig. 200]; and Shaw had long been an admirer of Pugin's.⁶⁹ And it was in the context of domestic architecture that Muthesius described Pugin as '*der eigentliche Begründer der Neugotik in England*', the first in a line of succession that continued with '*Scott, Street und Pearson*'.⁷⁰ The Pevsnerian interpretation is not therefore wrong: it merely implies a limitation that did not in practice exist; and as the following sections will demonstrate, the fact that Puginian characteristics soon emerged in the work of architects around England are evidence of that he brought about a fundamental change in domestic architecture.

7.3. Three Late Converts

There is evidence that Pugin's work soon influenced other domestic architects beyond Ecclesiological circles: a striking example can be found close in Alderbury, to St Marie's Grange, where T. H. Wyatt designed a vicarage in an anglicised version of Pugin's of one of Pugin's pinwheel house in 1852 [fig. 201]. Perhaps more significantly, Puginesque planning soon emerged in the work of established domestic architects, and three examples are given here.

⁶⁸ My site visit, 10.2.2002. Girouard 1971, pp 83-4, similarly saw traces of Pugin in Pearson's Welsh work.

⁶⁹ An earlier plan for Alderbrook had been even more blatantly a pinwheel: Saint 1977, fig 86 p 104. For Shaw's admiration of Pugin see *ibid*, e.g. p 5. He told a correspondent in 1891 that St Augustine's church made 'one feel small, very small': *ibid*, p 290.

⁷⁰ H Muthesius 1902 (taken from web text; translation is in H Muthesius 1994, p 66).

The Deanery at Lincoln was designed by William Burn at a late stage of his own career as a domestic architect [fig. 202].⁷¹ The house was built in 1847 to the north east of the Cathedral, and its entrance façade faced north. A blank gable to the right hand side carried only a chimney; the entrance door was a second, slightly smaller gabled bay that stepped forward from the principal mass of the block. This porch led into an entrance hall: to the right was the Dean's study, and to the left, a service corridor ran behind the eastern end of the north front to serve a water closet, a butler's pantry and the housekeeper's room. Continuing straight ahead from the entrance hall, one reaches a central, top lit hall. Immediately ahead there is a drawing room, its long axis perpendicular to that of the entrance route. To the right there is a drawing room. The substantial office wing to the east is reached though a door under the stairs. The house layout exhibits all the sophistication for which Burn became recognised in the planning of a complex modern house, but it also carries echoes of Pugin's pinwheel type houses, and in particular the best known of them, St Augustine's.

Charles Fowler (1792-1867) also provides an example of a significant late house by an established and largely classical architect. At the parsonage of Bovey Tracey in Devon of 1850, the west, garden elevation is of a gable-and-wall type in Tudor-Gothic style that was by now a well-established [fig. 203]. The house has a narrow, central staircase hall, but the principal rooms on the ground floor do radiate around it in imitation of Pugin's pinwheel houses that were by now all completed. Some of the detailing is clearly derived from Pugin's work: windows have substantial but plain stone mullions, and have depressed lancets on the principal floor, and backstairs joinery has Puginesque detailing, with timber beads for architraves to office rooms, and a chamfered newel.⁷²

Additionally, mention should be made here of the architect William Donthorn (1799-1859), since he was a prolific architect of parsonages during from the 1820s to 1852.

⁷¹ Lincs CRO MGA 315. The main part of the building survives; my site visit, 4.5.2002.

⁷² It seems possible that Charles Fowler junior (c1823-1903) may have been involved in the design. The drawings are in Devon CRO (Exeter diocesan archives)

Donthorn's parsonages were generally but not invariably Tudor-Gothic. Although he did use the conventional central corridor type – for example, at the executed version of the Italianate parsonage at Moulton St Michael in Norfolk of 1831, and at Oundle in Northamptonshire (not dated) – his particular contribution to the plan type was to create a substantial stair hall. A curious early plan for the parsonage at Thrapston in 1837, which incorporates parts of an older building, has a minimal staircase hall reached by a corridor. At Weybridge in Surrey (1848) and Fontmell (not dated), however, this stair hall is large enough to be used as a room and placed at the front centre of a symmetrical elevation, but the plan is in other respects unremarkable. At Dummer in Hampshire, of 1850, a central front door leads into the left hand corner of a stair hall which is as large as at least two of the principal rooms; at a late project, a remodelling of an existing building at Rushbury in Shropshire in 1852, another new central staircase hall was created out of the old fabric [fig. 204].⁷³ The development in Donthorn's plans seems to reflect the increasing importance of the hall in the planning of the house; it may also be a conscious imitation of those plans, such as Pugin's pinwheel houses, where the staircase hall also acts as the hub of a relatively small house.

7.4 *Pugin's Influence on Provincial Architects*

Pugin's influence on minor provincial architects can be measured as much as that on major London ones, and some representative examples are given here. There is some evidence that architects working on Anglican parsonages in Staffordshire and Leicestershire, where Pugin's rural building most probably had its greatest impact, actively avoided the Gothic style with which he, and the Roman Catholic church, were clearly associated. There was an angry Anglican reaction to Phillipps' missionary activities in the Charnwood Forest, with specific reference to the construction of the monastery there;⁷⁴ and there are examples such as the parsonage at

⁷³ Drawings for the above parsonages are in the RIBA LDC catalogued by name, except for Rushbury, which is at Herefs CRO, HD 10/6 1853, and dated by Donthorn 1853.

⁷⁴ See for example Merewether 1845.

Lapley in Staffordshire which was designed in a plain Georgian style, by an architect who both before and afterwards practised elsewhere in variations of the Tudor style.⁷⁵

The rectory at Galby has been referred to briefly at section 3.2 above [fig. 18]. The architect was William Parsons (1783-1855), who was a major practitioner in Leicester, designing public buildings of all kinds as well as many parsonages almost exclusively in the county and adjoining counties; the style of the additions he made in 1829 to the rectory was a fancy Regency gothick, symmetrical, with turrets, ornamental bargeboards surmounted by crosses, cemented balustrades of lancet openings, and a central straight-headed window with a hood mould: this was superimposed onto a symmetrical, central corridor plan.⁷⁶ At the Aylestone and Thurmaston parsonages, both approximately ten years on from Galby, Parsons had developed a more reserved Tudor-Gothic style.⁷⁷ At Aylestone, Parsons remodelled a conventional Georgian three-bay building of 1816 (and demolished an office wing of c1788), and added a new staircase hall, dining room, substantial offices, and twelve new bedrooms – there were to be fifteen in total – in an explicitly Tudor style which in at least two respects suggests the influence of William Wilkins' work in King's Court (now called New Court) at Trinity College, Cambridge [fig 40]: there is an open loggia with low four-centred arches, and also the device of placing the staircase within an oriel window. Thurmaston, the following year, provides further evidence that Parsons had for the time being become a Tudor-Gothic architect. The stucco-faced house was rustic in style with heavily decorated bargeboards and fancy Tudor-Picturesque glazing bars. The design for the house was initially rejected by the Bishop, who believed it too ambitious for the size of the living, but Parsons appears to have succeeded in persuading him that the cost would not be excessive: he evidently rejected the possibility of building in a cheaper, unornamented, Georgian style.

In 1847, Parsons designed a series of almshouses at Bitteswell in Leicestershire in 1847 that illustrates this: these were built in the form of semi-detached cottages, with

⁷⁵ J Watson, c1840 (Colvin, p 1026).

⁷⁶ Lincs CRO, MGA 153

⁷⁷ Aylestone (1838): Lincs CRO, MGA 225 / 1838; Thurmaston (1837): Lincs CRO, MGA 220 / 1837.

a central gable above the two front doors [fig. 205].⁷⁸ Built close to the area Ambrose Phillips was studding with Pugin buildings, Parsons chose a very minimal and sober form of Tudor-Gothic, a far cry both from the his flamboyant Gothic, early in his career at Galby, and from the stucco and bargeboarding of Thurmaston of 1838.⁷⁹ It is possible therefore that the proximity of Pugin's work appears to have played some part in making local styles less confusing and more consistent: unabashed hybrids, such as Mark Thompson's Boxford parsonage of 1818, castellated in front and classical-Georgian behind, are no longer to be found after 1840 [fig. 17].⁸⁰

A more sophisticated example of an architect who appears to have been influenced by Pugin's work locally is John Whichcord (1790-1860). Whichcord was born in Devon but settled in Kent in the early 1820s as a result of working in the office of Daniel Asher Alexander on the design of Maidstone Gaol. His earliest buildings were largely in a stripped classical style derived from his prison work. The Oakwood hospital of 1830 to the west of Maidstone has a continental air: a five-sectioned symmetrical façade has a pedimented 5-bay centre with a projecting loggia; the rest of the building is almost entirely unornamented, with the exception of a cornice and horizontal string courses.⁸¹ The style is consistent with his other works of this period, which included churches and workhouses. Although some of Whichcord's works of this period were Gothic, his classical architecture was designed with considerably more conviction. By 1843, he had designed a parsonage at Sissinghurst in which he demonstrated that he too might have been familiar with Parker's *Villa Rustica* of 1833: although there are here no Italian mannerisms, the front, east elevation of the house, is elegantly composed of three bays on two storeys, the central bay recessed slightly; there is a verandah unifying the ground-floor openings, and also obscuring the perennial problem of the conflict between the need for an imposing central bay on the one hand, and the common arrangement of a narrow corridor central between two principal reception rooms on the other [fig. 206].⁸²

⁷⁸ My site visit, 29.4.2002.

⁷⁹ For Galby and Thurmaston, refer section 3.2 above.

⁸⁰ My site visit, 21.2.2001.

⁸¹ My site visit, 2.3.2002.

⁸² For which see section 2.2 above. Details from my site visit, 2.3.2002.

1843 was the year in which Pugin embarked upon the design of St Augustine's, and the house was externally complete by the end of the following summer. It seems very possible that Whichcord saw it, because a parsonage design of 1847 for Charles Oxenden at Barham in East Kent (about fifteen miles south-west of Ramsgate) reflects some aspects of its design.⁸³ Whichcord was by now in partnership with his son John (1823-1885), and conceivably the house represents something of the influence of the younger generation. The house was built on a secluded site well to the north of the church. The combination of plan and elevation indicates the extent to which Whichcord was experimenting with recent ideas, for he has merged here a conventional central corridor plan with a Puginesque elevation in a not entirely resolved way [fig. 207].

At Barham, the principal elevation is to the south, and the entrance elevation to the east. Whichcord has, however, arranged his plan so that the central corridor and stairs are on the south, garden side, rather than directly at the entrance. This is in itself not unusual, but Pugin's influence is visible in that Whichcord has tried to imitate the Ramsgate house by putting an elevation with a gable and a bay on this garden side rather than (as was more common) on the entrance front.⁸⁴ Indeed, the fact that the central bay of this garden front leads into the central corridor has been obscured in two respects. Firstly, the French window into the corridor is matched by further, larger, French windows either side; secondly, the corridor French window is in fact partly false, being taken up on the right-hand side by a 'washing closet' under the stairs, reached from the adjacent study. The entrance elevation is also to some extent a conventionalisation of Pugin's design, for the porch lobby is turned into a major, full height bay. The chimney alongside however still provides the dominant vertical, as it did at for example the Rampisham rectory.

The detailing of the Barham house indicates to what limited extent Whichcord was prepared to adopt Pugin's ideas. The house is built of knapped flint but has regular

⁸³ My site visit, 2.3.2002

⁸⁴ It should be added that there were examples of this type of composition, but without a bay, previous to St Augustine's, such as at Rockland St Peter, in Norfolk, in 1840 – for which see section 3.2 above.

cemented quoins. Whichcord has preferred to use a more familiar 45° gable to Pugin's 60°, but he has used bargeboards, exposed and moulded eaves sprockets, and mainly casement windows. The entrance-door bay is composed of picturesque features derived from English vernacular architecture, most notably a projecting flat-roofed timber window bay at first floor, with a half-timbered gable above, further evidence of the anglicisation of Pugin's architecture.⁸⁵

Whichcord's windows have flush frames with few mouldings, and the four-pointed front door with a hood mould, moulded spandrels and a ribbed embrasure is the only truly 'Gothic' part of the house. This also implies the learning of a Puginian lesson, for generally Tudor-Gothic houses applied gothic ornament for picturesque effect. Amongst those architects who abandoned the Tudor-Gothic style during the period in which Pugin established his reputation, it seems possible that there were some who had learnt that Gothic ornament was superfluous if it did not '*have a meaning or serve a purpose*', or who had themselves come to that conclusion in any case.⁸⁶

It is possible too that provincial architects saw work by Pugin, or its imitations by the Hansoms, and derived from them small improvements for their own buildings. As Chapter 4 above describes, a very characteristic feature of Pugin's work is the chamfering of doorstops and architraves – the consistent pattern that he developed in this respect being entirely different from anything produced by Tudor-Gothic architects. The parsonage in Shareshill in Staffordshire, scarcely five miles east south east of Brewood, is a symmetrical central corridor type Tudor-Gothic parsonage, by George Hamilton (fl. 1836-1849), designed in 1844, and the detailing appears entirely conventional; there is, however, a scooped chamfer at the base of the front door stop [fig. 208]. Had Hamilton seen this at Pugin's new presbytery so near by?⁸⁷

⁸⁵ No executed house by Pugin has either of these elements.

⁸⁶ Pugin 1841a (*True principles*), p 1.

⁸⁷ My site visit, 15.5.2002.

8 Realism and Representation: Some Interpretation of Pugin's Residential Architecture

No material object exists that will not convey some spiritual meaning to our moral sense, or recall one or more of the inner springs of action, if we only look for such tokens. The habit of looking out for signs of reverence, love, truth, justice, mercy, honesty, candour, generosity, humility, order, loyalty, and dignity in our own work and the work of others has many advantages. By this habit we are kept in constant remembrance of the unseen, and higher qualities of life: we are lifted by it above the material, not to despise matter but to value it and use it more justly.¹

8.1 Realism

Realism in architecture has been defined in two different ways: – as the revelation by the form of a building of the real nature of a community or activity housed, but also, more traditionally, as the expression of the constructional characteristics of building.²

Section 4.4 above has summarised Pugin's approach to residential design, which can be thus described as 'realist' in both ways: his demand that each room be separately articulated according to its function, as realised in the peripheral corridor and pinwheel plans, created by definition an external manifestation of the real nature of the activities within but balanced by continuous ridge heights; and his constructional and decorative treatment of materials strove to expose their physical characteristics. Both these aspects were adopted and developed by other architects, suggesting that desire for this type of expression was prevalent across architectural culture in the mid nineteenth century.

¹ Voysey 1915, p 96.

² For example, in Forty 2000, pp 109-10.

The former definition of realism – that of form representing the real nature of use – was shared, in Pugin's working life, by creative artists in other fields, but also in the new emerging sciences, such as sociology, which, like Britton's contemporary *Architectural antiquities*, strove to make scientific judgments from apparently irrational patterns of behaviour.³ Pugin himself borrowed realist devices in his early architecture, for example from Walter Scott, whose shadow hangs over the whole of the popular artistic world of the 1820s and 1830s. Scott created realistic figures inhabiting realistic settings, meticulously described. In *Kenilworth* (1821), Countess Amy's apartments at Cumnor Place are arranged in a series of rooms, each leading from the next, each with its own design identity, and with the most intimate of the chambers placed at the deepest point.⁴ The significance of Scott's description is that the rooms do not only have a merely metaphorical quality that expresses the events happening inside in the manner of a didactic, romantic or picturesque fable, but are clearly 'real' rooms with highly-detailed architecture. Pugin, who was familiar with *Kenilworth* (in 1831 he designed a stage set for Cumnor Place, for a ballet based on the story),⁵ reproduced Scott's arrangement at St Marie's Grange in 1835: the three rooms on the principal floor lead off from one another without a corridor, a plan entirely unlike any new architect-designed house of similar scale of the period, and indicating the literal way in which an architect can translate one idea into another.

Likewise, Pugin on occasion echoed the foremost realist writer of his period, the French novelist Honoré de Balzac. Balzac's novels describe rooms by way of converting a moral atmosphere into a finite physical form, in a way that had long been characteristic of novel writing.⁶ Unlike his predecessors, however, Balzac describes architectural settings to a degree of precision that suggests that they are real, a sense of reality far enhanced above that of Scott by the contemporary context of the stories. The descriptions of the house forming the claustrophobic setting for *Eugénie Grandet* (1833) are so detailed that it could be built from the page. Furthermore, Balzac's *Père*

³ The pioneering work of sociology, Auguste Comte's *Course of positive philosophy*, was published in 1830-42.

⁴ W Scott 1999, pp 46-8.

⁵ 'Autobiography', 3.3.1831.

⁶ This is discussed extensively in Auerbach 1953, p 468 ff.

Goriot (1834-5) is in the author's words a meditation 'upon natural principles' wherein he will see 'Societies depart from or approach "the eternal rule, the true, the beautiful"' (in Balzac's own words, 'la règle éternelle, le vrai, le beau')⁷ – an announcement that precedes Pugin's own declaration, that 'the Beautiful and the True' be the watchwords of architecture, by a few years only. Unlike the case of *Kenilworth*, there is no evidence to suggest that Pugin was familiar with Balzac's writing; but the coincidence is remarkable.

The realist novel writer allows every detail to build up a consistent picture of a realistic whole, which is in itself part of the portrayal of a good or bad character; the realist architect designs a building such that each part of it both expresses the activity within, but is also utterly consistent with the whole and in its details. Pugin clearly enjoyed the work of his contemporary Dickens: he justified the plainness of the garden design at St Augustine's with the words "No arbour for caterpillars [sic] to drop on you",⁸ a phrase surely drawn from the comic routine of Nicholas Nickleby's mother, who referred to 'an exquisite little porch with twining honeysuckles and all sorts of things, where the earwigs used to fall into one's tea on a summer evening';⁹ and Dickens, with his moralistic associations of good characters with pleasant rooms, and the opposite, consistently echoed Pugin's *Contrasts*; but it is the work of the new, realist, novel writing that Pugin's work finds its closest contemporary parallel.

8.1.1 Phrenology

As first Scott and then Dickens were enjoying their public success, from the 1820s and at least until the conclusion of Pugin's working life, a major international movement established throughout Europe a link between three-dimensional diagrams – plans – and personal behavioural traits in public perception: phrenology. Franz Josef Gall, the 'inventor' of phrenology, visited Britain in 1823, and his associate

⁷ Quoted in *ibid*, p 477.

⁸ Wedgwood 1988, p 175.

⁹ *Ibid*, p 679.

Spurzheim based himself in London from that time onwards. In pointing out the vast sales of George Combe's phrenologically orientated 'Constitution of Man', which had sold over 80,500 copies in Britain by 1847, Roger Cooter in his comprehensive study of the subject remarks that Combe was attempting 'a demonstration of morality as a science' – in other words, that it was possible to translate abstract behavioural qualities into finite analytical diagrams.¹⁰ Cooter provides the following gloss on Combe's theories of rationally derived happiness: 'For happiness, all that was required was that people come into harmony with and abide by the natural laws of mind and morality'. These natural laws were derived from a supposedly rational analysis of the physical form of the skull. 'In a way that would appeal to a Dickensian character, all was made plain: mind was no longer "chaos of Passion all confus'd," it was a set of physiological structures functioning in an orderly way'.¹¹ The cranial map that phrenology used and widely publicised was a translation of behavioural attributes to a three-dimensional plan.

In Pugin's architecture, specifically in his pinwheel houses, each principal ground floor room is expressed three-dimensionally: it can be determined by its mass from the exterior. This contrasts with Loudon's preferred solutions, which were also intended to be primarily practical and functional, but which were typically organised to form a simple geometrical shape that could be easily and cheaply roofed.¹² Each of Pugin's three major rooms, typically study, library and dining room, has a distinct external presence because of the pinwheel plan and the gabled arrangement of the roofs. The importance of this for Pugin is indicated by the fact that after its construction he drew St Augustine's, the first of the pinwheel plans, with the south library wall projecting southwards from the face of the dining room wall, although in reality it was flush with it.¹³ The functions of a house are legible from the outside, and Pugin lampooned Picturesque architects whose designs suggested functions that did not actually exist.¹⁴

¹⁰ Cooter 1984, p 124.

¹¹ *Ibid*, p 119.

¹² See p 34 above.

¹³ Drury 2001, § 1.4 p 55.

¹⁴ For example Pugin 1841a (*True principles*), pp 57-8.

8.2 *Physical Reality*

In fact, however, some of Pugin's plans, in particular, the later convent plans and the three proposals for the Magdalen College School, suggest that the reality that he was expressing was not, in fact, a 'functional' reality' at all, but the reality of the *nature* of the institution: the very long corridors are impractical and expensive.¹⁵ The problem that Pugin faced was one of defining (or deciding) that nature. The elements worthy of expression were clear in the case of church architecture, where he was able to give 'authority', that is, mediaeval texts in support of it. In the first part of *The present state*, published in the *Dublin review* for May 1841, he gave eight theological reasons for the eastwards orientation of a church. In early nineteenth-century classical architecture, the religious narrative of a church was expressed primarily through the iconography of its painting and sculpture; with the Gothic Revival, the orientation and form of the building took on special importance. The eastward orientation of churches was considered fundamental by Ecclesiologists, and Pugin's failure to achieve this at St Mary's, Derby was the *British critic's* main objection to the building.¹⁶

With no known useful mediaeval precedent to use in his domestic architecture, Pugin may thus have translated ideas familiar from Durandus about the representational nature of church-building into the domestic realm. At all events, from the early 1840s he demonstrates the second definition of realism – the idea that the form of a building and its elements must be derived from the physical nature of its construction. It was a way devised by himself of expressing truth in a similar fashion to the way in which a mediaeval church expresses religious truth. His own house and church, designed and executed from 1843-4, have a comprehensive set of design details that are consistent in every respect, or as he put it (regarding the church), without 'a single "True Principle" broken.'¹⁷

¹⁵ Brittain-Catlin 2002b, *passim*; Brittain-Catlin 2002c, p 85; and above, sub-section 4.1.1.2.

¹⁶ *British critic*, vol xxviii, October 1840, p 519.

¹⁷ Quoted by Powell, in Wedgwood 1988, p 194.

In so doing, he succeeded in translating the abstract, moralising realism of forms he shared with novelists into a coherent architectural language; but he also found a sympathetic audience: his exhortation, in *The true principles*, to use and display building materials for what they are, was almost immediately inserted into the second edition of J.M. Neale's *A few words to church builders*, a primary text of the Ecclesiological movement: "The first great principle to be observed in church-building is this: LET EVERY MATERIAL BE REAL."¹⁸ The Ecclesiologists, no less than the phrenologists, were defining moral issues in terms of physical realities.

8.2.1 Ecclesiology and Social Dissent

In fact, the writings of the Ecclesiological movement testify not only to this form of 'Romantic positivism' but also to the other main characteristic of phrenology: social dissent. Pugin's approving view of the feudal past is not to be confused with acquiescence with the social *status quo*: in the wake of the Reform Act and the long period of ineffectiveness of the Tory Party and the landed aristocracy that dated from Lord Liverpool's administration, he shared a social vision with, for example, the young novelist Disraeli that was in itself a form of social unorthodoxy; and his strong belief that the primary social distinction should be between the clergy and their lay congregation, expressed so emphatically through the rood screen controversy of the late 1840s, is an example of how his traditionalism opposed contemporary practice. A primary goal of the Ecclesiological movement was to end the social hierarchies inherent amongst the congregations in the pew system in English churches, the central theme of more than one of Neale's pamphlets, and an incidental one both in his widely circulated *A few words to church wardens* and in his novel *Ayton Priory* (1843), the story of a landed family that returns their property to the church, and thus reverses England's post-Reformation settlement.¹⁹ William Butterfield, the Ecclesiologists' primary designer after the death of R.C. Carpenter, introduced

¹⁸ JM Neale 1842, p 4.

¹⁹ JM Neale 1841; 1843, pp 208-9; 1846, p 10; (*i.a.*).

benches for common use to replace pews whenever he could.²⁰ The degree to which this blatantly anti-Establishment aspect of Ecclesiology was successful in Pugin's work can be gauged from a late nineteenth-century description of the congregation of one of his churches:

There were rags and satins, moleskins and patent kids, corduroys and smooth broad black cloths, silks and cottons, with every style of fashion, from the old-fashioned frill cap, to the most exalted chignon, from the common plaid shawl to the very antipodes of dress *a la mode*; all this could be seen at St. Mary's Catholic Chapel, Norton Road, Stockton-on-Tees, in the County of Durham.²¹

This architecturalisation of social dissent was not confined to churches. George Roberts' anonymous publication *Speculum episcopi* ('The Mirror of a Bishop') (1848), which was widely reviewed, including in the *Dublin review*, was principally an attack on the detachment of the modern Anglican prelate in his palace from his clergy, and makes the specifically architectural point that amongst Catholics, bishops and priests are, by virtue of their living arrangements, in 'continual intercourse' with one another.²² The plans of Pugin's large clergy houses, with their common staircases and long corridors that contrast so starkly with the central staircases and formal arrangements of contemporary new bishops' palaces, make contact between the clergy inevitable: indeed, at Birmingham, the most prestigious of all these houses, the Bishop is required to walk almost the longest distance possible through his house if he is to reach its major public space from the front door. It could even be said that Pugin's architrave joinery, which did not distinguish between the rooms of clergy and their servants, also has a social aspect to it: in other architects' houses, superior rooms were marked by grander architraves. When others adopted Pugin's simple beading (such as Charles Fowler at Bovey Tracey in 1850, or Charles Hansom in York in 1856), they restricted it to attic and service rooms.

²⁰ Thompson 1977, pp 37-8.

²¹ *The Stockton critic*, no 4, 15.2.1876, pp 50-1; the description, by 'Criticus', is of the Palm Sunday service of 1875.

²² *E.g.* Roberts 1848, pp 136-7.

It was in the planning of the new convents, whose very foundation was itself a new development associated with the particular theological debate and ecclesiastical history of the era, that Pugin was able to develop these theoretical concepts into an entirely new type of building. Through the convent-building programme he was able to present radical ideas in planning in a way that would interest the English Catholic hierarchy and press, and at the same time demonstrate how much his approach to design was itself encouraged and promoted by concepts that were prevalent in the public mind: how the contemporary efforts for rationalising metaphysical attributes in scientific form could also be undertaken by an architect, and specifically, how the plan of a building could be seen as a rational device for ordering moral attributes.

8.3 *The New Convents and Catholic Devotionalism*

The opening of several of Pugin's churches was attended by a boycott or angry scenes on the part of the architect, because he considered the behaviour or the dress of the major participants inappropriate and therefore inconsistent with his architectural scheme. At St Mary's Derby, St Mary's Southport, and at St Anne's Keighley orchestral or operatic singing replaced the Gregorian plainsong that Pugin had hoped for; elsewhere the vestments, or the screen, were a problem. As Pugin put it in 1842: 'Every building I erect is profaned'.²³ Only at Oscott, or elsewhere where in the manner of Alan of Walsingham at Ely Cathedral he could act both as architect and sacristan, did ceremonies meet his expectations. Whereas Balzac, or a post-Balzacian novelist, portrays a building that is consistent with or representative of the people therein, Pugin evidently expected occupants to be consistent with his buildings.

Appropriate Catholic behaviour was a subject discussed at length in the new Roman Catholic press during Pugin's working life, in the form of articles in the *Dublin review* (a periodical which he is known to have read) and elsewhere, for example in

²³ In a letter to Phillipps, 18.12.1840 (?): Belcher 2001 p 175. Powell recalled that, 'At the openings of Churches...there was always "Something out of harmony"'; Wedgwood 1988, p 180.

exemplary novels, in particular those published by Catholic publishing houses such as Richardson of Derby (the *Review*'s publishers) and Charles Dolman. The subject attracted theologians, journalists, and novelists. Most distinct amongst this debate was the renewed interest in the 'Rule' of an order which would govern every detail of monastic life.

Catherine McAuley, who had led the first convent that Pugin designed (in Bermondsey in 1839) had herself established a Rule prior to arriving in England; it was initiated in 1832 or early 1833; revised in 1835, and finally approved by the Archbishop of Dublin, with the backing of the Holy See, in 1837.²⁴ The decision to create a Rule of this type followed criticism that the Sisters of Mercy *appeared* to be a religious order, and yet were not conclusively such.²⁵ The Rule defines first the aims of the Order; it then describes the duties of the nuns in teaching and visiting the sick, and regulations concerning the admission of distressed women. Thenceforth the Rule takes on a more ambitious character. Chapter 5 is entitled 'Of the Perfection of Ordinary Actions', and instructs the nuns to act 'never...from mere inclination, whim, or caprice, but all [their labours] should be performed with regularity and exactness, and be referred with the utmost fervor to the Divine Honor and Glory, in union with the most holy actions and Infinite Merits of Jesus Christ'.²⁶ These instructions therefore require every action of the nuns to be definable, and the performance of it (and indeed of their private thoughts) to be controlled. The process again has a parallel in phrenology, and the new medical and pseudo-medical sciences, in that both were concerned with making distinctions between different types of human behaviour ever more accurate.

McAuley's Rule continues to describe the exact relations between the 'Sisters', and modes of behaviour appropriate to certain rooms of a convent such as the chapel and dormitory; Faber's Oratorians likewise soon devised a Rule for their own use.²⁷ The

²⁴ Sullivan 1995, p 261.

²⁵ *Ibid*, p 260.

²⁶ As transcribed in *ibid*, p 301.

²⁷ Described in a letter from Faber to Walsh, 24.11.1847, reproduced in Addington 1974, pp 161-2.

reappearance of the *Chronicle* of Jocelyn de Brakelond, which formed the basis of Thomas Carlyle's *Past and present* in 1843 and which was published in translation in 1844, must have contributed to the modern interest amongst Anglicans in mediaeval codes of behaviour, as well as providing some authority for the practice of associating different rooms with different activities and types of behaviour.²⁸ At any rate, these soon became the source of widespread interest well beyond the Catholic press: a turn of events called 'The Sellon Scandal', which referred to allegations that nuns in an Anglican order in Plymouth were required to carry out rituals that were not only Roman Catholic in inspiration, but deviant in practice (the worship of icons, including the kissing of the floor in front of them, and so on), caused a lengthy controversy in the press in the early 1850s.²⁹ It was not until that period, subsequent to Pugin's working life, that the Roman Catholic Church in England finally adopted a code of religious conduct concerning the daily life of its parish priests, and their daily living conditions.

At the time that Pugin was designing Roman Catholic religious institutions, presbyteries, and clergy houses, daily life was in all but the Cistercian monastery of Mount St Bernard's governed by the resident or the personal intervention of the head or benefactor of the institution concerned. This situation, uncontrolled and yet also inflamed by Catholic triumphalism of the mid 1840s (inspired by the conversion of Newman and other Oxford personalities), resulted in some considerable debate by both Catholics and Anglicans on the subject of what type of lifestyle, and therefore architecture, was suitable for convents. An Anglican parson named M. Hobart Seymour of Bath, initiated a public debate with a sermon on the subject in 1852; he claimed that modern convents

have all the same characteristics which we observe in the bridewells, the penitentiaries, and the prisons of our own land. There are the same lofty

²⁸ Brakelond 1844.

²⁹ James Spurrell's pamphlet of 1852, which claimed to 'expose' Miss Sellon's Sisters of Mercy through the evidence of a former member, sparked off the controversy which resulted in a flurry of pamphlets and journal articles, which continued at least until a further refutation of Spurrell's accusations by Mary Anne Nicholl as late as 1878.

walls, the same massive gates, the same barred windows, and the same grated openings; the same dull, sombre, cheerless aspect, the same uninviting, repelling, lifeless exterior, the same inaccessibility from without, the same precluded possibility of escape from within.³⁰

Although this was a sentiment that accorded almost exactly with McAuley's own views on Pugin's Bermondsey convent,³¹ Wiseman defended the institutions in a pamphlet of his own, remarking sarcastically (and presumably in the wake of the Sellon scandal) that 'it appeared, a few months ago, that the safety of the kingdom depended on two measures – the suppression of convents, and the extinction of Maynooth'.³²

Supporters of convents and their regulated way of life wrote a great deal to express what they found of value there. Hobart's sermons also provoked a response from Agnes M. Stewart, who published a novel entitled *The world and the cloister*, the title and novel both presenting a 'contrast' between the two ways of life, but also suggesting that the 'cloister', the convent, was itself a microcosm of the world outside.³³ Furthermore, throughout the novel the cloister, as an architectural feature, is presented as a metaphor for the whole of convent life. Although Stewart's novel is not otherwise remarkable in its treatment of this popular subject, she does make the point, in answer to a point raised by Seymour's sermon, that the security offered to a single woman by a convent, was not something that could be taken for granted in the outside world.³⁴

More remarkable is an anonymously published novel called *The Home of the lost child: a tale of the asylum of the Good Shepherd, Hammersmith*, of 1848, for it is set in a building that Pugin designed, and as he was working on it. The author claims that the purpose of writing is 'to give a true idea [of the Order at Hammersmith] and not to

³⁰ Quoted in Wiseman 1852, p 6.

³¹ See p 154 n 95 above.

³² Wiseman 1852, p 3.

³³ Stewart 1852.

³⁴ *Ibid*, preface, p x.

write a romantic story'.³⁵ The narrative follows the lives of two entrants to the Asylum, one a fallen woman who 'could never appear again in respectable society',³⁶ (a veil is drawn over exactly what happened to her), and the other a gentlewoman who joins the Order as a nun. The device used in this novel, as in Stewart's, is to a large extent one of question and answer: the novice asks a question about procedure in the convent, and the nun replies, thus furnishing the reader with a description of life there; in this way we learn of the ways in which the fallen women are kept separate, and how the Rule thus established different areas for not only for different activities, but for different types of people.

The re-establishment of convents in England clearly provided an opportunity to demonstrate to the popular mind the practical application of an unprecedentedly precise map of behavioural attributes of the kind established by phrenological diagrams. Pugin's own convent buildings exaggerate these qualities by the peculiar characteristics of their layouts; and the significance he gave to these is demonstrated by the fact that it was in the case of a convent and clergy house, next to St George's church in Southwark, that Pugin angrily refuted the rumour that he was 'indifferent to any building but a church'.³⁷ Convents designed around corridors, with their street entrances placed at some distance from their rooms, and which required the nuns to pass along long distances separating the different areas of activity, and in particular the chapel from the street, are extreme examples of these behavioural 'maps'. Pugin's method of convent planning was able to translate into a room layout the concept of distinction between different types of activity and person, and also of periods of transition from the outside world into a state of grace. A long corridor plan, such as in the convents of Handsworth, Liverpool, Nottingham, St Oswald's and above all at Cheadle, demonstrated in a simple way a diagram of a central route penetrating through a building, with rooms arranged either side for the different functions.

³⁵ *The home of the lost child*, pp iii-iv.

³⁶ *Ibid*, p15.

³⁷ In a letter to M. Forristall, 27.5.1843: Belcher 2003, p 66.

In a pre-Pugin institution, the functions were invariably arranged symmetrically, often within a building placed in the centre of a site; with Pugin's buildings the same functions are arranged in a narrative way: they follow each other to give a sense of one activity following on from another, in the order that they are used during the day; and in the case of the Cheadle convent, the cloister route is spread around the edges of the site, making it as long as possible. A simple contrast can be drawn between two almost exactly contemporary buildings, the Liverpool Female Orphan Asylum designed by John Cunningham in 1843, and Pugin's Faulkner Street orphanage of 1844, a few streets away.³⁸ Cunningham's building was symmetrical, with an assembly hall in the centre: inmates entering would have to turn left or right to reach identical dormitories; and the Tudor-Gothic styling terminated at the edges of the front elevation. Pugin's building on the other hand, built for the same purpose albeit for smaller numbers, both maintained a consistent style throughout, and also was arranged around an inner cloister, so that all the inmates would pass by the main rooms of the establishment in sequence and on a regular basis: there was no common entrance hall for them to be 'pooled' in between activities. The layout of the Convent at Mercy at Nottingham required the nuns to walk the entire length of the ground floor of the building from the street door to the back of the site, to rise up through the stairs, and to walk the whole length back again to reach the raised internal cloister, which was in fact located just above the front door. In the context of *The home of the lost child*, the process of lengthy ambulatory transition from door to cloister or chapel in Pugin's convents could be said to parallel the lengthy conversion of the sinner into the nun; and the transitional character of the cloister was further architecturally enhanced by having different types of windows along each of its sides. It is remarkable in the context of Pugin's layouts and his enthusiasm for mediaeval church planning not only that the layout of parts or the whole of mediaeval Gothic cathedrals was designed for ambulatory purposes – that is, to lead groups of pilgrims around to a shrine and out again – but also that this layout is particularly exaggerated in the major French churches, such as those in Normandy and Northern France, which Pugin knew well, and where the curved eastern termination to a side aisle has the effect of leading the

³⁸ An illustration and the opening date of Cunningham's orphanage are recorded on a lithograph in the collection of John Raphael Isaacs, in LRO, cat. no H.f. 942.7214 ISA

eye on to the continuation of the route which is out of sight. In translating this to residential buildings, Pugin created an architecture of personal transfiguration, with a sense of movement about it that matches the zeal of the leading figures of the Catholic revival; even the pinwheel house plans can be said to have a dynamic quality to them.

8.4 *Later Interpretations of the Behavioural Attributes of Pugin's Buildings*

In 1908 C.F.A. Voysey designed a house in Kendal called Littleholme, which consciously echoed Pugin's presbytery at Warwick Bridge of 1840. The house is, similarly, a two-storey rectangular prism, and entrance hall, stairs, and principal rooms are distributed in a very similar way: it appears to be a conscious tribute to the architect whom Voysey considered to be the finest of the nineteenth century. This was the year in which he designed Lodge Style, near Bath, as a Gothic building in the manner of a miniaturised Oxford college, marking a period in which he made many references to Pugin as an inspiration and an authority; from this date on he made several designs in a Gothic style. In his book *Individuality* of 1915 he refers to Pugin almost alone among architects; and in 1918 he provided a decorative border to an article on Pugin in the *RIBA journal*.³⁹

In *Individuality*, Voysey's objections to neo-classical architecture, and to other modish styles of his period, were very similar to Pugin's: he wrote that 'forms are now used for their material qualities only, regardless of their spiritual significance';⁴⁰ the English Renaissance style, then enjoying a revival, was 'a style which was first introduced into this country at one of the most morally corrupt periods of the nation's history'.⁴¹ Furthermore, the failing of modern architecture was that 'the design, instead of proceeding from within outwards, is forced from without inwards'.⁴² As

³⁹ Sirt 1918, p 213.

⁴⁰ Voysey 1915, p 26.

⁴¹ *Ibid*, p 25.

⁴² *Ibid*, p 44.

with Pugin, the solution for architects was to search for 'truth', and a simple example given by Voysey is itself reminiscent of Pugin's own writing, in *The true principles*, on decorative design: in order to draw a flower correctly, an artist must learn and draw every individual part of it, rather than trying to catch the perspectival effect on paper.⁴³ An architect must 'revere' the natural qualities of materials, as Gothic architects did.⁴⁴ In addition to knowing 'the truth' about the physical characteristics of his subject, his artist must also search for its moral and spiritual truths.⁴⁵ It is in the individual's personal interpretation of the spiritual truths he identifies in his subject and transforms into his own creation that the key to good work – the 'individuality' of the title – lies. Voysey saw in Pugin's decorative work at the Houses of Parliament primarily an expression of Pugin's own individuality and personal search for truth in design – 'You may search the Houses of Parliament from top to bottom, and you will not find one superficial yard that is copied from any existing building'.

Rather than prescribe the Gothic style as the solution for the modern architect, Voysey wrote that – 'the sentiments common to all will form the leven, and truth, candour, directness, dignity, and grace will make any home attractive without reference to any modes of building, either ancient or modern'.⁴⁶ From the largest building to the smallest object, even 'the poker at your fireside' can recall appropriate sentiments, if it is made in the right way.⁴⁷ In fact, varying lists of behavioural and spiritual qualities are Voysey's characteristic way of describing what it is that modern building must contain: in one place, it is

reverence, love, justice, mercy, honesty, candour, generosity, humility,
loyalty, order and dignity⁴⁸

and elsewhere,

⁴³ *Ibid*, p13; Pugin 1841a (*True principles*), pp 25-6.

⁴⁴ Voysey 1915, p 118.

⁴⁵ *Ibid*, pp 14-6.

⁴⁶ *Ibid*, p 32.

⁴⁷ *Ibid*, p 97.

⁴⁸ *Ibid*, p 11.

order, dignity, reticence, control, grace, delicacy, and rhythm, and to these must be added, sympathy, candour, and loyalty.⁴⁹

It seems possible that Voysey recognised that, as seen in Chapter 6 above, Pugin had not himself been a strictly 'Gothic' domestic architect: he had never copied the plan of a mediaeval domestic house, and rarely directly from any single historical example. He had not, in practice, adhered to any one particular historical style at any one particular time in his career, varying from lancetted Early English to late Tudor from project to project. He had been in that respect anti-historical, asserting the importance and the role of the architect independent from history. Perhaps that is why Voysey felt an affinity with Pugin's work which went beyond both the latter's style and also the particular social, religious and cultural atmosphere in which he had worked.

There is also a sense in which the language that Pugin deployed about himself encouraged his own rejection by his contemporaries: his particular brand of English Catholicism, his view of English history of the sixteenth century. In fact, as Voysey seems to have been aware, Pugin's was in fact an artistic, architectural vision derived from a striving after the true nature of things; its practical application was unrelated to modern Catholicism as practised; and with Pugin's defeat on liturgical matters, and the establishment of the oratories and the adoption of Roman fashions, it appears that Puginism and Catholicism were going in different directions. The awareness of the superhuman that Pugin evokes by referring to Christianity has in Voysey's writings become an innate superhumanity of objects, and the concept of the natural has been expanded to include the workings of the mind: for as Cooter has summarised it, by making the mind 'part of the bourgeois concept of nature', Gall had succeeded in altering the concept of the 'natural' to include distinct, definable attributes of behaviour.⁵⁰ Such few concepts in domestic architecture as Pugin had attributed to religion – such as the relationship between the equilateral triangle of a gable and the

⁴⁹ *Ibid*, p 14.

⁵⁰ Cooter 1984, p 114.

Trinity – could to later minds be seen as an innate awareness of the natural form of things.

It has been a failing of much modern writing about Pugin that he has been so sympathetically treated as a person that his artistic achievement is seen in biographical terms, whereas in fact the language that he used about his work and his personal history and associations does not always point to the aspects of his creativity which were unusual or influential. As Voysey appears to have grasped, Pugin's appeal to architects lay in the imaginary world that he evoked for them.

8.5 *Conclusion*

Alison Lurie's study of children's literature gives the following description of the 'secondary world' that, according to J.R.R. Tolkien, a writer must create if he is to catch a child's imagination. It is

a fully imagined alternative universe, as consistent as our own or more so. Such a secondary world may make visible some aspects of the primary one, so that once we have seen, for instance, a landscape by Corot, a play by Chekhov, or a film by Chaplin, we will find echoes of it ever after.⁵¹

It is perhaps in this sense, the creation of a secondary world, that Pugin's achievement as a domestic architect can best be assessed. He applied his realism to the creation of a consistent aesthetic model that had a dream-like character to it beyond the bounds of everyday needs. From earliest childhood he presented in his work an idealised culture; although he varied in the detailed style that he used, he is unique amongst architects of his period in maintaining some kind of Gothic (at most, late-Gothic) style in every building and decorative object that he designed; he developed a comprehensive language of design that was applicable to every detail, however small; and his professional career was dependent on training and then maintaining continuous links

⁵¹ Lurie 1991, p 68.

with craftsmen who could understand and eventually adopt his own style and thus further perpetuate it. And, like a creative artist, he nevertheless regarded the skill that he had passed onto his craftsmen with jealousy, and on occasion remarked that he did not want his ideas used by others.⁵²

Although specific aspects of his work were admired and imitated by subsequent architects – some as early as the mid 1840s – it appears that what he possessed and they did not was the ability to conjure up and project an image of a ‘secondary world’, which adopted and exploited elements that already existed in contemporary architecture, architectural theory, and popular theology, but which existed entirely distinct from them as an entity in its own right. Pugin made many thousands of accurate sketches of buildings and designed objects – in itself a feat without even a distant rival amongst any of his contemporaries; and an apparently photographic memory provided him with the means to sustain that illusory world in the form of an authentic, design solution to any detail of Gothic design, whilst at the same time enabling others to enter the world of his imagination and produce Gothic design themselves. It was a process of entering this ‘secondary world’, this complete world of the imagination which provided an answer to every problem of design, that had so great effect on George Gilbert Scott, who entered it not from seeing a building by Pugin, but by reading his articles in the *Dublin Review*.⁵³ It was this ‘secondary world’ which gave Pugin’s work the particular power it possessed, and which ensured its survival right up to the end of the nineteenth century, and beyond.

There is a moment in Balzac’s *Eugénie Grandet* where the entire scenery of Grandet’s small garden seems to unite with the heroine of the novel:

As the sunlight grew and filled the world outside, a host of confused thoughts rose in her mind. A vague inexplicable happiness filled her being, pervading and wrapping her round as completely as a cloud might envelop

⁵² See for example his letter to Crace regarding the use of his wallpapers, RIBA LDC, PUG 3/14; and also the fact that Myers did not reproduce Pugin detailing when building gothic houses for other architects.

⁵³ GG Scott 1995, p 88.

her body. All the objects that her eyes rested on in this curious old garden that was her world seemed to share her feelings and her thoughts, and she herself was one with her surroundings.⁵⁴

Although English writers, such as Dickens, did not imitate Balzac's realism, Pugin's knowledge of Gothic, and his many thousands of designs, created an architectural realism which was without precedent in English architecture; it was his ability to transform what had previously only existed as theoretical concepts into a vocabulary of detailed, reliable and comprehensive design that marked him out from every other Gothic architect of his generation. He combined, however, the world of the realist with that of the fantasist, possessed of an architectural vision that went beyond what had become standard architectural questions of style and layout, and which was much more closely related to abstract literary concepts of imaginary worlds in which every action had its appropriate place and method. His constant repetition, in different ways, of a series of very few historical sources, and the presentation of ideas that had possessed him since his earliest childhood, all testify to an easily identifiable personal vision of great power. When Loudon, with customary foresight, had suggested in 1833 that prospective architects should be tested upon phrenological principles for their suitability for their intended profession, he would have been correct in implying that only someone of very unusual character and imagination could have wrought the transformation in English architecture that many sought.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Balzac 1955, p 93.

⁵⁵ Loudon 1833, §353 p 179.

Appendix A A chronological account of all of Pugin's known residential architectural schemes

This appendix provides known dates, in chronological order, for the inception of Pugin's projects, client names and costs where known. It also provides a brief summary of the type of project involved, significant developments in his architectural style, details of published and attribution sources, and of my visits to extant works.

1833

A.W.N. Pugin's first recorded residential scheme is that entitled **Le Chateau**, a volume of drawings for an ideal scheme in the manner of a French chateau of the late 15th and early 16th centuries, of 1833.¹ The proposal is for a large mansion arranged around central and entry courtyards; the external appearance of the main part of the house is derived from the Hôtel de Bourgtheroulde in Rouen, which had appeared in John Britton's work on Normandy illustrated by Pugin's father and by himself.² The 'Chateau' is composed of adjacent separate and distinct buildings: nearly all are northern French in inspiration, although the *grenier* at the north-east corner of the entry courtyard could also have been derived from mediaeval barns in the south of England.

Certain features of 'Le Chateau' provide the first evidence of some of Pugin's early favoured design devices: the plan of the mansion itself is composed of a series of adjacent spaces which open on to one another without corridors, but which are here more early nineteenth-century in character than *seizième*; the kitchen is very substantial, although placed below residential accommodation, and on the same level as the chapel although not connected with it. It places water closets in turrets – rather

¹ Wedgwood 1985, 111 pp 140-4.

