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Joseph Aloysius Hansom and the changing practice of Architecture, 1820-1860

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**JOSEPH ALOYSIUS HANSOM AND THE CHANGING
PRACTICE OF ARCHITECTURE, 1820-1860**

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ABSTRACT

The period between 1820 and 1860 saw a complete transformation of the architectural profession, from an essentially London-based elitist group with no formal training to a more commercially-orientated nationwide vocation commanding public respect.

The development of the profession was contiguous with rapid and seismic social, economic and political change occurring nationally. It was a period of conflict and struggle, of threats and opportunities: the aftermath of the French Revolution; the hungry forties; industrialisation, urbanisation and a new transport infrastructure; the Irish influx and population increase; the Gothic and Catholic Revivals, and the rise of the middle-classes. The aim of this thesis is to identify the extent to which these changes impacted upon architecture by providing work, prompting an introspective search for a new style and the formation of a professional association. Conversely it will highlight the way in which architecture contributed to social change. To facilitate this, subject-matter is divided into four decades, each with its own characteristics, yet equally vital to the overall transition. Whilst constantly relating to social conditions, the thesis will also investigate the changing nature, power and influence of patronage, plus the need to create a professional association, precipitated by over-use of an iniquitous competition 'system' and a flagging reputation.

The career of the proactive Roman Catholic architect Joseph Aloysius Hansom (1803-82) is tracked through each phase to illustrate changes as they occurred, from the accession of George IV in 1820 to the start of the Arts and Crafts Movement in 1859.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AA	Anglesey Archives
AH	Architectural History
BAA	Birmingham Archdiocese Archives
BCA	Birmingham City Archives
BPU	Birmingham Political Union
BUA	Bangor University Archives
CAR	Catholic Annual Register
CBC	Church Building Commission
CC	Church Commissioners
CCS	Cambridge Camden Society
CPSC	Catholic Poor Schools Committee
DIA	Dictionary of Irish Architects
DRO	Dorset Record Office
HLRO	House of Lords Record Office
IBA	Institute of British Architects
ICBS	Incorporated Church Building Society
ILN	Illustrated London News
LAO KQS	Lincolnshire Archive Office, Kesteven Quarter Session
LPL	Lambeth Palace Library
MB	Minute Book
NMW	New Moral World
PDRO	Plymouth and Devon Record Office

ODNB	Oxford Dictionary of National Biographies
OSBGA	Oxford Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture
RA	Royal Academy
RCAMS	Records Control and Management System
RIBA	Royal Institute of British Architects
RIBAJ	Royal Institute of British Architects Journal
RIBAT	Royal Institute of British Architects Transactions
SAH	Journal of Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain
SNDN	Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur
TNA	The National Archives, Kew
VCH	Victoria County History
YAJ	York Archaeological Journal

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

In England, at the start of the nineteenth century, architecture was dominated by the needs and demands of aristocracy, Crown or State, with emphasis on London.[1]   There were virtually no opportunities for provincial architects, whose role was undefined and confused with that of the building trade.[2] Furthermore architects lacked an official body to co-ordinate, regulate or provide training. By using the career of the Roman Catholic architect Joseph Aloysius Hansom (1803-82), this thesis aims to examine how, in a pivotal forty-year period, 1820 to 1860, a disparate group of quasi artists was transformed into a coherent, commercially-driven profession. It expressly does not target 'Victorian architecture', as this would preclude the first two decades which constitute the critical evolutionary source and pander to Hall's 'crossing of the boundaries'.[3] By creating a notional barrier (1837), architectural historians have overlooked the fact that this no-man's land, both immediately before and immediately after Queen Victoria's accession, was, in fact, the embryo of the profession.

The complicated dynamics of rapid and unprecedented change, particularly with regard to population increase, urbanisation and industrialisation were critical factors. The multifarious challenges encountered by the nation, social, political, economic and religious, transmuted into commercial opportunities for architects, providing a catalyst for growth, self-awareness and the development of a credible profession. Key phases through which architects passed were the building of churches and workhouses as a means of social control; internal difficulties within the profession, such as corruption and the abuse of competitions, together with a quest for a new style and a yearning for the past, producing a zeitgeist scenario. Town halls and country houses were an expression of the growth of wealth, fuelled by the rising middle-classes and requiring a mix of new ways of working through committees on the one hand and on-going aristocratic patronage on the other. The setting up of a professional body in 1835 was an attempt to regularise working practices, at the same time addressing the lack of any formal education. Following its course through the various phases, the thesis concludes with a comparison between the Great Exhibition, London (1851) and the French Universal Exposition, Paris (1855), which jointly paved the way for an extended international market.