² Britton, Pugin & Le Keux 1828 (*Normandy*), pls 55, 56.

than between rooms or 'hidden' elsewhere, and the *grenier* – the first of many 'granges' – has a double-aisle or 'M-type' roof with a central valley. Above all, 'Le Chateau' indicates that Pugin was, at the age of twenty-one, capable of designing and drawing complex three-dimensional forms, although there are, in fact, certain inconsistencies between plans and elevations.³

The second known imaginary, pseudo-historical scheme from the same year is that known as **The Deanery**; in 1951 it provided Stanton with the opportunity for a detailed analysis of Pugin's skill at this age.⁴ The Deanery was set in the close at Salisbury, immediately to the west of the cathedral, and was supposed to have been built in 1471: the architectural style of the building indicates Pugin's fluency in the appropriate English style. In addition to the finished drawings eventually reproduced in the *Architectural Review*, there was a sequence of design sketches which indicate Pugin's continuing effort at preparing and varying picturesque three-dimensional sequences: there are, however, very few plans amongst the entire set of finished and draft Deanery drawings.⁵ Another future Pugin trademark makes its first known appearance here: the landscape beyond the house, although based on that around Salisbury, is depicted as exaggeratedly flat and featureless.⁶ The plan is based around two corridors in the form of a T: the great hall is above the horizontal bar of the T, and this latter thus also acts as a screen passage. Some interiors were drawn in great detail; their main features were oriel windows and fireplaces. The kitchen, located between the great hall and the octagonal stair turret, has taken an English, medieval, form and is now octagonal.⁷ Sleeping chambers are arranged either side of the corridor leading away from the screens; the Dean has his chambers above, although no first-floor plan is provided. A gatehouse to the north-east of the Deanery consists of adjacent major and minor towers, each with its own entry, and a small attached house.

³ For example, the 'petit salon' (in plan) appears as a staircase in section.

⁴ Stanton 1951, passim.

⁵ See also Wedgwood 1985, 112, pp 144-5.

⁶ Stanton 1951, p 187, fig 1.

⁷ Pugin had drawn the 'Abbot's Kitchen' at Glastonbury in 1833 when preparing the third volume of *Examples of Gothic Architecture*: letter of 26.2.1833 to E.J. Willson: Belcher 2001, pp 14-5.

The third of the three known schemes of 1833 is the **Hospital of Saynt John**.⁸ This is a design for 'brethrens' lodgings' arranged around a long narrow courtyard in the form of two terraces each of five houses, each with a room on each of two floors linked with a spiral staircase. The scheme thus probably owes its inspiration to the Vicars' Close in Wells, from which Pugin had reported excitedly in September 1832.⁹ The courtyard between the two terraces is about twenty feet wide. As at Wells, one short end is closed with a short, wide covered way and common hall, and the other with a chapel. In front of the chapel, however, is a 'cloister' – Pugin's labelling. This is the first known appearance of a long covered way, almost redundant in terms of practical planning, which was to become one of the two most characteristic features of Pugin's layouts; he thought it important enough within this set of drawings to include a perspective. The community is designed as being beyond the walls of a town, on the edge of a great plain. The elevations of the houses are again in a late English Tudor, of the kind recently revived for example at Oxford and Cambridge colleges in the 1820s, with hood mouldings over square-topped mullioned windows. The principal gables have 'shoulders' at their bases – that is, the descending sides of the gable turn into a horizontal parapet before descending vertically: this was a characteristic feature of early nineteenth-century Tudor-Gothic. On the other hand, some stylistic detail – the chapel belfry, the steeply conical stair turret roofs, and the stepped entrance gate – were to become distinct Pugin mannerisms.

1834

In the following year Pugin produced the final known 'ideal' scheme that precedes his architectural career, **St Marie's College**.¹⁰ This was also a courtyard scheme, based this time upon two large courtyards, each circumscribed with a cloister. The larger courtyard, 225' by 175', primarily served a great chapel, a 'chamber for deputations',

⁸ In the St Louis Public Library, Missouri, cat. no 1032129 and ref. 723.5.

⁹ To William Osmond (20.9.1832): Belcher 2001, pp 12-3.

¹⁰ Wedgwood 1985, 114 pp 147-52.

a small grammar school, and lodgings for four chaplains on the ground floor; the second courtyard, 285' by 125', had a more domestic quality: it linked a great hall (into which the peripheral cloister flowed at either side) with lodgings for fellows either side of the great west entrance gate, and for a dean and warden. The plan provided for water closets, service staircases in turrets, a square kitchen projecting out to the north, and a series of kitchen offices.

This series of drawings included a wide range of detailed drawings, mostly giving internal decorative details, but also the interior of some of the rooms including the great hall, library, and chapel; a great clock, dated 1572, is the precursor of some that will appear in Pugin's later work. The style is in general that which Pugin was soon afterwards to apply to the Houses of Parliament, but in certain respects it is unusual: a detailed elevation of a bay of the west front, articulated with thin, flat, horizontally proportioned lesenes appears to be an exercise in Soanean wall planes;¹¹ and the kitchen, drawn from the north-east at eye-level, is on the other hand a remarkable example of a highly disciplined vertical composition; furthermore, it has no windows but for its louvre, and the chimney tops are designed as if they were monumental tabernacles.

During the course of 1834, Pugin is believed to have restored what is now referred to as the **Hall of John Halle** in Canal, Salisbury for a client called Mr Payne.¹² The building appears in an artist's restored state in Peter Hall's *Picturesque Memorials of Salisbury*, published in the same year.¹³ Hall described the building as an 'ancient refectory on the Canal' and dated it to 1462-71 on the basis of the displayed joint arms of the Earldoms of Salisbury and Warwick in the glass: Pugin's diary entry suggests that he was matching these in paintwork elsewhere in the hall. The primary feature of the hall is the four tiers of cusped windbraces. Pugin's Salisbury friend

¹¹ *Ibid*, p 148 f 5.

¹² 'Diary', 18.5.1835; Stanton 1971, p 196; Wedgwood 1985, p 75 n 47.

¹³ P Hall 1834, pl xii.

William Osmond was a subscriber to Hall's book; it seems possible therefore that Payne had seen or heard about Pugin's drawings for great halls in his ideal schemes.¹⁴

1835

Pugin's next residential scheme was that for the house built for himself at Alderbury, on the Southampton road out of Salisbury. His purchase of the land is recorded on the 1st January 1835, and later that same month construction was under way; the house was 'nearly completed' by mid July of that year, and he slept in the house for the first time on 15th September.¹⁵

St Marie's Grange, caused a stir locally; its history and layout have been described in detail by Ferrey, Waterhouse and Wedgwood;¹⁶ it has been recently presented as a canonical nineteenth-century house by Bergdoll.¹⁷ It was an L-shaped red-brick house on three floors, designed for the architect, his wife, and their two children as a house and drawing-office: Pugin worked in the room designated 'library'.¹⁸ On the principal floor, reached by a drawbridge from the main road, there was a parlour, a library, and a chapel in sequence without corridors. The upper floor, reached by a spiral stair, housed two bedrooms, and the roof space above the chapel; the lower floor had a scullery, maid's room and kitchen. Water closets were stacked in an external turret on the south side. The principal living and bed rooms faced north-west, towards the cathedral; the tower was on the roadside, above the spiral stairs. The inconvenience of these arrangements has been remarked on by all commentators, as has the fact that the

¹⁴ The building is now part of a cinema. My site visit, 25.5.2002.

¹⁵ Belcher 2001, pp 45, 48; 'Diary', 15.9.1835.

¹⁶ Ferrey's account (and inaccurate representation) of the building includes the information that the building cost was £2,000: Ferrey 1861, pp 72-3; 93-6; Waterhouse 1897-8 (vol iv), p 160; Wedgwood 1994, pp 43-5, pls 78-81.

¹⁷ Bergdoll 2000, pp 164-5.

¹⁸ According to Powell, he later used his bookcases for pinning lists of things to do on: Wedgwood 1988, p 182.

house was apparently altered by Pugin himself in 1841 prior to sale:¹⁹ although this later work has subsequently been obscured by subsequent nineteenth-century ones, door openings and joinery details facing what was the open south-east court of the house are characteristic of his detailing and suggest that his later work included providing direct access to the rooms from a new hallway.²⁰

At about the same time that he was designing St Marie's Grange, Pugin sketched a **lodge** building in a half-timbered style with ornate Tudor detailing; it appears to be a design rather than a record.²¹ The first domestic building project that was executed in accordance with his designs after moving into Saint Marie's Grange appears to be a gatehouse executed for his neighbour, Sir F. Hervey-Bathurst, at Clarendon Park: his diary records that he 'settled about Lodges' in December 1836.²² The gatehouse is built in grey brick further up the Southampton road towards Salisbury; it has a decorative ogival gable and a parapetted roof.²³ Although he had previously sketched designs or imaginary schemes with these features, they appear only in his very earliest practical designs.²⁴ On the other hand, the adjacent gate pillars are in a more sophisticated, Houses of Parliament style: he was designing very similar ones for Scarisbrick in 1837.²⁵ No plan for the lodge exists, but the layout is a simple symmetrical one with a door in the centre.

¹⁹ Pugin was in Salisbury 18-20.4.1841, and recorded that the house was sold on 21.6.41. 'Diary'.

²⁰ My site visit, 25.5.2002. Mr Peter Higgins has extensively researched the fabric of his house; his unpublished ¼" :1' drawings would be the most accurate resource available for further interpretation of its subsequent development. There have been many alterations.

²¹ Wedgwood 1985, 107 f 35v-f 37.

²² See Wedgwood 1985, p 77 n 45.

²³ My site visit, 25.5.2002. The lodge survives.

²⁴ See for example sketchbook of 1831-2 at Wedgwood 1985, 104 f 54. Neither of these features, both characteristic of contemporary Tudor Gothic or Elizabethan styles, reoccur in Pugin's work after 1839.

²⁵ See Wedgwood 1977, 'Lodge B', [64] 82, dated 1837.

1837

Pugin's long connection with Charles Scarisbrick began when he was living at Alderbury: the first mention of Scarisbrick appears in the 'Diary; for the 14th March 1837, although he had had contact with Scarisbrick before this date.²⁶ Pugin's arrival at Scarisbrick, his modification to earlier work by Rickman and Slater, and his proposals for the completion of the house by extending it to the east have been recently described in detail by Wedgwood and by Hill.²⁷

Pugin's work at **Scarisbrick Hall** falls into three main categories: the remodelling of the Rickman and Slater house, including the creation of a great hall from an existing timber structure;²⁸ the new building of the house and its extension to the east around two corridors at right angles to each other; and a series of proposals for garden structures including lodges. A plan, dated by Pugin 1837, indicates his proposals for the whole of the ground floor of the house.²⁹ A passage running north-south to the east of the newly modelled great hall separates existing work from new: from its centre one of the two cross-corridors continues eastwards; the corridor on the upper floor is narrower, so as to permit light to filter down. Reception rooms are located in the two western squares between the corridors, and kitchen offices in the two right hand ones. The kitchen itself projects beyond the end of the east-west corridor, and a business room with clock tower projects at the front of the house, at the southern end of the north-south axis. Pugin also made alterations to the Rickman and Slater wing

²⁶ Wedgwood 1977, [64] passim; Wedgwood 1985, p 78 n 12.

²⁷ Wedgwood 1977, [64] passim; Wedgwood 1994, pp 45-9, pls 82-5; R Hill 2002a, passim. Further discussion of Pugin's work at Scarisbrick Hall, in particular relating to the importation of Continental carving for the fitting out of its interior, can be found in Tracy 2002, pp 45, 46, 58-60, 76-8, 260-1, pls 8-10, 331-4.

²⁸ Cheetham 1906, p 82.

²⁹ Wedgwood 1977, [64] 17.

itself.³⁰ The execution of the work, and its subsequent obscuring by later alterations by E.W. Pugin, have been discussed in detail by various authors.³¹

The work at Scarisbrick gave Pugin the opportunity to execute some of the ideas he had shown in his ideal schemes; some of the most prominent decorative sequences had appeared on 'The Deanery': the double-shouldered base (one a genuine shoulder and the second a single crow-step) to the new south-east, front-facing gable; the castellated canted bays to the great hall, and the projecting bay (a 'V' in plan) to the north porch are the most prominent examples. Pugin's original kitchen proposal is again octagonal but here fully modelled on that at Glastonbury, and of similar proportions.³² The four lodge designs clearly form a descending series in terms of cost, implying that the most ornamental came first; they show evidence of reuse of ideas from the ideal schemes. The most elaborate is in François I style, very different from the late fifteenth-century English of the house itself; it is a more complex version of the two shown in the 'Le Chateau' scheme of 1833, with a tall mansard roof and round turrets at the upper level of the corners.³³ Two separate apartments were provided inside, each one facing both incoming and outgoing traffic. Pugin had been to northern France in July 1835, and travelled there again in 1837: impressions of characteristically Norman gatehouses, with twin round towers, would still have been on his mind.³⁴ The second scheme is considerably simpler: the mansard roof has been retained, but this time the house forms a single rectangular block in elevation. Its most prominent feature is a chimney rising up from the apex of the entry arch.³⁵ The third design is for an ornamental half-timbered house, of three bays with a door in the

³⁰ Cheetham 1906, p 84 n.

³¹ Most notably, Ferrey 1861, p 101; Girouard 1958a; Hasted 1987; Wedgwood 1977, [64] nos 1-154 (pp 74-84); Wedgwood 1994, pp 45-9, pls 82-5; R Hill 2002a. Cheetham, who spoke to Pugin's grandson Pugin Powell about the building, was non-committal on the subject of the tower.

³² *Ibid*, [64] 6.

³³ Wedgwood 1977, [64] 9 (not dated).

³⁴ He was in Boulogne on 21.7.1836: here a large gatehouse of this type dominates the seafront below the castle. There are many similar examples in Normandy.

³⁵ Wedgwood 1977, [64] 10. Wedgwood suggests that this design is based on the back elevation of [64] 9.

centre. The plan is of two rooms, each either side of an entry lobby and staircase. Upper rooms are to be lit by windows in the gables.³⁶ The perspective shows a bold porch, tall windows, and a curved, jettied eave: it is again northern French rather than English. A simpler variation of this scheme survives.³⁷ The fourth distinct scheme is for a brick lodge; it has crow-stepped gables, bargeboarded dormers of a kind similar to those that Pugin would later adopt as standard, and, along the roadside, a three-arched veranda within the volume of the house. Working drawings were prepared for this scheme, but none of the lodge designs is known to have been executed.³⁸ Some alterations to the existing stable yard were made by Pugin.³⁹ His diary records no site visits after 1844. In 1845 a possibility was raised for 'a **convent & hospital**' for Scarisbrick, but this was not realised.⁴⁰

In September 1837 Pugin first recorded a meeting with Thomas Sing, the priest of the Catholic chapel in Derby, and on 23rd March 1838 he completed drawings for a **presbytery adjacent to his new church of St Mary's church** there.⁴¹ The church, built by George Myers, was consecrated on 7th October 1839.⁴²

The presbytery was located at the liturgical South-West end (geographical south-east) of the church. A corridor led into the building from the South West porch, and through to the site boundary beyond, where it turned towards the street: the principal rooms, and a large staircase hall, were arranged between this corridor and the

³⁶ *Ibid*, [64] 80 (not dated).

³⁷ *Ibid*, [64] 11, 82, 83: 'Lodge B', dated 1837.

³⁸ My site visit to Scarisbrick, 9.5.2002. The Pugin work survives with minor alterations only, where it had not been altered by EW Pugin.

³⁹ Cheetham 1906, p 84 n.

⁴⁰ See Belcher 2003, pp 295 n 2; and letter of 11.5.1845?, pp 388-9.

⁴¹ 'Diary'.

⁴² This presbytery was the first Pugin house to be built by Myers; Wedgwood 1985, p 81 n 39, suggests that Myers may previously have been involved in pricing the St Mary's, Manchester, scheme, for which see '1838' below.

church.⁴³ Only one clear photograph of the presbytery exists as a record of the building.⁴⁴ The significance of the building is that it was the first cheap house built by Pugin. The house was ready by the autumn of 1840.⁴⁵

Pugin's perspective and plan drawings also include **a grander but smaller house**, which was not executed, to the left of the church's West door: this is shown as being built in stone, with double-shouldered gables towards both street and presbytery; it has an oriel window with traceried lights to the street, and a symmetrical composition to the east. There were to be two rooms and a staircase hall on the ground floor. The Derby proposals, therefore, unite the last of Pugin's ideal manorial-Tudor designs with the first of his practical and cheap ones.

1838

Whilst the Derby scheme was awaiting execution, Pugin prepared during the course of one week a series of designs for a church of St Mary's, Ducie Street, in Manchester.⁴⁶ They include a sketch proposal for a **clergy house** at the South-West corner of the site, connected to the East end of the church by a very long cloister or corridor which presumably would have crossed the length of the churchyard. The connection at the

⁴³ A photograph of Pugin's drawing of the plan (the whereabouts of which are unrecorded) is in the Conway Library of the Courtauld Institute, together with a perspective drawing of the Western end of the church.

⁴⁴ NMR, A42/875, taken 1942. The presbytery has been demolished; its decorative plaque, a two-light lancet window, and parts of its gable coping and corbels have been fixed to the new South porch of the church. My site visit, 13.5.2002.

⁴⁵ A letter to Bloxam dated 24.10.1840 refers to it being ready before his continental trip of that year: Belcher 2001, p153. Published records of the church's opening make no reference to the existence of the presbytery, and Pugin's engraving was produced for fund raising purposes – so the house may have followed the church. The 'Myers Family Album', p 30 item 57, includes proposals for a house 'adjoining St Mary's Church, Bridge Gate' (in Derby), signed by Samuel Earl and dated 23.3.1839. This may be the temporary remodelling of an existing house as a temporary presbytery.

⁴⁶ 'Diary', 1-8.1.38. The drawings are Wedgwood 1985, 573.

church end ran along a passageway the length of the internal East wall of the sanctuary to a North East porch. The clergy house itself is similar to, but smaller than, the western residence design for Derby.⁴⁷

Pugin first met Thomas Doyle towards the end of the same month, and less than a week later had delivered drawings for a new church of St George, St George's Field, Southwark.⁴⁸ The perspective drawing at the RIBA LDC indicates a row of **auxiliary clergy buildings** at the liturgical East end of the church. These take the form of a symmetrical building with an Oxford-college-type gatehouse at its centre; an ecclesiastical hall, and at the geographical west end, a building with a conical roof which makes the transition across the acute angle at the junction of St George's Road and Westminster Bridge Road. The size of the drawing is too small to allow identification of proposed materials. There is no known evidence that Pugin prepared more detailed plans of these buildings.

In the middle of July 1838 Pugin dispatched a series of drawings to Fr Morgan, priest at Uttoxeter, for the new church there; the drawings for the church that he prepared include the design of the **presbytery** which appears to have been erected as planned.⁴⁹ The house is a broad brick building with a gable facing the street at the liturgical West of the church. The plan consisted of a pair of rooms, with a staircase between them, and a further room attached to each floor as a rear extension. The stair hall was linked on the ground floor to the church by a corridor, which contained the front door. The Uttoxeter presbytery includes two significant innovations. The roof is eaved, and projecting corbels on the front elevation leave only the merest hint of a gable shoulder; at the back of the house, these do not exist at all; and the second innovation is the use of a coloured brick – Staffordshire blues – as a decorative band above the windows: they are not truly voussoirs, since they do not actually deflect the load from above the opening: this is done by the stone lintols themselves.

⁴⁷ Wedgwood 1985, 573, f 6, f 8; Wedgwood 1977, [51] 2, dated 1838; There is no site layout plan.

⁴⁸ 'Diary', 27.1.1838; 2.2.1838. Doyle was senior priest at St George's chapel in London Road, Southwark, the chapel of the Belgian embassy: there is a biographical note on Doyle in Belcher 2000, p 111 n 1.

⁴⁹ 'Diary', 17.7.1838; My site visit, 12.4.2003. The drawings are at the Research Library, The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles (870366). The house has been altered both internally and externally.

Pugin noted in his drawings that he 'began convent drawings' on 9th October 1838. This probably refers to the new **convent at Bermondsey** commissioned by Rev Peter Butler on behalf of the benefactors for Catherine McAuley of the Order of Mercy. None of Pugin's drawings survive, and the building can be only partially reconstructed through two published drawings, and OS plans.⁵⁰ Pugin's perspective in the *Catholic directory* shows a two-storey building, L-shaped in plan, with crowstepped gables and recessed window bays separated by narrow buttresses; at one side there is a gabled bell-tower, and opposite, a single-storey extension with lancets. The building was occupied, in spite of reservations by McAuley, on 21st November 1839.⁵¹ Pugin may have later designed a **clergy house** on or for the site.⁵²

A month after conveying the convent drawings to Butler, Pugin finished his first set of drawings for the church of St Mary and St Thomas, Dudley; he finished a revised set in June 1839.⁵³ In *The present state*, he claimed that he had designed a **presbytery** for the church; this was perhaps a casualty of the cost-cutting implied in the need to redesign, for there is no evidence in local press reports or histories of there having been a new presbytery on the site. The 1841 Census records that the priest, Michael Hogan, was living in Porter's Field, a street adjacent to the church. A detailed burial ground plan of 1846 indicates a pair of terraced houses to the north-west of the church, which suit this description.⁵⁴

In 1838, Pugin drew a design for a 'priest's lodgings': this can now be identified as the **presbytery alongside St Anne's church in Keighley**.⁵⁵ The ashlar stone house is

⁵⁰ *Catholic directory*, 1839; *Orthodox journal*, vol ix, (21.12.1839), p 401; Waterhouse 1897-8 (vol iv p 217); some oral evidence from former residents (20.3.2003). The building has been destroyed. A photograph of the bombed site exists in Southwark LHL, ref PB2882, dated 1950. Convent archives were damaged by the bombing and neither the Order nor the local public archive has any photographs.

⁵¹ Sullivan 1995, p 18.

⁵² Photocopy of undated letter, HLRO, PUG/3/1/35.

⁵³ 'Diary', 6.11.1838; 18.6.1839.

⁵⁴ Dudley RO, c189.

⁵⁵ Wedgwood 1977, [73] 2. My site visit, 9.4.2003. The rear of the house has been rebuilt.

of the gable and bay type, familiar in Tudor Gothic architecture, but with narrow windows set in flush stone surrounds. The plan is a simple L-corridor type; the half-round timber beads on the architraves are the earliest surviving example of this characteristic Pugin detail, although here they are more self-conscious, with round bases, suggesting that he was still experimenting with them.⁵⁶

Pugin's diary for 1838 contains a brief reference to 'Mr More'; this may possibly be the More of More and Bicknell, who had commissioned alterations to, or possibly a rebuilding of his private house at **10, Cheyne Walk** in Chelsea: Pugin had lived nearby since September 1837.⁵⁷ There was a canted, castellated bay window with cusped, square-headed windows at the front of the house, in a terrace of early eighteenth-century houses, and work within included the creation of an oratory on the first floor.⁵⁸

1839

Pugin's second opportunity to design a monastic building came about some time after September 1838, when he first recorded a visit to Downside Abbey.⁵⁹ He appears shortly afterwards to have been asked to design a bridge or causeway for the Abbey.⁶⁰ At the beginning of 1839 he was extended an invitation to design **refectory and kitchen buildings for Downside Abbey**, housed to date in a Gothick building of

⁵⁶ Some further reference of the house and church are in Berry 1985 (passim).

⁵⁷ *Building news* gives his name as 'Harrington Moore': vol lli p 352; 'More and Bicknell' are derived from an unlabelled press cutting about the proposed demolition of the house in Bloxam's collection, MCO, MS 528/1; the piece has an illustration of the front of the house.

⁵⁸ At least one clear photograph exists, by James Heddersley c1870, in the Chelsea LSL, Heddersley cat. no 5, L/2790; there is a copy in the NMR London, catalogued as BB90/12644 but inaccurately dated, for the building was demolished in 1887. There are detailed interior and exterior views in *Building news* vol lli p 371; *Builder*, vol lv no 2375 (11.8.88), p 105.

⁵⁹ 'Diary', 30.9-1.10.1838.

⁶⁰ This is the implication of a letter dated 1.12.1838 from G Oliver to TJ Brown, then theology teacher at the Abbey; Downside Abbey archives, K132.

1823 by Goodridge. Pugin's scheme is preserved at the Abbey. Some detailed elevations and sections were prepared for the main block.⁶¹ The work was not carried out.

Pugin had met John Talbot, 16th Earl of Shrewsbury, not later than August 1837, and had from the outset of the connection collaborated with the Earl on design and remodelling work at his Staffordshire seat, Alton Towers.⁶² Pugin's structural work at the Towers, which was executed from 1839 onwards, falls outside the scope of this Dissertation, but has been described in detail by Fisher: his principal works include the addition of the Talbot Gallery and Passage from 1839-40; the rebuilding of the Octagon (1839-42); the remodelling of the chapel in two stages (1839-40 and 1849-51); various alterations to the kitchen and servants' quarters (1841; 1849); a barbican (1842) and other walling works; the Doria Rooms (c1843); two conservatories (1848); the remodelling of the Great Dining Room (executed from 1849 onwards, and possibly continued by E.W. Pugin after 1852); and alterations and additions to upper floors of the main block of the house, probably to provide accommodation for the earl's heir (1849 onwards, work continued after 1852 by others).⁶³ The Uttoxeter presbytery, to which Shrewsbury had contributed, had been the first new house built as a result of their alliance; the first new residential building on Shrewsbury's own estate was the projected **St John's Hospital at Alton**, above the River Churnet but across the ravine from the ruins of Alton Castle. Pugin began his drawings in September 1839 but did not complete them until the beginning of December: the unusually long gestation suggests considerable thought and effort. The complex of buildings was subsequently illustrated and described by Pugin in *The present state*; it has been recently discussed by Fisher.⁶⁴ The hospital consisted of a U-shaped courtyard; the central block provided 'lodgings for the poor brethren'; these were linked by cloister to the chapel and warden's lodgings which form the north side of

⁶¹ There is a brief description of this scheme in O'Donnell 1981. In Pugin's letter to Wiseman, 'not later than 12 January 1839', he refers to building work scheduled to start in the spring: Belcher 2001, pp 106-8.

⁶² The house and the Pugin-Shrewsbury partnership there is extensively described in Fisher 1999.

⁶³ Fisher 1999, ch 5, *passim*.

⁶⁴ Pugin 1842 (*Present state* pt ii), pp 92-5, plate v; Fisher 2002, pp 52-76.

the court, and to the guildhall and school at the south. The perspective published in *The present state* showed a refectory hall and kitchen terminating the western end of the south wing; this was replaced in practice by a school hall and clock tower.⁶⁵ A pair of houses close across the entrance drive from the south side of the guildhall was built, or converted, for schoolmasters.⁶⁶ The warden's lodgings were complete by February 1842;⁶⁷ working drawings for the south wing, including the school and guildhall, were completed by Pugin in 1847.⁶⁸

Pugin had met the second of his two major clients for domestic architecture in November 1837, when his diary records that he visited Ambrose Phillipps at the latter's home of Grace-Dieu in Leicestershire.⁶⁹ Phillipps had already established the monastery of **Mount St Bernard's**, in the Charnwood Forest nearby, and a temporary chapel had been opened by Walsh, the Vicar-Apostolic, the month before Pugin's first visit. Pugin's design for a permanent monastery may have been advanced by 4th October 1839.⁷⁰ At any rate, Laura March Phillipps' diary recorded that on 16th January 1840, 'Ambrose & Mr Pugin drove to the monastery in order to show them the designs', and the following day 'Mr Pugin and Ambr spent the day at the monastery where the latter marked out foundations with his builder Mr Myers.' The completed portions of the monastery and church were 'solemnly blessed on 20th August 1844.'⁷¹ The complete works were illustrated in perspective and described in *The present state*; some elevational and sectional drawings for the first cloister and

⁶⁵ Regarding this wing, see in particular Fisher 2002, p 76; O'Donnell 2002, p 46. My site visits, 14.5.2002; 12.4.2003. The hospital complex has survived.

⁶⁶ A schoolmaster had taken possession of his house by 24.12.1841: Belcher 2001, p 306. There is stylistic evidence in joinery and stonework detailing of Pugin's work inside both houses, and on much of the outside of the westernmost house; my site visit, 12.4.2003.

⁶⁷ Fisher 2002, p 63.

⁶⁸ Photocopy of letter, HLRO, PUG/3/90; dated 1847 by Fisher 2002, p 76. The redesign of the *Present state* scheme was first submitted at the time of Pugin's letter to Shrewsbury of 2.11.1845?: Belcher 2003, pp 470-1.

⁶⁹ 'Diary', 24.11.37. See also Wedgwood 1985, p 79 n 67.

⁷⁰ Phillipps wrote to Shrewsbury at that date to report that 'the monks have already commenced drawing the stone': Purcell 1900, vol i, p 75.

⁷¹ Palmer [?] 1852, p 292.

courtyard as first built exist in the Leicestershire RO.⁷² Pugin designed **a house for a Mr Collier** in August 1843: this was sent directly to the sub-prior at Mount St Bernard's and may have been intended for erection on the site.⁷³ The opening ceremony for the incomplete monastery was held on 20th August 1844.⁷⁴ During the course of 1839 Pugin prepared a revised set of drawings for St George's church in Southwark. This time he prepared an elevation and a plan of the **proposed clergy buildings** at the western end of the site, labelling some parts 'schools' and 'house'.⁷⁵ These buildings were indicated as being in brick, with diaper work at ground-floor level. At the western end of the site there was a castellated tower, not dissimilar in form to the warden's lodgings at Alton, forming the apex at the junction between the two streets: a saint in an aedicule placed across the corner looked down westwards along what is now Westminster Bridge Road. The school building to its east was to be a simple two-storied building with a tall roof and belfry; the square-headed windows were in four bays with hoods. The easternmost building was L-shaped in plan, beginning with a block with its gable facing the road, running back northwards into the site, and then turning eastwards and connecting with the liturgical East end of the Cathedral. The buildings which would have faced Westminster Bridge Road were apparently not then designed in detail.

⁷² Pugin 1842 (*Present state*, part ii), pp 121-6, pl vii; Leics CRO, DE 992/1-4.

⁷³ Pugin's letter to WO Woolfrey, 19.8.1843: Belcher 2003, pp 99-100.

⁷⁴ Purcell 1900 p 82. Two drawings from sketches by Clarkson Stanfield and showing the partially-completed monastery and, in one case, a vision of the completed church, exist at the monastery and are dated 1848. The latter drawing shows the westernmost, guest wing, block, which according to Palmer [?] 1852, p 292, was also designed by Pugin, although it is in some respects uncharacteristic of his work. The roof over the calefactory and kitchen were raised to the same height as the rest of the south wing at this time. All the Pugin works have in any case been altered. My site visit, 1.5.2002. The project was continued, with variations, by EW Pugin and others; the monastery and Pugin's role in it is described in Young 2002; there is more information in Cruikshank & Jewitt c1882, and Andrews 2003; and some useful photographs are in Tucker & Havers 2002. Local concern about the effect the project would have on the neighbourhood – and in particular, charges that Phillipps was engaging in making converts – are voiced in Merewether 1845.

⁷⁵ Kept in the administrator's offices at Cathedral House in Southwark [fig. 149].

The design was modified in 1843,⁷⁶ and the convent buildings, and the rest of the house and school complex, were probably complete by the end of 1843. An undated letter of sometime that year, from Pugin to Bloxam, illustrates the significance of the work for him: 'the house & convent at St Georges are progressing most gloriously. an example of Catholic *street architecture* in London must do good'.⁷⁷ A lengthy description of them appears in the *Catholic directory* for 1844:

As to the convent of our Lady of Mercy at St George's, it is but little known, and therefore requires a few words. In the first place as to its locality. *It stands on the same line of road as the church, and has a broad road passing round it. This convent is very beautiful, and perhaps the chef-d'oeuvre of Mr Pugin's works.* The church terminates the ground at one end and the convent the other. Thus from the Westminster-road to the St George's-road there is a range of Gothic buildings more than five hundred feet in length, and in some parts nearly one hundred feet in breadth, with the exception of an interesting space of garden ground between the chancel end of the church and the presbytere. The convent is for the sisters of Mercy, and for the present will accommodate only eleven ladies. The school room, for three hundred poor female children, is under the cells of the sisters. Besides the chapel of the Blessed Virgin in the church into which the cloister looks through some beautifully wrought windows, there is a small but beautiful private chapel in the convent that will afford accommodation for thirty sisters.⁷⁸

John Hardman Powell described the Bishop's House (that is, the clergy house at the east end of the complex) as 'the small poem in stone'.⁷⁹ Only partial reconstruction of the building is possible.⁸⁰ The St George's Road street front was illustrated in an

⁷⁶ Pugin enclosed them in a letter to Forristall of 6.6.1843: Belcher 2003 p 73.

⁷⁷ 26.9.1843?, Belcher 2003, p 111.

⁷⁸ *Catholic directory* 1844, p 35. The initial sentence is still true: the convent has not been described by modern writers.

⁷⁹ Wedgwood 1988, p 185.

⁸⁰ Most of the clergy buildings were demolished in 1886 when the new buildings by Leonard Stokes were erected (correspondence in SAA, building file). Stokes incorporated the north-easternmost wing

anonymous guide to the Cathedral, probably published in 1851.⁸¹ The buildings again divide into three equal parts and are similar to the 1839 scheme; a plain square tower was located at the street corner at the western end, with an oriel window to the south. The school hall, a two-storeyed, five-bayed buttressed block with a gabled roof and tall belfry are in the centre, and at the eastern end, a third building presents a gable to the street, with a chimney at its centre from first-floor level upwards.⁸² There is some indication of the Westminster Bridge Road elevation; the square tower remains, and the flat elevation is relieved at the far end by an octagonal pinnacled turret. A further illustration on the facing page shows enough of the more northerly, surviving, range to enable the latter to be attributed to Pugin.⁸³ The surviving work is in yellow London brick; the stone window frames now have for the first time regular integral quoins, four, five and six courses apart respectively from the cill upwards.⁸⁴ The roof of the northern block is in fact a monopitch, rising to a brick upstand along the site.

1840

Walsh had been in communication with Catherine McAuley before February 1840 regarding the establishment of a **convent of the Sisters of Mercy at Handsworth**, near Birmingham; in a letter of 4th February 1840, McAuley's reply listed her requirements for a new building.⁸⁵ The building had progressed sufficiently for the 'ceremony of religious clothing' to take place on 10th August;⁸⁶ Nicholas Wiseman,

of Pugin's clergy house into his own, and also repeated Pugin's motif of a five-bay, buttressed central hall at the centre of the St George's Road elevation. My site visit, 14.9.2002.

⁸¹ *A complete description of St. George's Cathedral*, pp 12-3.

⁸² An undated photograph in the NMR London, neg. ref. BB83/1623, testifies to the accuracy of the drawing of the gable elevation .

⁸³ The watercolour drawing preserved in the Cathedral offices and illustrated at O'Donnell 1994, pl 123, shows a different treatment to the gabled wall facing St George's Road.

⁸⁴ The surviving windows in the north-west wall of St Marie's Grange have irregular quoins.

⁸⁵ Bolster 1989, p 120.

⁸⁶ McAuley to Walsh, 5.8.1840: *ibid*, p 147.

Walsh's coadjutor, received the founding party on 21st August, and *Leith's chronicle* records the opening as having officially taken place on the 25th.⁸⁷ The foundation was initially named the 'Convent of St Etheldreda'⁸⁸. In addition to Shrewsbury, the Hardman family, who lived opposite the convent, had donated both land and money;⁸⁹ John Hardman junior's nephew, John Hardman Powell, then a teenager, drew a series of interior perspectives of the convent which, together with Pugin's (less accurate) illustration in *The present state*, provide a full record of the first stage of the convent.⁹⁰ In execution the scheme was varied from that shown in Pugin's illustration: a corridor from the front entrance leads directly into the chapel, the refectory being off-axis to the south; the cells are either side of the chapel corridor.⁹¹

Pugin's diary records that he completed work on 17th June 1840 for drawings for a church commissioned by Henry Howard for the Cumbrian village of Warwick Bridge. The plans included a **presbytery**, and the plans for it have survived in the 'Myers Family Album'; the presbytery appears to have been built as designed.⁹²

Pugin designed a **presbytery for his church of St Mary's, Stockton-on-Tees**; his diary suggests that he first visited the site in August 1840; the ground was set out in May 1841, and when the church was opened in July 1842, the *True tablet* reported that there was a presbytery and schools attached.⁹³ Pugin's house incorporated some

⁸⁷ Sullivan 1995 p 22. The convent's own records concur with Sullivan rather than Leith's.

⁸⁸ According to Sullivan 1995, p 22. The name was changed to 'St Mary' in 1842.

⁸⁹ Pugin 1842 (*Present state* pt ii), p 134, records the benefactors of the convent.

⁹⁰ *Ibid*, pp 133-5, pl xii. By the time of the publication of the plate, the convent's name had evidently changed.

⁹¹ My site visit, 17.5.2002. The original chapel was destroyed in 1942; the rest of the first phase survives with minor alterations only.

⁹² The church was opened in late November 1841 (Belcher 2001, p 183 n 4). The kitchen offices have been rebuilt and two ground floor outhouses added to the north side. Pugin's drawings are in the 'Myers Family Album', pp 34-5, items no #63, 65. My site visit, 8.5.2002.

⁹³ *True tablet*, no 21 (16.7.1842), pp 343, 471 (Belcher 1987, p 209, D155). There are some scarcely legible references to the Stockton house in one of Pugin's notebooks, Wedgwood 1985, 1002, ff 3, 6v-7.

parts of a pre-existing Tudor-Gothic presbytery that had been recently been built by the incumbent.⁹⁴ The plan of Pugin's house is untraceable.⁹⁵

By September 1840 Pugin had designed a **presbytery in Norman style for his church of St James**, set amongst the abbey ruins in Reading. The presbytery was eventually built to the designs of a local builder, and no record of his design exists other than a reference to it, a letter to J.H. Bloxam.⁹⁶

Soon after this letter to Bloxam, Pugin was engaged in drawing up plans for the **Bishop's House in Birmingham**, which was to stand diagonally opposite the church of St Chad (now under construction) to the south-east. Pugin's ¼"-1' plans and sections, but not his elevations, survive in the archdiocesan archives.⁹⁷ Many photographs exist, making it possible to reconstruct the building almost exactly.⁹⁸

The Bishop's House – which Pugin referred to occasionally as a palace – was built in the form of a 'U' with a central courtyard, less than 24' square. The principal rooms were on the first floor, and their use is described in *The present state*:⁹⁹ in general, the northern wing of the courtyard contained the Bishop's chambers on the first floor; the

⁹⁴ This is the evidence of my site visit, 8.4.2003, and it concurs with the comment in Harrison 1975, that the priest, Fr Dugdale, had built a house in [adjoining] Croft Street before Pugin's arrival. Dugdale had arrived in 1832, according to Heavisides 1865, p 128, and this date certainly suits the remaining fragments: Brittain-Catlin 2003.

⁹⁵ It was largely obliterated when rebuilt to the designs of Arthur Harrison in 1909. Old photographs, such as that included in Harrison 1975, show a three-storeyed, single-gabled building facing west; it appears to have been altered for different parish uses during its short life; cf i.a. Heavisides 1865 pp 128-9; Harrison 1975, p 3.

⁹⁶ Of 13.9.1840: Belcher 2001, p 142.

⁹⁷ BAA, APD/P1/7-11.

⁹⁸ BAA has a large collection in the file P1/44 (Bishop's House). Further unpublished photographs were taken under the direction of Mark Girouard for *Country life* and are kept in the magazine's archive. The building was built with some variations from the drawings: most significantly, a north-facing oriel window was added to the first floor, north-east room (adjacent to the library). There is a lengthy discussion of the house in Stanton 1951 pp 363-7. The house was demolished for road-widening in 1960.

⁹⁹ Pugin 1842 (*Present state* pt ii), p 132.

central, eastern wing contained a library and private chapel, and the southern wing the great dining hall. In spite of its novel appearance, it was not remarked upon in press reports of the time.¹⁰⁰ Pugin's original street entry door had been a simple door set into a flush wall, as illustrated in the *Present state* perspective; the more ornate entry and porch seen in photographs was a later Victorian addition.¹⁰¹

Pugin suggests in *The present state* that he designed a **presbytery for his church of St Wilfred's, Hulme**, which may have been designed that year, but there is no clear evidence of this.¹⁰² The last remaining projects designed in 1840 are **two gatehouses and possibly a cottage for Oscott College**, near Birmingham. These were Pugin's first commissions for new residential buildings at this institution with which he had enjoyed a long friendly relationship since 1837.¹⁰³ The overall form of the two gatehouses from the roadside is similar to historic examples, such as at South Wraxall;¹⁰⁴ with a depressed central arch, diagonally splayed buttresses at the corner, and a gable; the first floor fenestration of the larger North Lodge, however – a central

¹⁰⁰ Lengthy press reports and descriptions of the opening of the church, for example in the *Tablet* (1841, pp 397-8, 413-5, and in the *Catholic magazine*, vol v, no liv (July 1841) p 428 ff, make no reference to the Bishop's House

¹⁰¹ A surviving drawing, BAA, APD/P1/9, shows a section through the original front door.

¹⁰² Pugin 1841c (*Present state* pt i), p 35 n. A map of Hulme of 1844, and the 6"-1 mile Ordnance Survey map of 1848, do indicate a building to the west of the church which could have been a presbytery, and Duffield 1850, p 132, refers to the church and presbytery as having been built together by Myers for £5,000: I am grateful to Mr John Sullivan's website for pointing this out. The presbytery identifiable in an undated (probably c1905) archival photograph of the church is not characteristic of a Pugin building: see Salford diocesan archives, §1005. Spencer-Silver 1993 gives no details, but concurs with Wedgwood 1985, p 81 n 39, in suggesting 1838 as the year in which the church was designed; Stanton 1971, p 39, had suggested 1838, but at p 199 corrected this to 1839. My suggestion of 1840 is based on Pugin's first distinct reference to it, in a letter to Bloxam of 24.10.1840, in Belcher 2001, p 155. No other Pugin building apparently built is as obscure as this presbytery. The church was completed in 1842.

¹⁰³ There is some description of the history of these buildings in the context of Pugin's association with Oscott in O'Donnell 1988, and in O'Donnell 2002, p 66-70. The cottage design is an attribution by O'Donnell 1988.

¹⁰⁴ Plates of South Wraxall Manor House had been prepared by TL Walker for the third volume of *Examples*.

aedicule with a saint, with a window either side, each with tracery below a depressed arch – is more similar to Oxford and Cambridge gateway examples. These were the first mediaeval-type gate lodges that Pugin had executed since drawing one for his Deanery scheme of 1833, and he had used a similar device there. The college has no record of the appearance of the cottage, which, if built, was presumably demolished when college land was sold for development in the early twentieth century.¹⁰⁵

1841

By 2nd January 1841, Pugin was in communication with William Riddell regarding the construction of St Mary's church in Newcastle-upon-Tyne.¹⁰⁶ At some point during the association with the parish authorities he prepared a design for a **small cottage** to be built in the churchyard there, although there is no record of its having been built, and it does not appear on any available map for the 1840s or 1850s; nor is there record of it in Pugin's correspondence with his clients. The working drawing for the cottage shows a kitchen and a living room on the ground floor, together with a porch, a pantry, and a kitchen yard with stores and a water closet; there are details of a cill section, showing Pugin's internal battening, and two coping details.¹⁰⁷ The principal device in the composition was a large and double chimney rising from the roof; its importance in the overall appearance of this small structure recalls Pugin's first cottage design: the results are almost picturesque.¹⁰⁸

In the same month Pugin reported to Shrewsbury that '**The Lodge at Cownslow** has *not* been begun', and suggested that its execution should be delayed further so that all

¹⁰⁵ My site visit, 14.4.2003. The North and South Lodges both survive.

¹⁰⁶ Belcher 2001, p 185.

¹⁰⁷ The undated drawing is at Wedgwood 1977 [55]; the 'small gabled cottage' her correspondent refers to is not indicated in contemporary maps.

¹⁰⁸ That at Wedgwood 1985, 107 ff 35v-7.

efforts could be diverted to new work at Cheadle.¹⁰⁹ By the end of June, however, the lodge was almost finished.¹¹⁰ The Counslow gatehouse was located at the west of the Alton Towers estate, towards Cheadle; its detailing rather than its layout indicate Pugin's involvement.¹¹¹ The gatehouse originally consisted of two ground floor rooms, and an outhouse with a door towards the road; there was a staircase leading up through one of the rooms to an upper floor. The details around the windows, in particular, are minimal; head, jamb, mullion and cill are cut at an angle directly into the wall, which is of the local Counslow stone.¹¹²

By April 1841 Pugin was engaged in another school project, but this time it was to be a freestanding building with an attached **schoolmaster's house, at the village of Spetchley** in Worcestershire, outside the gates of the Spetchley Park estate of the Berkeley family.¹¹³

The Spetchley school building consisted of two halls, each with a porch, at right angles to each other alongside the Stratford road east of Worcester; there is a belfry over the junction of the two roof ridges. To the west of the block, forming an 'H', was the schoolmaster's house, which consisted of two rooms with a stair hall between them; the stairs led to a further room above. The whole is built of local pink brick.¹¹⁴

Pugin travelled to Belgium and Holland that summer, and reported to Bloxam that on his return two new jobs had been offered: work for Joseph Knight in Chelsea, and for Lord Midleton at Oxenford Grange in Surrey. The first project consisted of three main uses in one large complex: there was to be **a convent and school, as well as a row of**

¹⁰⁹ 5.1.1841, Belcher 2001 p 187.

¹¹⁰ Referred to as such in a letter to Shrewsbury, 30.6.1841(?), Belcher 2001, p 249.

¹¹¹ In particular, the head and base terminations of the gable coping.

¹¹² My site visit, 14.5.2002. The gatehouse has been extended, and altered internally.

¹¹³ 'Diary', 29.4.1841.

¹¹⁴ The upper room at the north-west corner is, judging by the brickwork, a later extension in identical style; the kitchen and scullery below were probably rebuilt at the same time; this was done by the time of the Ordnance Survey 1st Series map of 1884, and possibly well before. My site visit, 19.5.2002.

almshouses, along the length of a large site in Cadogan Street.¹¹⁵ The convent and school were built first: uniquely, for Pugin, this first range is symmetrical; the convent was at the centre and the two school buildings arranged lengthways either side. They were opened in April 1844.¹¹⁶ Although referred to as a convent, the central building contained, in addition to a delegation from the Convent of Mercy at Bermondsey, 'several monks from some of the Catholic colleges in the north of England, of the Trappist order, celebrated for their learning, devotedness to the instruction of youth, and piety'.¹¹⁷

The almshouses took longer to build, apparently because of delays in funding endowments. The *Catholic directory* for 1848 reported that the first eight residences were almost complete, and that the foundations for sixteen more had been commenced.¹¹⁸ Three years later the same publication reported that Wiseman had blessed the eight almshouses that had been completed on 22nd August 1850, and noted that no endowment had yet had been found for the others.¹¹⁹ The wing of almshouses that was built ran east-west beyond the western arm of the schools; the uncompleted units were probably intended to form a courtyard towards the road.¹²⁰ Although the Pugin block still exists, it has been extensively remodelled within; if there were eight units in this original building, they were likely to have consisted of two-room apartments on each of the two floors.¹²¹ The building at Chelsea was not executed by Myers.¹²²

¹¹⁵ The history and background to the Joseph Knight projects is described in Anderson 1938.

¹¹⁶ They were illustrated in the *Illustrated London news*, vol vi no 155 (19.4.1845), p 256. The block survives with some internal alterations, although the western wing of schools is now obscured from the street.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.* Carroll 1883, p 96, explained that this convent was 'attached' to the convent of mercy at Bermondsey for eight years.

¹¹⁸ *Catholic directory* for 1848, p 165.

¹¹⁹ *Catholic directory* for 1851, p 143.

¹²⁰ These were eventually built last century to modified designs. The rest of the school complex has survived with some alterations.

¹²¹ My site visit, 5.11.2002.

¹²² It does not appear in the project list compiled by Spencer Silver 1993, or anywhere in the 'Myers Family Album'.

The second project waiting for Pugin's return to England in 1841 could hardly have been more different. This was for **a series of buildings around an existing farmhouse tenanted by Midleton's estate workers at Oxenford**, to the south of his house at Peper Harrow in Surrey. Pugin's undated specification for alterations including a new gable and chimney stacks to the existing farmhouse alongside an improved fragment of mediaeval abbey remains has been preserved with the Midleton papers.¹²³ By 1842 he was building a bridge and gatehouse nearby, at the beginning of a long entrance drive to Peper Harrow from the Elstead-Milford road.¹²⁴ By the time of Midleton's death in 1848, he had also been commissioned to add to this a stable and cowshed, and a barn; some of these were built by James and Henry Moon.¹²⁵ The work appears to have been complete by September 1844, when Pugin wrote that the clerk of works had superintended the work to his satisfaction.¹²⁶

In November 1841 Pugin wrote in great detail to Shrewsbury regarding the design and erection of a substantial church in Nottingham, the future St Barnabas in the Derby Road, noting following his estimate of expenses that 'The Revd Mr. [R.W.] Willson will build house boundary wall & drains'; no further reference to **the clergy house, subsequently bishop's house**, can be found until the *Ecclesiologist's* attack on

¹²³ Surrey HC, 145/39/1/10. Pugin's letters to Midleton do not make any explicit reference to these alterations, making their chronology difficult.

¹²⁴ He completed the drawings on 29.11.1841 ('Diary'). The tender process – won by Myers on 23.5.1842 – and the building of the gatehouse are extensively recorded in Pugin's letters to Midleton; see 24.5.1842; 30.6.1842; 24.7.1842 in Belcher 2001, pp 350-1, 358-9, 366-7 respectively. Pugin's payment certificates for Myers have also survived in the Midleton collection in the Surrey HC.

¹²⁵ There are certificates in their favour, for 'a further payment of £300' dated 21.9.1843, and for £600, for 'Oxenford farm buildings', dated 14.12.1843: Belcher 2003, pp 107-8 and p 149 respectively. Myers was certified to received £200 for the neighbouring spring house and chantry, on 21.9.1843, but also a further £500 on general account as late as 23.10.1844, although this may have been in connection with works at Peper Harrow church or elsewhere on the estate. Belcher 2003, p 107, p 260 respectively. My site visit, 28.5.2002. All the known works survive with the exception only of some of Pugin's chimneys at the farmhouse.

¹²⁶ 18.9.1844: Belcher 2003, p 240. Grosset (n.d.) describes something of these buildings.

Pugin's abilities, and Pugin's response to it, in January 1846.¹²⁷ Pugin's plan for the church, published in *The present state*, implies that there was always to be a clergy house attached to it, for it shows a sacristy leading off to the south of the sacristies.¹²⁸ The house was designed around a courtyard, with a residential wing on the western side, offices to the south and east, and a chapter house to the north.¹²⁹ Pugin himself described it as a simple and convenient building.¹³⁰ It was roofed in by March 1845.¹³¹

There are four other domestic or residential projects which Pugin appears to have begun in 1841. The most substantial of these is a scheme **for the complete rebuilding of Garendon Hall**, the Phillips family home, in the form of a courtyard style house on a large scale.¹³² Since there is no known reference to the scheme in either the 'Diary' or Pugin's correspondence, and since nothing in the way of a working drawing exists, the implication must surely be that the Garendon scheme was intended as a fantasy.¹³³

Pugin did, however, make practical proposals for a **kitchen and office wing at Phillipps' house, Grace-Dieu** in Leicestershire, and these were executed, in or after

¹²⁷ 'The Artistic Merit of Mr Pugin', *Ecclesiologist*, vol v, no 7 (January 1846), pp 10-6; 'Letter of A.W.N. Pugin, Esq to the Editor of the Ecclesiologist', *Tablet*, vol vii, no 30, (31.1.1846) p 69. There is no reference to the clergy house in local press reports of the church's opening (on 27.8.1844) or opening mass (28.8.1844).

¹²⁸ The church and the sacristy corridor, but not the clergy house, appear on a map of Nottingham published in 1844 for *Dearden's history and directory of Nottingham*. Stanton 1951, p 360, refers to the massing of the East end of the church but not specifically to the role of the bishop's house in it.

¹²⁹ My site visit, 3.12.2001. The house is largely in its original form.

¹³⁰ In his letter published in the *Tablet* (n 127 above).

¹³¹ According to a letter from Walsh to Errington, 3.3.1845 (BAA, B851).

¹³² Wedgwood 1977, [43]. The drawings are dated 1841 by Pugin. He was a guest of Phillipps' at Grace-Dieu 23-26.2.1841, 3-5.4.1841 and 28-30.8.1841 ('Diary'). There is some description and an illustration of the scheme in Girouard 1971, pp 28-30.

¹³³ Phillipps did not in any case succeed to the Garendon estate until April 1862.

1841.¹³⁴ His proposals were for an extension to the east of the main house, which had itself been built in Tudor Gothic style to designs by William Railton in 1833-4;¹³⁵ he twice made alterations to the house's chapel during the 1840s.¹³⁶ The extension is covered in white-painted render. The building provided a new back entrance to a top-lit hall to the north-east of the main house: this led to a kitchen to the west, and to a corridor running along the garden side of a new east-west block. An upper floor was reached by spiral stairs.¹³⁷ He also added a battlemented clocktower over the entrance hall at the front of the house between the chapel and the Railton block.¹³⁸

During 1841, Pugin also returned to Downside to prepare **a substantial scheme for a refectory and a kitchen office court**, which he himself depicted as part of a comprehensive scheme for the **rebuilding of the entire abbey**.¹³⁹ On 28th November he wrote to Shrewsbury that he was just finishing the drawings 'for Downside. there is to be a regular Benedictine Priory in the true form.'¹⁴⁰ The following week, his letter to the Prior implies that he had been asked to make detailed alterations to the kitchen office part of his scheme, and his reply, urging the demolition of 'the whole of the present buildings', suggests that he was afraid that the abbey did not intend to implement his entire scheme.¹⁴¹

¹³⁴ Stanton 1971 p 200, gives 1841 on the basis of dated drawings, the whereabouts of which are not known. The diary of Phillipps' wife Laura, however, states that Pugin came 'to make out the plans for new offices' on 23.9.1845. She makes no reference to building works at the house in 1841.

¹³⁵ Purcell 1900, vol i p 62.

¹³⁶ *Idem*. Stanton 1971, p 200, dates Pugin's work to the chapel at 1841 and 1848.

¹³⁷ This is the last remaining of Pugin's timber spiral staircases, in an external turret, in a domestic or residential building: that at Handsworth has recently been demolished (November 2002). A very small ground-floor room on the garden side of the new corridor, adjacent to Railton's dining room, has an ornate open roof: the purpose of this is unclear.

¹³⁸ My site visit, 1.5.2002. There is some description of Grace-Dieu and its history in O'Donnell 2002. The new kitchen and back entrance have been substantially altered, but the main office block remains almost in its original state. Railton's house and the chapel were altered by Banister Fletcher (junior) some time before the 2nd series OS 6"-mile map of 1903.

¹³⁹ O'Donnell 1981b refers to this scheme.

¹⁴⁰ Belcher 2001, p 293.

¹⁴¹ To JP Wilson, 4.12.1841; *ibid*, p 296.

This scheme is that published in the second part of the *Present state* articles;¹⁴² a sketch for this, superimposed over a plan for the upper storey, is kept at Downside Abbey. The degree to which the scheme was considered practicable for execution is indicated by the restricted scope of the surviving working drawings, which broadly correspond with the perspective scheme and which were for the northern range of the cloister and the kitchen court, with its chapel for the sick, beyond.¹⁴³ The project was the first that required Pugin to demonstrate his ability to organise large and complex kitchen and office requirements.

The final scheme likely to have begun by the end of 1841 is the **first phase of the Convent of the Sisters of Mercy in Liverpool**: its first reference in Pugin's correspondence comes in February 1842, and it was illustrated together with the convent in Handsworth in the second part of *The present state* that same month.¹⁴⁴ No drawings are known to exist for the convent; it can be partially reconstructed from photographs, from the Ordnance Survey 1:500 town plan of Liverpool of 1890, and from oral descriptions of former residents, in addition to Pugin's perspective.¹⁴⁵ The first phase consisted of two courtyards at the corner of Mount Vernon Street and Curzon Street. The court at the corner itself, screened by a high wall, provided an entranceway to the convent; the chapel lay along its south side. The second court, which was partially surrounded by a cloister, lay directly to the west of the front court. On its northern side there was a series of rooms, and along the south side lay the three-storey block which had the community room on the first floor. The cells were above; as at Bermondsey, rooms were too high to look out of.¹⁴⁶ The position of the staircase is not determinable from the evidence available. The fourth, southern, side of the cloister was open to the kitchen garden beyond.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴² Pugin 1842 (*Present state* pt ii), plate xiii, described at pp 135-7.

¹⁴³ Pugin's 'Diary' records that he 'sent off working drawings to Downside' on 17.1.1842.

¹⁴⁴ Pugin to Shrewsbury, 23.2.1842, Belcher 2001 p 326; Pugin 1842 (*Present state* pt ii), pl xii, pp 108-10. Pugin had been in Liverpool 6-9.10.1841 ('Diary').

¹⁴⁵ It has been demolished.

¹⁴⁶ This is from oral evidence (Sr Sheila Quinn, 9.5.2002).

¹⁴⁷ An undated archival photograph at the Order's archives in Liverpool showing the south-west corner of the part of the first phase of the convent shows that Pugin's drawing for Liverpool has exaggerated

1842

There is no known date for the design of the **presbytery at Cheadle**, although discussions may have been under way by February 1842, when Pugin reminded Shrewsbury that a payment of '£350 for the other house at Cheadle' would be due the following month.¹⁴⁸ A letter to Shrewsbury dated November 1842 or 1843 almost certainly refers to the execution of this work, which was a remodelling of an existing L-shaped building.¹⁴⁹ Brickwork variations indicate that part of the street front and of the eastern party wall were there before Pugin arrived; recent (2002) excavation in the south-west room on the ground floor, facing the street, has revealed that there was previously a floor at about a foot below the current ground-floor level. A square bay, of the type deployed for the great hall at the Bishop's House in Birmingham, was applied to the street front. There are two parlours and a kitchen with offices on the ground floor; on the first floor is a large assembly room (about 10 x 5 m) of no clear purpose – it did not, for example, serve as a temporary church during the construction of St Giles' Church; it may have been remodelled from the pre-existing house, which was anecdotally known locally as 'the armoury'. The remodelling was evidently substantial: nearly all surviving fireplaces and joinery can be attributed to Pugin, although a pre-existing window was retained to light the stairs.¹⁵⁰

On 12th February 1841, the Board of Ordnance had transferred a piece of land in the street then known as the New Road in Woolwich to the local priest, in recognition of the large Roman Catholic population of the military installations in the immediate

the verticality of its proportions; the fenestration is also slightly different from that depicted in his perspective.

¹⁴⁸ 23.2.1842: Belcher 2001, p 326. The set of drawings for the church itself was prepared by 31.12.40 ('Diary').

¹⁴⁹ The letter is in Belcher 2003, pp 131-2, and dated by her 16.11.1843, although she appears to mean '16.11.1842'; Wedgwood 1985, 34, following Stanton 1950, dated it 1843; the constructional descriptions in it match the Cheadle presbytery, and not Alton Towers as all three suggest.

¹⁵⁰ My site visits, 13.5.2002 and 12.4.2003. The house has survived in good order.

area.¹⁵¹ Pugin's 'Diary' suggests that he completed drawings on 25th April 1842, and Thomas Griffiths laid the first stone on 20th October 1842.¹⁵² The church was built with a **presbytery** immediately to the north of the church; the site was long but under 23' wide, and the adjoining property to the north stepped forward of the presbytery site a few feet back from the street, narrowing it further.¹⁵³ Drawings in the Myers family album show that Pugin experimented with different plans for the presbytery: these are, in fact, the only known examples of his intermediate, alternative design drawings for a house. The first proposal was arranged in conventional London terrace-house-plan fashion, with a staircase on the church side, and two adjacent rooms, front and back, on each floor to the North.¹⁵⁴ The width for this proposal was greater than that available on site, and it must have been abandoned when he realised that the land to the north of the eventual site was unavailable. The Myers drawings show that Pugin then designed a house reached by a porch adjacent to the church at the Western end which led into a long corridor porch; at the centre of the house there was a staircase leading at right angles to the entry corridor, with a room back and front; alongside the rear room, the corridor continued through to a sacristy at the back.¹⁵⁵ In the event, he built a simple two-room, central-staircase house, reached from a porch opposite the stairs, but continued the corridor from this porch Eastwards to the sacristy at what was then the North-East corner of the church; this is detailed in Pugin's fashion, and was there before later extensions to the sacristy and by the time of the first Ordnance Survey 6"-1 mile map of 1864-6. The brickwork externally may in fact match that of

¹⁵¹ *Catholic directory* for 1842, p 14.

¹⁵² *Catholic directory* for 1843, p 15. Similar announcements, and appeals for funds, and also an illustration appeared in the *Orthodox journal* vol xvi (21.1.43) p 33, summarised in Wedgwood 1985, p 87 n 11.

¹⁵³ The presbytery was greatly enlarged by EW Pugin in 1870, but the earlier building remains with few alterations.

¹⁵⁴ 'Myers Family Album', f 188.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid*, f 190. It could here be noted that some houses in Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, where Pugin lived from 1823-33, have a staircase at right angles to the entrance passage, rather than the later conventional 'London' plan.

the presbytery exactly, and thus it may have been part of the scheme as originally executed.¹⁵⁶

In his letter to Shrewsbury of 29th September 1842, Pugin announced that he is 'going to build for the **Ladies of the Sacred Heart at acton**'; there is no known evidence that he was involved in the eventual design of the work carried out.¹⁵⁷

A letter to Hardman indicates that by 6th December 1842, Pugin had prepared drawings for **St John's**, Hardman's house at Handsworth: he added bay windows, and provided new service and children's accommodation, as well as new fireplaces and ceilings to reception rooms in an early nineteenth-century stuccoed villa.¹⁵⁸

1843

A letter to Middleton of January 1843 refers to a design for a **new cottage near Mousehill Manor in Milford**: the drawing for this dated 1842 has been preserved amongst the papers of the Edmund Kirby collection at Liverpool RO.¹⁵⁹ The small cottage, which had a kitchen, scullery and pantry on the ground floor, and three bedrooms above was not apparently executed: this probably accounts for the survival of the drawing. A further item of domestic work later carried out by Pugin for

¹⁵⁶ Hinge spigots suitable to an outside door still exist at the back of the central porch, but contemporary churches sometimes have similar external doors between presbytery and sacristy, so this alone does not prove that it was, in fact, originally an exterior door to the courtyard, and there is no sign of there having been a corresponding external door to the sacristy on the presbytery side; the brickwork of both the corridor and the rear of the presbytery has been defaced by subsequent now-demolished partitions, and the junction is obscured by cast-iron downpipes, so it is not possible to compare the two. My site visit, 22.8.2002.

¹⁵⁷ The building has been demolished.

¹⁵⁸ My site visit, 8.11.2002. The work is partly described in Pugin's letter to Hardman of 'not later than Tuesday, 6 December 1842', Belcher 2001, p 398. Pugin's work has survived.

¹⁵⁹ LRO, 720 KIR 136. I am indebted to Joseph Sharples for this discovery.

Midleton was the installation of a fireplace, and also of 'the niche for the Pot and pipe', at the **Manor** itself.¹⁶⁰

In 1843 Pugin designed a **presbytery** for the Rev. Robert Richmond to adjoin his new church of St Mary's Brewood. It is a two-storey house of local red brick with two reception rooms, a kitchen and a scullery on the ground floor.¹⁶¹

During the course of about two weeks in the Spring of 1843, Pugin prepared a set of drawings for the partial rebuilding and remodelling of **Balliol College, Oxford**.¹⁶²

Pugin had been asked to supplant George Basevi, at the invitation of some of the Fellows of the College; this followed Pugin's own unfavourable judgment of Basevi's scheme.¹⁶³ Pugin's drawings included not only plans, sections and elevations but also interior perspectives and, uniquely amongst Pugin's domestic and residential work, his own written description of some of the interiors.¹⁶⁴

Most of the effort behind the Balliol scheme was in fact directed to the Master's Lodgings (although the proposals did include a new wing of fellows' sets reached from staircases to the west of the old gatehouse). He wrote to Bloxam that "I have got

¹⁶⁰ Surrey HC 1248/33/15, undated, is a sketch for these; the fireplace still exists. Pugin made out a certificate on 21.9.43 for £100 in favour of C Bowler, labelled 'Mouse Hill': this may refer to these and other minor works: Belcher 2003, p107. My site visit, 28.5.2002. The house has been considerably altered but the fireplace survives.

¹⁶¹ My site visit, 15.5.2002. The house survives with the loss of some chimneys.

¹⁶² Pugin's letters to Bloxam, of 25.3.43 and 3.4.43, refer to working simultaneously on the Balliol drawings: Belcher 2003, p 30, pp 35-6. In a letter to Shrewsbury of 1.4.1843, he refers to a deadline of the following day: Belcher 2003, p 34. The *Oxford chronicle and Reading gazette* for 18.3.1843 reported that Pugin was then in the city, presumably before he started work on the scheme; and his description of his completed project is dated 7.4.1843. The design and draughting of the entire proposal therefore took under three weeks. There is no diary for 1843.

¹⁶³ In a letter to Frederick Oakeley or WG Ward of 19.2.1843: Belcher 2003, pp 16-7. Basevi's removal by the Fellows is clear from his letter to Jenkyns, the Master of Balliol, of 14.2.1843, Balliol College Oxford archive, D.21.44.

¹⁶⁴ Pugin's 'Description of the Buildings', in Balliol College Oxford archives. Basevi had proposed on 16.2.1842 (Balliol College Oxford Archives, D.21.39) that a new Master's residence would cost between £7,000-£8,000: this suggests that Pugin's proposals were not excessively lavish.

all the rooms perfectly *convenient* & the masters lodging will set you half mad for true christian Rooms'.¹⁶⁵ The catastrophic outcome of the Balliol scheme has been recorded on several occasions; the scheme immediately fell victim to Oxford's new religious sectarianism.¹⁶⁶

Pugin worked on designs for **Ratcliffe College**, at Ratcliffe-on-the-Wreake in the parish of Cossington in Leicestershire, in the Spring of 1843; his first reference to the work comes in a letter to his client, Luigi Gentili, in April.¹⁶⁷ A letter sent before 26th May 1843, addressed to Gentili at the Catholic chapel in Loughborough, accompanied the submission of drawings, which at that point was titled 'The Calvary of Sibley':¹⁶⁸

There are 19 cells on first floor, & 11 over the Library making 30 in all besides a dormitory for Boys about 80 feet in Length & another set of rooms in the roof over East wing 60 feet in Length.

The offices are very convenient. it will easy when building if you think you will want more rooms to make the West & East wings Longer.

in the front, which it is intended to build first you will have a deal of rooms but I think it will be necessary to build the offices with it.¹⁶⁹

Pugin's letter noted a list of rooms in his submitted scheme, which in addition to the cells and library mentioned above included a church, 'a range of schools', a refectory and calefactory, a kitchen and various other public rooms. The only known extant drawing is titled 'Calvary House East side of quadrangle', and illustrates a partial

¹⁶⁵ 3.4.1843: Belcher 2003, p 35.

¹⁶⁶ See for example Bryson 1963; J Jones 1978; Litvack 1986; Colvin 1983 ch vii pp 105-16. Pugin was still in dispute with Balliol regarding his costs two years later: see his letter of 5.1.1845, Belcher 2003, pp 314-5.

¹⁶⁷ 24.4.1843: Belcher 2003, p 46.

¹⁶⁸ By the College's co-founder Rosmini; Leatham 1950, p 10. The name was changed to Ratcliffe College in 1845; *ibid*, p 11.

¹⁶⁹ Pugin's letter in Ratcliffe College archives (not catalogued). By 26.5.1843 Pugin was already referring to having sent the sketches (Belcher 2003, p 65).

ground and first-floor plan, together with a section and typical bay elevation, of a wing containing cells above and small public rooms below.¹⁷⁰ This drawing does not resemble any part of the surviving east wing of the quadrangle, except in so far as it has a wide corridor along the western (quadrangle) side.

Pugin's letter of 4th July 1843 supports O'Donnell's proposition that a 'Puginesque' lithograph of a scheme entitled 'Couvent de l'Immaculée Conception à Sileby, Angleterre', which was reproduced in the French-language edition Pugin's works entitled *Les vrais principes*, in fact illustrates Pugin's ideal conception of the school.¹⁷¹ It does not greatly resemble the Pugin part of the scheme as built: it is oriented in the same way as the completed wing (assuming the proposed church is laid out with its altar to the east), and it is a quadrangle scheme with a tower towards the west of the south-eastern side. Possibly the design began as a scheme for another local project, for Laura March Phillipps recorded in her diary that on 26th February 1842 'Ambrose [Phillipps] & Dr Gentili left at 10 for Loughbro' to meet Mr Pugin – who took the directions for building **the house for the "Order of Charity"** – and yet no such house was built in Loughborough by Pugin.

Pugin's work at the college and his relations with its founders have been described by Leetham. His plans for what became a school and novitiate were subject to frequent changes of uses – even after construction – and were built in three stages along the east side of the quadrangle.¹⁷² The first building was opened on 21st November 1844, with accommodation for 30 boys, and a first-floor chapel;¹⁷³ his later extensions included the range to the south-west with the entrance tower, and a larger chapel with a connecting three-bay range to the north-east. The wing was in plan a series of rooms reached on the ground floor by a wide west-facing corridor, or cloister; a further door to the north of the range gave more direct access to the chapel from outside.

¹⁷⁰ As above. There may be further drawings at the Rosminian archives at Stresa in Italy, but these are uncatalogued and currently inaccessible.

¹⁷¹ O'Donnell 2001, pp 59-62; Pugin's letter of 4.7.1843 to Gentili: Belcher 2003, p 87.

¹⁷² Leetham 1950, pp 11-22, 32, 35.

¹⁷³ According to a letter from Phillipps to Walsh, BAA, B781 (22.11.1844).

Originally, the only stairs to the upper floor were those in the tower.¹⁷⁴ In this respect, there was no similarity between this layout and Pugin's immediately previous Balliol College design: there is, for example, no distinct master's lodgings in either the executed scheme, or the *Vrais principes* perspective. Later alterations and extensions to the building were carried out by C.F. Hansom as early as 1849, and stylistically, and documentarily, it is not always possible to ascertain which work can be attributed to which architect. It was Hansom who added (in stages) a later extension, consisting of a further corridor parallel to that on the north-west front of his range; this provided deeper rooms in some cases, but in others, a section of double corridor.¹⁷⁵

It was probably during the course of the summer of 1843 that Pugin first began to prepare plans for a **new castle at Alton**, to be built over the foundations of Alton Castle just to the north-west of the rising St John's Hospital scheme.¹⁷⁶ The purpose of the building was from the first unclear, and the plan as it finally developed gives little clue.¹⁷⁷ The scheme consists essentially of three blocks and is built in Counslow stone (of a greyer hue than the hospital); it was built from north to south.¹⁷⁸

Accommodation is provided in north and south blocks which are linked by a central part that consists of a long narrow apsidal chapel, and with aisles that terminate on the northern side in a staircase and, on the southern side, in a sacristy. The northern block follows to some extent the line of the foundations of Alton Castle running along the top of the crest of the hill that overlooks the River Churnet towards Alton Towers. It has three full floors above a basement, and a further attic; there is a corridor running along the northern side, following the crest of the hill and the old foundations, and to the south were a series of rooms, the most important of which was on the ground floor, and has the fireplace opening, apparently never used as such, of a kitchen.

¹⁷⁴ My site visit, 2.5.2002.

¹⁷⁵ Leatham 1950, p 35.

¹⁷⁶ There is a detailed description of Alton Castle in Fisher 2002, pp 66-75.

¹⁷⁷ Pugin wrote to Shrewsbury in despair at being asked to design 'a Castle *for Priests!!!!*' on 25.6.1843: Belcher 2003, pp 84-5.

¹⁷⁸ My site visit, 14.5.2002. The castle has survived intact.

Above, there were ten chambers. The roof design was under discussion between Pugin and Shrewsbury in July 1847.¹⁷⁹

The chapel narthex, separated from the chapel by a screen, provides a link between the northern wing and the front door: there is no separate hallway. The south-western egress from narthex to the door lobby was continued southwards, some time after 1849, to form the corridor of a new south-east wing.¹⁸⁰ This new wing contains reception rooms: no exact room attribution is possible, but the southernmost room on the ground floor and the two rooms above were presumably designed as reception rooms. The house was finished before March 1852.¹⁸¹

The fabric and building history of Pugin's second house for himself, known originally as **St Augustine's**, but latterly as 'The Grange', in Ramsgate, has recently been the subject of exhaustive study by Paul Drury, with the support of Donald Insall Associates Ltd.¹⁸² The plot was bought in September 1843; Pugin already had in mind the form of the house he wanted to build, and construction began soon afterwards; he moved into the house in August 1844.¹⁸³

The house was the first to be arranged around a pinwheel plan, and has two storeys, with attics and an additional tower room, and contains 'a *Library* (not a *circulating* one)¹⁸⁴ where Pugin worked, facing southwards towards the sea, as well as a drawing room and dining room. There was a private chapel, and from 1845 Pugin began to establish a church dedicated to St Augustine on the neighbouring site to the east. The

¹⁷⁹ Wedgwood 1985, 52 (30.7.1847). The windows should have been 'in' by June 1848; *ibid.*, 56.

¹⁸⁰ A drawing by Pugin, which has been dated (although not by him) 1849, shows the north-western wing without any sign of the south-eastern part, through the ruins of the old Alton Castle from the south. This is Wedgwood 1985, 176, although the view is not of the hospital as stated there.

¹⁸¹ As is evident from a letter from Shrewsbury to Pugin, 1.3.1852; photocopy at HLRO, PUG/3/2/112.

¹⁸² See Drury 2001. The first known reference to the house as 'The Grange' appears in a plate included in Ferrey 1861, facing p 175; Pugin referred to it as 'St Augustine's', or more usually, as 'St Augustins'. The new name perhaps resulted from the practical completion of Pugin's church.

¹⁸³ The first known reference to the purchase of the land is in a letter of 26.9.1843 to Bloxam, in which he sketches the house from the south-west, approximately as built: Belcher 2003, p 110.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

single most important aspect of the house which has disappeared entirely is the original entry route, which was from Screaming Alley, a public path to the west of the site: the visitor entered to an outer court, turned right through a small gatehouse, and thence into an inner court in front of the house itself.¹⁸⁵ The house was built of grey stock brick with Caen stone dressings.¹⁸⁶ In a sketch sent to Griffiths in October 1844 Pugin illustrated a **presbytery** building attached to the church that was to be built alongside the house; this was not built as drawn here.¹⁸⁷

Towards the end of 1843 Pugin began the first of several schemes for the rebuilding of **Magdalen College School**, the choristers' school attached to Magdalen College, Oxford.¹⁸⁸ A week after the College decided to rebuild, Pugin sent Bloxam, who acted as his intermediary in all his architectural proposals for the College, a set of drawings for a new structure comprising school rooms, a dormitory with sixteen cells, and the schoolmaster's house. Pugin prepared a perspective view from the north-east, which exists in the form of a copy by another hand.¹⁸⁹

The scheme must have been more than usually hurried in its execution, for there are obvious deficiencies in its internal arrangements as well as discrepancies between plan and perspective: most noticeably, in the case of the dormitory; furthermore, Pugin has apparently designed the dining-room wing as if it were a chapel, and hidden the kitchen with a buttress. These drawings had been sent to Bloxam very rapidly, presumably on first hearing of the decision to rebuild the school taken the week before: the intention was to produce a building that had 'great convene with a venerable Looking exterior'.¹⁹⁰ Pugin had 'little hope' of the execution of the scheme, and declined to submit an estimate cost for it: 'unless persons were well versed in the

¹⁸⁵ For which see Drury 2001, archeological record site plan AR/100; and, *ibid*, § 2.8.3 p 17.

¹⁸⁶ My site visit, 16.9.2002. The house is in the process of restoration to its 1844 state.

¹⁸⁷ 27.10.1844: Belcher 2003, pp 265-6 and frontispiece.

¹⁸⁸ There is some discussion of these schemes in Boase 1955 and more recently in Darwall-Smith 2002 and Brittain-Catlin 2002b, 2002c. The College took the decision to rebuild the choristers' school in an order passed on 15.11.1843 – for which see Stanier 1958, p 151.

¹⁸⁹ White 2001, #599.

¹⁹⁰ Pugin to Bloxam, 24.10.1843?: Belcher 2003, p 123.

spirit of antient design they could not appreciate or understand such a building as I sketched'.¹⁹¹ The nature of Pugin's remarks suggest that his immediate submission of his scheme had raised some astonishment amongst the Fellows, who had already begun to talk of holding a competition at a later date; nothing came of this proposal.¹⁹²

In an undated letter to Bloxam written soon after Sibthorp's sudden retirement to Ryde in June 1843, Pugin refers to starting work on an **orphanage in Liverpool**.¹⁹³ The building, on the corner of Faulkner Street and Catherine Street, has been demolished but can be largely reconstructed from survey drawings prepared by the Liverpool architect Edmund Kirby when making alterations to Pugin's building.¹⁹⁴ This was a further quadrangle-type plan. The entrance front contained a reception parlour and two further rooms; the west wing contained the refectory, and the north wing the kitchen and laundry. Parallel with the chapel, along the east wing, were two schoolrooms. The orphanage was built in stone; it was two storeys high, with an attic storey above; it was 'almost ready for occupation' in June 1844.¹⁹⁵ Maps of Liverpool of the late 1840s and early 1850s show that the quadrangle at the centre of the orphanage was positioned exactly over a railway tunnel.¹⁹⁶

On 29th September, Pugin submitted to Bloxam a design for a new gateway for Magdalen College, Oxford;¹⁹⁷ and on 1st February 1844, an Order was approved by the college that 'Mr Pugin's plan for a new gateway be adopted with certain

¹⁹¹ Pugin to Bloxam, 21.11.1843: Belcher 2003, p 134.

¹⁹² Pugin refers to the possibility of a competition in the letter of 21.11.1843 above.

¹⁹³ 26.8.1843: Belcher 2003, p 101. The back end papers for his 'Diary' refer to the 'Orphan [?] house, Liverpool', for which see also Wedgwood 1985, p 92 n 83, and also the *Tablet*, vol v, no 216 (29.6.1844).

¹⁹⁴ For which see survey drawings dated 1869, 1873 & 1899, and undated, by Edmund Kirby, LRO, 720 KIR 2336-2337; there is further evidence in unattributed photographs, dated 8.8.1928 and shortly before the building's demolition, in the LRO collection, nos 5569, 5569. Kirby's alterations were Puginesque in appearance, but when the orphanage was demolished, he built the Liverpool Women's Hospital on the same site, in (*o tempora! o mores!*) a neo-Georgian style.

¹⁹⁵ *Tablet*, v (29.6.1844), p 405.

¹⁹⁶ For example, that by H Collins, 1851.

¹⁹⁷ Together with a letter: Belcher 2003, pp 112-3.

alterations and that Mr Pugin be requested to consider whether it would be feasible to attach a small room for the Porter on the side of the gate'. Pugin perhaps acted on this commission during the course of his visit to Oxford later that month.¹⁹⁸ The commission caused Pugin equal degrees of elation and despondency: he had earlier made suggestions for the gateway,¹⁹⁹ and in a letter to Bloxam of 10th March 1844 he wrote that he wanted 'to make this Little work as perfect as possible'; and yet the requirement for a porter's room, with a flat room so as not to intrude upon the prospect of the College, would 'Look miserable & destroy all the dignity of the design'.²⁰⁰ Later the same month Pugin was able to report that the work was under way, including the new lodge building²⁰¹. The contract for the execution of the work, was between Pugin and Bloxam, and was signed on 15th April.²⁰² By July he was discussing the provision of sculpture on the gateway.²⁰³ This was the only architectural work that Pugin built in Oxford for the College.²⁰⁴ That it was of importance to him notwithstanding its small size is testified by the fact that as late as 1851 he was still referring to the honour he had had in executing it.²⁰⁵ During the course of the design, he wrote to Bloxam to say that he would be 'most happy to undertake Mr Fortescue's house'; no further evidence exists of any such commission.²⁰⁶

¹⁹⁸ On 12-13.2.1844; 'Diary'. He sent his working drawing of the gateway with his letter of 10.3.1844: Belcher 2003, pp 176-7.

¹⁹⁹ It is referred to in the letter of 26.9.1843: Belcher 2003, p 110.

²⁰⁰ Belcher 2003, p 176.

²⁰¹ Pugin to Bloxam, 29.3.1844?: Belcher 2003, p 186.

²⁰² MCO, MC: FA7/3/1AD/1/14.

²⁰³ Pugin to Bloxam, 5.7.1844: Belcher 2003, p 213.

²⁰⁴ It was demolished in 1885 following the completion of Bodley and Garner's St Swithun's Buildings. Some carvings have been retained by the College. There is some description of the gateway in White 2002. Pugin's only other commission for the College was for a new church at Tubney, built in 1844 (MCO, MS 743).

²⁰⁵ In a letter to the College President, Routh, 20.3.1851: MCO, MS 528/184.

²⁰⁶ 29.5.1844: Belcher 2003, p 200.

Pugin was first engaged to provide various designs for Henry Drummond, of Albury Park in Surrey, some time before the end of October 1843.²⁰⁷ Pugin designed a **service wing for the house**, and also remodelled some of the interiors of the existing house.²⁰⁸ Design work continued at least until 1849, and included the design of a top-lit billiard room at head of the north-west tower. An extant drawing illustrates that Pugin suggested, and may have made, some changes to the front of the house.²⁰⁹

A further project which Pugin may have undertaken in 1843 was the design of a school, with an attached **house, in Neston** on the Wirral; the school building has some characteristic Pugin details, such as corner buttresses, but lacks others, such as triangular terminations to the gable bases; the house has square-headed narrow mullioned windows and lucarnes, and further corner buttresses. There are identical windows at the lodge of Oswaldcroft (see below), and Stanton has made an attribution to Pugin on stylistic grounds.²¹⁰

1844

In January 1844 Pugin refers to a suggestion by Drummond for the design of an **'ornamental cottage'** at Albury, but there is no record of its execution.²¹¹

²⁰⁷ His first letter on the subject of alterations to the house come in a letter of 31.10.1843: Belcher 2003, pp 127-8.

²⁰⁸ Working drawings for the offices were first sent to Drummond with Pugin's letter of 4.12.1843: Belcher 2003, pp 142-3. A letter of 3.1845? refers to work on the east wing: Belcher 2003, p 369. This probably refers to the extant south-east wing, including a top-lit kitchen. The current owners of the house have a drawing, signed and dated by Pugin in 1848, for the decorative details of a clock and belfry above the front door on the north-west elevation.

²⁰⁹ Wedgwood 1977, [33]. This drawing also indicates the billiard room proposal. My site visit, 30.5.2002. Spencer-Silver 1993, p 35, quotes a letter from Pugin to Drummond which implies that Myers was employed for the alterations, with Pugin giving advice only: this is from the Drummond Papers, Alnwick, C/17.42.

²¹⁰ Stanton 1971, p 201. My site visit, 10.5.2002.

²¹¹ In a letter to Drummond, 13.1.1842: Belcher 2003, pp 156-7.

In February 1844 Pugin recorded in his diary a meeting with Henry Sharples, the benefactor of the Liverpool Orphanage.²¹² This may have been the first meeting in connection with the erection of a house to be erected on the Woolton Road at Childwall.²¹³ Some extant decorative drawings, and those for the fireplaces of the house and other internal fittings, are dated 1847 and 1848 respectively,²¹⁴ and construction of the south-western end was completed under the supervision of E.W. Pugin.²¹⁵

The plan of **Oswaldcroft** can be largely reconstructed on the basis of the remaining fabric. Pugin's own house was rising at the time of the design, and he here adapted the pinwheel plan configuration first used at Ramsgate. The scale of the house is in general larger than that of St Augustine's, and E.W. Pugin's work included a further large reception room which is likely to have been the dining room, since it corresponded directly with the service areas of the house.²¹⁶

Shortly before completing the Oxenford gatehouse design in 1841, Pugin visited Rugby: this may have been his first visit in connection with the remodelling works at **Bilton Grange** farmhouse (as it was then known), an eighteenth-century house leased in 1840 by J.H. Washington Hibbert.²¹⁷ Work is likely to have begun in earnest in February 1844.²¹⁸ Pugin worked for Hibbert during the course of the 1840s, remodelling the oldest part of the house into a servants' hall and offices, and building new living rooms, a kitchen with extensive offices and stables around four

²¹² 16.2.1844: 'Diary'.

²¹³ Sub-section 6.1.1.2 above provides evidence that the design for Oswaldcroft was not finalised until after Pugin had seen the old parsonage at Marlow, not later than September 1844.

²¹⁴ See Wedgwood 1985, 346-356, and 'Myers Family Album', pp 111-4.

²¹⁵ This attribution is made on stylistic grounds.

²¹⁶ My site visit, 10.5.2002. The fabric of the house is largely intact but for alterations where it has been joined to a more recent building on the east side.

²¹⁷ Some history of the fabric is recorded in Edwards 1997, pp 16-7: Hibbert's lease of 1840 permitted him to make specified alterations and improvements to the house; in 1846 he bought the house outright.

²¹⁸ This is suggested by Pugin's letter to Shrewsbury: 14.2.1844; Belcher 2003, p 169.

courtyards.²¹⁹ His original design for the house appears to have been a pinwheel-type house;²²⁰ the executed scheme was probably designed soon after October 1845.²²¹

Correspondence between Pugin and Hibbert has mostly not been traced, and there is no record of the exact sequence of the rebuilding of the main house; the public areas and their considerable internal fittings and furnishings are only known to have been completed by 1855.²²² At all events, Pugin's primary architectural work at Bilton appears to have coincided with his renewed partnership with Barry for the decoration of the Palace of Westminster.²²³ Gatehouses may have been designed but there is no evidence of their execution. The archway tower of the north lodge resembles Pugin work but the land on which it sits was not owned by Hibbert at the time; it was built by a subsequent owner between 1861 and 1884.²²⁴ On stylistic grounds, a gardener's cottage alongside a walled garden can also be attributed to Pugin: the layout is a conventional one, with a room either side of a central staircase, but the joinery detailing throughout exactly corresponds to Myers' work for Pugin elsewhere; externally, window details are identical, or almost identical, to those at the Brewood presbytery which had been constructed during 1843 (see below).²²⁵

At the end of August 1844, and almost immediately following the death of his wife, Pugin moved to St Augustine's Grange; during a period of intense grief he worked on **two further schemes for the Magdalen College School.**²²⁶ These schemes are programmatically similar to the first scheme, and similarly appear to be planned more

²¹⁹ A detailed ground floor plan, in the collection of the present owners, was prepared for the sale of the house in 1860 [see fig 98].

²²⁰ This is illustrated by a lithograph of a sketch of a view from the south-east in Pugin's hand, signed and dated by him '1844', at the V&A, E.78(6)-1970; see Wedgwood 1985, 236

²²¹ Pugin to Hardman, late 10.1845; Belcher 2003, p 467.

²²² They were displayed in the *Illustrated London news*, vol xxvi no 725 (27.1.1855).

²²³ My site visit, 21.8.2001. The house survives except for those parts of the kitchen court demolished for a new chapel, c1890. Wedgwood dates sketch designs for the interior, *ibid*, 231-6, as 1846-8.

²²⁴ Edwards 1997, p 22.

²²⁵ Except that the brick bond is Flemish rather than English.

²²⁶ There is some reference to these, particularly to the second scheme, in Brittain-Catlin 2002b, 2002c.

for effect than for practical function, although they were derived more in terms of style and grouping from the Balliol scheme.

The second scheme, which Pugin submitted to Bloxam before late September 1844, comprises a principal block parallel with and entered from the High Street.²²⁷ At the western corner, the junction with Long Wall, there was to be a massive castellated tower, three floors high; the master's entrance was to be on the Longwall Street side. A narrower, taller entrance tower was adjacent to the main tower along the High Street: this was the entrance for the boys. The main part of this block, and the school at the eastern end, bear some distinct similarities, particularly in the disposition of chimneys, to the Ratcliffe College wing then being planned; the kitchen on Longwall Street is entirely domestic in appearance.²²⁸ A new, third, scheme followed soon after, taking into account, as Pugin explained, 'the narrowness of the site' – implying that this was the first occasion on which he had taken proper measurements; he considered it 'a far better thing than the other and will not cost more money'.²²⁹ This third scheme was set back from the High Street behind a wall – with a small gateway responding to that now erected to the east of the site and facing the college. The square tower remained, though it no longer functioned as the hub of the plan: it was to contain now the principal rooms of the master's house. Pugin submitted his proposals independently of a competition held by the college.²³⁰

Sometime after visiting Devon in October 1844, Pugin prepared drawings for the restoration of, and additions to, **Dartington Hall** for Henry Champernowne. A series

²²⁷ Bloxam labelled these drawings '2nd set of designs 1844' but they are not referred to in the known correspondence with him. They were possibly delivered when Pugin was in Oxford on 19.9.1844 ('Diary'). They must at any rate precede the third scheme which was submitted with Pugin's letter of 27.9.1844: Belcher 2003, p 242.

²²⁸ It has a single hood mould extending over two ground-floor windows and the pier between them, a detail that occurs in Pugin's work on this single occasion only; the closest to it is a hood mould that descends from the base of an oriel window to each of two windows arranged symmetrically below, on the south elevation of Alton Castle.

²²⁹ To Bloxam, 27.9.1844: Belcher 2003, p 242.

²³⁰ The competition result is referred to in a letter of 24.11.1844?: Belcher 2003, pp 283-4.

of drawings survives showing the restoration of the mediaeval hall and the construction of a new residential block to the south-east of it, arranged around a cloister.²³¹ Pugin estimated this work at £4,000 - £5,000, and it was not carried out.²³²

Pugin certainly designed a chimney at Dartington, for he refers to it in an undated letter probably of 1846;²³³ as well as to his regret at not carrying out further work. A typescript of a family memoir entitled 'The Champernowne Family' refers to various minor alterations made to the house during this period, but without explicit reference to Pugin's role in it.²³⁴

Myers signed a contract with the Handsworth Convent on 25th October 1844 for the building of a **House of Mercy**, with the help of a substantial donation from a James Cuddon of Norwich, at the eastern side of the site, facing Brougham Street; this was attached to the original building by a peripheral cloister which ran along the north and eastern sides of the cloister garden; as later at St Oswald's, the cloister turned and entered the new building, and provided a continuous covered route across the whole of the site.²³⁵ Myers received his final payment on 18th February 1846.²³⁶ Most of the

²³¹ Champernowne Collection, Devon CRO, Z15/38/1/7; dwgs no 16-19.

²³² In a letter to Champernowne, 29.10.1844?: Belcher 2003, pp 267-8.

²³³ Devon CRO, Z15/37/15/1; this is undated, and refers to a visit to Dartington direct from London, which must have taken place during 1846, for which there is no 'Diary'. The chimney is probably the octagonal one at the north end of the hall, and has survived the various restoration works of the twentieth century (my site visit, 25.7.2001).

²³⁴ Champernowne 1954, p 289; similar works are referred to also in Emery 1970, pp 88-9, 168, 184. Pugin's work at Dartington was removed in the C20, with the exception of his chimney. An undated photograph in the collection of the Dartington Hall trust, album 1 no 8, shows a small castellated porch at the front of the Elizabethan north-west wing, which could possibly have been one of Pugin's interventions. Most of Champernowne's alterations, which included cement hood moulds, were evidently designed or supervised by a different architect.

²³⁵ The cloister was subsequently lengthened southwards by a further four bays, to provide a link to Pugin's church of St Mary's in 1849: convent records.

²³⁶ Only the final payment summary exists in the convent records; it lists the House of Mercy together with the cloisters as work carried out without naming an architect. The new buildings had been opened on 23.4.1845 (convent records; Carroll 1883, p 316, improbably has 23.4.1844); the House and cloisters together cost £2,970 8s 7d.

cloister survives, but there is almost no photographic or other evidence for the appearance or layout of the House of Mercy.²³⁷

Pugin had been engaged probably at least since October 1840 in designing the church of St Oswald's at Old Swan in Liverpool;²³⁸ by 1844 he appears to have added 'a chapel and a school', and he may then have designed the nearby **Convent of Mercy**, attached to the school, for there is no known separate reference to it in his diary, notebooks or correspondence.²³⁹ Construction of the convent was not quite complete when the nuns moved in on 29th August 1845.²⁴⁰ The convent has cells for eight nuns above a community room, and a first-floor chapel located above the kitchen and at the south west of the church. The entry cloister from the street is roofed with small hexagonal slates, similar to those at Oswaldcroft, but smaller; this, together with the nomenclature and Sharples' extensive involvement in Catholic foundations in Liverpool suggest that he must have been involved with this project also.²⁴¹

1845

Pugin's 'Diary' records that he was in Nottingham from 5th-7th April 1845. His visit may on this occasion have been connected to a commission to design a new **Convent of Mercy** to the south-east of the cathedral, for construction work began at the end of

²³⁷ The House of Mercy, then in operation as 'St Mary's Training Home' was demolished, together with Pugin's adjoining St Mary's Church (of 1847-7), after heavy bombing in 1942; the cloister can however be attributed to Pugin on stylistic grounds and also because of its peripheral plan. My site visit, 17.5.2002. BAA has a postcard view, PC/Birm3/4, which has a limited view of the house from the southwest; and a surviving plan kept at the convent, probably dating from 1858, shows the northern part of its ground floor. Neither of these clearly indicates Pugin's hand, and there are no other known records.

²³⁸ 'Diary', 16.10.1840; see Wedgwood 1985, p 84 n 35.

²³⁹ See Stanton 1971, p 203. The presbytery on the site is attributed to EW Pugin.

²⁴⁰ Carroll 1883, p 379.

²⁴¹ My site visit, 10.5.2002. The convent has survived almost unaltered.

October that year,²⁴² and the building was sufficiently complete for occupation on 26th October 1846.²⁴³ The Nottingham convent was funded by John Exton of Eastwell,²⁴⁴ and was first built in the form of an L with a cloister running along the inside, which enabled future extensions to create a complete central quadrangle; possibly the section of the cloister which ran along the entrance elevation in College Street, turning the L into a U, formed part of this first proposal, for there was by now a precedent in Pugin's designs (at Magdalen College School) for a cloister that did not lead anywhere.²⁴⁵ In common with the nearby cathedral clergy house, the convent was very economically built. There are three floors above a basement, and the chapel is located on the first floor, above the refectory, and at the junction of the L; the whole complex was screened from the street by a two-storey blank wall which formed the southern side of the cloistered quadrangle.²⁴⁶

On 15th April 1845, Frederick Rooke, formerly the curate, was instituted rector of the parish of Rampisham-cum-Wraxall in Dorset by the Bishop of Salisbury.²⁴⁷ Exactly a month later, Pugin was in the village, and as a result designed both alterations to the church and a **new rectory** for the incumbent, a graduate of Oriel College, Oxford, and an acquaintance of Bloxam, who had made the introduction.²⁴⁸ Pugin used the

²⁴² Pugin to Shrewsbury; Belcher 2003, p 465.

²⁴³ According to *The Sisters of Mercy in Nottingham*.

²⁴⁴ Carroll 1881, p 328.

²⁴⁵ This cloister was paid for by Miss C Whitgreave, a member of the first community to move into Pugin's convent: Carroll 1881, p 328. It was constructed after the nuns had occupied the first phase of the convent (*The Sisters of Mercy in Nottingham*).

²⁴⁶ My site visit, 2.5.2002. The convent complex is currently being converted into flats. The detailed town plan of Nottingham by Salmon and Wyld of 1861-4 shows that by those dates the convent had been enlarged to the north-west, for the provision of schools buildings; the fourth, western, side of the quadrangle is not indicated, and must have been built in its Puginesque manner some time thereafter – possibly in connection with the House of Mercy opened in the Convent in 1857 (*The Sisters of Mercy in Nottingham*; Carroll p 328-9). There is some brief reference to the convent in Cocking 2000. Mr Cocking tells me that he thinks it likely that west wing was designed by EW Pugin.

²⁴⁷ Parish record book.

²⁴⁸ Pugin to Bloxam. 29.4.1845?: Belcher 2003, p 382. There is no further reference to Rooke or Rampisham in the Bloxam correspondence.

house as a further opportunity to develop the pinwheel plan of the Grange and Oswaldcroft.

Pugin's drawings, which supported Rooke's mortgage application, show the building as it was built with the exception of a cellar (and a small window to the stairs down to the cellar) which appear to have been omitted after construction had begun, for there is evidence of a partially constructed cellar having been filled in.²⁴⁹ Pugin was careful not to label the oratory as such in his mortgage application drawings. Rooke moved in to the rectory in October 1847, a month after the opening of Pugin's new chancel, and noted that the house had cost him £1,734, exclusive of 'extras' and the architect's charges.²⁵⁰ Pugin was obliged, under the conditions of the Gilbert Acts mortgage, to reuse materials from an existing building on the site, and this explains the use of older doors, amongst other timbers, in the attic of the house, and of old roof slates for the kitchen outhouses.²⁵¹

A similar pinwheel scheme was prepared some time before November 1845, as a house Bloxam's brother-in-law, the Rev. Roger Bird, rector of **Lanteglos** by Camelford in north Cornwall. Pugin's correspondence with Bird seems to have been carried on to some extent through Bloxam rather than directly, because it was to Bloxam that Pugin originally sent his ideas for the design of the house.²⁵² Earlier correspondence with Bloxam indicates that Pugin agreed to send Myers down to see the site, but subsequently accepted that 'strange builders' would have to do the drawings. He first estimated the cost of the house at £1,500, that is, about 15% less

²⁴⁹ My site visit, 27.7.2001.

²⁵⁰ Anecdotally, the village school is also designed by Pugin; stylistically, it seems more likely that it was built by Myers' men in a Puginesque spirit, for it does not have his characteristic gable stops, and it does have hood moulds and other detailing different from that of the house.

²⁵¹ My site visit, 27.7.2001. The house is probably the most complete Pugin survival. The full set of mortgage application documents is in Wilts & Swindon RO, D28/6/11.

²⁵² 11.11.45: Belcher 2003, pp 476-7. There is no record of Bird having made an application under the Gilbert Acts in the Exeter diocesan archives, and no record of any contemporary building activity there, in the Truro diocesan records at Cornwall RO, the Church Commissioners' records, at Lambeth Palace Library or the Duchy of Cornwall archives.

than the Rampisham rectory which was about to be erected,²⁵³ but by February 1846 had revised it upwards to £1,900.²⁵⁴

In this last letter Pugin refers also to the possibility of designing a house for one of Bloxam's brothers; he prepared a sketch for this, but declined to undertake the work when his potential client insisted on a Jacobean-style house.²⁵⁵

1846

On 1st September 1846, on the occasion of the dedication of St Giles' church in Cheadle, Shrewsbury made over **Cotton Hall**, between Uttoxeter and Stone in Staffordshire, to Frederick William Faber as a home for his 'Wilfridians'.²⁵⁶ The house was of seventeenth-century origin. Shrewsbury's gift presumably carried with it his usual condition: that Pugin should be the architect of any new works, and Faber, according to his biographer, 'was an enthusiastic admirer of Pugin and the Gothic' until his visit to Italy that year.²⁵⁷ The order moved to their new home almost immediately, and the first stone of St Wilfrid's church, designed by Pugin, was laid there by Walsh on 12th October.²⁵⁸ Since Faber's sojourn at Cotton was brief – he was admitted to Newman's Birmingham Oratory in February 1848 – the architect's designs for a sizeable extension to the old house are likely to have been prepared towards the end of 1846.

²⁵³ late Nov 1845?: Belcher 2003, pp 481-2; MCO, MS 528/52, undated.

²⁵⁴ 7.12.1845?: Belcher 2003, pp 482-3. My site visit, 23.7.2001. The house has been mutilated in places.

²⁵⁵ Note that Stanton 1971, p 205, is mistaken in attributing a rectory in Tubney to Pugin in her list of projects for 1845. There was in fact already a rectory, predating the church he designed there for Magdalen College in 1844: see MCO, MS 743/9.

²⁵⁶ Addington 1974, p 149. Pugin's involvement at Cotton is also referred to in Buscot 1940, p 223.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid*, p 133.

²⁵⁸ *Ibid*, p 150.

Pugin's building is largely reconstructable from surviving remains and from photographs.²⁵⁹ It provided a link between an earlier building and the church, and comprised a three-floored, three-bay red-brick building facing south-west; each bay was topped with a gable, and the western of the three had a two-storey bay window, rectangular in plan like the one at the Birmingham Bishop's Palace and with flush stone window frames set in it; to the east, facing the access to site and church, there is a belltower with simple orthogonal buttresses at the lower levels, originally topped with a conical-roofed timber belfry. There is a further building, possibly containing laundry, washrooms, or other service functions, to the north-east, and this appears to be contemporary with the main Pugin building and as far as can be ascertained shares the same detailing in its windows and stone dressings.²⁶⁰

Pugin may have first discussed the building of a **house at Woodchester Park** for William Leigh as early as November 1845;²⁶¹ a commission for the house was discussed in a letter from Pugin in March 1846,²⁶² and his proposals were submitted with a letter the following September, which stated that they had been prepared following the consecration in Cheadle and a subsequent period of serious illness.²⁶³ There is no further reference to the design of the house in the known correspondence, beyond statements that Pugin's work on it had already been paid for.²⁶⁴ The scheme is a further development of the pinwheel, but includes proposals for a chapel and a

²⁵⁹ My site visit, 14.5.2002; BAA undated postcards and photographs, PC/P126/3; PC/P126/6; album S3/X3; NMR, photograph BB94/18526 (1989). The building is derelict and floors, and possibly walls, have been demolished or have collapsed.

²⁶⁰ This building was entirely inaccessible in 2002.

²⁶¹ 18-19.11.1845, 'Diary'; and see Wedgwood 1985, p 93 n 44.

²⁶² YCBA, MS Pugin 222 (photocopy: Glos CRO, D2258/P1). The letter is dated by Pugin 'March 5', and 1846 has been added by another hand.

²⁶³ YCBA, MS Pugin 226 (photocopy: Glos CRO, D2258/P8); dated by Pugin 'Maternity of the Blessed Virgin' [i.e., 8.9]; 1846 added by another hand.

²⁶⁴ YCBA, MS Pugin 223 (photocopy: Glos CRO, D2258/P2); dated by Pugin 'March 13', 1846 added by another hand; P/8 as above.

substantial service block; it is thus the only scheme produced by Pugin for an entirely new large country house with the full complement of offices.²⁶⁵ Nothing came of it.²⁶⁶

Detailed proposals for a **monastery**, commissioned by Leigh, have not been traced, although one of the surviving letters includes a sketch of it; this is a two-storeyed building, the upper one in part being an attic with lucarne windows; lower-storey windows are traceried with straight heads and hood moulds, and there is a gable with an upper oriel – all much in the style of the house. According to Pugin's description, there were to be 'a reception room which will make a good refectory – 2 parlours which will do for a community room & calefactory, & 6 cells which will make strangers rooms afterwards, kitchen scullery & offices & one side of the cloisters – it will be very simple but quite monastic – in all its details.' He estimated the cost of the monastery at £2,517, exclusive of his fees and travelling expenses.²⁶⁷

W.G. Ward, who had been involved as a supporter of Pugin's during the Balliol College scheme debates, removed to St Edmund's College, Old Hall Green near Ware, in 1846 after converting to Roman Catholicism and resigning his fellowship. Pugin planned the **alteration of an existing but recent house** for him to the south of the college building.²⁶⁸ This work consisted of adding a reception room block

²⁶⁵ The drawings, which comprise a ground floor plan with a sketch elevation, and views from the south east and south west, and two further drawings of details, are in Glos CRO, cat. nos D1011/P15/1/1-5 respectively. No orientation is given on the drawings, which are neither signed nor dated; that assumed is derived from that of the chapel, and the likelihood of the offices wing being to the north of the main house.

²⁶⁶ The anecdotal suggestion that the eventually selected architect Bucknall designed his house on the basis of Pugin's proposals is demonstrably false; Bucknall's drawings are also in the Glos CRO, at D1011/P15/2.

²⁶⁷ YCBA, MS Pugin 227 (photocopy: Glos CRO, D2258/P3). Events are summarised in Wedgwood 1985, p 93 n 44.

²⁶⁸ An unclassified plan in the college archives, dated 1847 and prepared apparently for insurance purposes, shows a building that corresponds only to the southern bay of the northern wing of Ward's subsequent house; an earlier map, of 1839, shows no building there at all. The fact that Pugin was contending with an existing building is entirely consistent with the eventual appearance of the house,

somewhat on the lines of a college hall from the exterior, for it took the form of a squat two-storey, two-bay block with canted oriels, and a porch at the junction with the existing building (and running into an existing first-floor oriel window) which is likely to have led into a screens passage. Pugin further added two bays to the north of the original building, and a wing including a service staircase to the west of it.²⁶⁹

1847

At some point in 1847, Phillipps converted a building adjacent to the chapel on Parsonwood Hill in Whitwick for use as a **presbytery**.²⁷⁰ The building has ceiling, roof and door joinery typical of Pugin, and stonework is similar (although not identical) to that at the church and school building at Shepshed; and the hinges on the front door of the Whitwick building are identical to those of the church door at Shepshed.²⁷¹ The plan is however contrived, the front (north) exterior wall has been raised, and the projecting wing to the east abuts the main part of the house, rather than being keyed in: these point to Pugin having advised Phillipps on the fitting up of a partially pre-existing house rather than having designed a new one. A porch with a

for which see also sub-section 4.3.1.1 above. Ward's (and the college's) substantial papers at the AAW make no detailed reference to Pugin's involvement with the house. W Ward 1886 p 154 wrote 'In 1846 he [Pugin] built Ward a house near Old Hall College' – this alone seems to be the source of the date 1846; College accounts do not exist for the period immediately before 1849, although there are various bills relating to unspecified building work carried out under the supervision of the architect Scoles dating to 1843 and 1844. A letter in the AAW from FM Ward, of 21.3.1871, notes that the land on which the house stands was leased to the family at £10 per year by Bishop Griffiths (who died in 1847): this document is catalogued as 'St Edmund's College, 14.12 Patterson Papers, 49'. The comment in Gillow 1895, vol v, p 572, that 'In 1846 [Ward] took possession of a cottage built for him by Pugin over against St Edmund's College' is probably derived from W Ward's account.

²⁶⁹ Pugin's work has been obscured by many changes. My site visit, 20.3.2002. See also Kay 2000, ch 4.

²⁷⁰ According to a letter from Phillipps to Bishop Walsh, BAA, B1359 (23.12.1848). The chapel had been functioning since 1837.

²⁷¹ Mr Albert Robinson, the historian of the church of Holy Cross opposite, kindly pointed this out to me.

Puginesque open roof on the upper floor, at the east end of the house, suggests that the convent may have existed here simultaneously with the presbytery, and that its external staircase has been removed.²⁷²

The various religious and theological tribulations that characterise the life of Richard Waldo Sibthorp had by 1847 brought him to Lincoln. On 23rd March 1847 he wrote to Routh, President of Magdalen College, Oxford, that

I shall also, at Lincoln, be near to superintend a little charitable foundation I am purposing D.V. to raise there: I trust 'Ad Majorem Dei Gloriam,' – but especially in memory of my dear mother: who, a widow herself, took a particular pleasure in relieving the distress of other widows who were in less affluent circumstances. I hope to have it finished before the next year, & to be able to send you a sketch of the building, which is not to be raised, without the aid of Mr Pugin's taste, tho: I may employ his builder.'²⁷³

Work progressed over the spring of 1847, and on 4th July 1848, Sibthorp wrote to Bloxam to tell him that 'The Bede-houses are all occupied, and have been two months nearly; but not quite completed'.²⁷⁴

The design of the **bedehouses** was carried out by Pugin with whom Sibthorp had a family connection through the Welbys.²⁷⁵ The bedehouses took the form of two rows of single-storey cottages: there is an east-west row of six cottages, and a north-south row of eight, of which one is the porter's lodge.²⁷⁶ A conduit house was built near the junction of the cloister with the southern range: Sibthorp described this as 'really very

²⁷² My site visit, 7.4.2003. In spite of internal alterations, the house has largely survived. The local bishop's report (undated, but likely to be from the 1870s), noted that there were then two kitchens, suggesting a previous double use: Nottingham RCDA, vol. Lr27W. See also Brittain-Catlin 2003.

²⁷³ MCO, MS 465/30, 23.3.1847. The last clause must mean that Sibthorp is employing Myers *rather than* Pugin.

²⁷⁴ Fowler 1880, p 101.

²⁷⁵ *Ibid*, p 88 n 1.

²⁷⁶ My site visit, 21.9.2001. The bedehouses have survived.

pretty'.²⁷⁷ In April 1850 Pugin gave Sibthorp plans 'for both a chapel and a warden's house';²⁷⁸ he executed neither.

From mid July 1847 Pugin was engaged with the design of a community of a church, schools and **presbytery in Rylston Road, Fulham**, which were funded by the benefaction of Elizabeth Bowden. The first probable reference to the project in the 'Diary' is on 12th July 1847; the church, St Thomas of Canterbury, was opened on 30th May 1848.²⁷⁹ A lithograph of that year shows all three buildings in a complete state.²⁸⁰ The house, of grey stock brick, had a simple plan but was comparatively richly decorated.²⁸¹

In September 1847 Pugin visited Lord Portarlington in connection with a scheme for rebuilding **Milton Abbey** in Dorset.²⁸² No record of his architectural schemes is known to exist.²⁸³ One small scheme from the following month does however survive – the erection of a **new porch** to the house of Pugin's Ramsgate neighbour, Harry Benson. The house was a Georgian-classical villa, and Pugin's extension adopted a round-arched front door by way of compromise.²⁸⁴

According to Stanton, Pugin designed the **second phase of the convent in Liverpool** during 1847;²⁸⁵ a local historian gave 1850 as the date of the opening of a schools building, and Pugin's undated drawing for this shows a cloister extension already in

²⁷⁷ In an undated letter to Bloxam, quoted in Fowler 1880, p 90.

²⁷⁸ Fowler 1880, p 110, quoting from Sibthorp's letter to Bloxam of 15.4.1850.

²⁷⁹ Wedgwood 1985, p 94 n 15.

²⁸⁰ In the Hammersmith & Fulham Archives & Local HC, catalogued as 'Fulham Pictures 177'.

²⁸¹ My site visit, 29.9.2001. There have been minor alterations to the building, including the moving of the study window to the north wall of the room.

²⁸² 30.9.1847, 'Diary'. See also Wedgwood 1985, p 95 n 22; and Stanton 1971, p 207.

²⁸³ Milton Abbey School's headmaster notes (3.9.2001) that the contents of the house, together with family archives, were dispersed following the sale of the estate by the Hambro family in 1932.

²⁸⁴ This story is told in full in R Hill 1999b.

²⁸⁵ Stanton 1971 p 201: no source is given. Maps of Liverpool as late as 1858 show no extensions to the first phase.

existence.²⁸⁶ The final form of the convent can to some extent be reconstructed from early maps and photographs, but it cannot now be established which parts of it were designed by Pugin and at what point. The long peripheral cloister which extended at first-floor level from the north-west corner of the first-phase refectory block and continued south and then east along the edge of the site to connect with a novitiate block and the school building; this cloister served cells facing into the enclosure on the north side of the site; below it, at ground level, was a further cloister. Each bay of the cloister rose to its own gable, seven in total, and with a further minor bay topped by a gablet: a photograph shows that the cells had paired lancets in each bay. This second cloister in places ran parallel and adjacent to a second, inner cloister, so that it would be possible to walk within the enclosure entirely under cover when wet. The convent at its height could house about 80 members; the extension also accommodated the House of Mercy, which had been in operation since 1845.²⁸⁷ Other extensions include a block which housed the infirmary on an upper floor, with the head of the convent's rooms below; a church, which was adjacent to and opened into the original convent chapel, was also added.²⁸⁸ An undated lithograph in the convent's archives shows an intermediate stage of extensions: the northern wing alone of the peripheral cloisters and cells has been added to the original first phase scheme, and there is a freestanding school building on the west side.²⁸⁹

At the end of 1847 Pugin designed a scheme for the remodelling of **Hornby Castle** for the seventh Duke of Leeds. He proposed demolishing the east wing, built by John Carr of York in the mid-eighteenth century; entirely rebuilding the interior of the largely mediaeval wings; and adding a new chapel and entranceway, as well as

²⁸⁶ Hand 1915, ch 13. The drawing is at LRO, 720 KIR 136.

²⁸⁷ Carroll 1883, p 379. Hand 1915 relates that the later House of Mercy on the site dated only from the early 1860s; and he gives the date of the opening of the attached church (by Wardell) as September 1857. See also Lyons 1999.

²⁸⁸ This description of the convent was given orally on 9.5.2002 by Sr Sheila Quinn, the archivist of the order at Liverpool, who had herself been a resident for about 20 years; she has some undated photographs. All stages of building were demolished after the order left it in 1969.

²⁸⁹ The view is by I Shaw and published by Peter Noonan of London. It is (when compared with photographs) inaccurate in some detail.

substantial new kitchen, office, and stable wings.²⁹⁰ A set of eleven drawings at the archive of the Yorkshire Archeological Society, dated 1847, illustrates the proposal, which was worked up in detail for the ground and first floor plans of the main wing of the house only, and includes a number of interior perspectives; a distinctive feature of the external perspectives is a tower of the Scarisbrick type.²⁹¹ None of the proposal was executed, and Pugin does not appear to have taken seriously the prospect of its realisation: by the Spring of the following year he was already describing his work as 'a serious waste of time'.²⁹²

1848 - 51

Pugin's diary records the laying of the foundation stone of his chapel at the **Convent of the Good Shepherd**, in Fulham Road (now Fulham Palace Road) south of Hammersmith Broadway on 23rd July 1848. His connection with this institution, which was intended for the acceptance of 'deserving and promising [female] penitents',²⁹³ may have come about not only because of Wiseman's patronage, but also as a result of his earlier work in Chelsea, for Joseph Robson, second assistant to Thomas Sisk, parish priest in Cadogan Street, was closely involved with the foundation of the convent; Robson, in common with others in the Chelsea circle, also had strong connections with St Edmund's College, Ware.²⁹⁴ Following the completion of the new chapel, the old one was converted into a dormitory, and Pugin was engaged to design additions to this, and a laundry, at a building cost of £560.²⁹⁵ The convent could now house some 120 members. The following year, Pugin added a cloister to link the residential buildings to the chapel, and further cells at a cost of

²⁹⁰ According to *Country life* in 1906, the interior of the house had suffered 'vandalism' in the eighteenth-century. See vol xx, no 497, pp 54-64 (14.1.1906); and Worsley 1989.

²⁹¹ Cat. no DD5/26/27.

²⁹² To Shrewsbury, photocopy at HLRO, PUG/3/1/97, undated but probably March 1848.

²⁹³ *Catholic directory* for 1849, p 157.

²⁹⁴ There is a description of these links in Anderson 1940, p 40.

²⁹⁵ *Catholic directory* for 1849, p 158.

£1,340.²⁹⁶ The building can only be partially reconstructed from the remaining evidence.²⁹⁷ Surviving papers in the order's archives give only a brief description of part of what appears to be his second stage of the scheme:

The church was lengthened by the sacred heart chapel for the lay and touriere sisters and any of the choir sisters who were too infirmed to kneel in the stalls. To this side was added a long plain building joining on to the old original house, running parallel with the cloister to the church, and three stories high. On the ground floor was a community room a sacristy and a linen room. Above this were the infirmary, [which was] close to the church tribune, the novitiate and novice mistress' room and the roberie. The top storey had two rows of cells opening onto a wide corridor running the whole length of the building, with a window the full length of the passage at each end. Nothing could have been more simple compact and satisfactory. The whole faced the convent garden. There was only one drawback, which was that it closed the windows on one side of Mr Pugin's beautiful gothic cloister, but there seemed to be no alternative, and the alcoves were formed into niches for statues which gave a very conventual aspect to the whole. The two top storeys were over the cloister which afforded the necessary width for the double row of cells.²⁹⁸

On 23rd August, Pugin visited Wilburton in Cambridgeshire.²⁹⁹ He was commissioned by Hon Lady Pell to build a **new manor house** for the family as part of various improvement works with which she was involved in the village; the family mansion,

²⁹⁶ *Catholic directory* for 1850, p1 32.

²⁹⁷ It was demolished for the construction of the Peabody Estate following their purchase of the site in 1921; the records of this, in the LMA, make no reference to the former building. The surviving evidence consists of an illustration in the *Catholic directory* for 1852, p 146; the first edition OS map of 1865-9; and the OS 1:500 town plan of 1894. The last two bring into question the accuracy of the first.

²⁹⁸ Mrs Lynda Pearce kindly found me this extract in an undated manuscript entitled *Good Shepherd chronicles*, version A, Hammersmith Annals 1841-1867, R5/1, at the archives of the Order of the Good Shepherd, Staplehurst. The order has retained no other details or photographs of the building work at its archives in England.

²⁹⁹ 'Diary'.

the Berristead, was then divided into two and tenanted; Lady Pell was then living in the village rectory.³⁰⁰ The house was built at the instigation of her eldest son Albert, but he quarrelled with his mother on matters regarding the running of the family estate, and left the village; the house was uninhabited from its completion in 1849 until Lady Pell moved there in March 1857 – she ‘had always been averse from doing this but when she had made the change she never regretted it’.³⁰¹

The contract, dated 16th October 1848, for the erection of the house still exists: the value of the work was £2,475; and with the various extras, the total cost of the house was £2,783 13s 8d. Lady Pell largely paid for this by raising a mortgage of £2,500 on her land on the Grunty Fen Estate.³⁰² The house was by contract scheduled for completion on Midsummer’s Day, 1849: as it happened, the antagonism between mother and son reached its peak at this time.³⁰³ Wilburton Manor House was Pugin’s last pinwheel-plan house; although altered, it is largely reconstructable from existing fabric. The house was built of local bricks, drawn from a pit which subsequently became the garden pond.³⁰⁴

On 10th September 1848, Pugin made a detour on his honeymoon to visit Windermere,³⁰⁵ and possibly on this occasion drew up plans for a **terrace** that was built alongside the railway station there. The terrace consists of a row of houses of conventional L-corridor plans, with larger houses projecting forwards at the ends. There is no known documentary evidence of Pugin’s involvement, but the corner and party-wall buttresses, the double gables over the first porch, and the internal detailing

³⁰⁰ The story of the Pell family and their works, including the building of the house, is related in an unpublished album entitled ‘Paternalia’, vol iii, compiled by Lady Pell’s youngest son Oliver Claude, in a private collection. Albert Pell later became Conservative member of parliament for South Leicestershire (Venn pt ii vol v p 79). There is some further description of the house in R Hill 2001.

³⁰¹ Pell, p 335.

³⁰² The contract is in *ibid*, p 565; the final summary is at *ibid*, p 571; the mortgage details are at *ibid*, p 525.

³⁰³ For which see *ibid*, pp 537-43.

³⁰⁴ *Ibid*, p 315. My site visit, 18.3.2002. The house has mostly survived; ground floor offices have been altered.

³⁰⁵ ‘Diary’.

– which is similar, but not always identical, to Pugin's work elsewhere – reinforce the local anecdotal attribution.³⁰⁶

Pugin was engaged on three other projects during 1848. One of these was the **station gatehouse**, also called Jackson's Lodge, at the station entrance to Alton Towers; its appearance marks the last appearance of a building type that had interested Pugin from the start, and which had appeared in his earliest schemes. Whilst not changing the general overall form from the earlier designs, the house does demonstrate some original elements; the vigorous buttressing of the side elevation, derived in detail from the west end of his earlier St Wilfrid's church in Cotton, and by contrast, the broad, smooth facade at the front, with its limited fenestration. The merging of a domestic frontage with a delicate gabled archway, is unique to this building: these features represent Pugin's final acceptance that a modern lodge was a different building type to a mediaeval gatehouse.³⁰⁷

Another designed under the aegis of Shrewsbury's benevolence during 1848 was the **convent** at Cheadle; here Pugin brought his device of a peripheral cloister to a further extreme. He was obliged to incorporate an existing house, facing the road to the south west of the new church and dating from about 1800, into his scheme: he converted this into parlours, and built a long wing projecting back behind it containing a kitchen and a community room on the ground floor, and above these, cells and a chapel. The most distinguishing feature of the layout is, however, the cloister, which runs through the entire house from the churchyard boundary on the far side, terminating in a water closet.³⁰⁸ Evidently designing with a limited budget, Pugin remodelled the outside part only of the doors and frames of the parlours located in the existing building. The house was apparently complete by 18th June 1849, when the nuns first occupied 'a nice little convent'.³⁰⁹

³⁰⁶ My site visit, 8.4.2003. The houses were built for the local railway company and therefore it is possible that further evidence might be found. The buildings have remained intact with minor changes only. I Jones 2001 has some description of contemporary building activity.

³⁰⁷ There is some description of this building in Fisher 2002, pp 77-8, pl 59. My site visit, 14.5.2002.

³⁰⁸ My site visit, 14-5.5.2002. The building is currently being fully restored.

³⁰⁹ Carroll 1883, p 471.

Robert Richmond had been succeeded as parish priest at Brewood in 1844 by his nephew William, who soon turned his attention to establishing a school, which by early October was built by adapting a building in the north-east corner of the churchyard.³¹⁰ By 1849 a second schoolhouse, for girls, was built to the north of the presbytery, and the Reverend Henry Richmond, now priest following the death of his cousin, was planning the construction of a **schoolmaster's house** 'which was to join the Girl's School according to my cousin's intentions, if had lived & Pugin's original plan'.³¹¹ Certain features of the schoolmaster's house suggest a different hand from Pugin and Myers: the brickwork bond is different from Pugin's characteristic English bond – as used at the presbytery – and (uniquely for a Pugin building) the staircase passes in front of a window, cutting it in the centre. It seems probable, therefore, that the building was erected in a Puginesque manner, presumably according a sketch that Pugin had once made for Robert or William Richmond.³¹²

A hiatus of at least two years in the design of domestic buildings is concluded with the final domestic or residential work attributable to Pugin, the **St Edward's presbytery**, along the roadside to the north east of St Augustine's Grange, and adjoining the church site.³¹³ The house originally consisted of three (two major and one minor) rooms on each of two floors; according to Drury's researches, the north-east ground-floor room was originally accessible directly from the street; a porch at the rear of the house, beyond the service yard of St Augustine's Grange, was a further door which led into the staircase hall at the rear of the house. In this way a parlour for receiving visitors could be provided, without breaching the privacy of the residential part of the house. The house was built of unknapped flint, with the incorporation of some older carved stonework on the eastern side; surviving original windows are either straight-headed, or have depressed lancets in transomed pairs; the surviving original window on the first floor has hood moulds. The dominant feature of the

³¹⁰ Letter of 5.10.1844 to George Richmond: BAA, P99/8/49.

³¹¹ Henry Richmond to Rev JF Jones, 5.1.1849: BAA, B1386.

³¹² My site visit, 15.5.2002. Stanton attributed it to Pugin: Stanton 1971, p 200.

³¹³ For which see Drury 2001, part 2.5 pp 13-4. The western part of the building, which originally would have included a scullery on the ground floor, was subsequently altered; the timber first-floor oriel is a later intervention by EW Pugin.

design of the building is the pair of tall gables facing the street. Pugin's 1848 and 1849 perspectives do not indicate any proposal for this building.³¹⁴ The building was built during the course of 1851.³¹⁵

³¹⁴ Those in a private collection, reproduced in Drury 2001 at pls 1.4 and 1.6 respectively.

³¹⁵ As is clear from a letter from Pugin to Hardman, 7.3.1851, HLRO, PUG/1/163, quoted in Drury 2001, p 14, by way of Belcher.

Appendix B List of other buildings referred to, with attribution source

This chart provides a concentrated reference to all the non-Pugin projects referred to in this dissertation dating between c1800 and c1850, and gives the attribution source used by me. They are arranged in alphabetical order according to the usual name of the project, *i.e.* the parsonage at Aston Sandford is listed under 'A', but 'Pull Court, Bushley' is listed under 'P'. Streets are arranged according to the name of the town. Places now within the Greater London area are classified under 'London'. Village names are standardised to their current Ordnance Survey listing.

The county given is the geographical county at the time of building.

A parsonage is indicated by one of the following classifications:

R: rectory

V: vicarage

P: parsonage for perpetual curate or other incumbent.

Unless otherwise stated, the building referred to is a new building by the architect concerned.

The estimated cost given is, where possible, the architect's estimated net price of the house itself (excluding stables or other outbuildings where priced separately) taking into account the reuse of existing materials found on site where relevant. The information is not always available in this precise form, and thus the figures given should act merely as a guide to the scale or complexity of the projects concerned.

Note: the Devon Record Office has no catalogue numbers for its diocesan parsonage record collection: mortgage application plans are catalogued in the archives of the Diocese of Exeter by name.

BUILDING	COUNTY	ARCHITECT	DESIGN DATE AND ARCHITECT'S ESTIMATED COST (WHERE KNOWN)	ATTRIBUTION SOURCE
Abbotskerswell V	Devon	S Taylor	1837	Devon CRO
Alderbury V	Wilts	TH Wyatt	1852 / £1,500	Wilts & Swindon RO, D1/11/112
Alvechurch R	Worcs	W Butterfield	1855	Thompson 1971, p 108
Aston Sandford R	Bucks	M Habershon	1837 / £500	Lincs CRO, MGA 208
Averham cum Kelham R (substantial alterations)	Notts	W Patterson	1838 / £1,897	BIY, MGA 1838/1
Avington R	Berks	W Butterfield	1847	Thompson 1971, p 145
Aylestone R, (remodelling)	Notts	W Parsons	1838 / £2,503	Lincs CRO, MGA 225
Bamford V	Derbys	W Butterfield	1862	Thompson 1971, p 406
Barham R	Kent	J Whichcord	1847 / £1,368	CCA, DCb/DC/B3/1/3
Bedford School	Beds	E Blore	1833-7	V&A Print Room, 8728.5.
Bitteswell almshouses	Leics	W Parsons	1847	Colvin, p 738
Bossall V	NR Yorks	J Pritchett	1838 / £1,150	BIY, MGA 1838/2
Boston: Conservative Party clubhouse	Holland, Lincs	GG Scott Jnr & JO Scott	1873	Stamp 2002, pp 189-92
Bovey Tracey V	Devon	C Fowler	1850 / £1,549	Devon CRO
Boxford R	Suffolk	M Thompson	1818 / £1,750 'and upwards'	West Suffolk CRO, 806/2/3
Bredfield R	Suffolk	W Bilby	1836	Colvin, p 125
Cambridge: Trinity College, King's, later 'New' Court	Cambs	W Wilkins	1823-5	Willis & Clark 1886, vol ii, pp 652-9
Cambridge: Corpus Christi College, First Court	Cambs	W Wilkins	1823-7	Willis & Clark 1886, vol i, pp 302-4
Cambridge: King's College buildings	Cambs	W Wilkins	1824-8	Willis & Clark 1886, vol i, pp 564-5
Cambridge: Emmanuel College, W elev; N range of New Court	Cambs	A Browne	1824; 1828	Willis & Clark 1886, vol ii, p 716; Colvin p 171
Cambridge: Peterhouse, Gisborne Court	Cambs	W Brookes	1825-6	Willis & Clark 1886, vol i, p 39

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Cambridge: St John's College, New Court	Cambs	T Rickman & H Hutchinson	1827-1831	Willis & Clark 1886, vol ii, pp 277-9
Cambridge: Master's Lodge Magdalene Coll. (scheme)	Cambs	E Blore	1834 / £4,500-£4,800	Hyam 1989-90, <i>passim</i>
Canterbury: St Augustine's College	Kent	W Butterfield	1844	Thompson 1971, p 44
Carlton Towers remodelling & extensions	NR Yorks	EW Pugin	1875	<i>Building news</i> vol xxvi, 20.2.1874; Girouard 1967; Hall 1995; my site visit 30.1.03
Casterton Grange	Westmld	E Christian	1848	Owner's researches
Clifton College, Bristol	Glos	C Hansom	from 1860	<i>PAG North Somerset & Bristol</i> , p 419
Coalpit Heath P	Glos	W Butterfield	1844	Thompson 1971, p 83
Colchester: St James's RC presbytery	Essex	J Scoles	1837	Colvin, p 1012
Compton Valence parsonage (alterations)	Dorset	B Ferrey	1839 / £970	Wilts & Swindon RO D1/11/77
Cove P	Hants	H Woodyer	1845 / £753	Hants CRO, 16M70/10/1
Danbury Place	Essex	T Hopper	1832	Burton 1995, p 124
Darlington: St Clare's Abbey	Co Durham	J & C Hansom	1855-1858	<i>PAG Co Durham</i> , p148
Denstone P	Staffs	G Street	c1862	Street 1888, p 299.
Downside abbey and school buildings	Somerset	H Goodridge	1832-5	<i>Downside College, its origins and principal features</i>
Dummer R	Hants	W Donthorn	1850	RIBA LDC
Ely: Parson's Almshouses	Cambs	G Basevi	1844-5	Colvin, p 106
Exeter: archdeaconry of Cornwall	Devon	C Fowler	1829-30	Devon CRO, Chanter 1190
Fincham V	Norfolk	W Donthorn		RIBA LDC
Fontmell R	Dorset	W Donthorn		RIBA LDC
Galby R (substantial additions)	Leics	W Parsons	1829 / £1,471	Lincs CRO, MGA 153
Great Haseley R	Oxon	GG Scott	1847 / £1,900	Oxon CRO, MS Oxf Dioc pp b.103/7
Great Moreton Hall	Cheshire	E Blore	1841-6	V&A Print Room, 8710.1-235
Great Woolstone P	Berks	W Butterfield	1851 / £611	Thompson 1971, p 405
Hardingham R	Norfolk	J Stannard snr & jnr	1833	Colvin, p 915

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Hillesden P	Bucks	G G Scott	1870	Oxon CRO, MS Oxf Dioc pp c.1479
Horning V	Norfolk	A Browne	1820	Norfolk CRO, DN/DPL/1/2/34
Horsted Place	Sussex	S Daukes	1850	Girouard 1958b
Kilndown P (second new building)	Kent	RC Carpenter	1854-1855	Elliott 1995, app i
Kings Langley: The Booksellers' Retreat	Herts	W Cooper	1845-6	<i>Builder</i> , vol iv no 181 (25.7.1843), p 358
Kingston Hall	Notts	E Blore	1843-5	CUL, Add Ms 3951
Landford R	Wilts	W Butterfield	1870	Wilts & Swindon RO, D1/11/206
Lapley V	Staffs	J Watson	c1840	Colvin, p 1026
Ledbury: St Katherine's Hospital	Herefs	R Smirke	1822-7	Colvin, p 878
Lichfield: bishop's house	Staffs	J Potter	1804-5	Colvin, p 775
Lincoln deanery	Lincs	W Burn	1847 / £4,410	Lincs CRO, MGA 153
Liverpool: female orphan asylum	Lancs	J Cunningham	1843	LRO, cat. no H.f. 942.7214 ISA
Llangasty- Tallylyn: schoolmaster's house	Brecons	J Pearson	1848-50	Quiney 1979, p 286
London: Charterhouse	London	E Blore	1825-30	V&A Print Room, 8716
London: Christ Church, Ealing V	Middlesex	GG Scott	1866-7 / £3,409	LMA Acc, 1083/2
London: Christ's Hospital school (alterations & extensions))	London	J Shaw Snr & Jnr	1825-1836	Colvin, pp 862-3
London: Holy Trinity, Brook Green, Hammersmith (RC presbytery)	Middlesex	W Wardell	1853	Courtauld Institute, <i>pp</i> Mitchell Lby, Sydney
London: Holy Trinity, Finchley P	Middlesex	A Salvin	1848 / £1,000	LMA, Acc 1083/3
London: Lambeth Palace extensions	Surrey	E Blore	1829-1848	RIBA LDC; London County Council 1951, pp 100-1
London: St John's P, Penge	Kent	E Nash & J Round	1848-49 / £1,519	Spencer-Silver 1993, p 212

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London: St Joseph's almshouses, Brook Green	Middlesex	W Wardell	1851	Courtauld Institute, <i>pp</i> Mitchell Lby, Sydney
Loughborough: Rosminian convent	Leics	C Hansom	1848-50	<i>PAG Leics</i> , p 293
Lound R	Suffolk	M Thompson	1818 / £900	Norfolk CRO, DN/DPL/1/3/38
Louth (St James) V	Lindsey, Lincs	C Carter	1832 / £937	Lincs CRO, MGA 171
Maidstone: Oakwood hospital	Kent	J Whichcord	1830	Colvin, p 1041
Malvern College	Worcs	C Hansom	from 1863	<i>PAG Worcs</i> , p 167
Marchwood V	Hants	H Woodyer	1846	<i>Ecclesiologist</i> , vol vi (1846), pp 238-9
Market Weighton: monastery of the Holy Trinity	ER Yorks	Weightman & Hadfield	not built?	AAW, St Edmund's College Archive, Stamford Collection
Marlborough College, headmaster's house	Wilts	E Blore	1845-8	V&A, Print Room 8736
Melksham V	Wilts	G Street	1877 / £2,000	Wilts & Swindon RO, D1/11/246
Mentmore V	Bucks	B Ferrey	1851 / £1,280	Oxon CRO, MS Oxf Dioc pp c1540
Monkton Wylde P	Dorset	RC Carpenter	1849-1850	Elliott 1995, app I
The Moors, Bishopsteignton	Devon	J Hansom	1868	<i>PAG Devon</i> , p 851.
Moulton St Michael R	Norfolk	W Donthorn	1831	RIBA LDC
Nacton R	Suffolk	J Whiting	1837	Colvin, p 1045
Oundle: Laxton's Hospital	Northants	J Smith	1837	<i>PAG Northants</i> , p 367
Oundle V	Northants	W Donthorn	c1845	RIBA LDC
Peterborough deanery (remodelled)	Northants	W Donthorn	1842	RIBA LDC
Plymouth: Devon & Cornwall female orphanage	Devon	G Wightwick	1841	RIBA LDC, Wightwick [96] 1, 2
Pull Court, Bushley	Worcs	E Blore	1834-9	RIBA LDC
Ratcliffe College N and S wings	Leics	C Hansom	1854, 1858	Leetham 1950; <i>PAG Leics</i> , p 359
Riseholme	Kesteven, Lincs	W Railton	1840-5	Colvin, p 791
Rochester: King's School	Kent	L Vulliamy	1841-2	Colvin, p 1013

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Rockland St Mary R	Norfolk	M Habershon	1839 / £965	Norfolk CRO, DN/DPL/1/3/52 (incorrectly filed as DN/DPL1/3/53 in 2001)
Rockland St Peter R	Norfolk	R Parris	1840 / £795	Norfolk CRO, DN/DPL1/3/53 (incorrectly filed as DN/DPL1/3/52 in 2001).
Rose Castle	Cumbrlnd	T Rickman & H Hutchison	1828-1829	Robinson 1989
Rugby College	Warks	H Hakewill	1809-1815	Ackermann 1816; Colvin p 444
Rushbury R (substantial additions)	Shropshire	W Donthorn	1853 / £1,183	Herefs CRO, HD 10/6 1853
St Asaph bishop's palace, (alterations)	Flint	E Blore	1830-1	V&A print room, 8732 1-10; RIBA LDC
St Asaph deanery	Flint	T Jones	c1830	Colvin, p 563
St Cuthbert's College, Ushaw	Durham	J Taylor	1804-9	Colvin, p 961
St Edmund's College, Old Hall Green (Ware)	Herts	J Taylor	1795-9	Kay 2000, p 9
Salisbury: St Edmund's R	Wilts	E Christian	1880	Wilts & Swindon RO D1/11/270
Shareshill P	Staffs	G Hamilton	1843-4	Colvin, p 452
Sissinghurst P	Kent	J Whichcord	1843	Colvin, p 1041
Spetchley Park	Worcs	J Tasker	1811	Tipping 1916
Stafford: Burton Manor	Staffs	EW Pugin	1852	Fisher 2002, pp 150-3
Stamford: Dr Fryer's almshouses	Kesteven, Lincs	G Basevi	1832	Colvin, p 106
Stamford: Truesdale's hospital	Kesteven, Lincs	G Basevi	1832	Colvin, p 106
Stone: convent	Staffs	J & C Hansom	from 1852	<i>PAG Staffs</i> , p 268
Sutton R	Norfolk	P Thompson	1842 / £676	Norfolk CRO, BN/DPL/1/4/58
Swilland V	Suffolk	T Greenshields	1843	Colvin, p 430
Tarrant Hinton R	Dorset	B Ferrey	1843 / £1,230	Wilts & Swindon RO, D28/6/12
Tenbury V	Worcs	H Egerton	1843 / £2,400	Herefs CRO, HD 8/18 Benefice 1843
Thicket Priory, Thorganby	ER Yorks	E Blore	1844-7	CUL, Add Ms 3951
Thornton-in-Pickering V	NR Yorks	J Pritchett	1841 / £940	BIY, MGA 1841/4
Thrapstone R	Northants	W Donthorn	1837	RIBA LDC
Thurmaston V	Northants	W Parsons	1837 / £1,160	Lincs CRO, MGA 220

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Toft-cum-Caldecote R	Cambs	S Daukes	1844 / £2,085	CUL, EDR/G3/39/ MGA/50
Tydd St Giles R	Cambs	GG Scott	1863 / £1,850	CUL, EDR/G3/39 MGA/91
Tynemouth: Master Mariners' almshouses	Northumb	J & B Green	1837	Colvin, p 428
Walkeringham V	Notts	J Trubshaw	1823 / £965	BIY, MGA 1823/5
Wantage V	Berks	G Street	1849 / £1,334	Oxon CRO, MS Oxf Dioc pp b.80
Warminster town hall	Wilts	E Blore	1830	V&A Print Room, 8734
Wavendon R	Bucks	B Ferrey	1848 / £1,880	Oxon CRO, MS Oxf Dioc pp b109
West Knoyle V/R	Wilts	W Moffatt & GG Scott	1842 / £796	Wilts & Swindon RO, D1/11/90
Weston Turville R	Bucks	GG Scott	1838	<i>PAG Bucks, p 725</i>
Weybridge R	Surrey	W Donthorn	undated	RIBA LDC
Woodbridge: Seckford hospital	Suffolk	C Cockerell	1835-40	Colvin, p 259
Yaxham R	Norfolk	R Lugar	1820	Lugar 1828, pls 13-4
York: Lady Hewley's hospital	York	J Pritchett	1840	Colvin, p 785
York: 8-9 Minster Yard	York	J Pritchett	1837-8	Colvin, p 786
York: 12 Minster Yard	York	J Pritchett	1830s	<i>PAG Yorks: York & the ER, p 209</i>
York: New Residence	York	T Atkinson & R Sharp	1824	Colvin, 1995
York: St George's RC presbytery	York	<i>Builder</i> : J Hansom; <i>PAG</i> : J & C Hansom	1856	<i>Builder</i> vol 43, no 2057 (8.7.1882), p 44; <i>PAG Yorks: York & the ER, p 177</i>
York: [former] St Peter's school, Minster Yard	York	J Pritchett & C Watson	1829	Colvin, p 786

Appendix C List of Attached Illustrations

This is a summary of the attached illustrations, with attribution source.

Abbreviations: mp my photograph(s)
 gfp ground floor plan
 ffp first floor plan

Acknowledgments:

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2	Abbotskerswell, pre-1837 parsonage: a: elevation b: gfp c: ffp	Devon CRO, archives of the Diocese of Exeter (no cat no) (*)
3	Design for a parsonage	Papworth 1818, p 37.
4	Rugby School: a: new schools building b, c: School House	a: Ackermann 1816 b, c: mp 21.8.2001

5	'Contrasted Episcopal Residences'	Pugin 1836 (<i>Contrasts</i> 1 st ed)
6	'Contrasted Residences for the Poor'	Pugin 1841b (<i>Contrasts</i> 2 nd ed)
7	Oxford, Magdalen College: a: restored view (1841) b: Loggan's view (1675)	a: Pugin 1841a (<i>True principles</i>), pl ix b: Loggan 1675
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10	'Modern Street Architecture'	Pugin 1843a (<i>Apology</i>) pl vii
11	Birmingham, Bishop's House	Pugin 1842 (<i>Present state</i> , pt ii) pl xi
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13	Typical L-corridor type parsonage plan	Caversham parsonage, Oxon RO, Oxon dioc b102/7. Architect: Henry Drake of Reading, 1843 (*)
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15	Typical back-corridor plan parsonage (Bossall, partial gfp)	Bossall parsonage, BIY, MGA 1838/2. Architect: J. Pritchett, 1838 (☐)
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19	Tenbury, parsonage	mp 18.5.2002
20	St Asaph, deanery	mp 11.5.2002
21	Louth, parsonage	Lincs CRO, MGA 171 (*)
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23	Gable-bay elevation type	based on Boxworth parsonage: CUL, EDR/G3/39/ MGA/44. Architect: J Kay, 1840 (‡)
24	Lound, parsonage	Norfolk CRO, DN/DPL1/3/38 (*)
25	Aston Sandford, parsonage	Habershon 1839
26	Rockland St Peter, parsonage	Norfolk CRO, DN/DPL1/3/53 (*)
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28	Exeter, Archdeaconry of Cornwall	mp 25.7.2001
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196	Carpenter parsonages: Monkton Wyld	mp 24.5.2002
197	Carpenter parsonages: Kilndown	mp 2.3.2002
198	Wantage, parsonage, entrance front	Oxon CRO, Oxon diocese b.80 (*)
199	Llangasty-Talylyn, schoolmaster's house a: garden gate b: entrance front	mp 10.2.2002
200	Cranleigh, Alderbrook, gfp	H Muthesius 1979, p 127
201	TH Wyatt, Alderbury parsonage entrance front	Wilts & Swindon RO, D1/11/112 (*)
202	Burn, Lincoln, deanery: a: gfp b: entrance front	a: Lincs CRO, MGA 153 (*) b: mp 4.5.2002

203	Fowler, Bovey Tracey, parsonage: a: garden elevation b: gfp c: architrave in office wing d: newel in office wing	a: Devon CRO, archives of the Diocese of Exeter (no cat no) (*) b: Devon CRO, archives of the Diocese of Exeter (no cat no) (*) c: mp 24.5.2002 d: mp 24.5.2002
204	Donthorn, Rushbury, parsonage: a: gfp b: entrance door	a: Herefs CRO, HD 10/6 1853 b: mp 17.5.2002
205	Bitteswell, almshouses	mp 29.4.2002
206	Sissinghurst, parsonage, garden front	mp 2.3.2002
207	Whichcord, Barham, parsonage: a: garden front b: entrance c: gfp	a: mp 2.3.2002 b: mp 2.3.2002 c: CCA, Dcb/DC/B3/1/3 (*)
208	Shareshill, parsonage: a: entrance front b: architrave detail	mp 15.5.2002

Appendix D Index of attached plans with source

The following is a list of the plans drawn by me for this dissertation. These are intended to show in every case the building as Pugin designed it, incorporating deviations from plans made as the building was first constructed. The notes give details of where and how reconstruction has been derived where a building has been altered or demolished. Rooms are titled only where clear evidence of their use or intended use exists. No plan is intended to be accurate at a larger scale than that at which it is reproduced here.

A window indicated in outline with a fine broken line is at a higher level than that at which the horizontal section is taken but lights a space shown at that level. Pugin's own plans generally do not show these windows at the lower plan level of the relevant space lit.

PROJECT	PLAN SOURCE	NOTES	FIG No
Birmingham: Bishop's House	Pugin's drawings dated 1840, in BAA, APD/P1/7-8; <i>Country life</i> Picture Library photographs, late 1959; BAA photographs (P1/44) taken shortly before demolition.	Demolished. Photographs indicate that the house was built largely as designed. The oriel window in the bishop's chamber at the SW corner of the 1 st floor appears in photographs but not plans.	50
Brewood: presbytery	My full measured survey 15.6.2002.	Minor modern alterations omitted.	69c
Cheadle: St Joseph's Convent	My full measured survey 13.6.2002.	Convent gf plan apparently unaltered since construction.	89
Handsworth: Convent of Mercy	Pugin 1842 (<i>Present state</i> pt ii), pl xii; JH Powell's perspectives in convent archive; plan for St Joseph's boarding School, 1858; OS 1:500 town plan, 1888; photographic survey, 17.6.2002; convent archivist's own record of building history.	The block plan indicates the whole site in 1888, simplified from the OS town plan; part of St John's, the Hardman house, is indicated to the west of the convent. The diagrammatic layout of the first phase is derived from all the sources listed at left.	66, 85

Lanteglos: rectory	Aerial photograph of c1985; my full measured survey, 23.7.2001.	Many modern alterations omitted; reconstruction generally on basis of similar details elsewhere. All rooms west of dining room and main stairs much altered internally & reconstructed on basis of surviving walls and chimney stacks. There was probably a door from the dining room to the servery or kitchen corridor.	94
Liverpool: Convent of Mercy	Pugin 1842 (<i>Present state</i> pt ii), pl xii; OS 1:500 1890; undated archival postcards; conversation with archivist (former resident), 9.6.2002.	Demolished; the block plan indicates the whole site in 1890, simplified from the OS town plan; the diagrammatic layout of the first phase is derived from all the sources listed at left.	68a, 88
Liverpool: Oswaldcroft	OS 2 nd series 1890-1908; undated unattributed modern measured drawing supplied by owners; my photographic survey and sample measurements, 10.6.2002. Room attributions are derived from fireplace details in the 'Myers Family Album'.	Offices wing up to and including service stair has been altered and is here reconstructed on basis of remaining chimney stacks and walls; modern alterations ignored. No remaining visible evidence of original divisions between breakfast rm & drawing rm, and drawing rm & library.	93
Liverpool: orphanage	Survey drawings dated 1869, 1873 & 1899, and undated, by Edmund Kirby, LRO, ref 720 KIR 2336-2337; unattributed photographs dated 8.8.1928 in LRO collection, nos 5568-9.	Demolished; there are some minor discrepancies between Kirby's survey plans of different dates; photographic evidence very limited. There is no definitive evidence of window reveal angles & other internal details. The schoolroom may have been used as a chapel.	61
Liverpool: St Oswald's Convent of Mercy	My photographic survey and sample measurements 10.5.2002.	No evidence of significant alteration with the exception of the kitchen yard which has been roofed in.	84

London: Fulham presbytery	OS 1 st series 1865; my measured survey 9.10.2001; lithograph of 1844 (Hammersmith & Fulham Archives and Local HC, cat. 'Fulham Pictures 177').	Original kitchen yard structures demolished; roof plan of probable scullery indicated here according to OS; NE room on ground floor: window has been moved from east to north side; anecdotal evidence of door between dining room and sacristy.	69b
London: Woolwich presbytery	My full measured survey, 23.8.2002.	Subsequent alterations & extensions omitted.	83
Nottingham: Clergy House	Eberlin & Partners, architects, drawing of Sept. 1987; OS 1 st series, 1883; my photographic survey & sample measurements, 3.12.2001.	The bay window to the courtyard is a reconstruction (derived from OS plan). The location of kitchen & scullery have been assumed.	53
Nottingham: Convent of Mercy	OS 1 st series, 1883; undated early C20 postcards; plans of existing situation as at Nov 1999 by Wilkinson Hindle Halsall Lloyd Partnership, architects; my photographic survey 2.6.2002; various historical accounts.	The original subdivision of some of the larger spaces, & the exact division between the stages in not known. The exact position of the doors leading into the 1 st stage staircase and of the flights themselves cannot be traced.	62
Oxford: Magdalen College School 1st scheme	Pugin's drawings of 1843 at the school, catalogued in White 2001 as #599, 600, 609.	Not built.	73
Oxford: Magdalen College School 2nd scheme	Pugin's drawings of 1844 at the School, catalogued in White 2001 as #601-4.	Not built.	74
Oxford: Magdalen College School 3rd scheme	Pugin's drawings of 1844 at the School, catalogued in White 2001 as #597, 598, 605.	Not built.	75
Rampisham: rectory	Pugin's plan drawing, from mortgage application papers dated 21.3.1846 (Wilts & Swindon RO D28/6/11); my photographic survey & sample measurements, 26.7.2001.	House erected as planned with the exception of cellar (and small window to cellar stairs), which were omitted during building process.	95
Ramsgate: St Augustine's	Donald Insall Associates and Paul Drury reconstruction (dwg no 111/c), revision, from Drury 2001; Paul Drury's updates to me, 28.6.2003.		92

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Warwick Bridge: presbytery	Pugin's working drawings dated 1840 in 'Myers Family Album' f 35; my photographic & measured survey of exterior 8.6.2002.	Largely unaltered.	69a
Wilburton: New Manor House	my photographic survey and sample measurements, 18.3.2002.	The kitchen offices have been much altered; a full survey of these was not possible and the area is shown in outline only. The original scheme probably included a kitchen yard with stables etc	97
Woodchester Park scheme	Pugin's drawing (assumed to be 1846) in Glos CRO, D1011/P15/1.	Not built.	96

Appendix E Bibliography

This is a list of all publications and unpublished manuscripts or typescripts referred to in this dissertation. Very long book titles have been shortened for convenience unless the full title is of intrinsic relevance.

The edition given here is that referred to in the text above. Where relevant, the original date and/or place of publication is given in brackets after its name.

An author's publications are listed chronologically. Anonymous publications are listed at the end and its source, or library or archive classmark, are given where possible. A publication is given in the main list where an author's name appeared at the original time of publication. Anonymous journalism is listed separately; for convenience, an anonymously published article is also given (with a note to that effect) in the main list where the author's name was subsequently established.

The French author 'de la Rue' is listed under 'R', but the English author 'Squire de Lisle' under 'D' – in accordance with the indexing convention of the source nation. Likewise, 'Bøe' follows 'Buscot'.

The Pevsner Architectural Guides are listed after the main list and by county. I have used the new term 'PAG' also in respect of titles previously published as part of the 'Buildings of England' series.

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Report to Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State, from the Poor Law Commissioners, on an enquiry into the sanitary condition of the labouring population of Great Britain, London, 1842.

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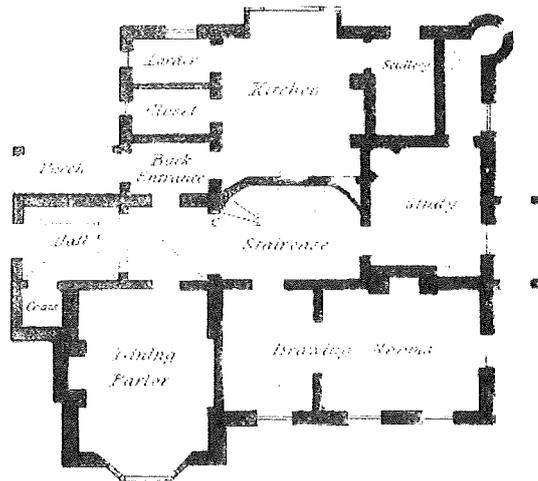
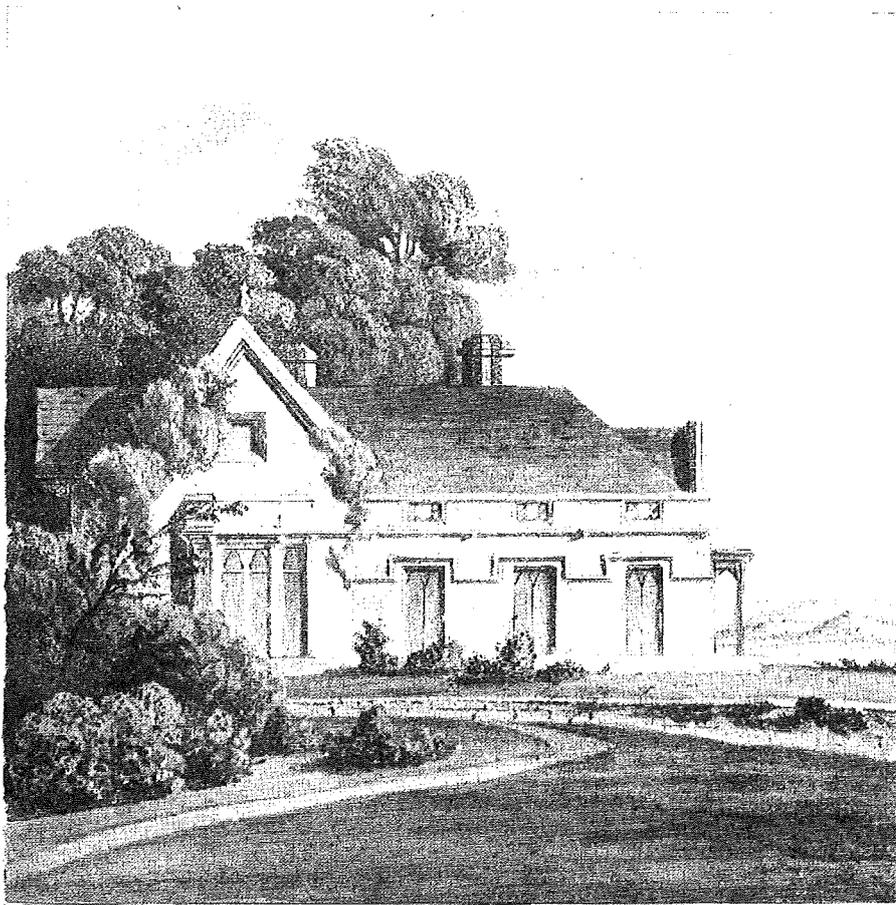
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A VICARAGE HOUSE.

Published by the Architectural Association, London, 1848.

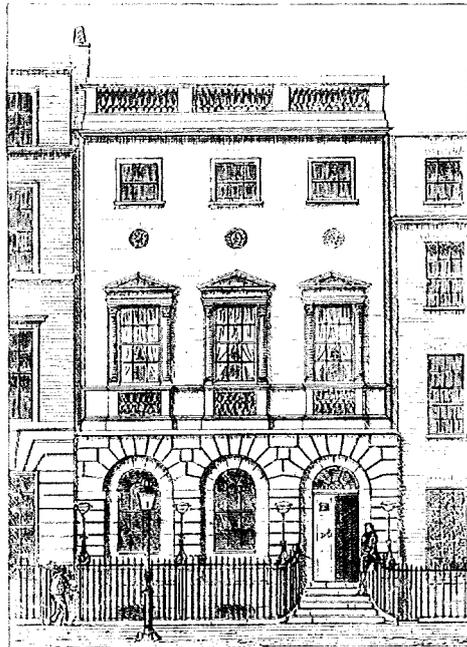
fig. 3
Design for a parsonage

REFERENCES TO THE
NEW HOUSE.



- AAA THE NURSERY WINDOWS
- B AN ILL SHAPED PIER
- CCC THE DRAWING ROOM
- D THE DOUBLE DOOR
- EE THE PARLOUR
- F THE WAY DOWN THE AREA

THIS HOUSE HAS BEEN BUILT WITH DUE REGARD TO THE MODERN STYLE OF EPISCOPAL ESTABLISHMENTS: ALL USELESS BUILDINGS SUCH AS CHAPEL HALL OR LIBRARY HAVE BEEN OMITTED, AND THE WHOLE IS ON A SCALE TO COMBINE ECONOMY WITH ELEGANCE!!!



ELY HOUSE DOVER STREET

1830

CONTRASTED EPISCOPAL RESIDENCES

References to the
Old Palace +

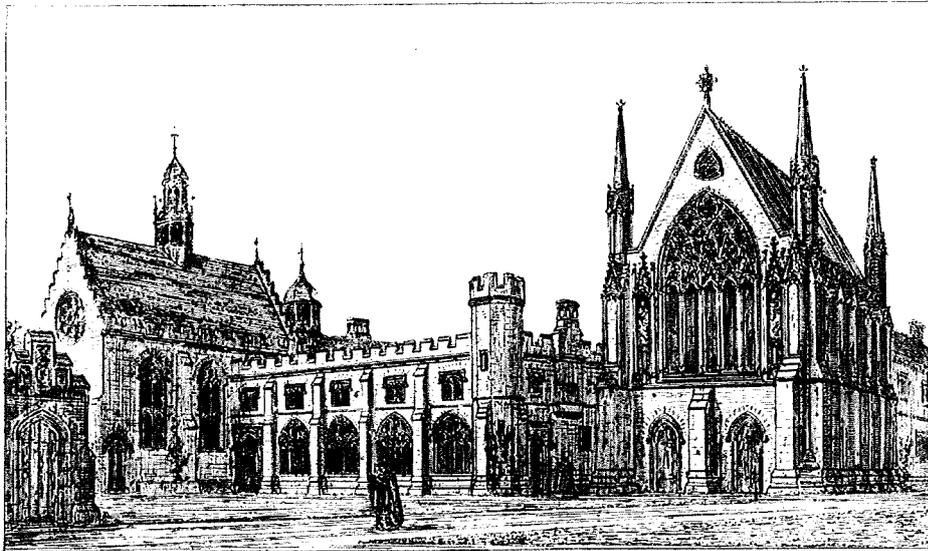


- a S^t Etheldredas chapel +
- b Part of the library +
- c The east cloister +
- d Lodgings for guests +
- e The great hall +

THIS VENERABLE PALACE WAS SOLD TO THAT EMINENT SURVEYOR C. COLE WHO UTTERLY DESTROYED IT AND ON ITS SITE ERRECTED THE PRESENT HANDSOME AND UNIFORM STREET WITH

ITS NEAT AND APPROPRIATE IRON GATES IN 1776.

1 *brayley londiniana*



ELY PALACE HOLBORN 1536.

fig. 5
'Contrasted Episcopal Residences'

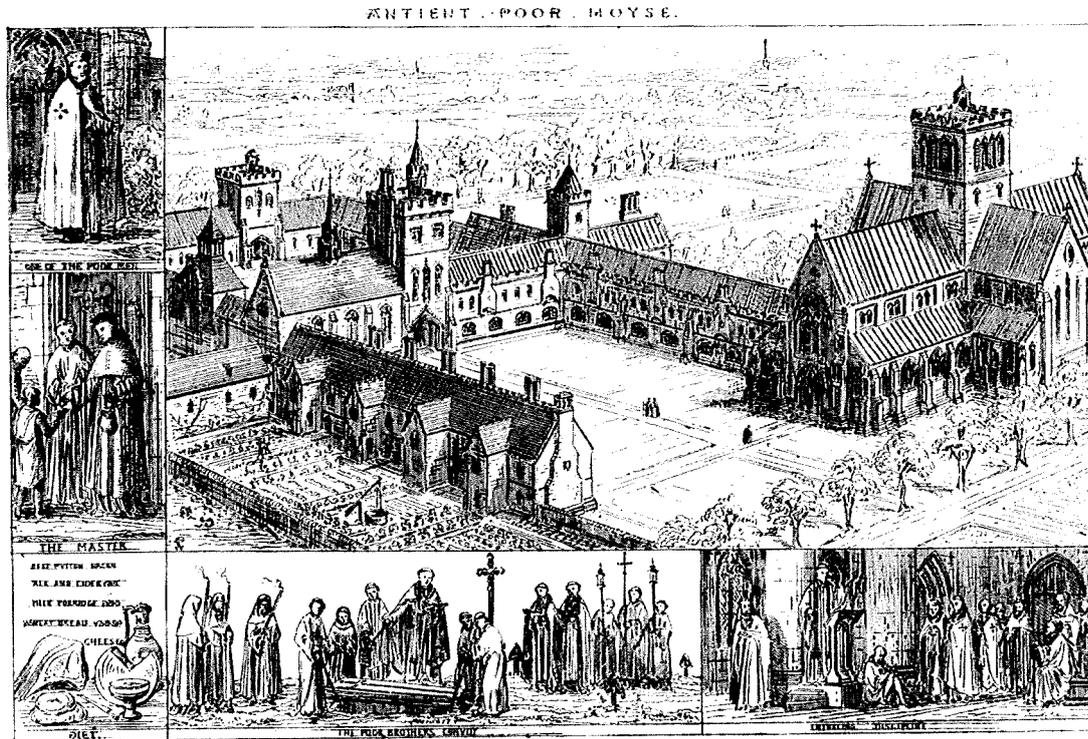
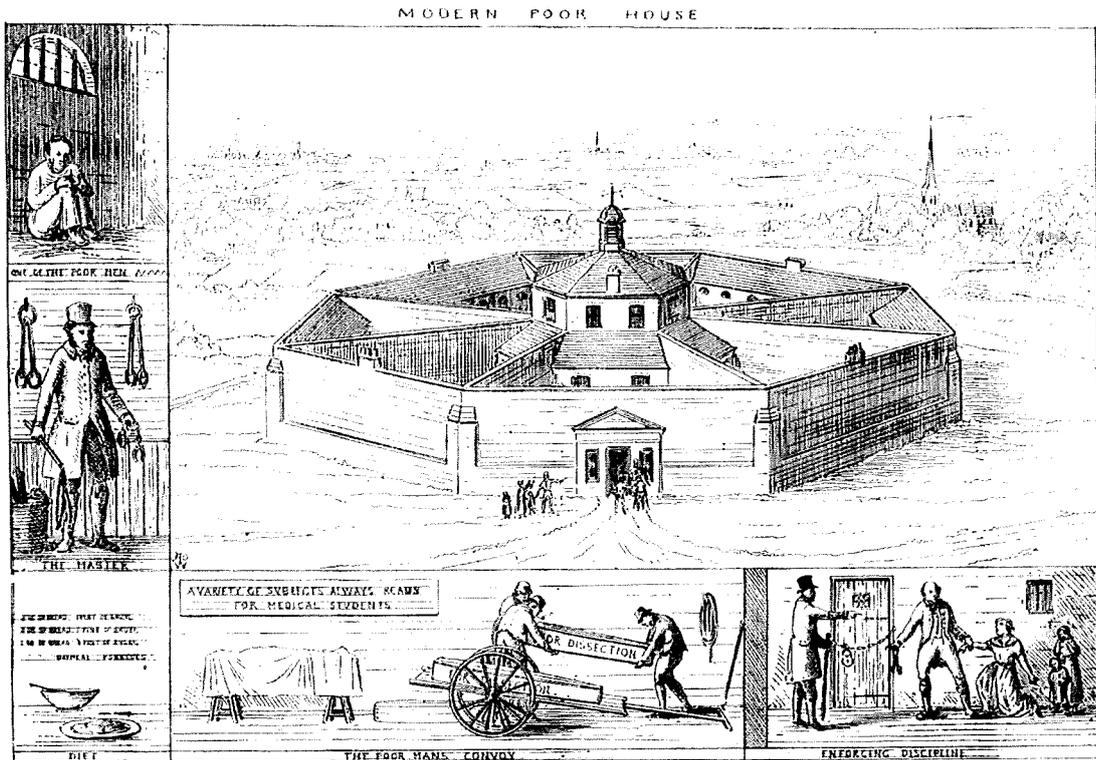


fig. 6
 'Contrasted Residences for the Poor'

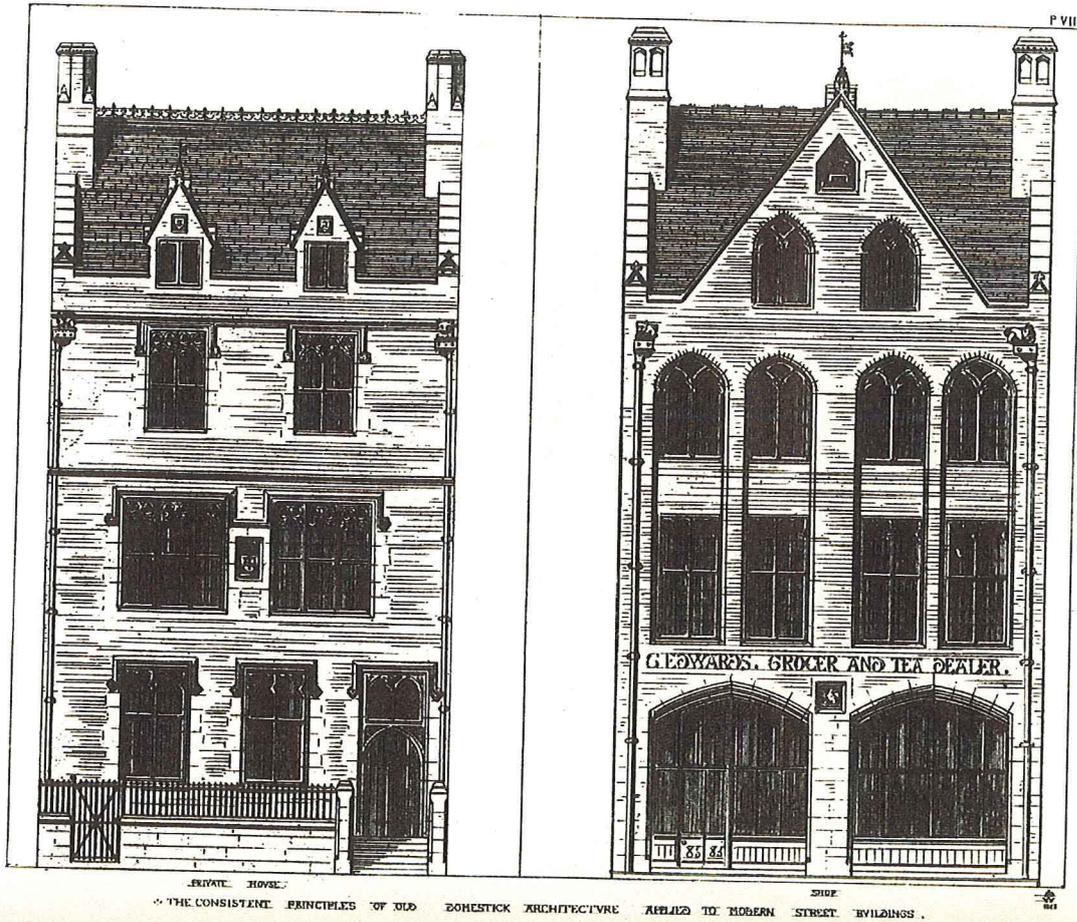
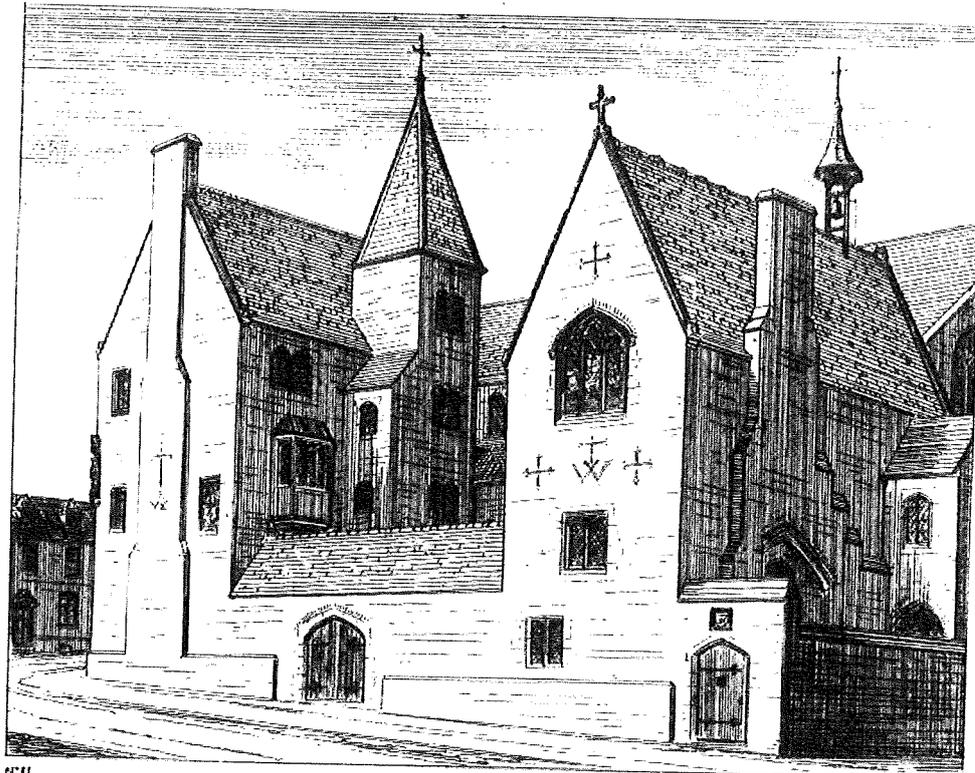
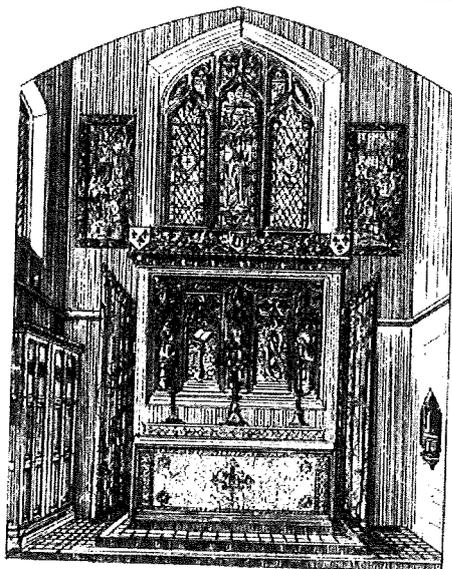
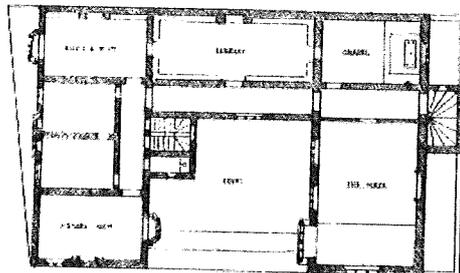


fig. 10
'Modern street architecture'

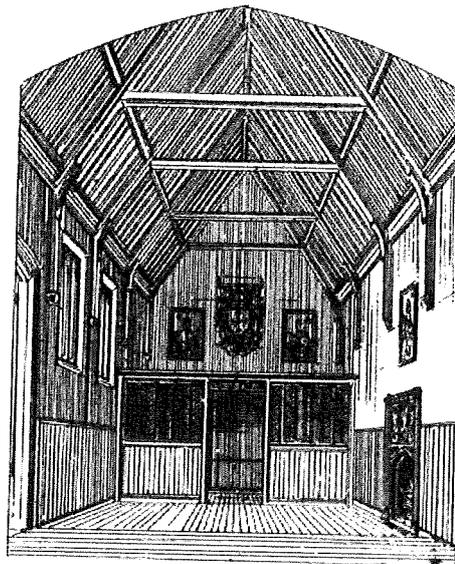


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✦ Bishop's House Birmingham 1842 view



2 THE BISHOP'S CHAPEL



4 THE GOTHIC HALL

fig. 11
Birmingham, Bishop's House



fig. 19



fig. 20

figs. 19, 20
19: Tenbury, parsonage
20: St Asaph, deanery



fig. 27



fig. 28

figs. 27, 28
27: York, New Residence
28: Exeter, Archdeaconry of Cornwall



fig. 29a



fig. 29b

fig. 29
Danbury Palace
29a: entrance front
29b: garden front



fig. 32a



fig. 32b



fig. 33

figs. 32, 33

32a: Ledbury, St Katherine's Hospital, front

32b: Ledbury, St Katherine's Hospital, rear; 33: Woodbridge, Seckford Hospital



fig. 34
Tynemouth, Master Mariners' Almshouses



fig. 35a



fig. 35b



fig. 35c

fig. 35
Kings Langley, Booksellers' Retreat
35a: side; 35b: front; 35c: rear



fig. 36



fig. 37



fig. 38

- figs. 36, 37, 38
36: Ely, almshouses
37: Oundle, Laxton's Hospital (extension)
38: York, Lady Hewley's Hospital

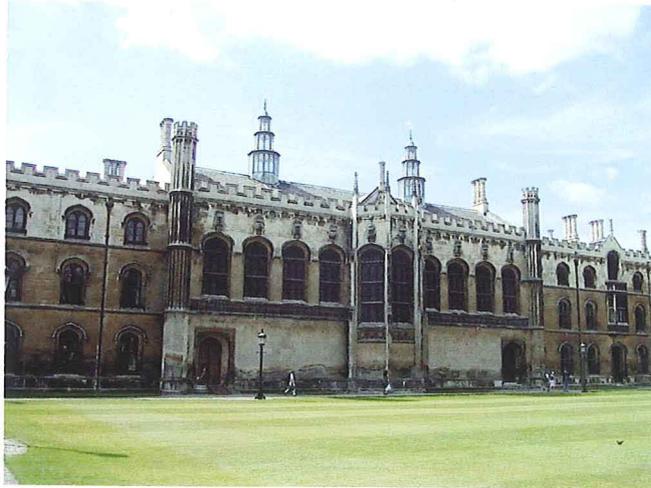


fig. 39



fig. 40a



fig. 40b

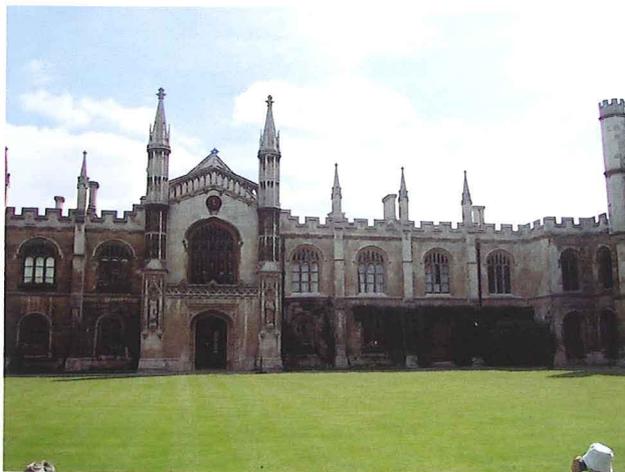


fig. 41

figs. 39, 40, 41

39: Cambridge, King's College hall

40a, b: Cambridge, Trinity College, King's (now 'New') Court

41: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, master's lodge (rhs)



fig. 45



fig. 46

figs. 45, 46
45: York, 8-9 Minster Yard
46: Rochester, King's School from south-west



fig. 47



fig. 48



fig. 49

figs. 47, 48, 49

47: Old Hall Green, St Edmund's College

48: Colchester, St James's presbytery

49: Oscott, St Mary's College

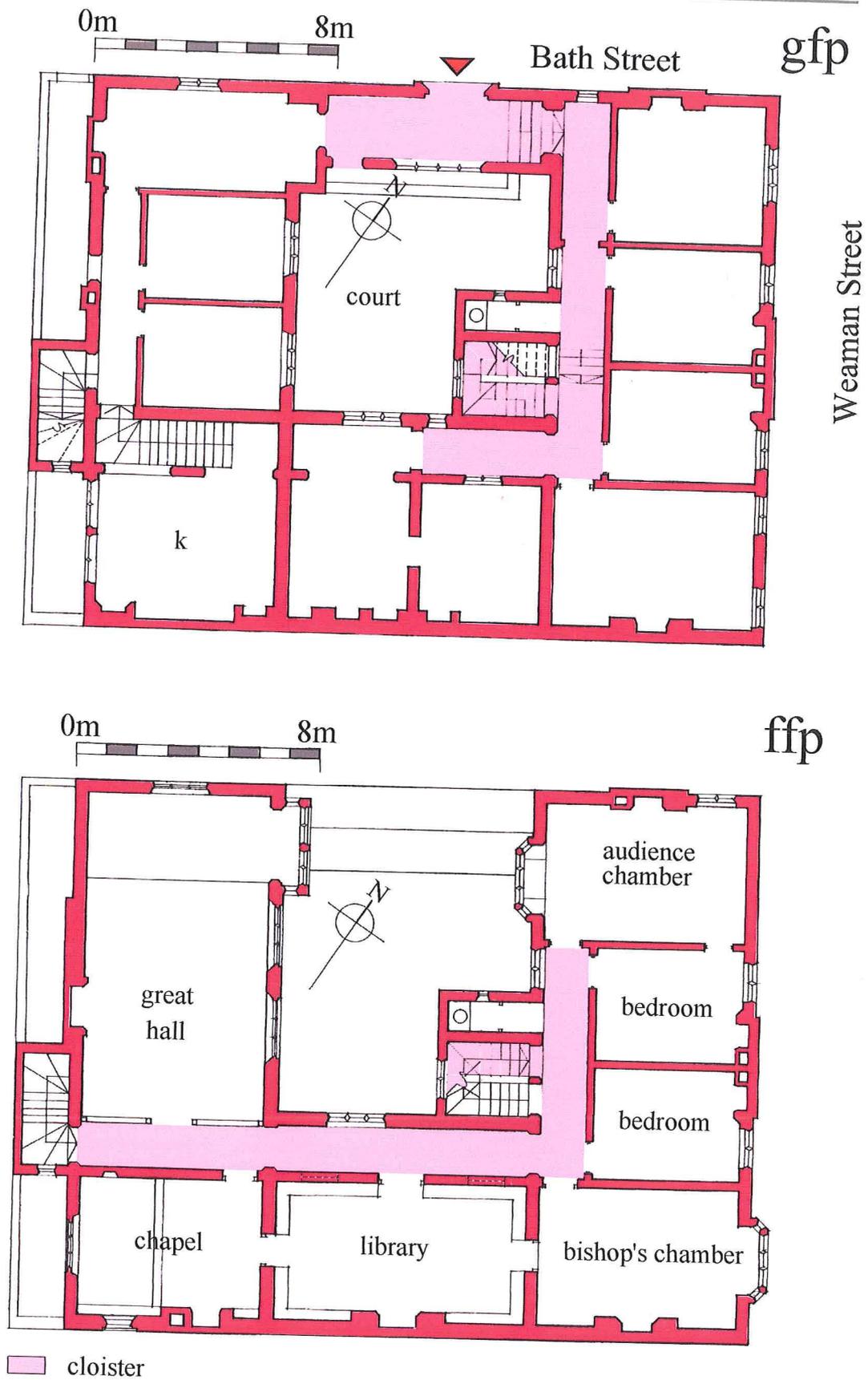


fig. 50
Birmingham, Bishop's House, gfp & ffp – 1:200

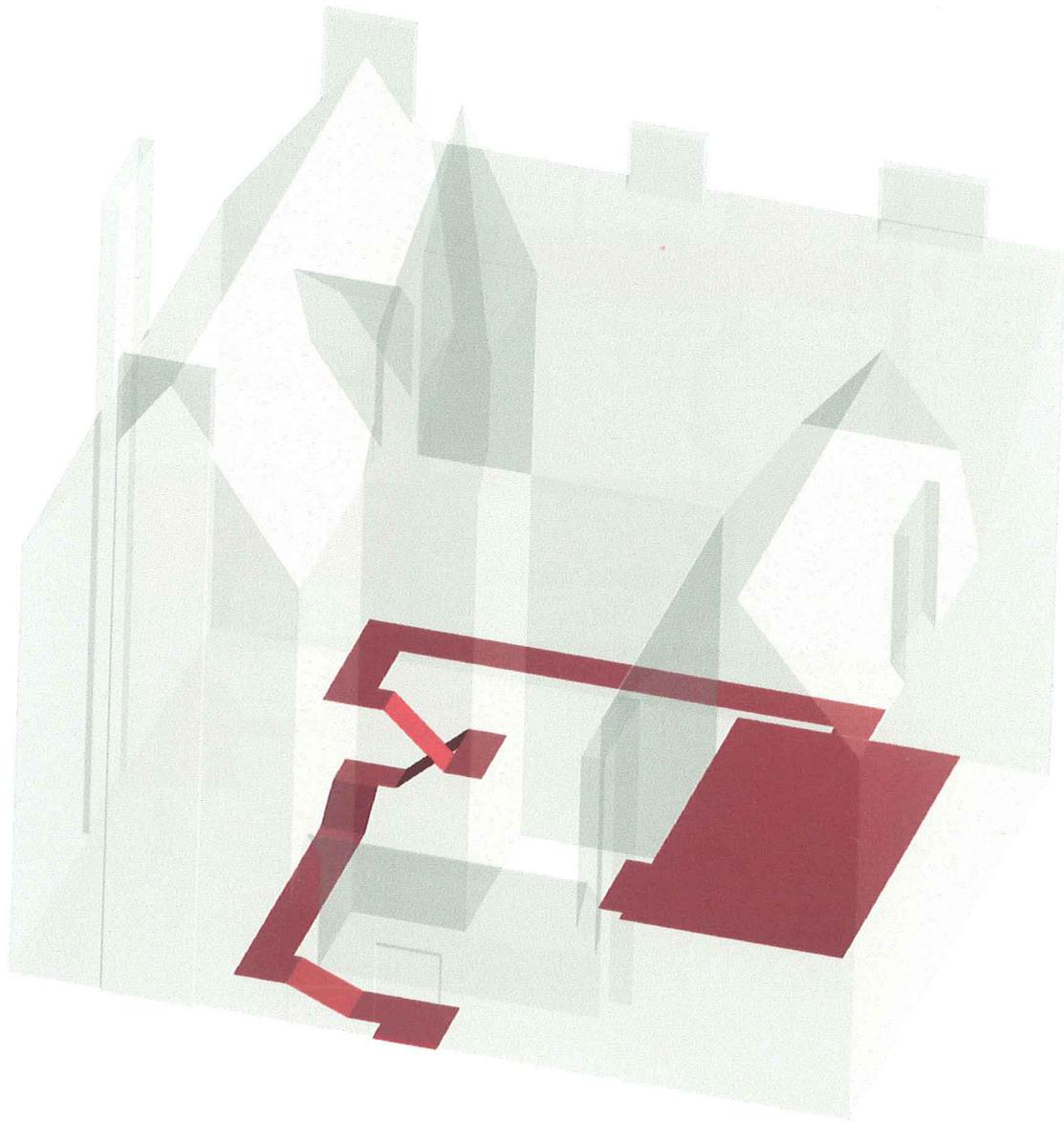
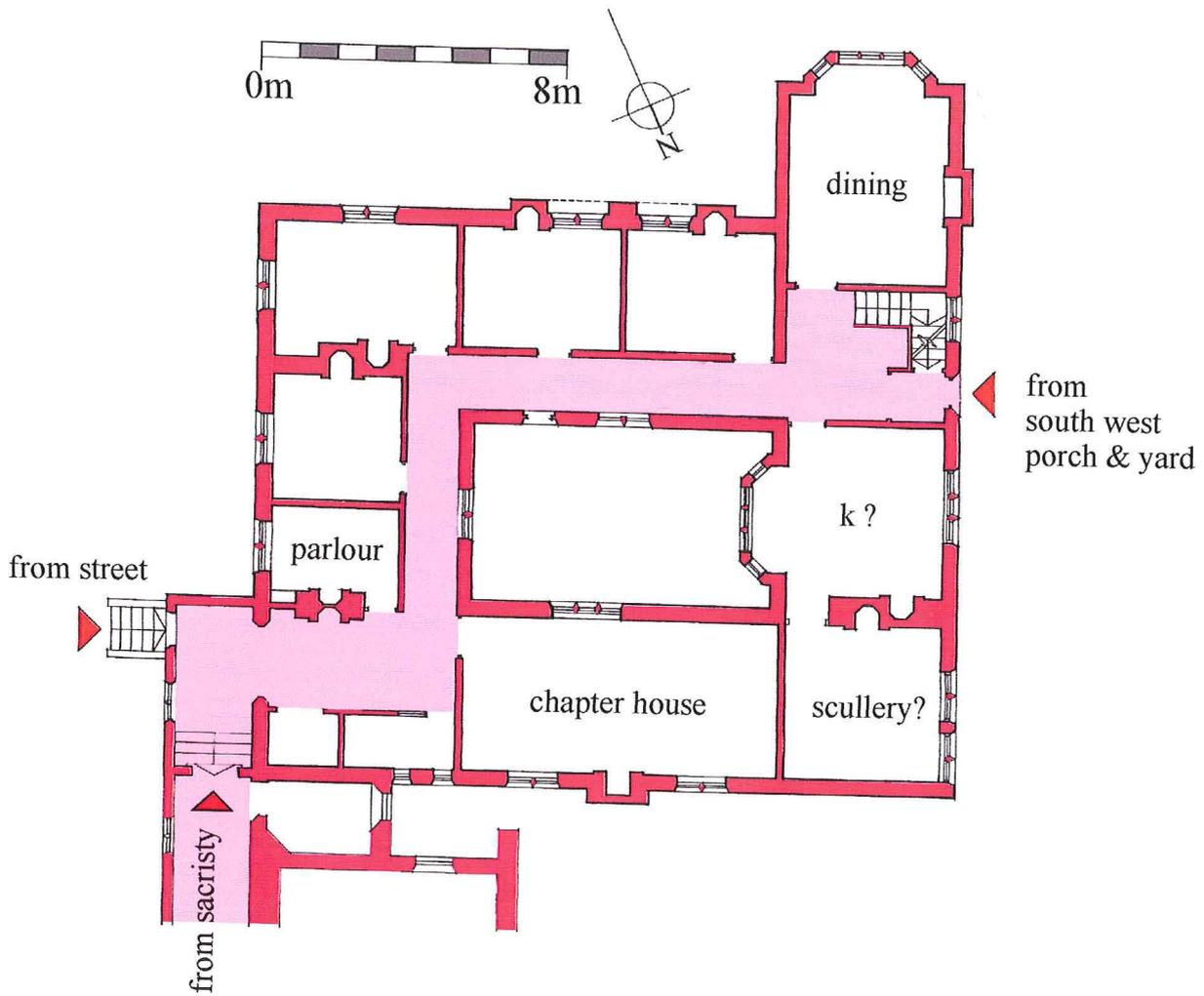


fig. 52
Birmingham, Bishop's House, entry route



□ cloister route

fig. 53
Nottingham, clergy house, gfp - 1:200

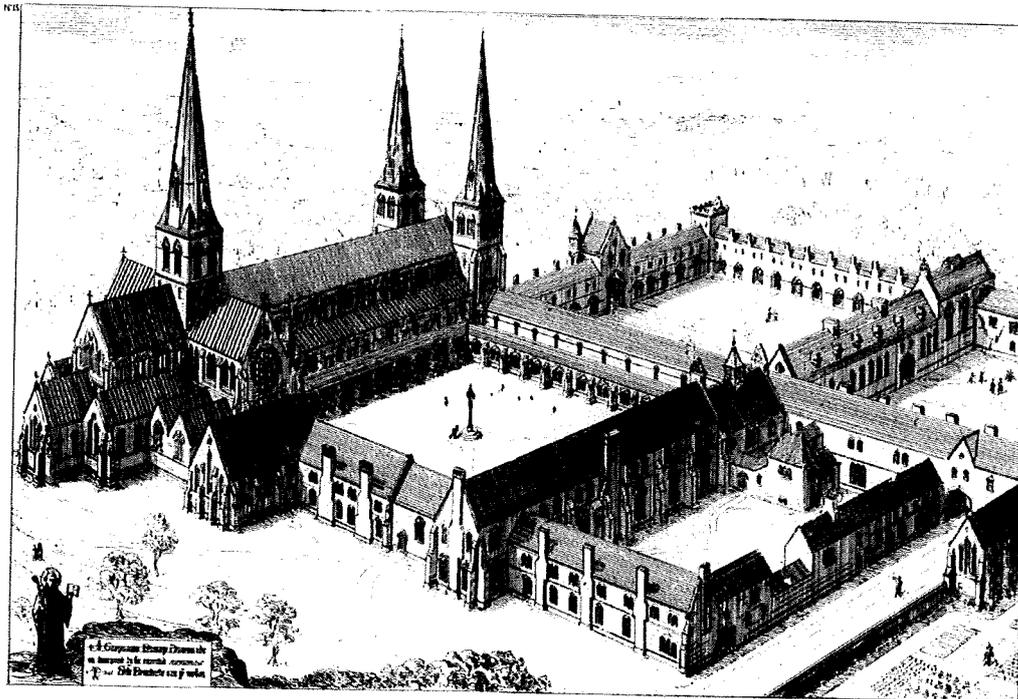


fig. 57

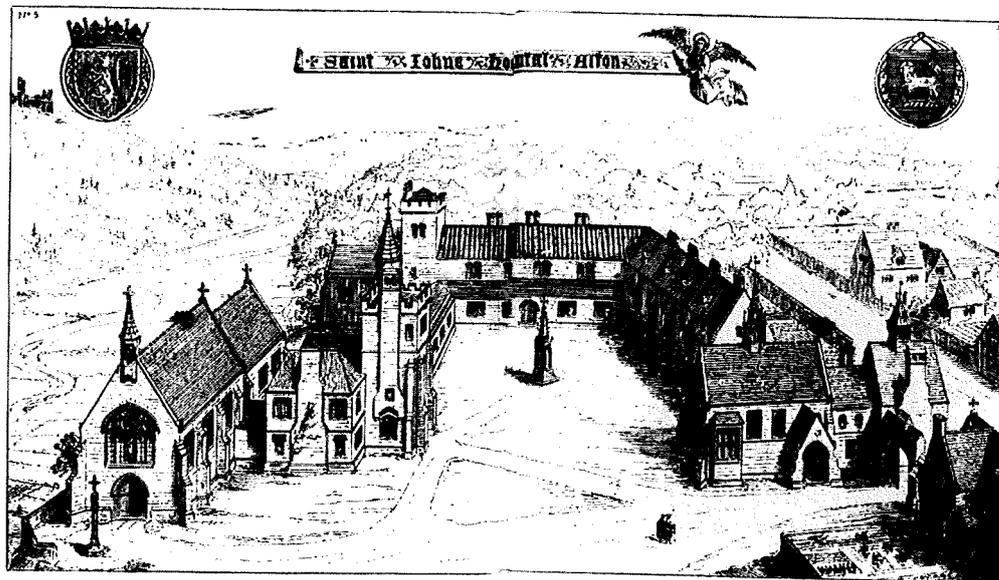


fig. 58

figs. 57, 58
57: Downside Abbey, 2nd scheme
58: Alton, St John's Hospital

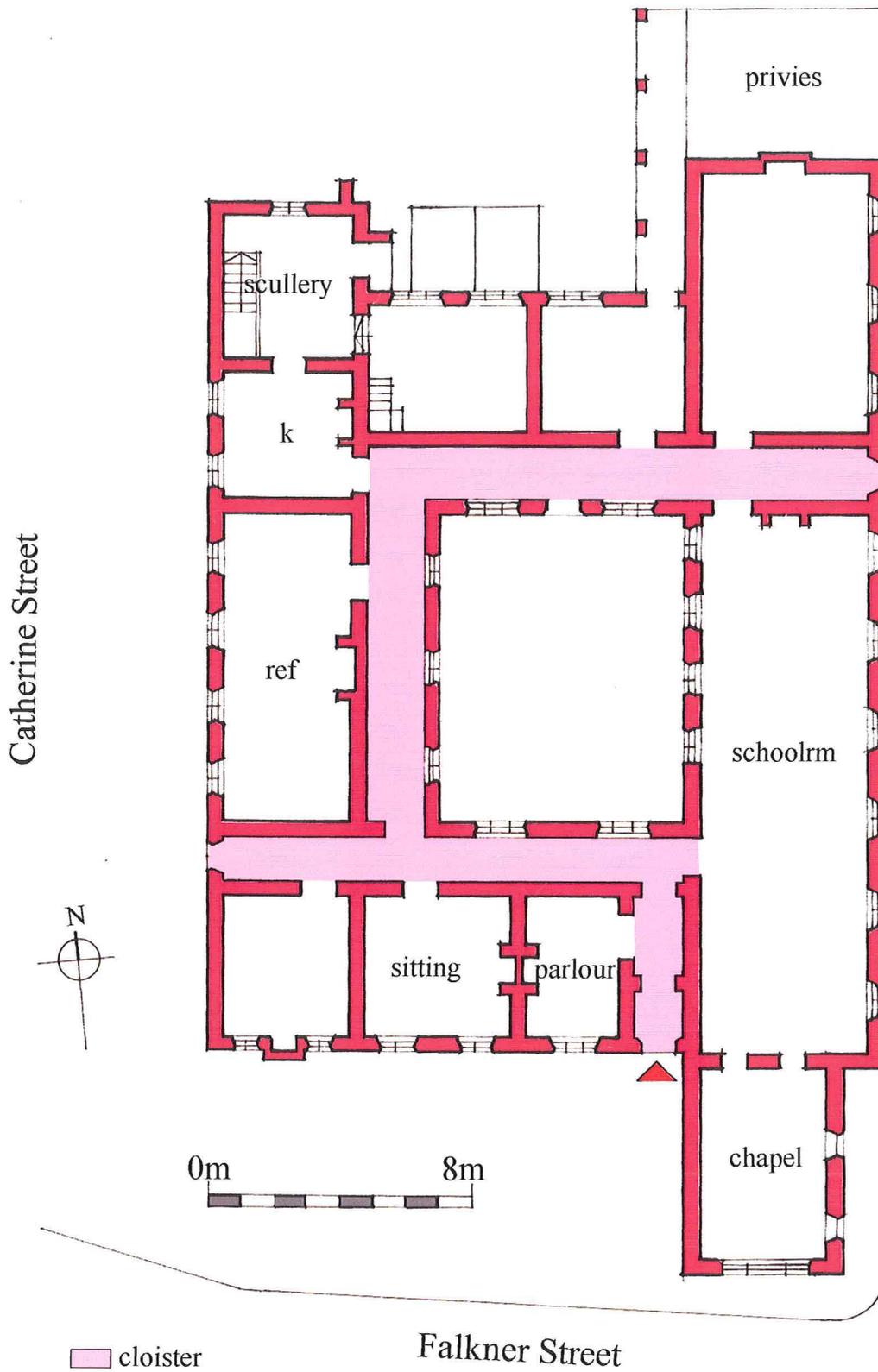
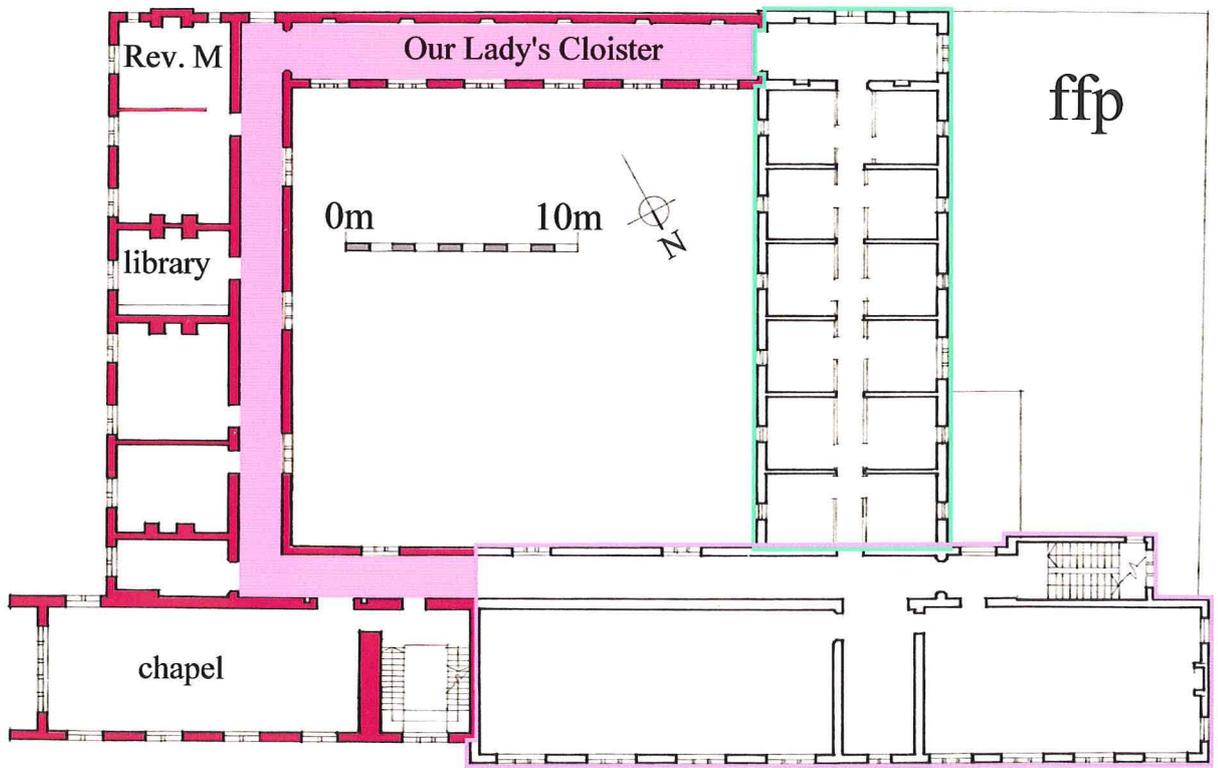
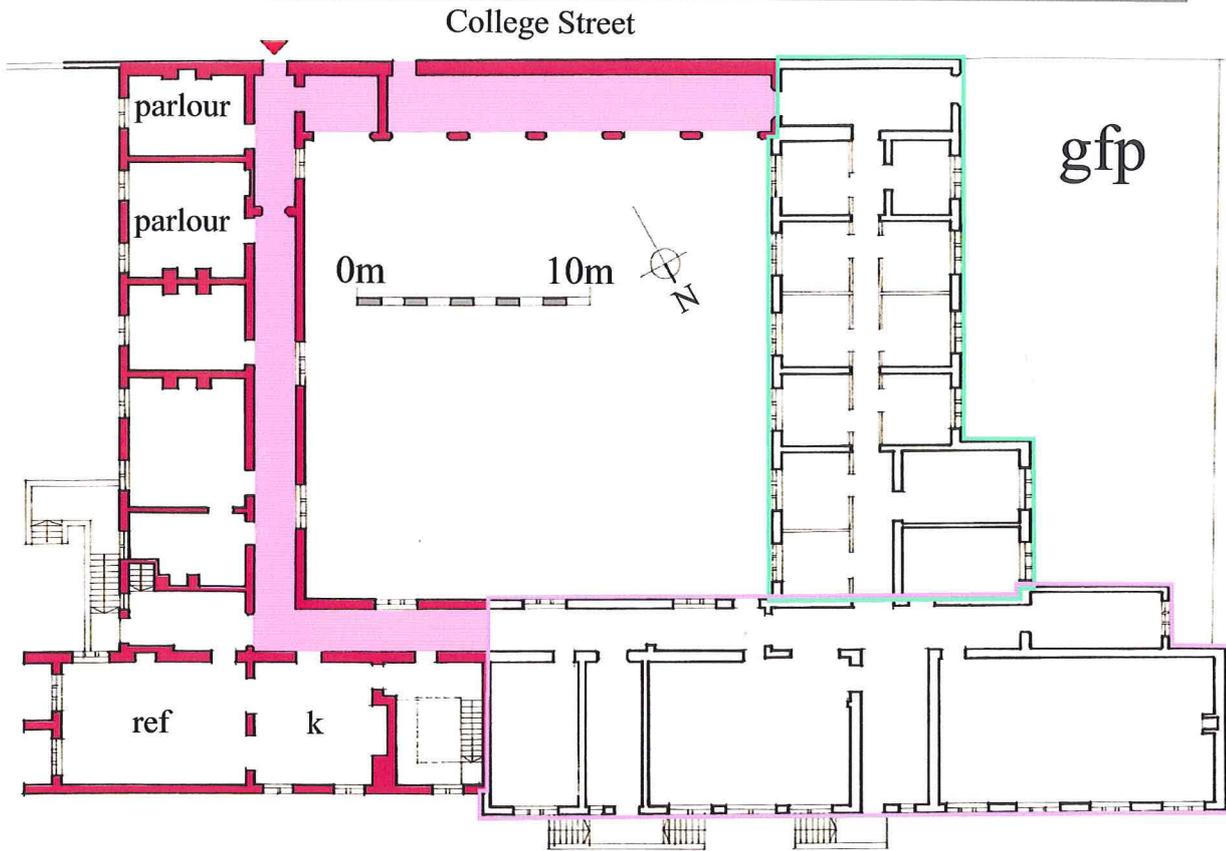


fig. 61
Liverpool, orphanage, gfp - 1:200



cloister

2nd phase

3rd phase

fig. 62

Nottingham, Convent of Mercy, gfp & ffp – 1:300



fig. 65a



fig. 65b



fig. 65c



fig. 65d



fig. 65e

fig. 65
Scarbrick Hall
65a,b,c,d,e: views of first floor corridor

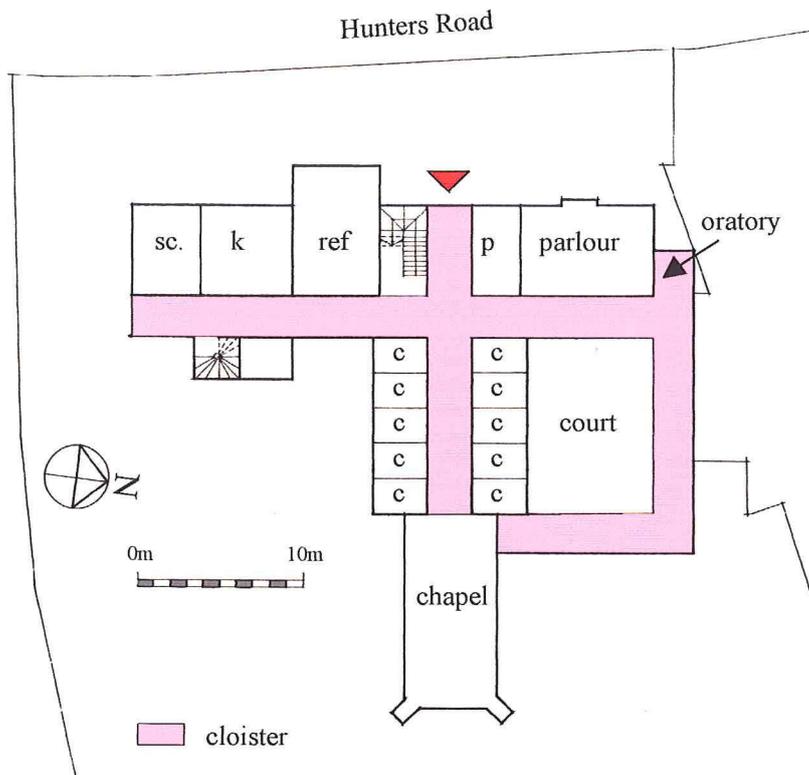
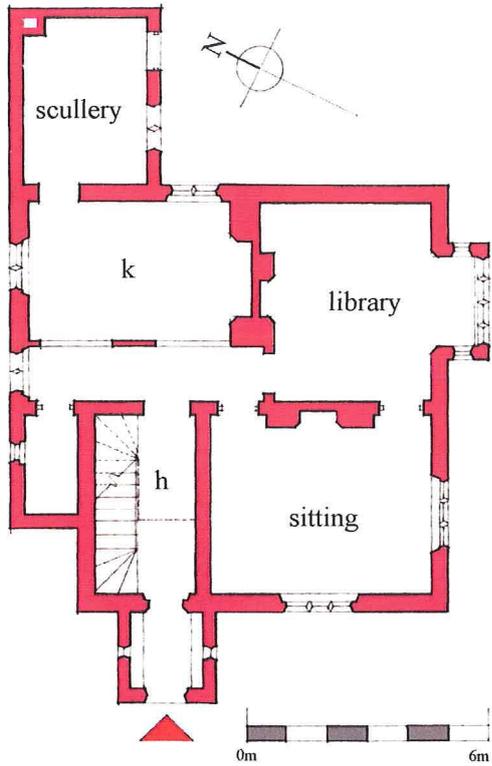
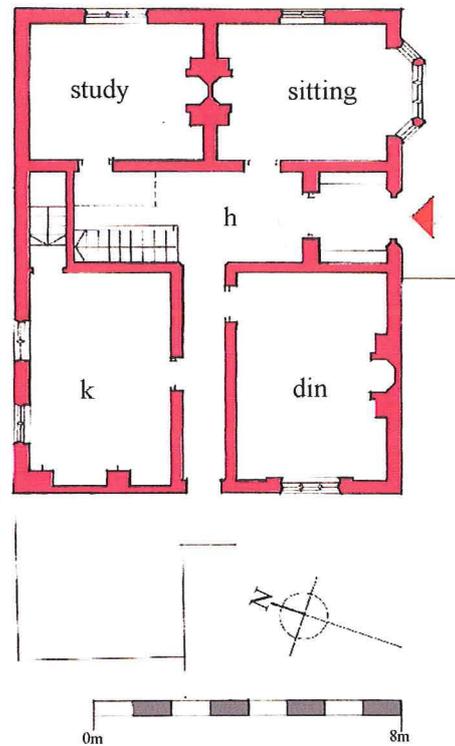


fig. 66

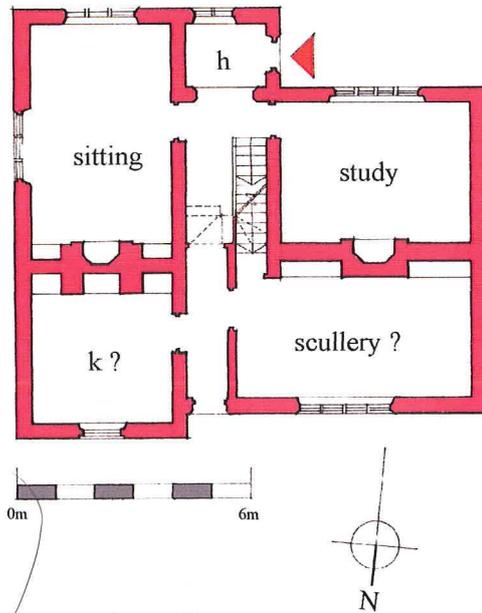
Handsworth, St Mary's Convent, first stage block plan – 1:500



a: Warwick Bridge presbytery



b: Fulham presbytery



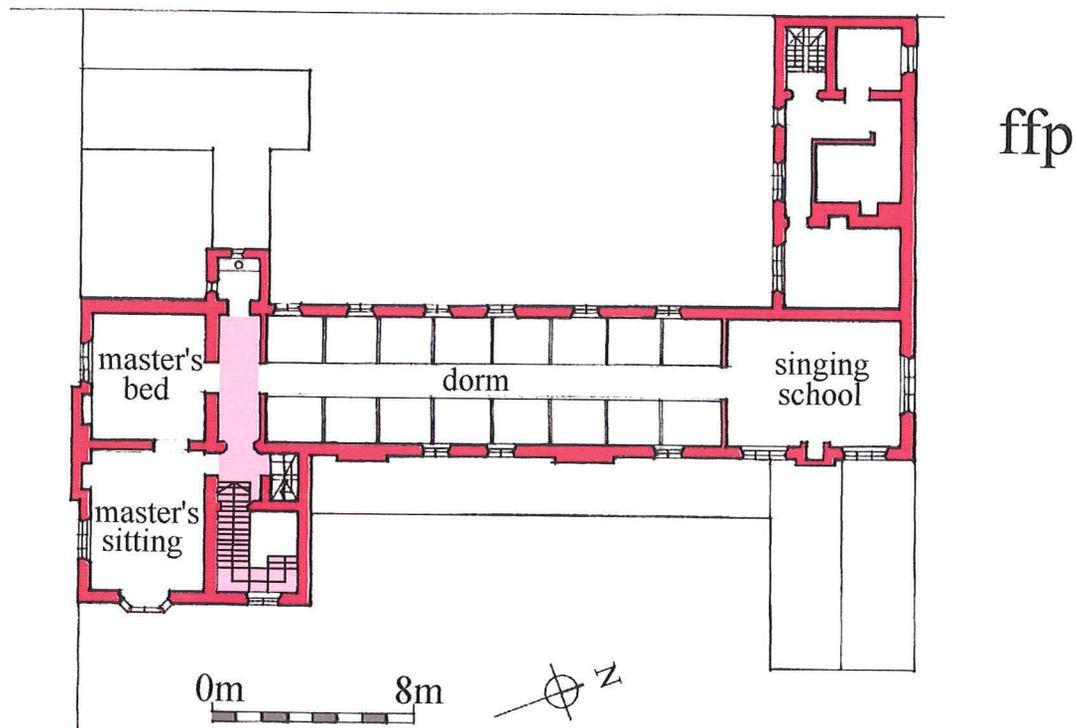
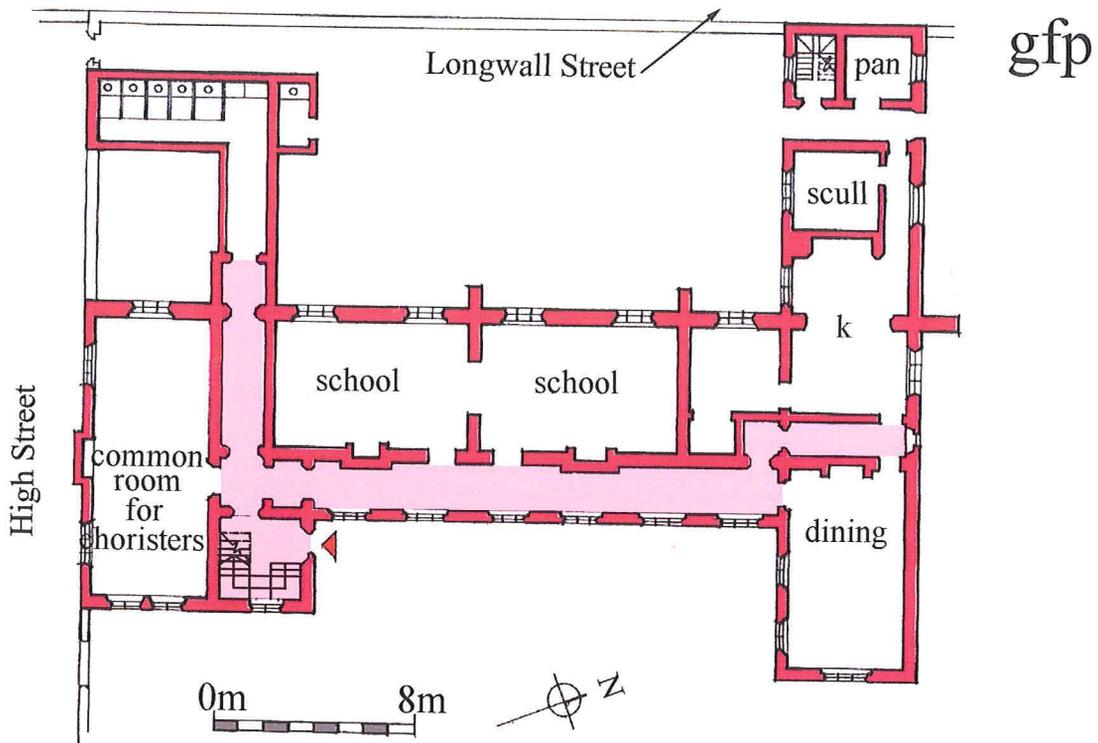
c: Brewood presbytery

fig. 69

69a: Warwick Bridge, presbytery, gfp – 1:200

69b: London, Fulham, presbytery, gfp – 1:200

69c: Brewood, presbytery, gfp – 1:200



cloister

fig. 73

Oxford, Magdalen College School, 1st scheme – gfp, ffp 1:300

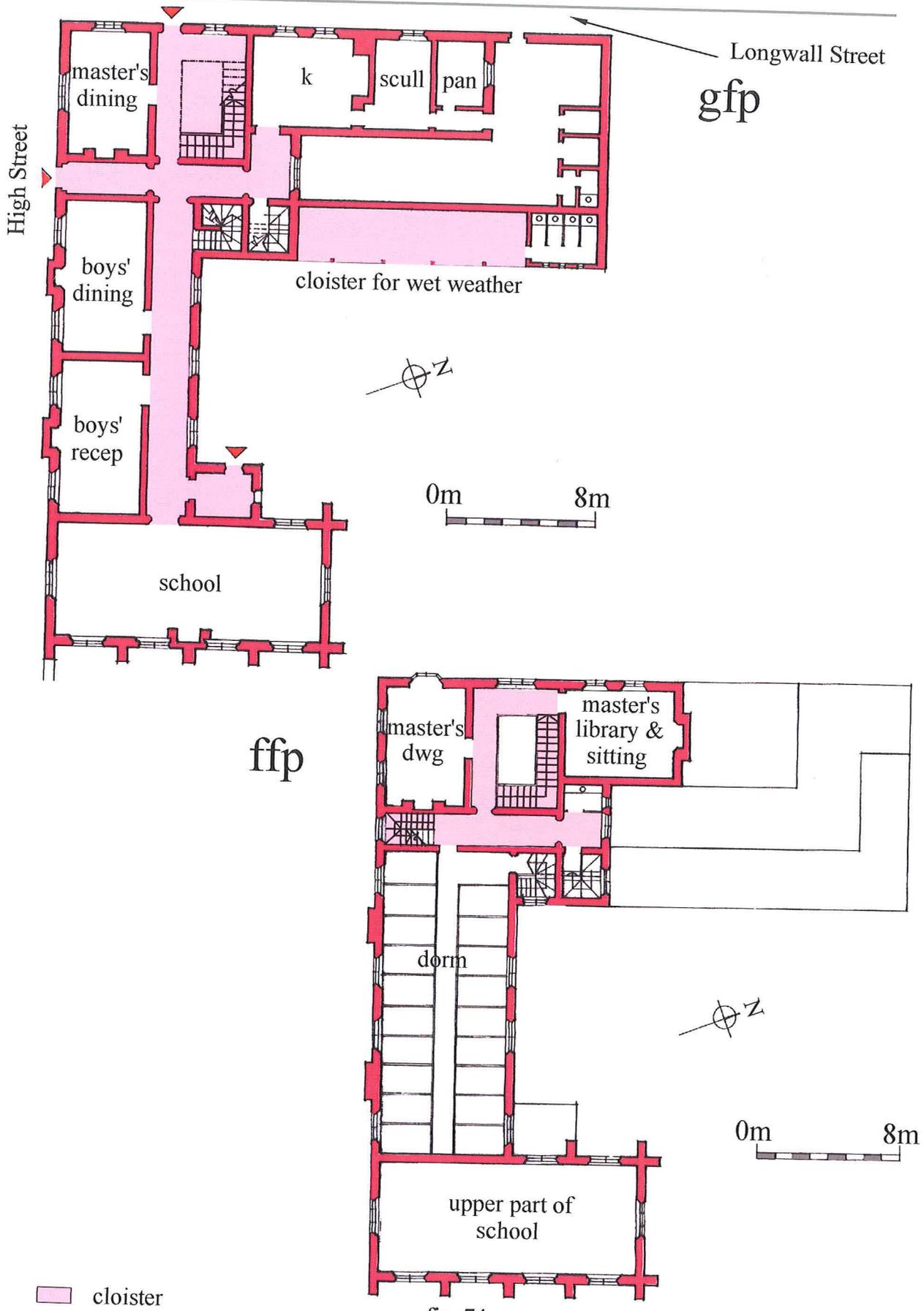
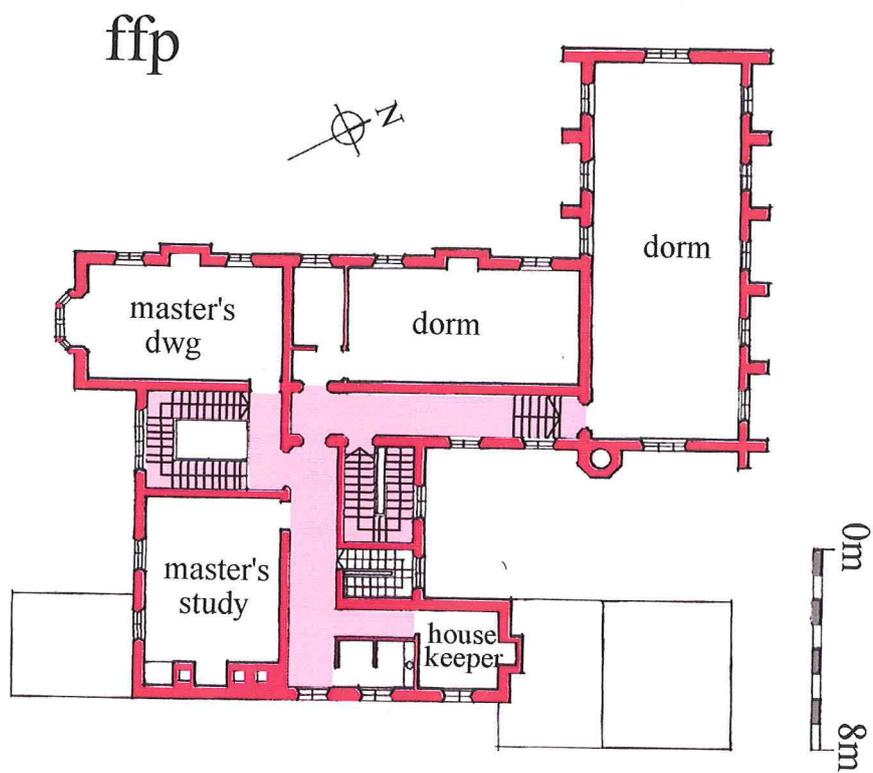
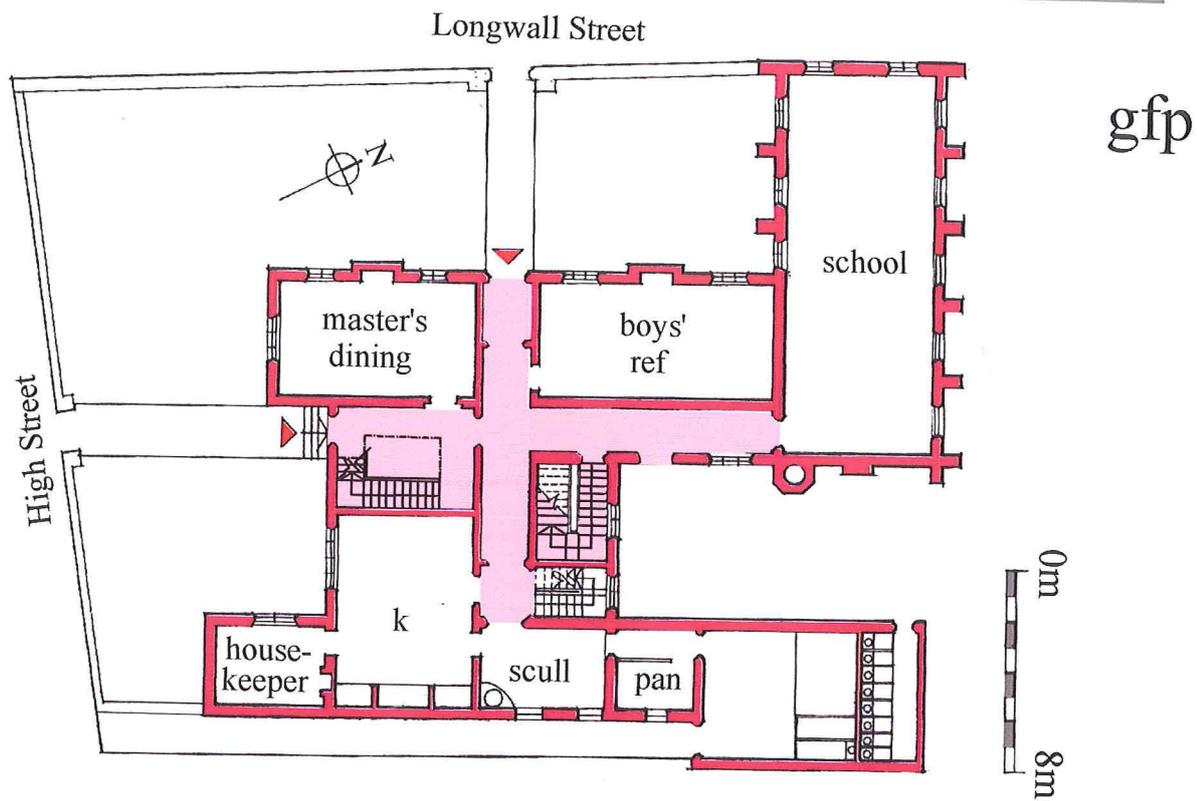


fig. 74

Oxford, Magdalen College School, 2nd scheme – gfp, ffp 1:300



cloister

fig. 75

Oxford, Magdalen College School, 3rd scheme – gfp, ffp 1:300



fig. 76a



fig. 76b



fig. 76c

fig. 76

Cotton Hall

- 76a: cloister and ambulatory from east
- 76b: ambulatory and main entrance from north-east
- 76c: cloister door from south-west

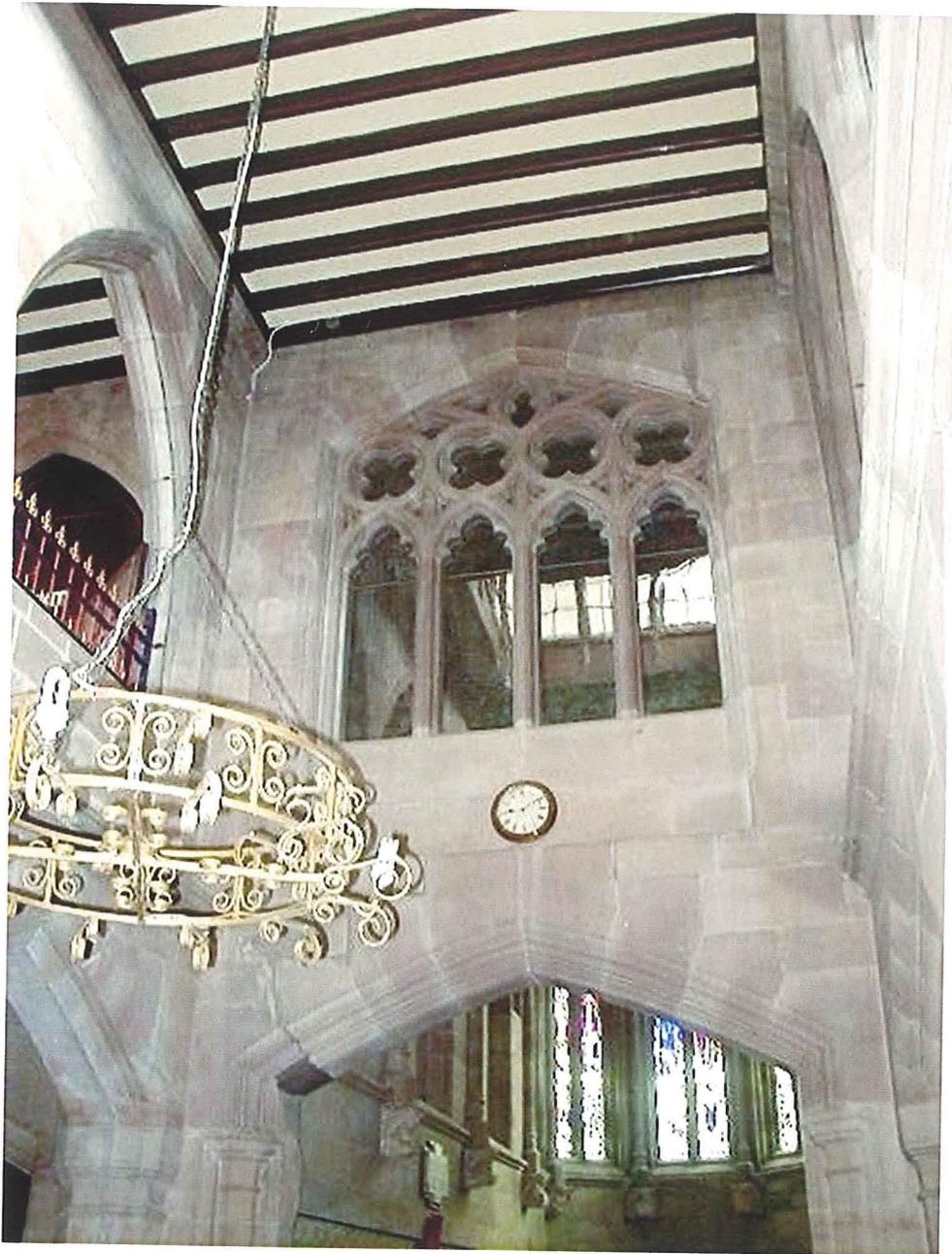


fig. 78
Alton Castle, internal window



fig. 79

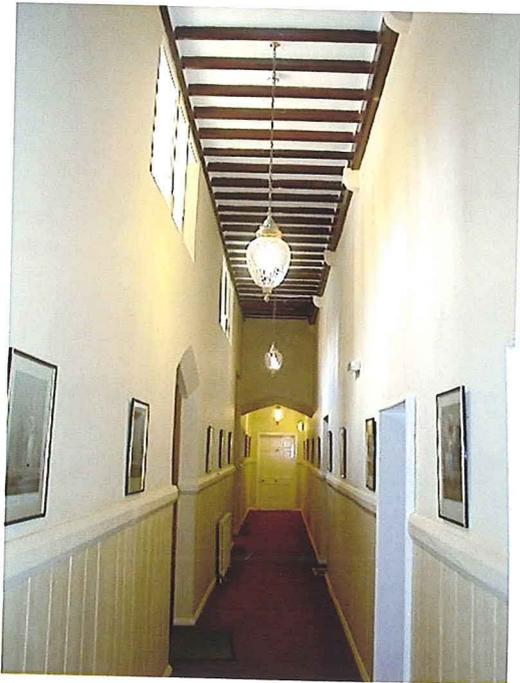


fig. 80



fig. 81

figs. 79, 80, 81

79: Grace Dieu, service corridor

80: Albury House, service corridor

81: London, Southwark, St George's clergy house, corridor

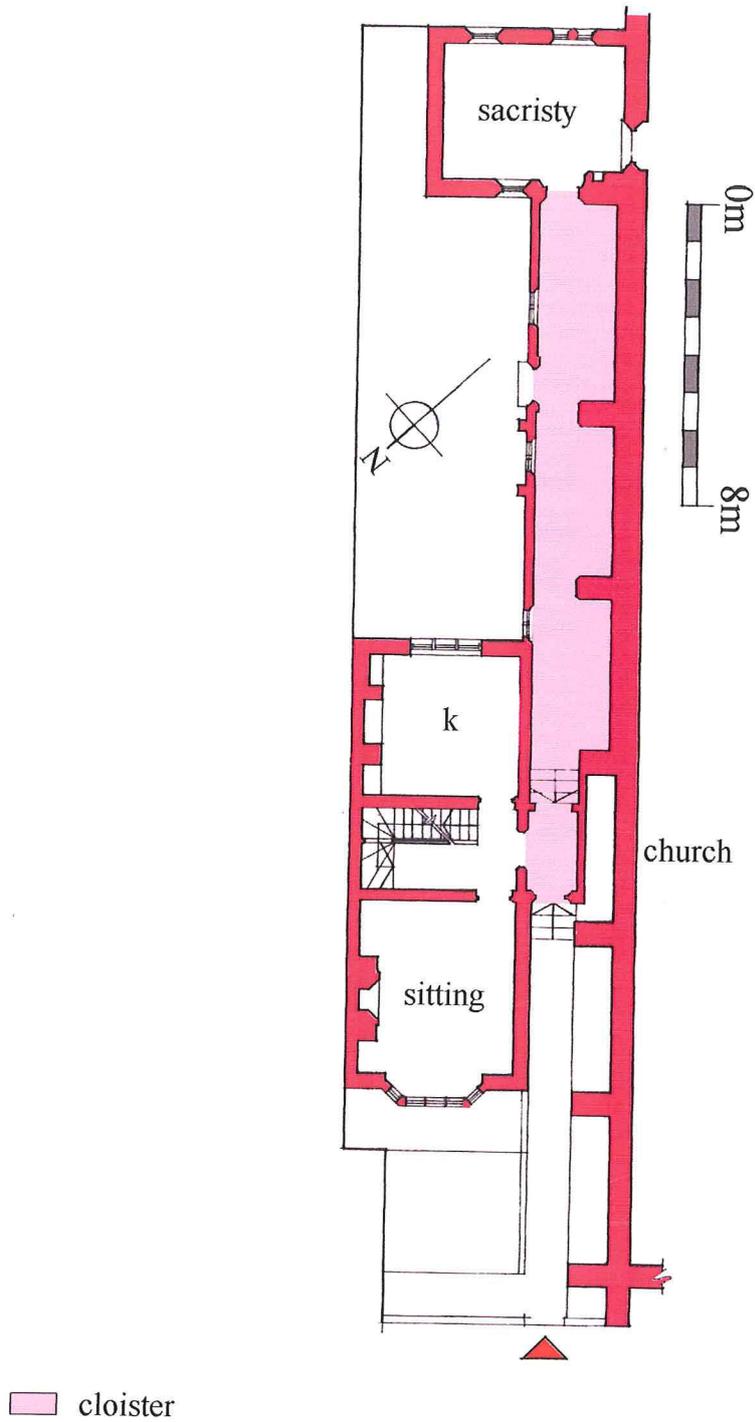
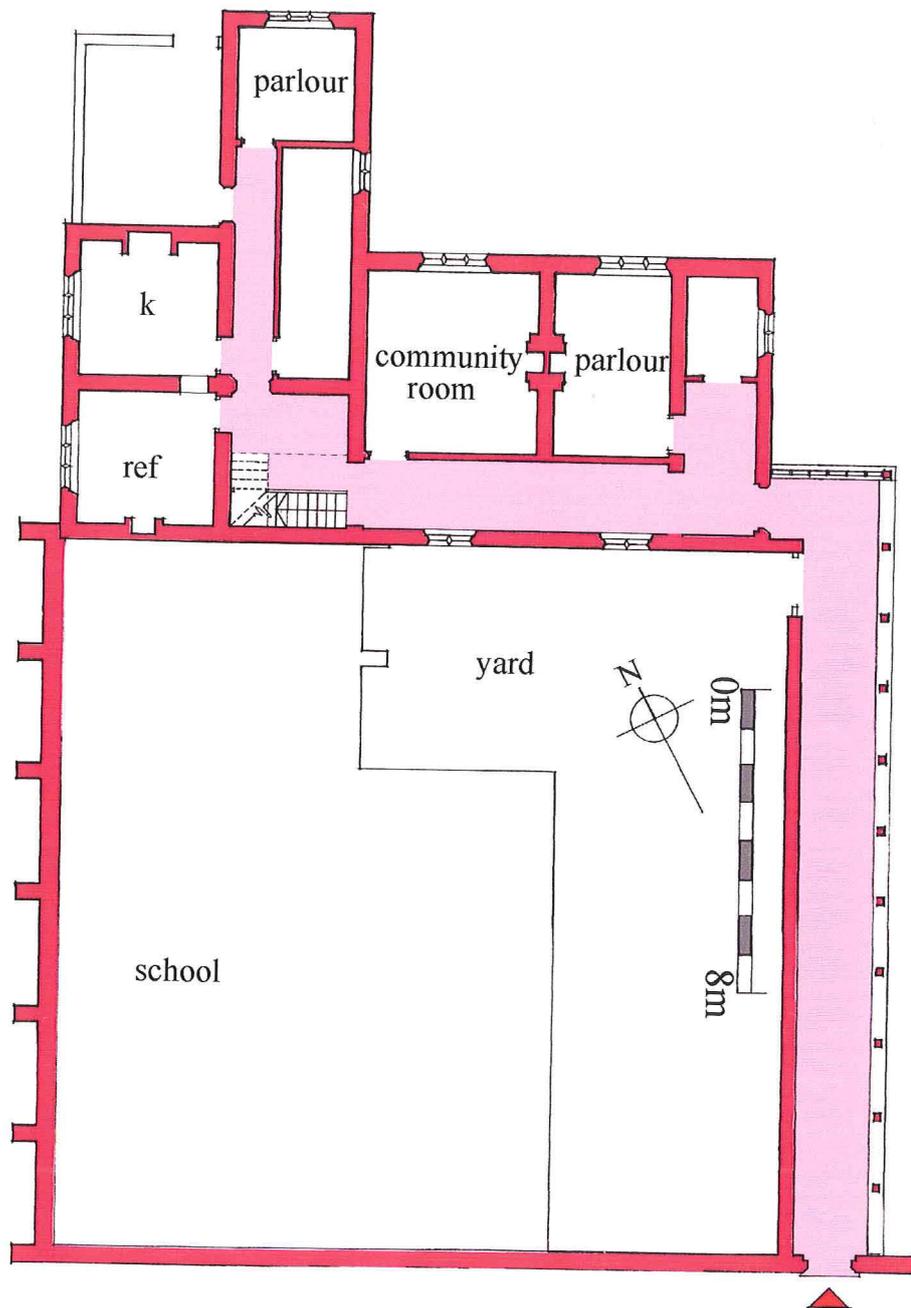


fig. 83
London, Woolwich, presbytery, gfp – 1:200



□ cloister route

fig. 84
Liverpool, St Oswald's Convent of Mercy, gfp – 1:200

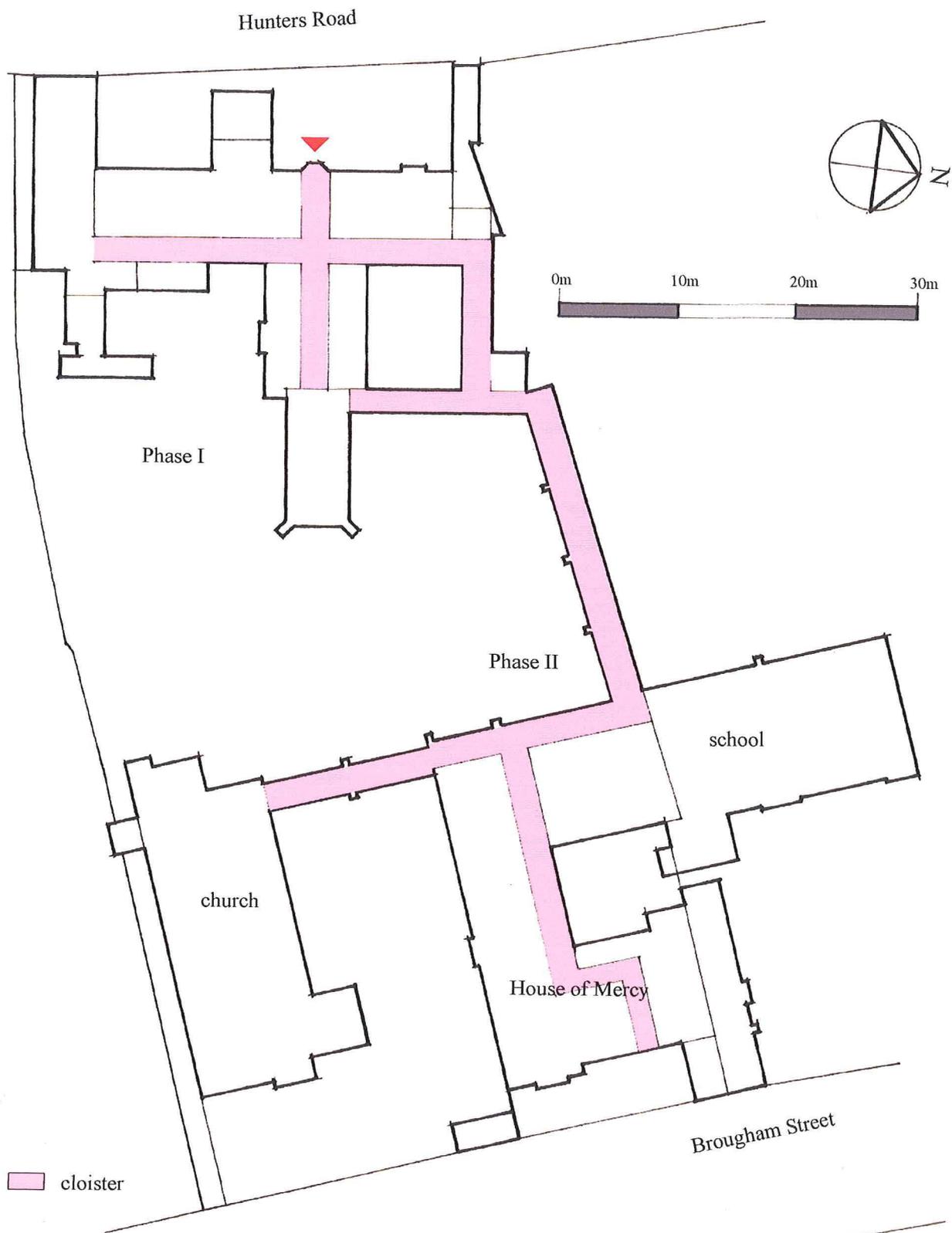


fig. 85
Handsworth, St Mary's Convent, maximal site plan – 1:500



fig. 86
Handsworth, St Mary's Convent, second phase cloisters (view looking east)



fig. 87a



fig. 87b

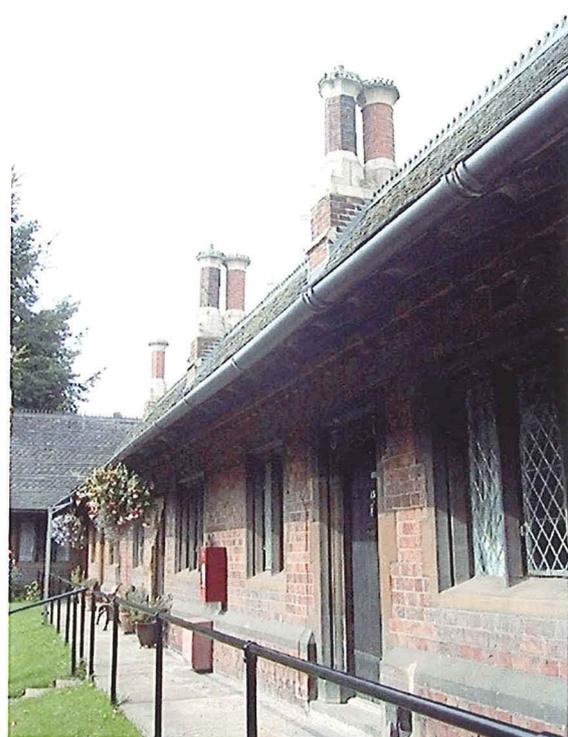


fig. 87c

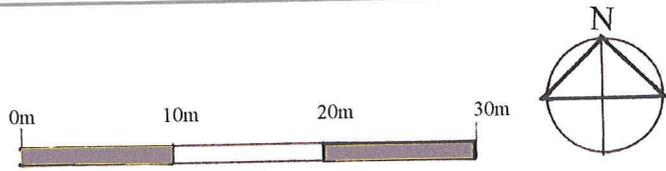
fig. 87

Lincoln, St Anne's Bedehouses

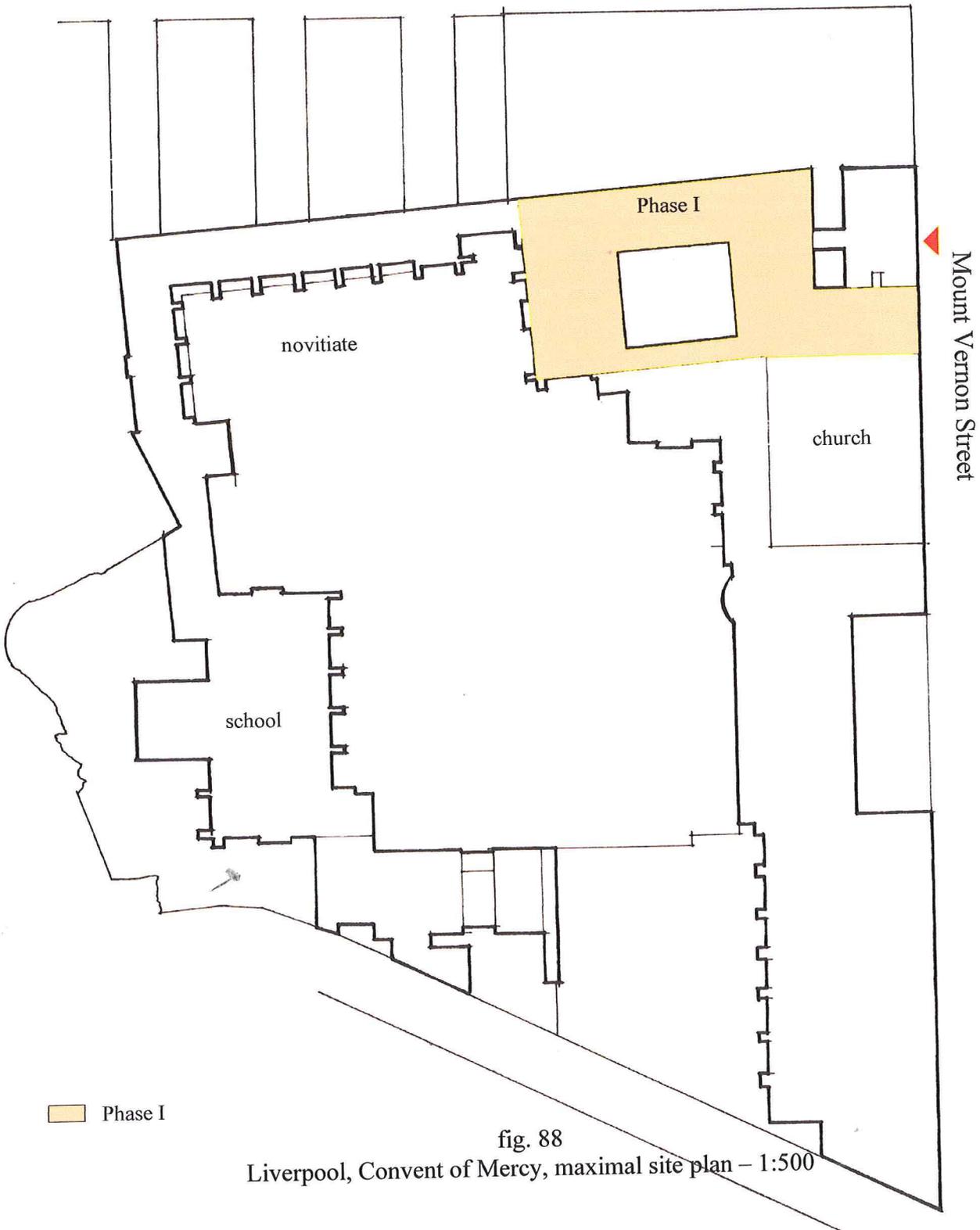
87a: northern court from east

87b: south side of northern court

87c: north side of northern court



Curzon Street



Phase I

fig. 88
Liverpool, Convent of Mercy, maximal site plan – 1:500

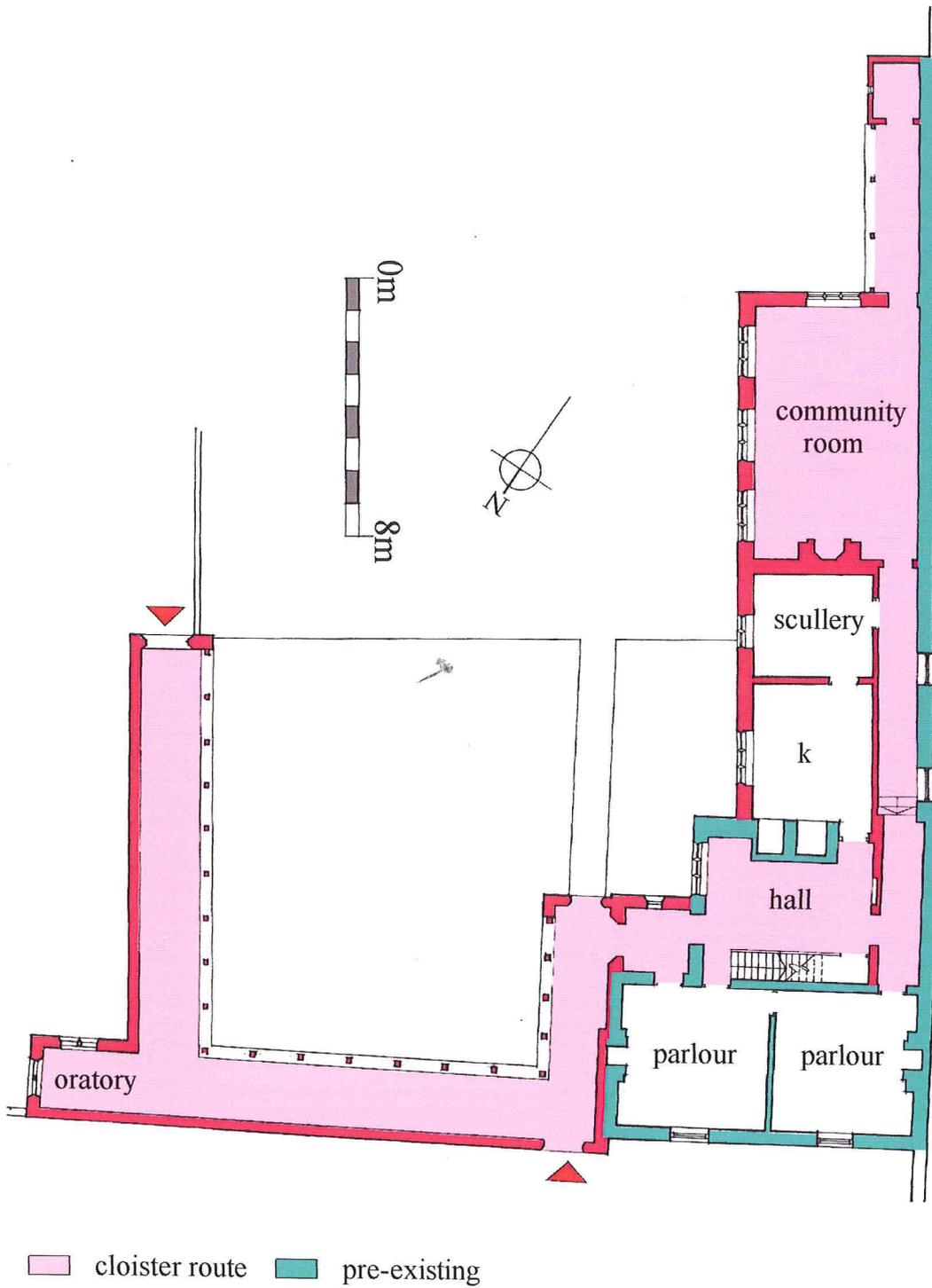


fig. 89
Cheadle, St Joseph's Convent, gfp - 1:200

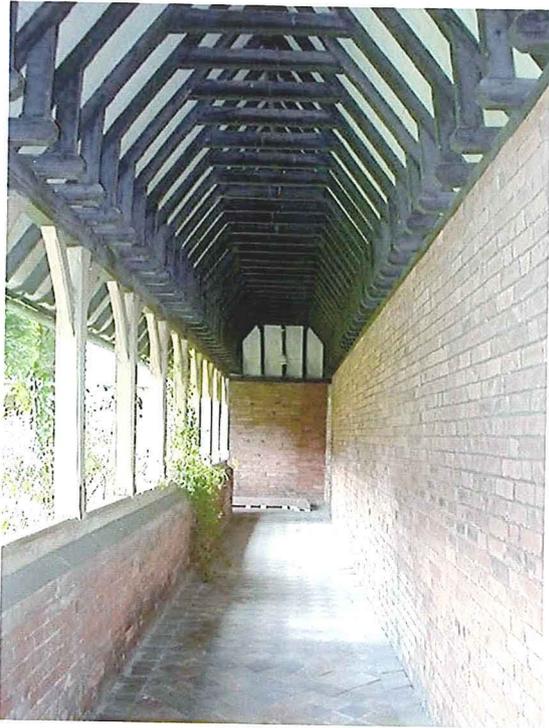


fig 90a

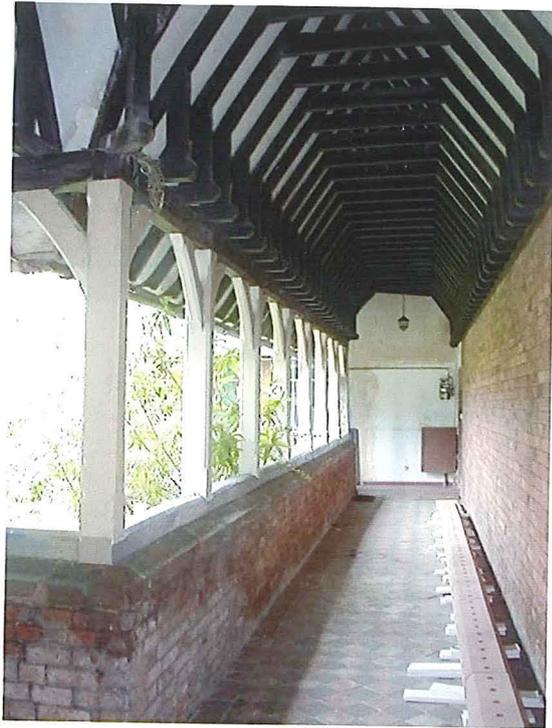


fig. 90b

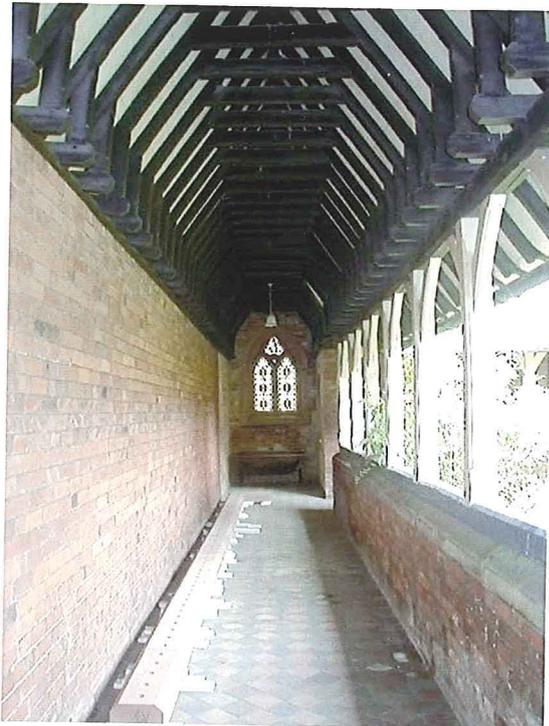


fig. 90c

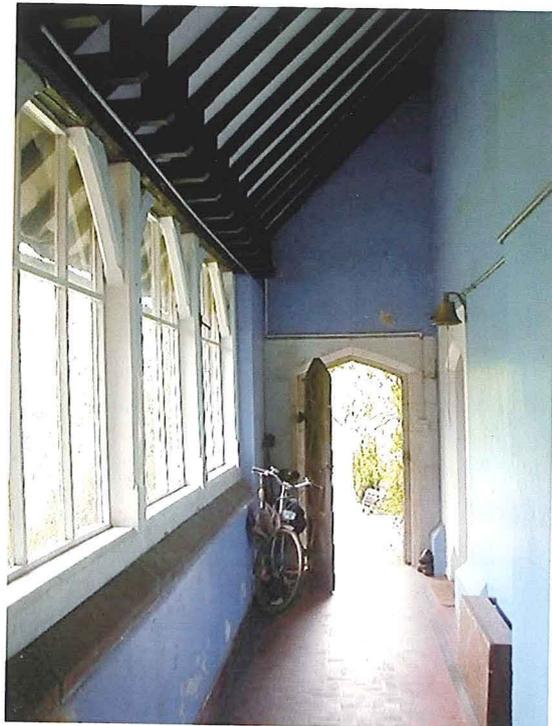


fig. 90d

fig. 90

Cheadle, St Joseph's Convent, cloisters
90a: north arm, looking west; 90b: west arm looking south
90c: west arm looking north; 90d: south arm looking east

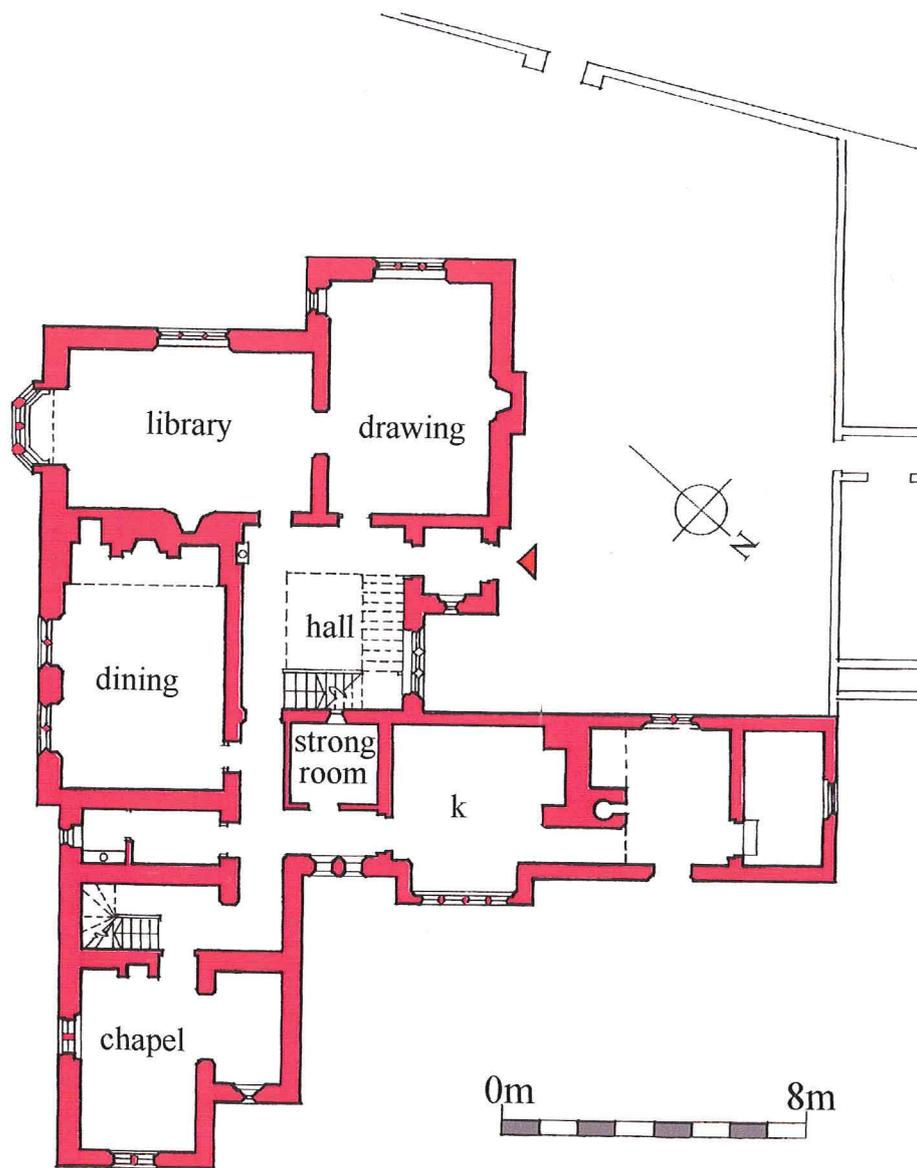
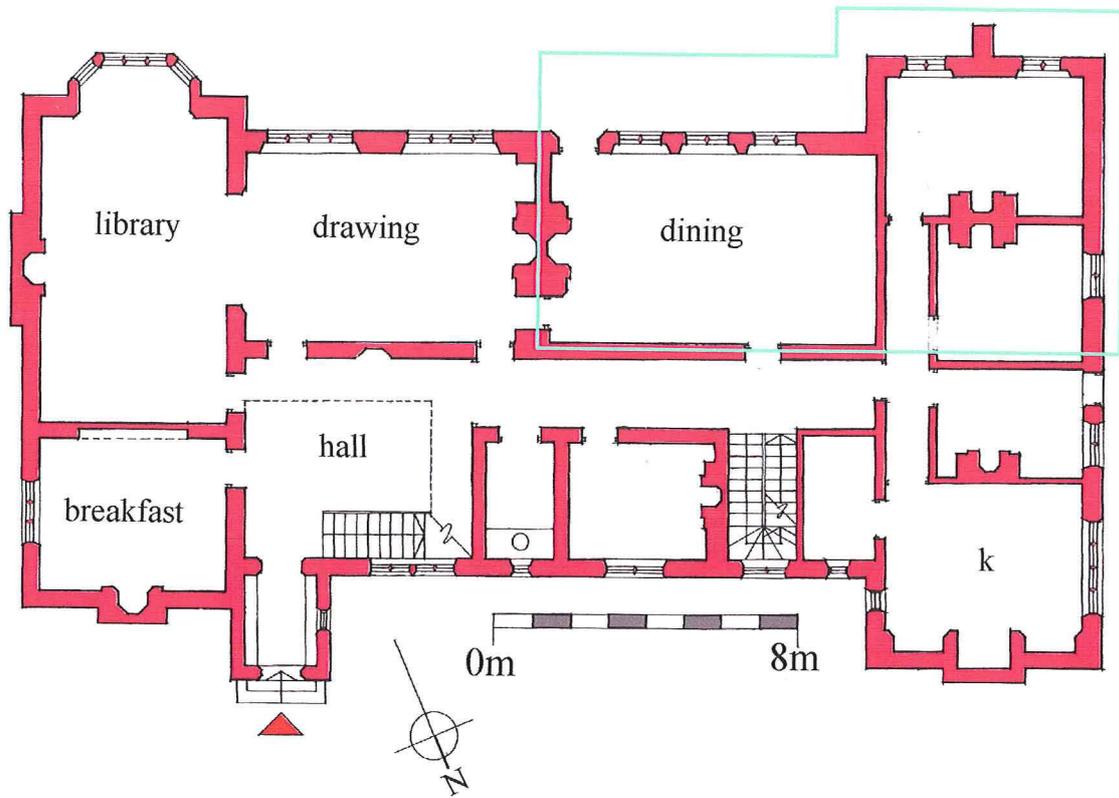


fig. 92
Ramsgate, St Augustine's, gfp - 1:200



 stylistically attributable to EW Pugin

fig. 93
Liverpool, Oswaldcroft, gfp – 1:200

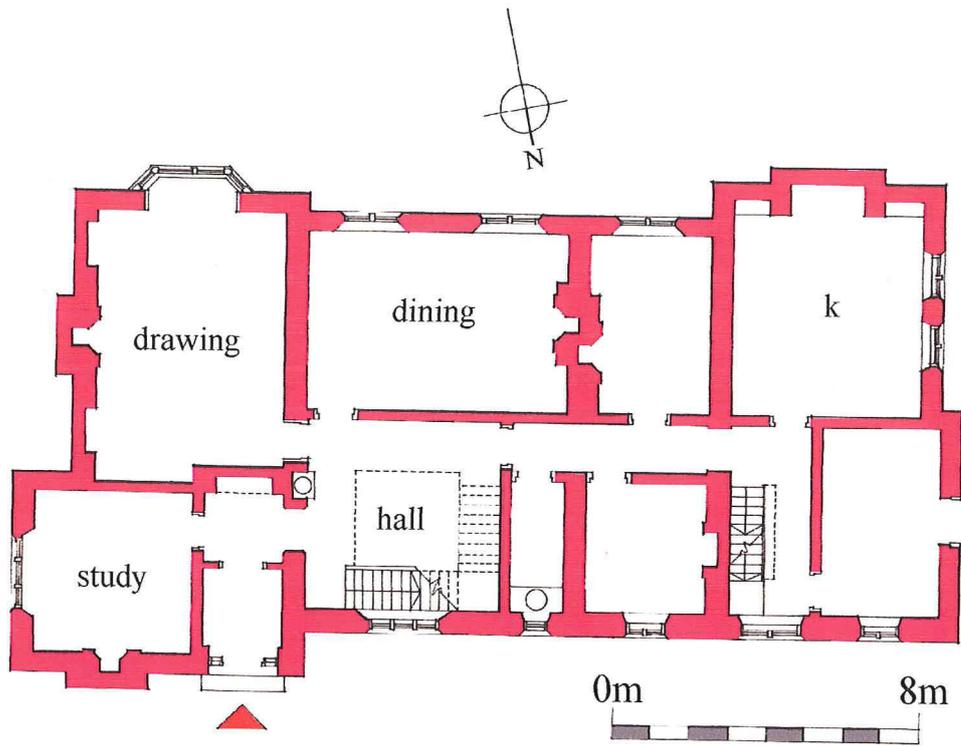


fig. 94
Lanteglos, rectory, gfp – 1:200

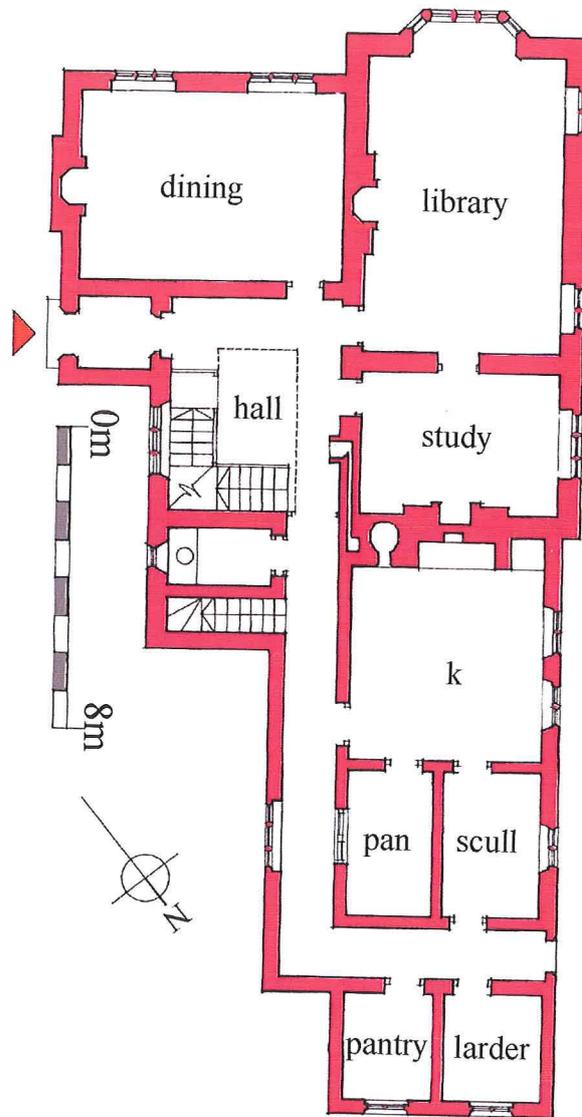


fig. 95
Rampisham, rectory, gfp – 1:200

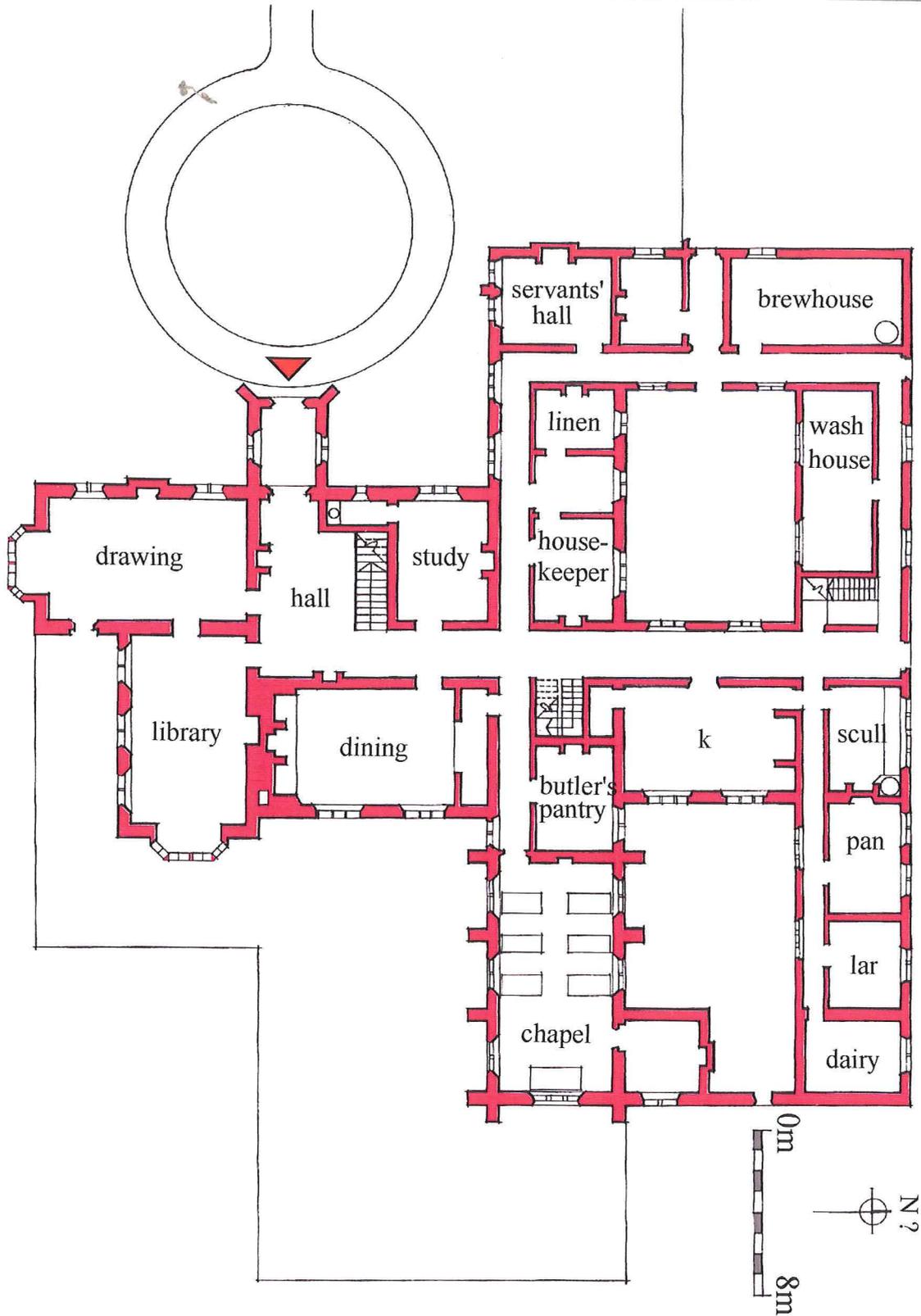


fig. 96
Woodchester Park proposal, gfp – 1:200

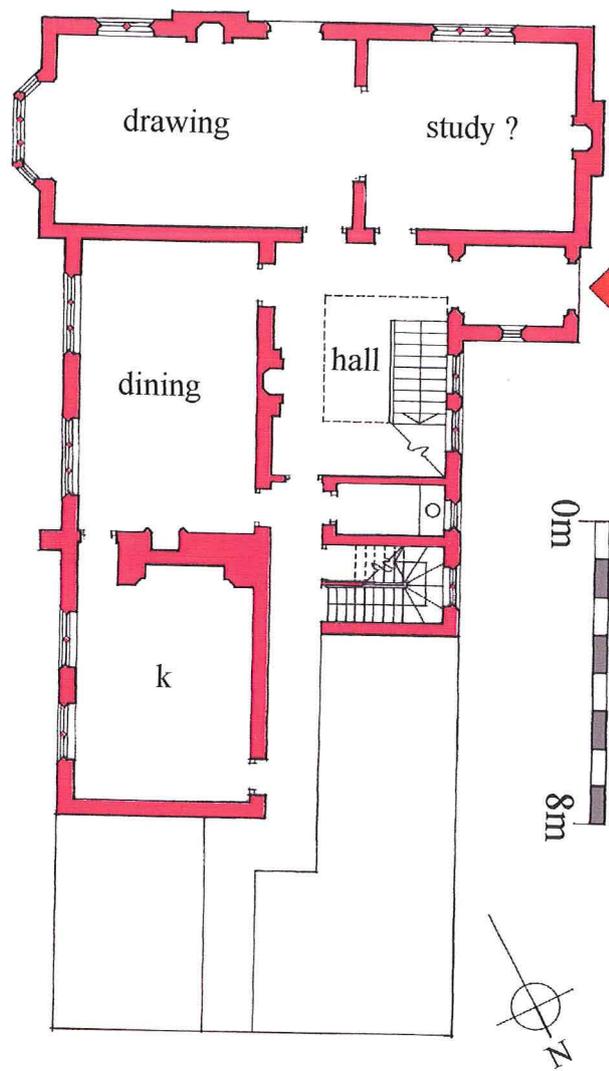
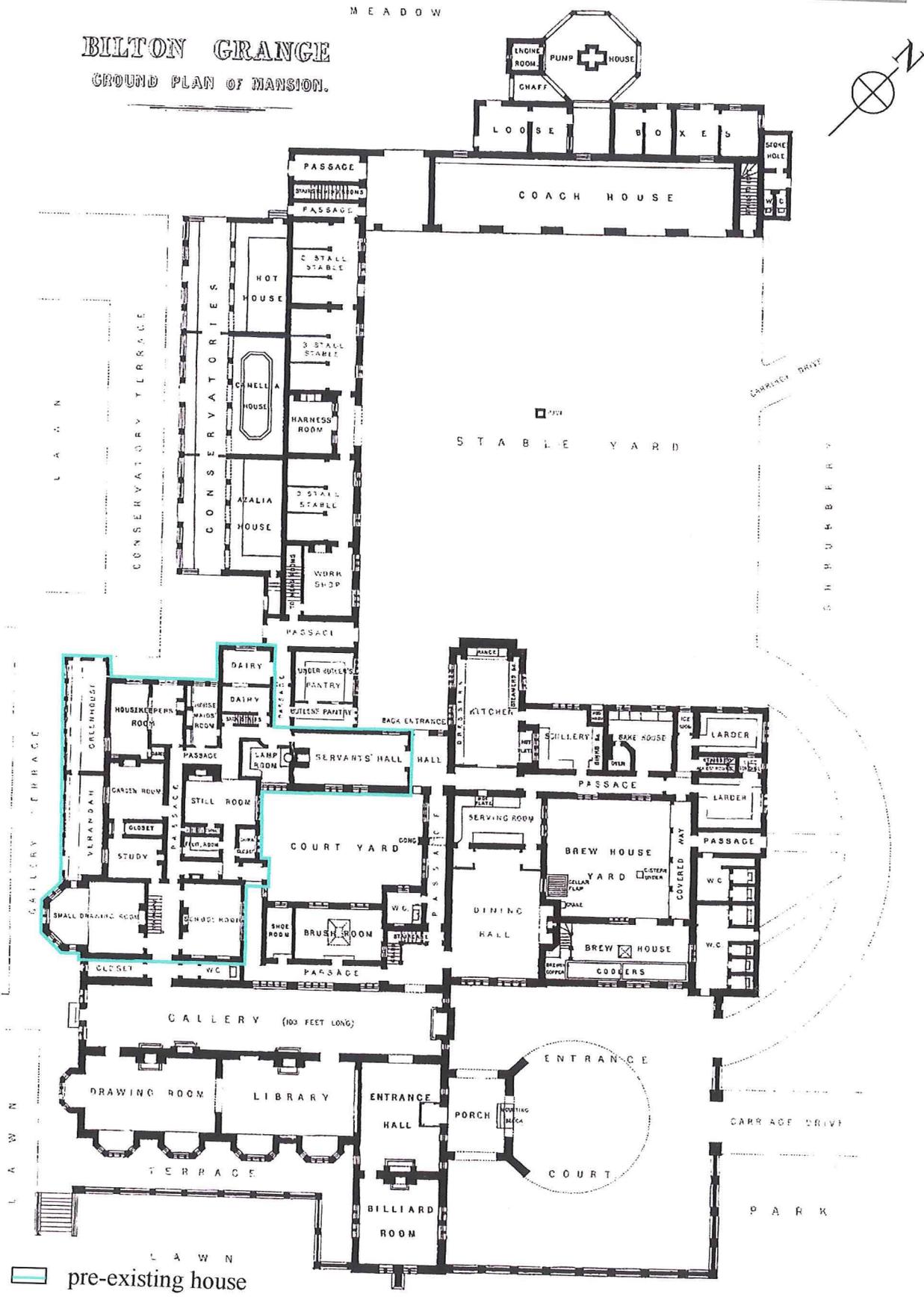


fig. 97
Wilburton, New Manor House, partial gfp – 1:200

BILTON GRANGE
GROUND PLAN OF MANSION.



pre-existing house

fig. 98
Bilton Grange, gfp - 1:500



fig. 103a



fig. 103b

fig. 103

103a: Liverpool, Oswaldcroft, entrance front
103b: Wilburton, New Manor House, entrance front

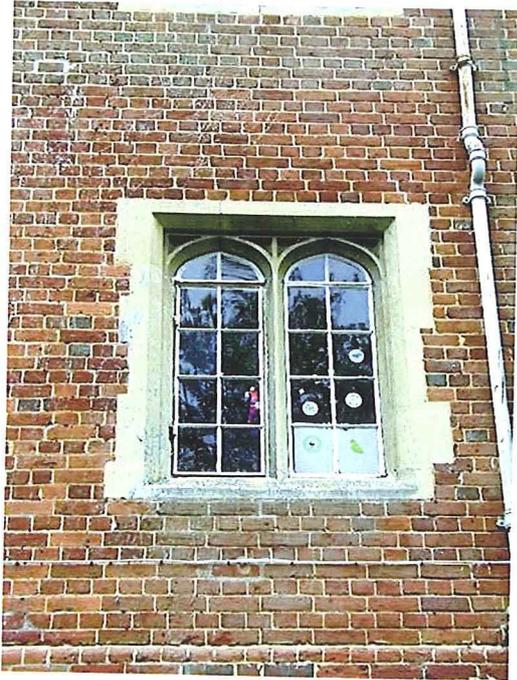


fig. 104a



fig. 104b



fig. 105

figs. 104, 105

104a: Alderbury, St Marie's Grange, original west window

104b: Alderbury, St Marie's Grange, west front

105: Warwick Bridge, presbytery, view from church west door



fig. 107

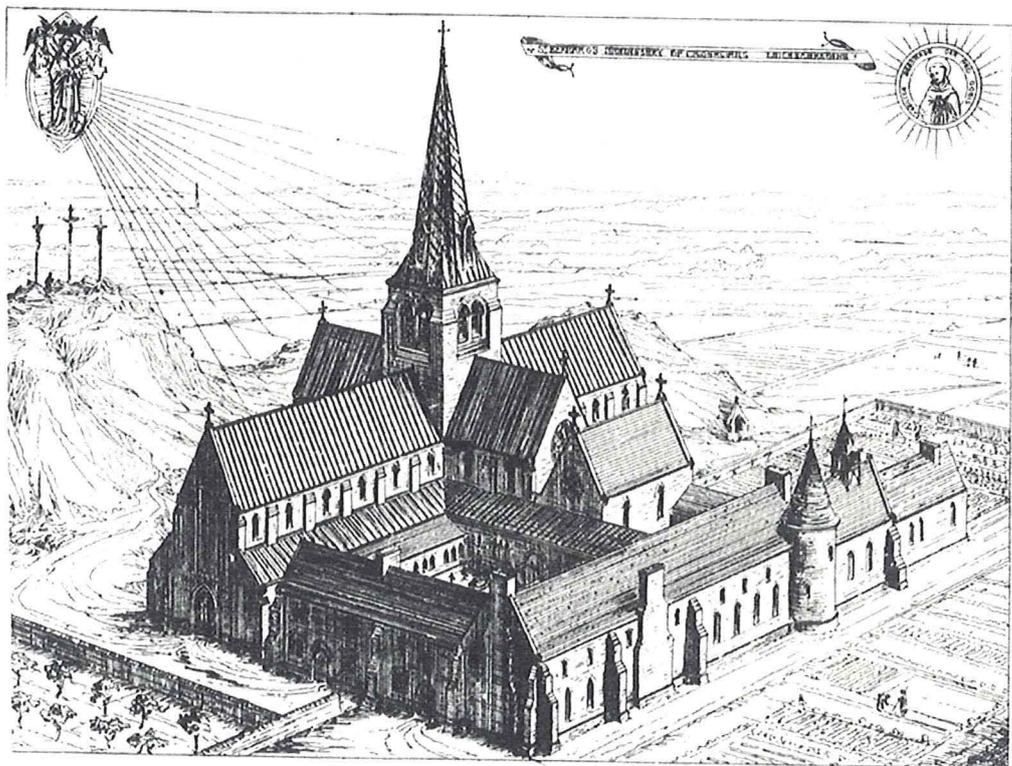


fig. 108

figs. 107, 108

107: Wilburton, New Manor House, south-west front

108: Mount St Bernard's Monastery

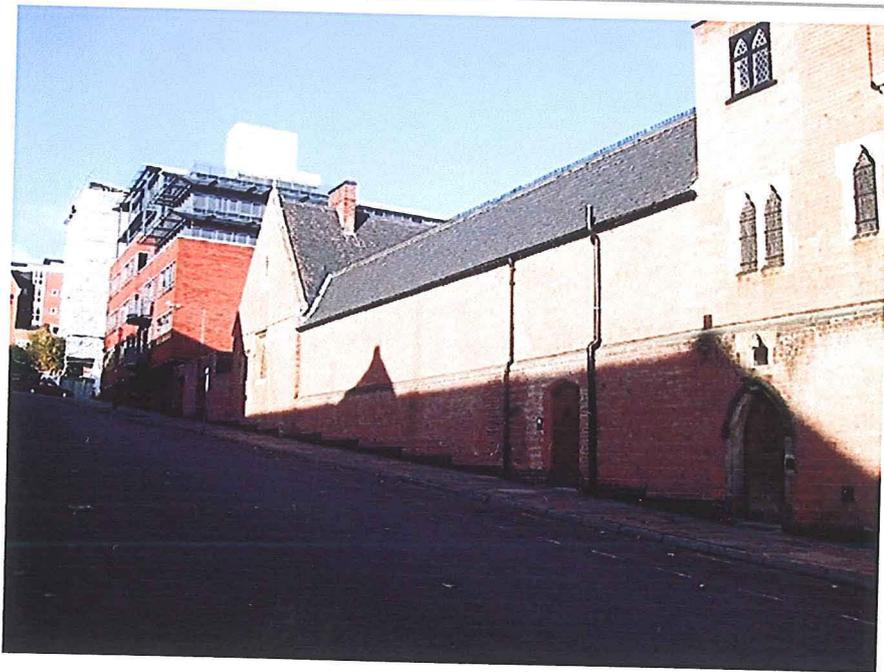


fig. 111a

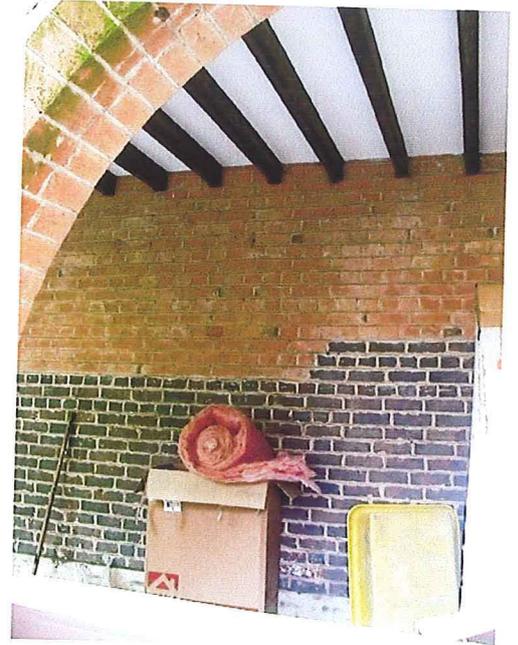


fig. 111b



fig. 112

fig. 111, 112

111a: Nottingham, Convent of Mercy, entrance front
111b: Nottingham, Convent of Mercy, dampproofing brickwork from inside of south cloister

112: Lanteglos, rectory, wall base

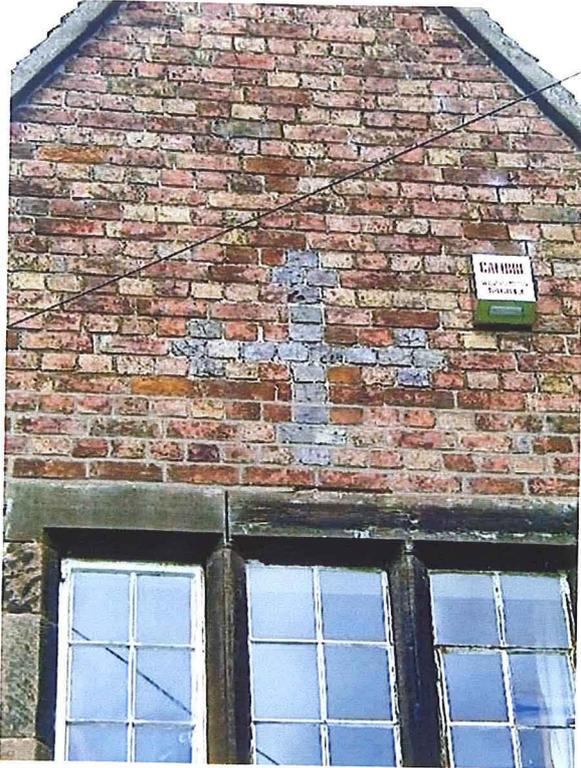


fig 113a

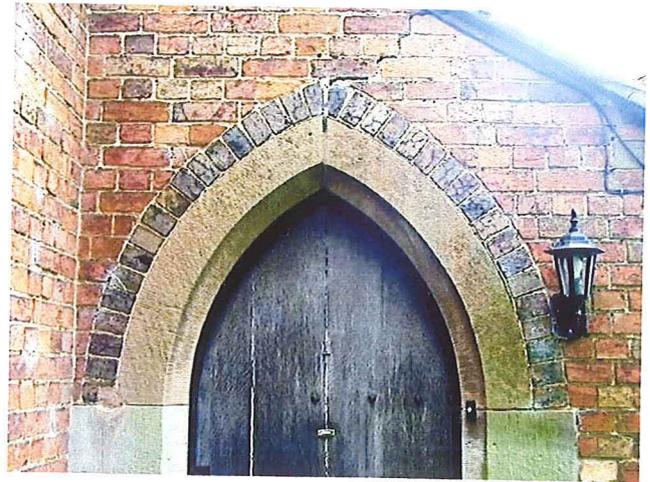


fig. 113b



fig. 113c

fig. 113

113a: Brewood, presbytery, wall cross

113b: Brewood, presbytery, voussoirs over front door

113c: Uttoxeter, presbytery, voussoirs on south and west fronts

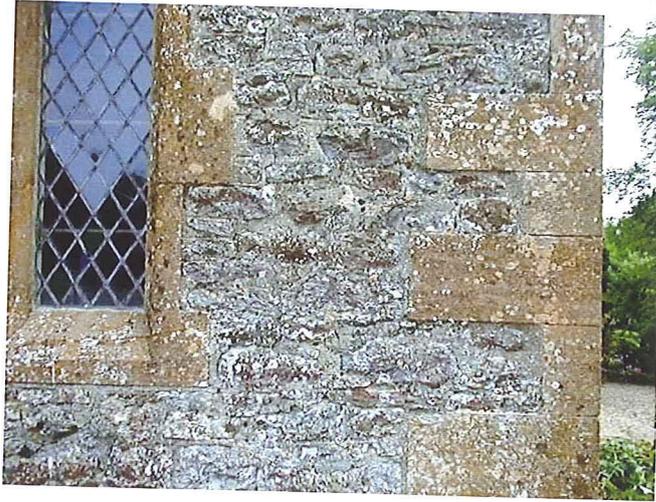


fig. 114a



fig. 114b

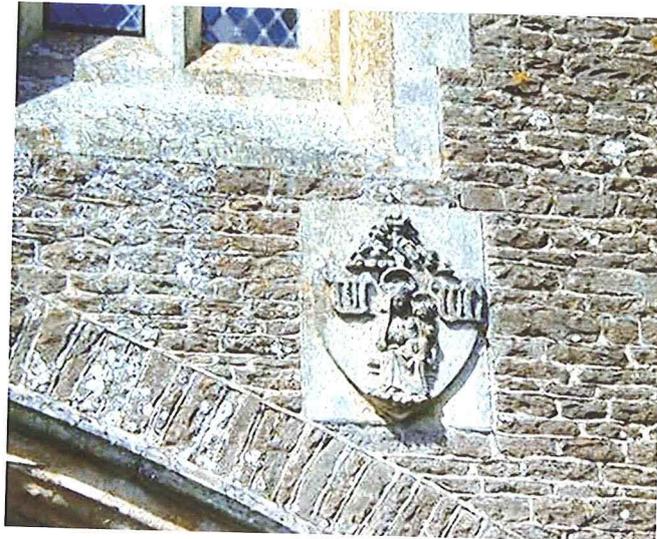


fig. 114c

fig. 114

- 114a: Rampisham, rectory, wall
- 114b: Lanteglos, rectory, wall
- 114c: Oxenford, gatehouse, wall



fig. 116a



fig. 116b



fig. 116c

fig. 116

Old Hall Green, St Edmund's College, Ward House

116a: oriel windows

116b: oriel windows (detail)

116c: south elevation

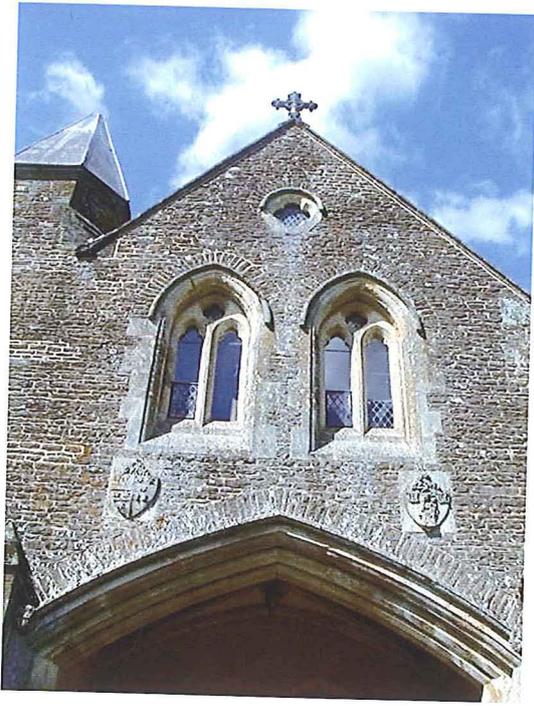


fig. 117a

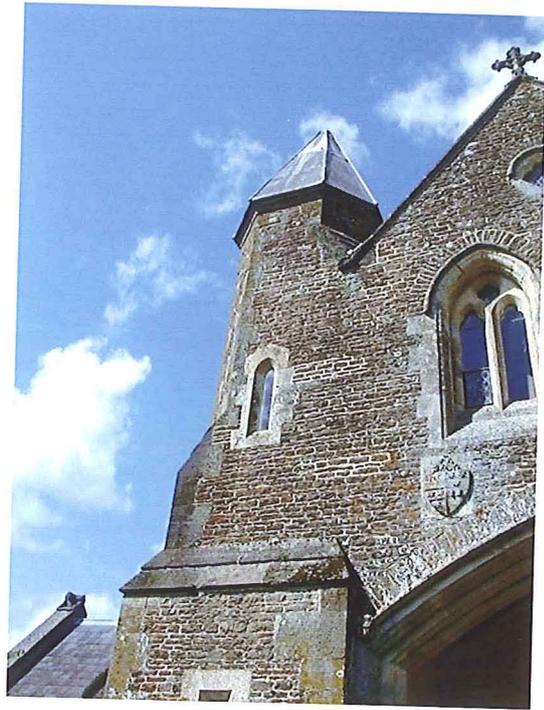


fig. 117b



fig. 117c

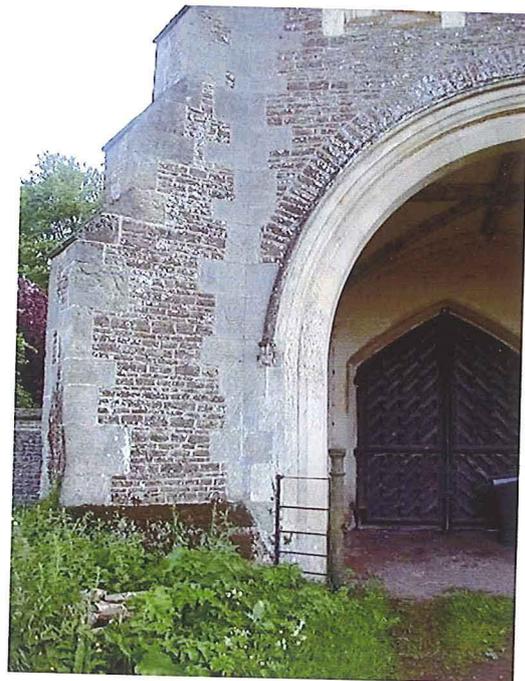


fig. 117d

fig. 117
Oxenford Grange, gatehouse
117a: south front detail; 117b: south front, detail
117c: north front; 117d: north front, detail

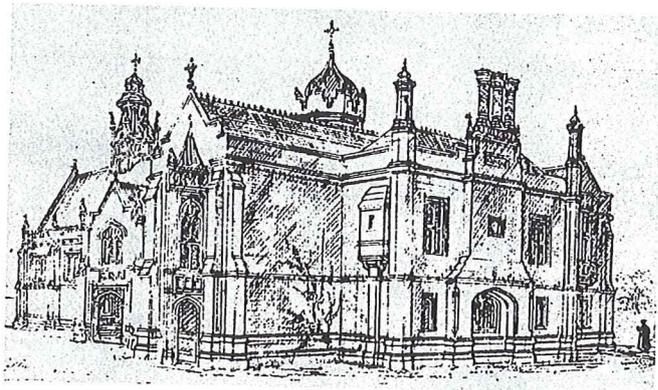


fig. 119a



fig. 119b



fig. 120a

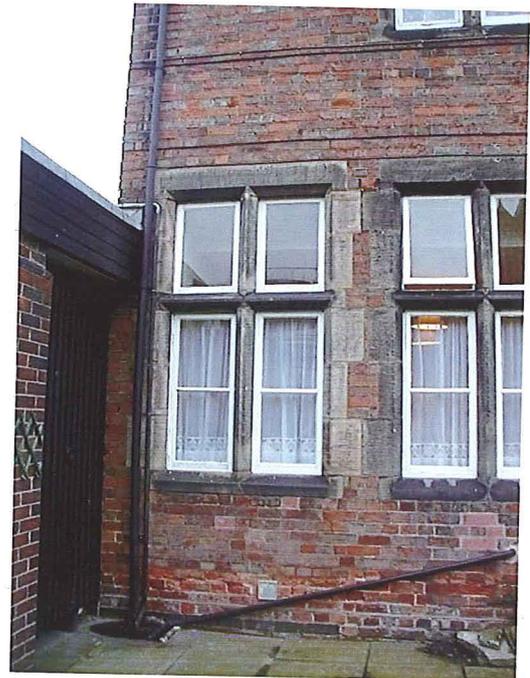


fig. 120b

figs. 119, 120
119a: The 'Deanery', perspective view
Nottingham, clergy house:
119b: south elevation, chimney
120a: west elevation; 120b: west elevation (detail)



fig. 122a

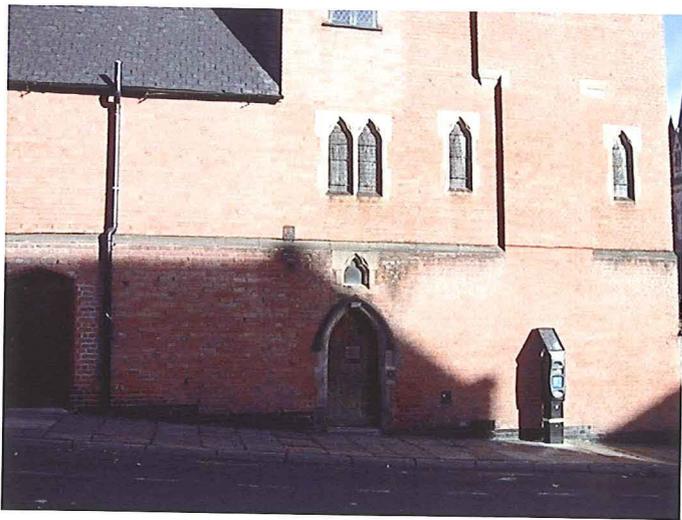


fig. 122b

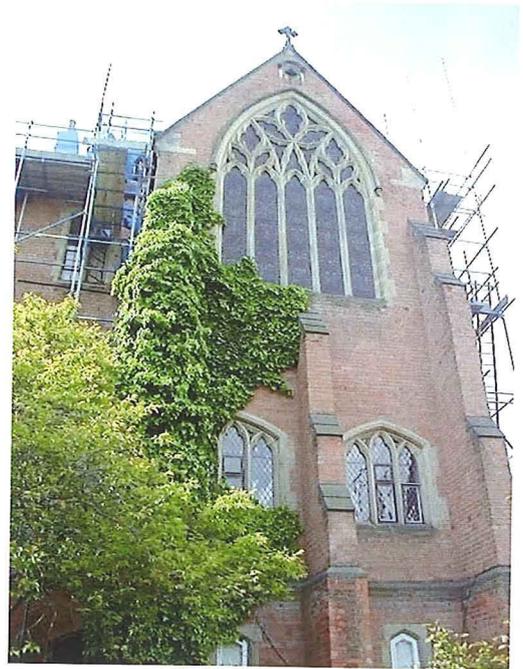


fig. 122c

fig. 122
Nottingham, Convent of Mercy
122a: south front
122b: south front (detail with main entrance door)
122c: east front (detail)

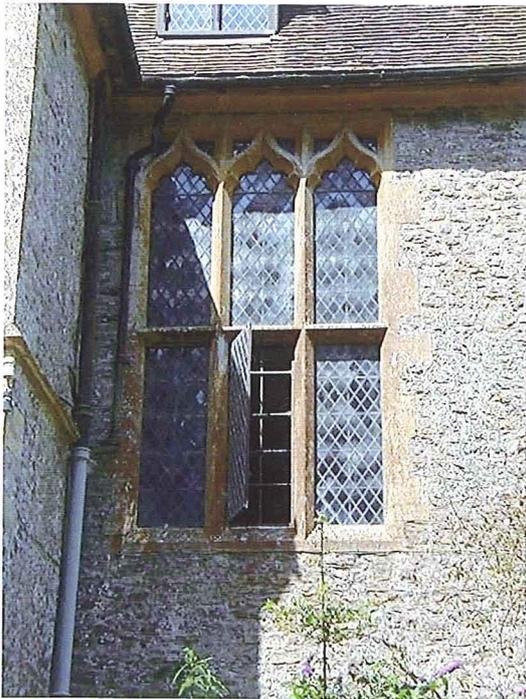


fig. 123a



fig. 123b



fig. 123c

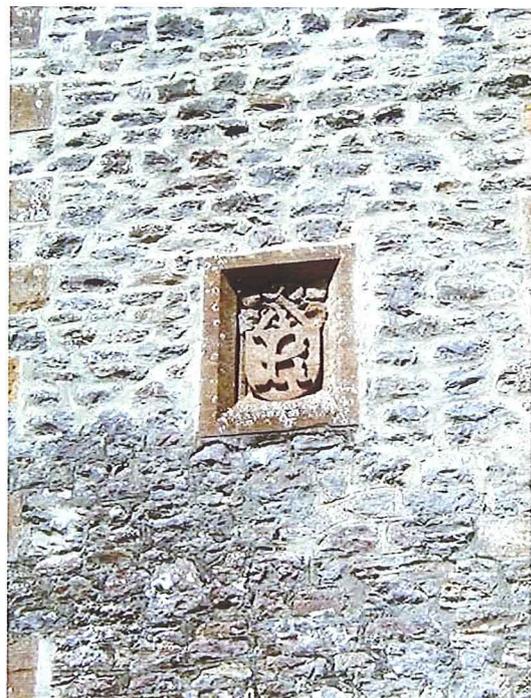


fig. 123d

fig. 123
Rampisham, rectory
123a: stair window; 123b: oratory window
123c: south-east front (detail); 123d: chimney cartouche



fig. 124a



fig. 124b



fig. 124c

fig. 124

London, Fulham, presbytery

124a: bay window (detail)

124b: upper window (detail)

124c: newel (detail)



fig. 125



fig. 126

figs. 125, 126

125: Wilburton, New Manor House, west and south fronts
126: Windermere, the Terrace, south front (detail)



fig. 127a



fig. 127b

fig. 127

127a: Warwick Bridge, presbytery, typical window
127b: Keighley, presbytery, typical window



fig. 128a

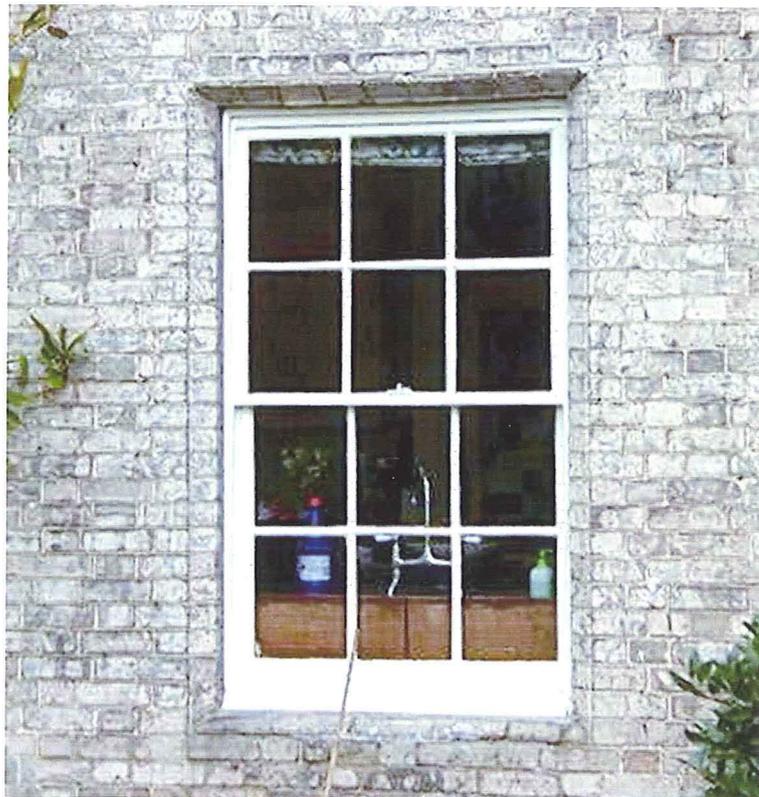


fig. 128b

fig. 128

128a: Handsworth, St Mary's Convent, cell window to courtyard
128b: Nacton, parsonage, typical window to 1837 extension



fig. 129a

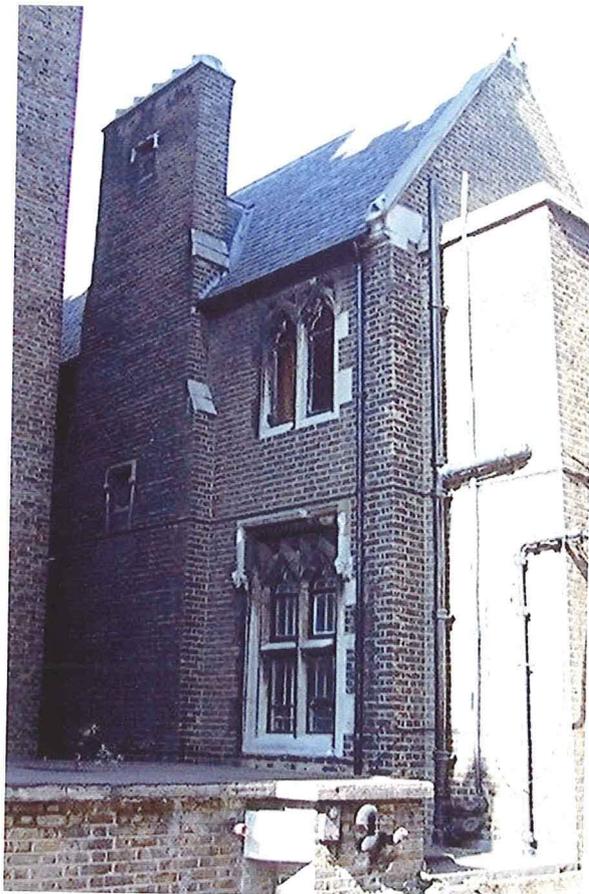


fig. 129b

fig. 129

129a: London, Chelsea, St Joseph's Convent, typical windows on north front
129b: London, Southwark, clergy house, typical windows



fig. 130
Alton Castle, north-west wing, depressed arches to ground floor

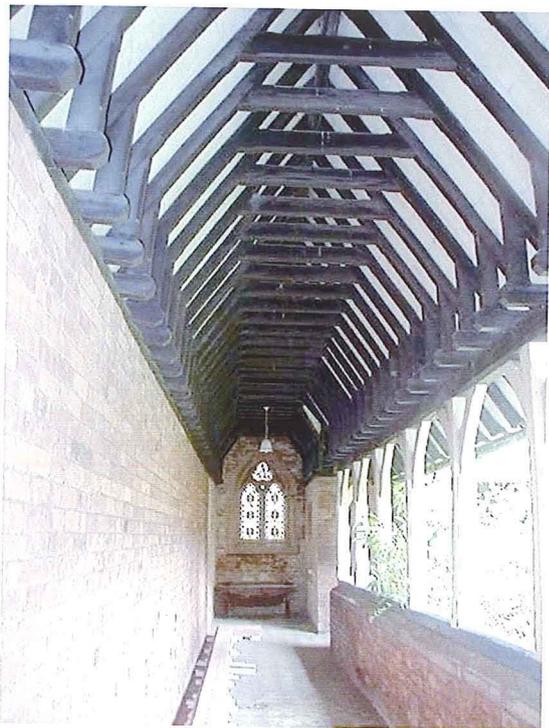


fig. 132a



fig. 132b



fig. 132c

fig. 132

- 132a: Cheadle, St Joseph's Convent, north cloister roof
132b: Handsworth, St Mary's Convent, second phase cloister roof
132c: Nottingham, Convent of Mercy, east cloister, first floor roof



fig. 135a

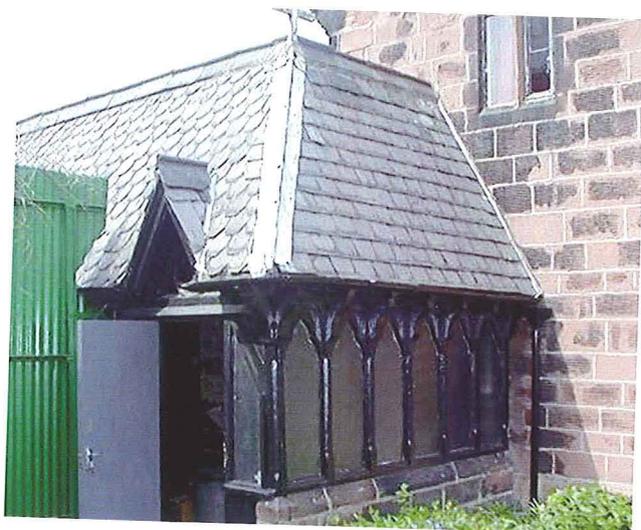


fig. 135b



fig. 136

- fig. 135a, b, 136
135a: Liverpool, Oswaldcroft, roof tiles
135b: Liverpool, St Oswald's, Convent of Mercy, cloister roof
136: Ramsgate, St Augustine's, eaves detail



fig. 137

fig. 137
Ramsgate, St Augustine's
south front (detail)

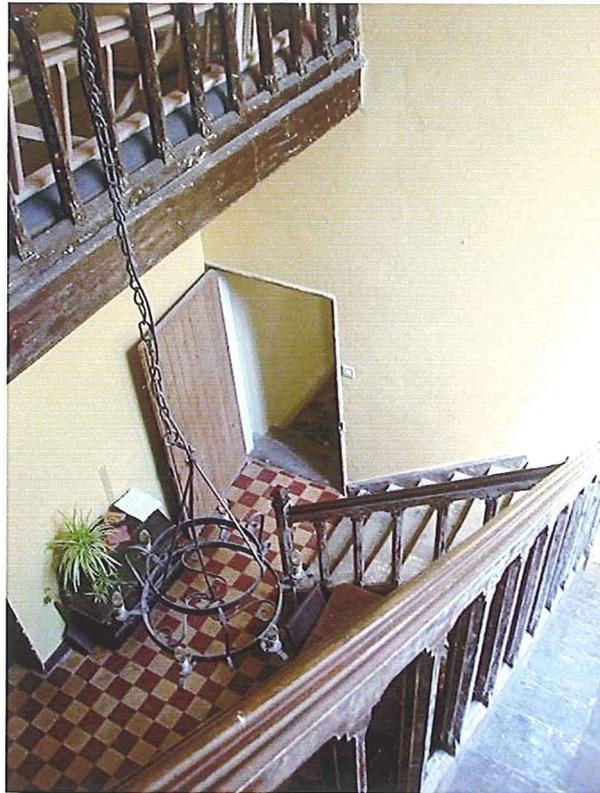


fig. 138a

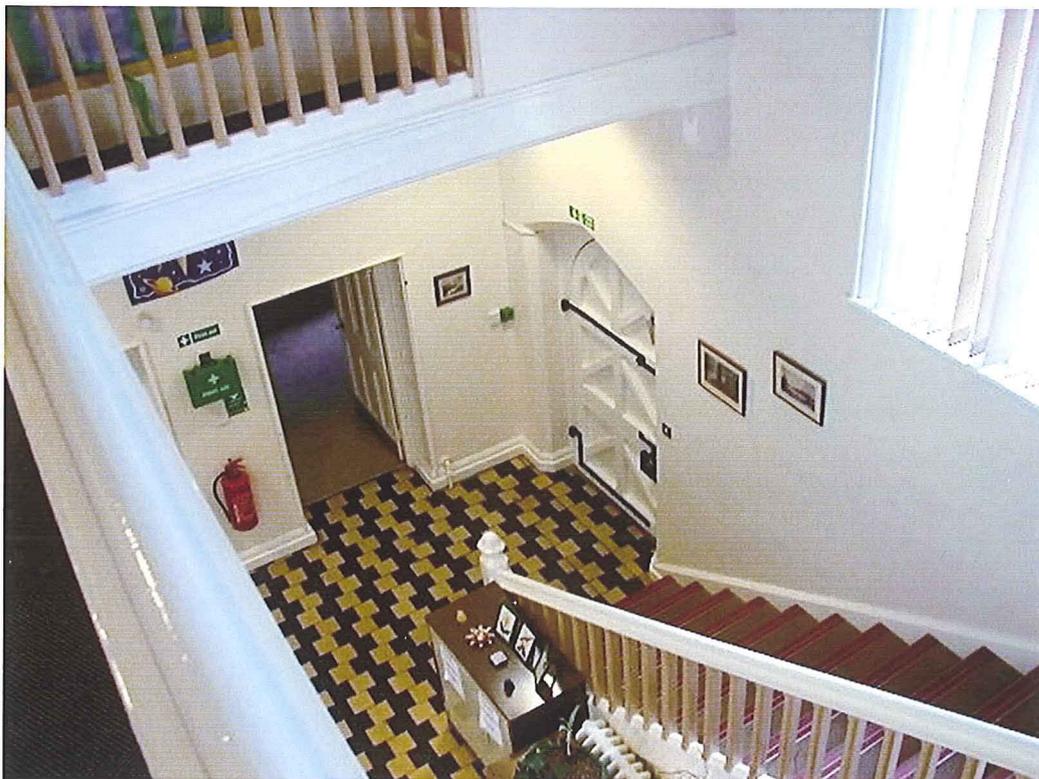


fig. 138b

fig. 138

138a: Rampisham, rectory, staircase hall
138b: Wilburton, New Manor House, staircase hall



fig. 139a

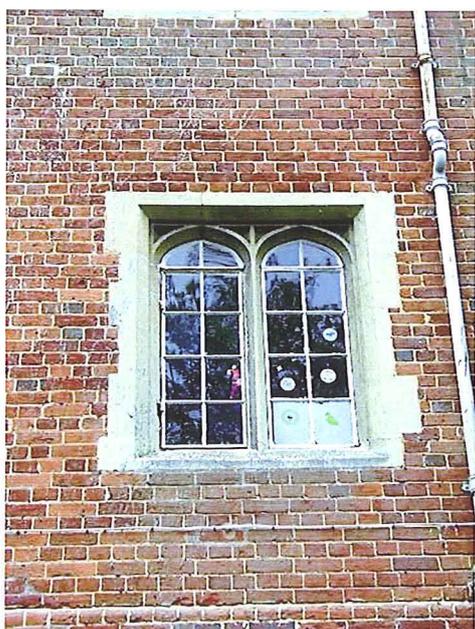


fig. 139b



fig. 139c

fig. 139
Alderbury, St Marie's Grange
139a: ceiling of former parlour
139b: typical window, west front
139c: ground floor doorway (date uncertain)



fig. 140a

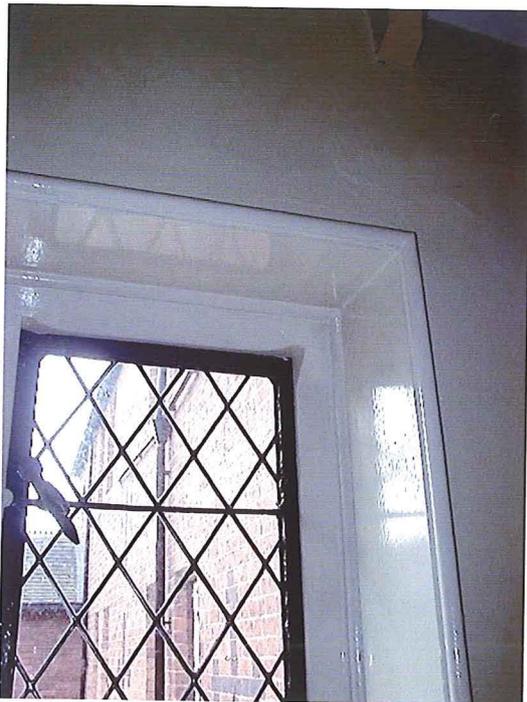


fig. 140b



fig. 140c

fig. 140
Handsworth, St Mary's Convent
140a: east cloister door
140b: internal chamfers to cell windows
140c: balustrade and newel



fig. 141



fig. 142a



fig. 142b

figs. 141, 142

141: Bilton Grange, terrace balustrade pier

142a: Handsworth, St Mary's Convent, typical door (from room)

142b: Handsworth, St Mary's Convent, typical door (from corridor)



NEW CONVENT AT CHELSEA.

fig. 143
London, Chelsea, St Joseph's convent from Cadogan Street

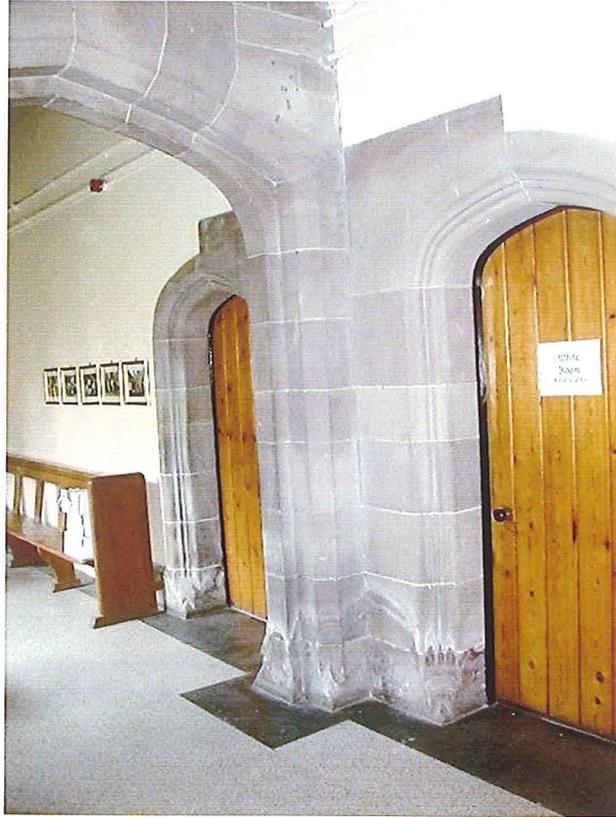


fig. 144a



fig. 144b

fig. 144

144a: Alton, St John's Hospital, doors from east corridor
144b: Alton Castle, door jambs on north-west staircase



fig. 145



fig. 146

figs. 145, 146

145: Alton Castle, stone corbelling in second floor bedroom of north-west wing
146: Windermere, 2 the Terrace, fireplace

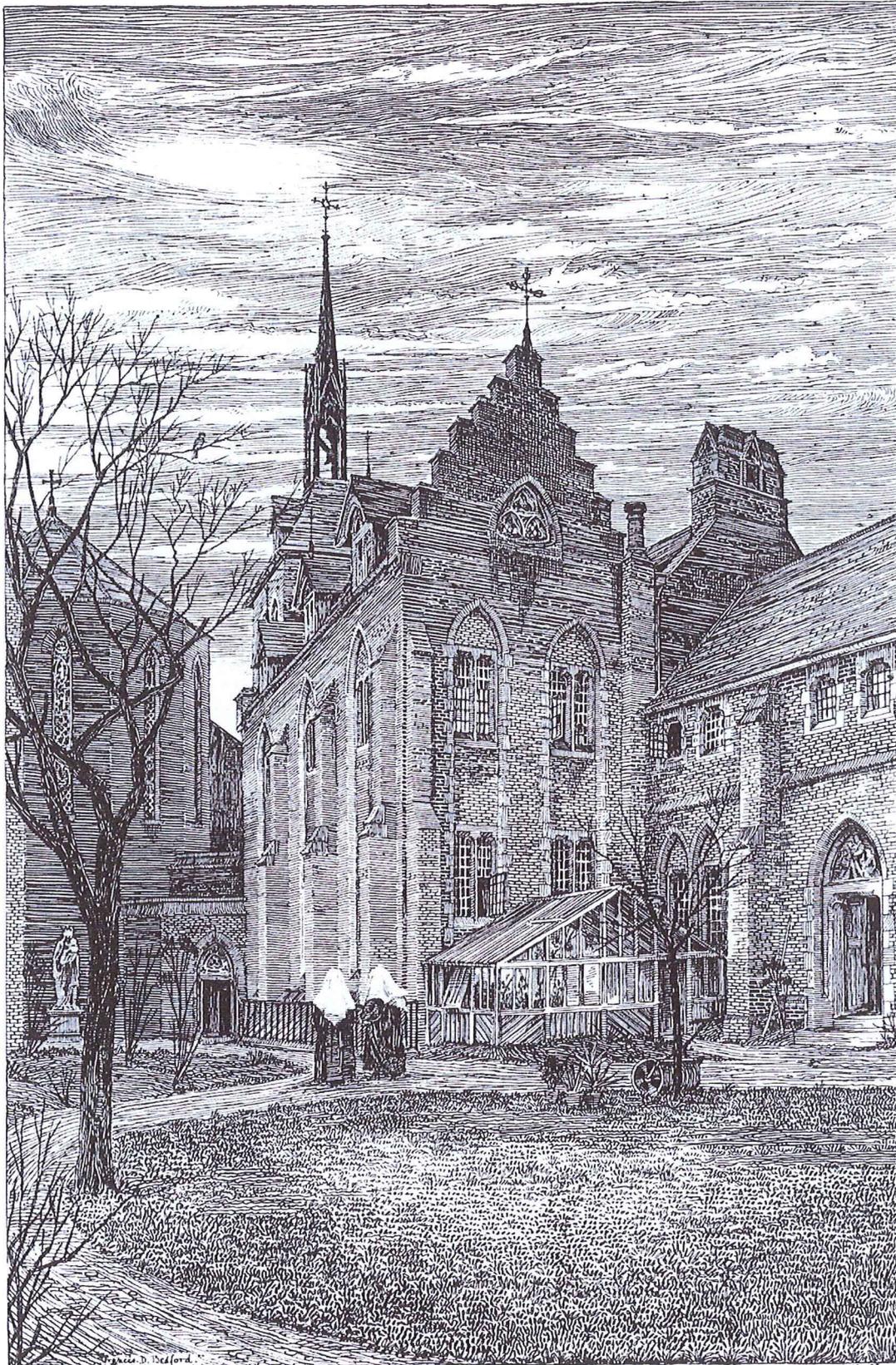


fig. 150
London, Bermondsey, Convent of Mercy



fig. 151
Brewood, presbytery, south front



fig. 154a



fig. 154b



fig. 154c

fig. 154

154a: Lincoln, Jew's House

154b: Alton, St John's Hospital, presbytery tower

154c: Alton, eastern schoolmaster's house, north elevation (detail)



fig. 160a

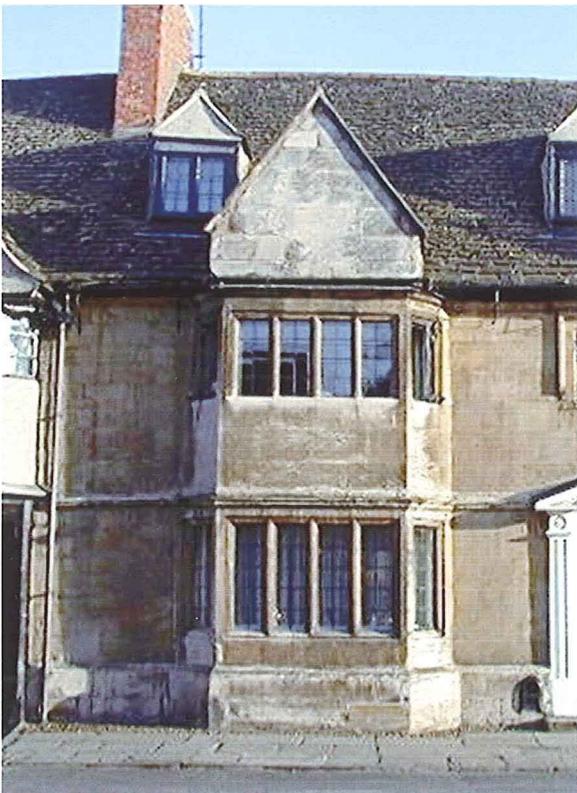


fig. 160b

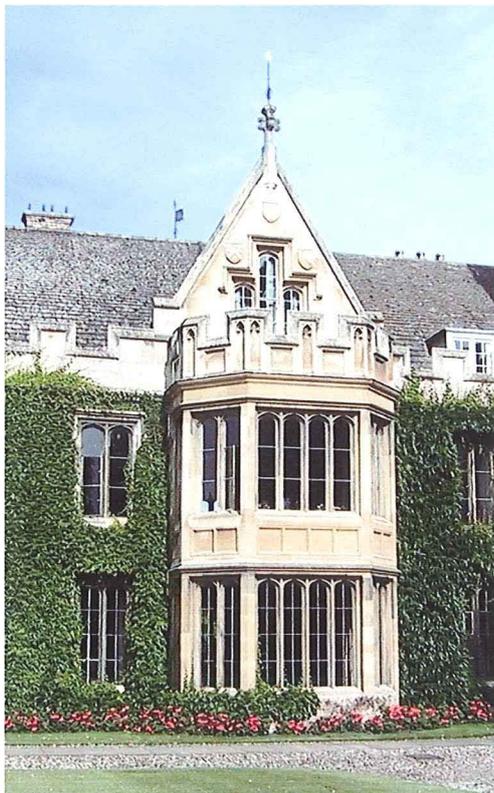


fig. 160c

fig. 160

160a: Bilton Grange, garden (south-west) front

160b: Stamford, typical c17 bay

160c: Cambridge, Trinity College master's lodge, bay (1842)



fig. 161a

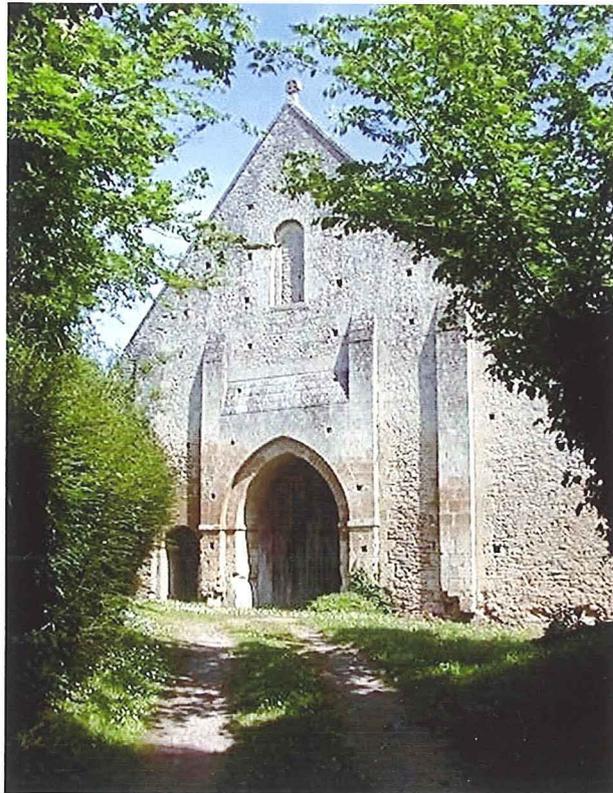


fig. 161b

fig. 161

161a: Glastonbury, barn
161b: Perrières, west front of church



fig. 162



fig. 163a

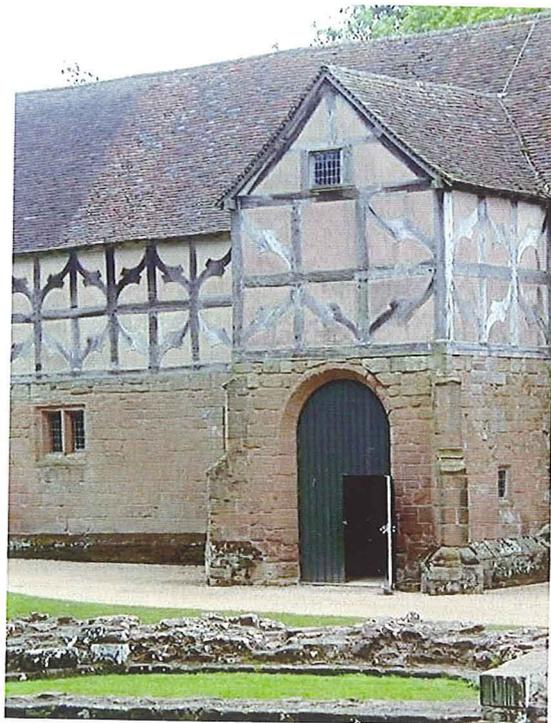


fig. 163b

figs. 162, 163
162: Kenilworth Castle, Leicester's gatehouse
163a: South Wraxall Manor House, gatehouse
163b: Kenilworth Castle, stable entry



fig. 164a

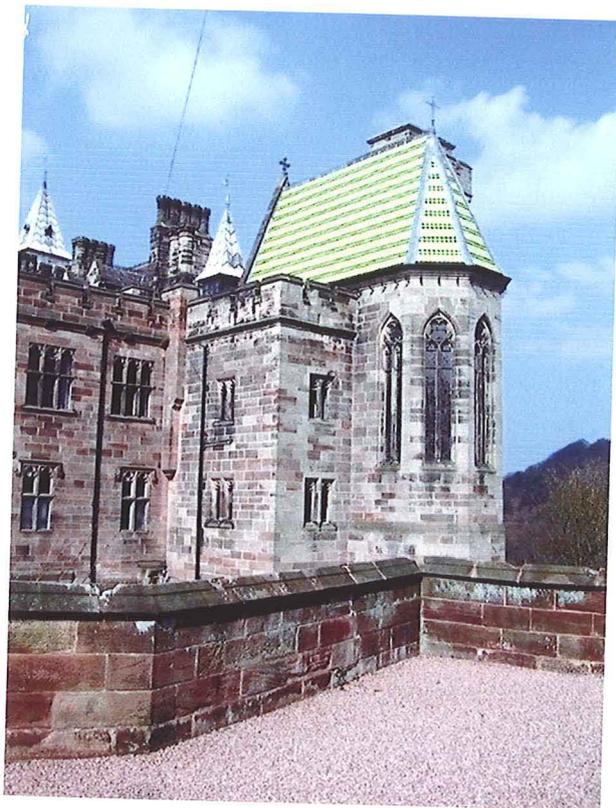


fig. 164b

fig. 164
164a: Warkworth Castle
164b: Alton Castle, chapel

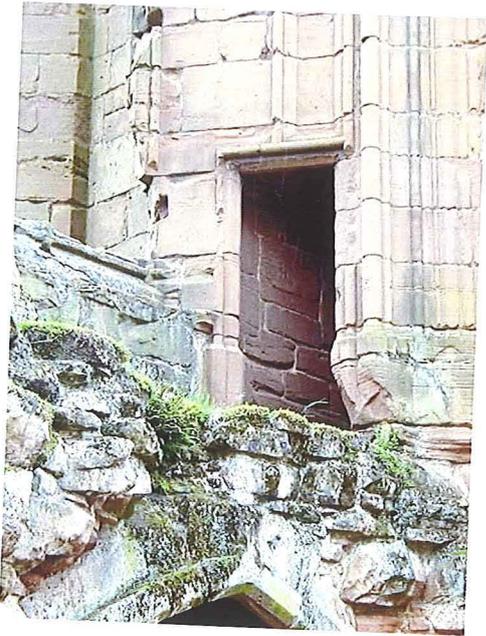


fig. 165a

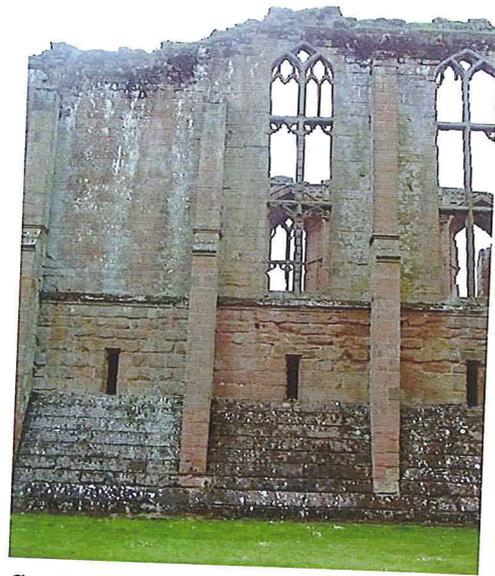


fig. 165b

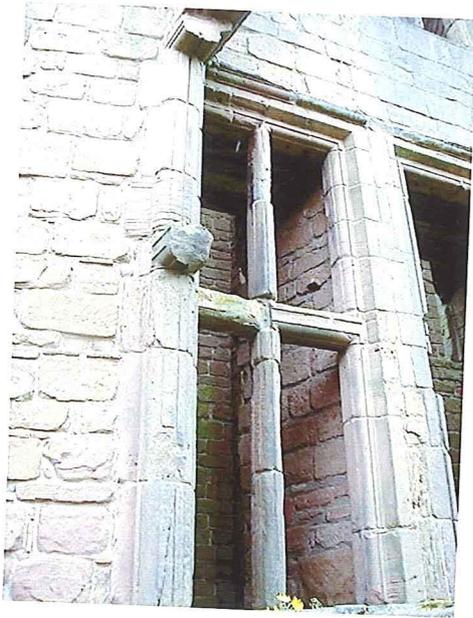


fig. 165c



fig. 165d

fig. 165
165a: Kenilworth Castle, stone beading
165b: Kenilworth Castle, base of great hall
165c: Kenilworth Castle, window
165d: Ludlow Castle, windows

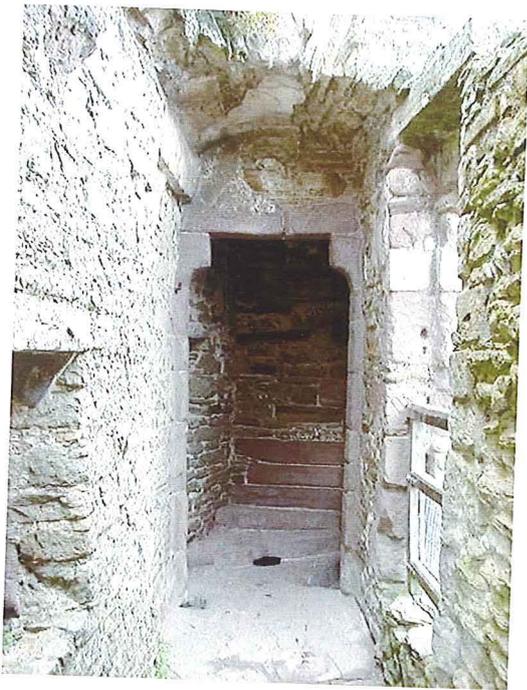


fig. 166a



fig. 166b



fig. 166c



fig. 166d

fig. 166 (1)
Ludlow Castle
a, b, c, d: stone detailing



fig. 166e



fig. 166f

fig. 166 (2)
166e: Ludlow Castle, detail
166f: Alton Castle, south wing, ground floor room



fig. 167a



fig. 167b

fig. 167
167a: Salisbury, Hall of John Halle, fireplace
167b: Windermere, 3 the Terrace, fireplace



fig. 169a



fig. 169b



fig. 169c

fig. 169

169a: Marlow, old rectory, window on north front
169b: Nottingham, Convent of Mercy, cloister window
169c: Wilburton, New Manor House, typical window



fig. 171
Great Chalfield Manor House

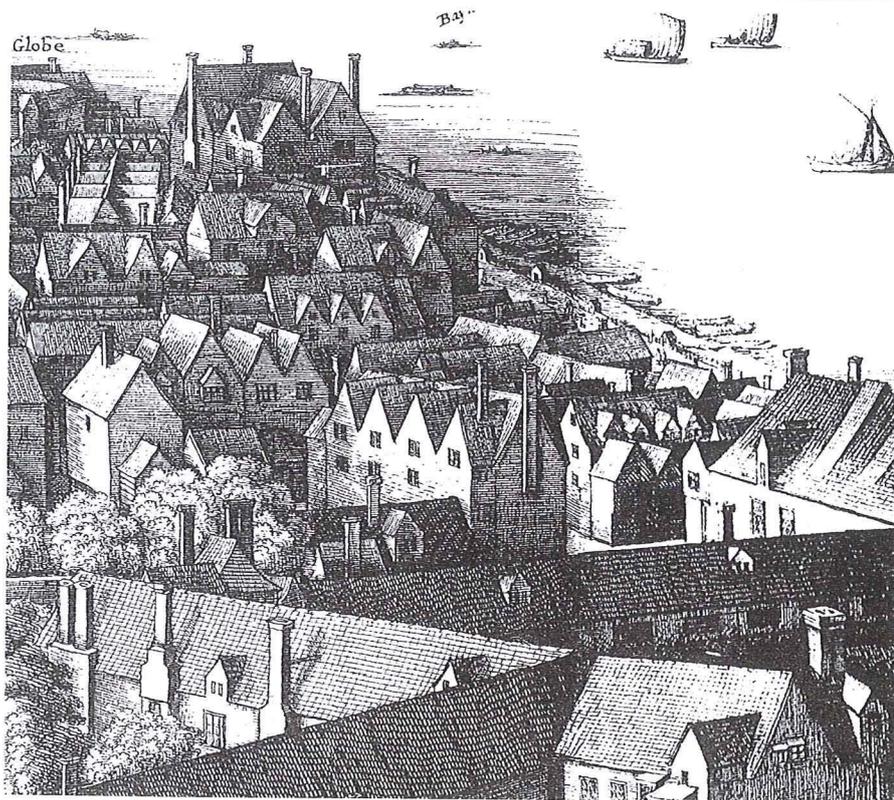


fig. 180a



fig. 180b



fig. 180c

fig. 180

180a: 'fine and exact prospect of the famous city of London', detail

180b: Cotton Hall, south-west front

180c: Cotton Hall, south-west front, detail

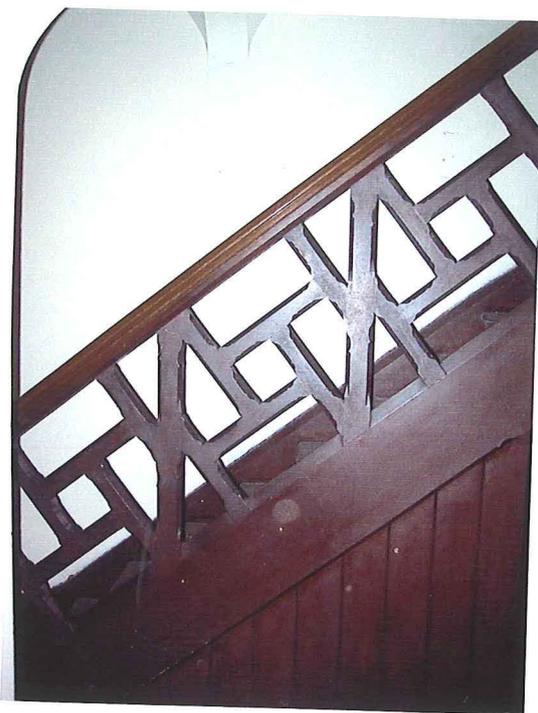


fig. 183



fig. 184a

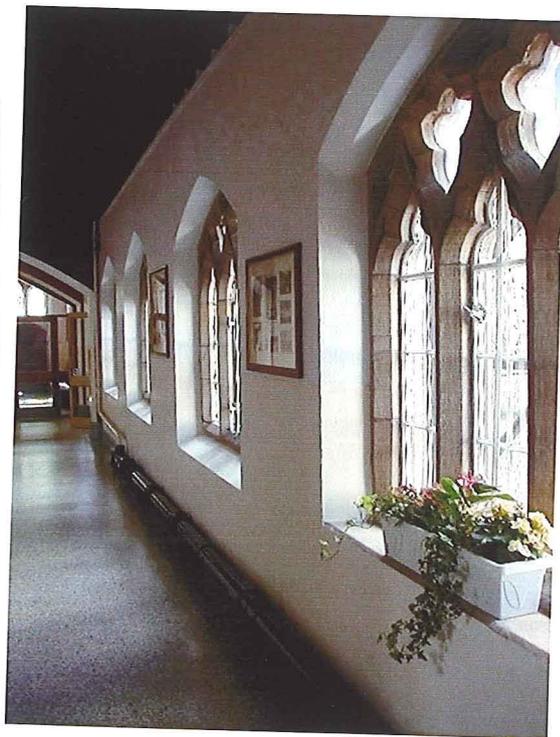


fig. 184b

figs. 183, 184

183: Carlton Towers, tower stair

184a: Ratcliffe College, north wing; three rh (gf) bays by Pugin

184b: Ratcliffe College, north wing, three lh bays by Pugin



fig. 185a



fig. 185b

fig. 185

185a: Darlington, St Anne's Convent, gatehouse from road
185b: Oscott, St Mary's College, south gatehouse from within park



fig. 186a

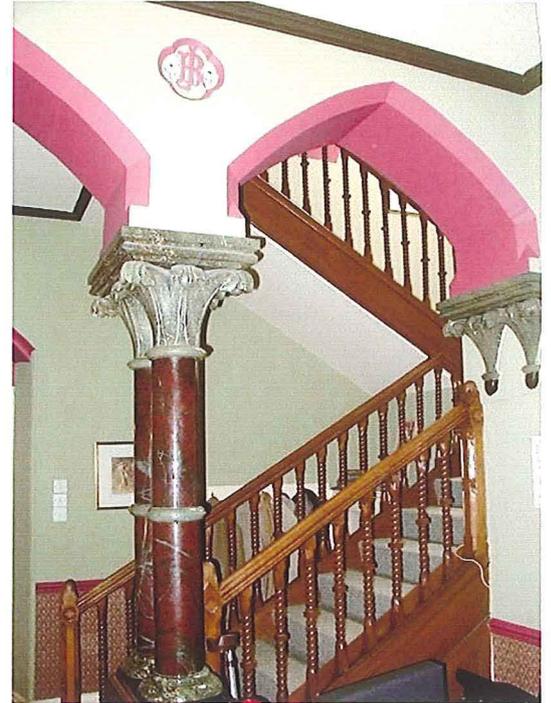


fig. 186b



fig. 187

figs. 186, 187

186a: Bishopsteignton, The Moors, entrance front

186b: Bishopsteignton, The Moors, stair detail

187: Loughborough, Rosminian convent



fig. 196



fig. 197

figs. 196, 197
Carpenter parsonages
196: Monkton Wyld
197: Kilndown



fig. 205



fig. 206

figs. 205, 206
205: Bitteswell, almshouses
206: Sissinghurst, parsonage, garden front



fig. 208a

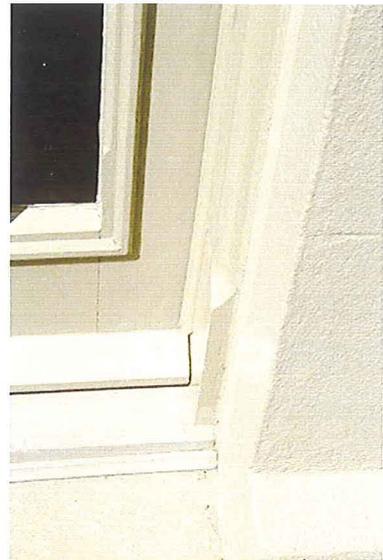


fig. 208b

figs. 208
Shareshill, parsonage
208a: entrance front
208b: architrave detail