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[1] David Watkin, *The Architect King: George III and the Culture of the Enlightenment* (London, 2004).
[2] Geoff Brandwood, 'Many and varied: Victorian provincial architects in England and Wales' in K. Ferry (ed.), Powerhouses of Provincial Architecture (Victorian Society, 2009), pp. 3-14.
[3] Michael Hall, 'How the tide turned for Gothic Revival churches' in Rosemary Hill, Colin Cunningham and Aileen Reid (eds), *Victorians Revalued : What the twentieth century thought of nineteenth-century architecture*, vol. 2 (London, 2010), p.54; Hall suggests that the accession of Queen Victoria in 1837 should not be a rigid chronological division.

This introductory chapter will begin with a brief resumé of Hansom's life. This is followed by an investigation into views put forward in existing literature and an explanation of the methodology employed to support the main arguments. As the architectural profession was so informed by social, cultural and economic conditions, the context is outlined in some depth. Finally, a summary of the sub-arguments of each chapter is given.

Joseph Hansom

The career of the architect Joseph Aloysius Hansom (1803-82), has been singled out as being particularly illustrative of the rapid changes, economic, social and religious, which characterised the forty-year period between 1820 and 1860. Whilst individuality and experimentation dominate Hansom's output throughout his career, it is Evinson's concluding statement which exemplifies the essence of his approach and justifies his choice as the main subject of this thesis: that 'the one underlying characteristic that coloured his (Hansom's] life was his acknowledgement of change' and how he was 'prepared to consistently move with the times'.[4] Appendix I summarises the depth and breadth of his work, at the same time showing how his buildings mirror both continuity and change in terms of the development of architectural practice.

Born into a recusant Catholic family of builders, his family background, together with the benefit of close proximity to York Minster, led Hansom to his future career as an eminent architect. Aware of his talents at an early age, his Freeman father released him from apprenticeship and placed him with the York architect Matthew Philips by way of training. Following Philips' early death, he transferred to Halifax, where he became assistant to John Oates. It was here that he met John Welch, upon whose suggestion they formed an independent partnership.[5] The combination of a Catholic upbringing, an appreciation of the wealth of ecclesiastical architecture in York, and Oates' contribution to the burgeoning requirement of Commissioners Churches was fundamental to the establishment of Hansom's career (see Appendix II).

Having undertaken three Commissioners Churches in their own right, the partnership took advantage of Welch's family connections in Wales, and moved to Anglesey (see Plates 1, 2). This was a crucial phase in Hansom's career, for it led to the winning of the competition to design Birmingham Town Hall, where he incorporated the use of Anglesey marble (carboniferous limestone), (see Plate 3). Here, due to becoming embroiled in politics through Thomas Attwood, one of his financial backers, and also Robert Owen, the founder of the Co-operative movement, this

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[4] Denis Evinson, 'Joseph Hansom', unpublished Masters dissertation, University of London (1966), p. 317.
[5] *Architectural Magazine,* ii (1835), p. 325.)

unplanned diversion into current affairs, resulted in a failure to manage his financial situation, namely the erection of the Town Hall (see Plate 4). Against his better judgement, he had agreed to become guarantor as well as architectural superintendent, and unforeseen circumstances caused losses which he could not sustain. Thus he filed for bankruptcy.

The next phase of his life was centred around Hinckley in Leicestershire, from where he designed two banks, two convents, and ultimately the hansom cab (see Plate 5). The latter might have changed his fortunes, had he been given the £10,000 which he was promised in payment for his invention.[6] This would have enabled him to join the ranks of his more privileged counterparts, such as Soane, Barry and Salvin. However, this money was not forthcoming and he had to rely on his Catholic contacts to start afresh. The convents resulted from the flexibility which followed the *Act of Catholic Emancipation* (1829), together with Hansom's association with the Dominicans in Hinckley; and the banks arose from the new opportunities provided by the *Country Bankers Act* (1826), (see Plate 6). Hansom then took advantage of another social change, the building of a workhouse, as required by the *Poor Law Amendment Act* (1834), (see Plate 7).[7] Thus, even at this early stage, Hansom's career is illustrative of the social changes which were taking place rapidly nationwide, and so key to the development of architectural practice, namely Church Commissioners churches, competitions, the Catholic Revival, commercial growth and workhouses.

Independently of any of these, but possibly influenced by his earlier association with Robert Owen and inspired by the advent of the *Illustrated London News* (ILN), Hansom founded *The Builder* in 1843.[8] His brain-child remains the longest running business weekly in the United Kingdom. It was run along Owenite lines, those of social idealism, and Hansom personally edited the first few issues. He hoped to reach 'all classes and crafts concerned in the art of building' in addition to architects and a domestic market.[9] Most importantly, he used the Precursor Number to launch his Builders College in London (see Plate 8). Further details are given in Chapter IV. Still short of capital, Hansom was obliged to sell the journal to his printers. However, subsequent editors continued to follow his interest in social reform, and Hansom continued to contribute.

A chance encounter with Father Randall Lythgoe, of the Jesuit Order, saw a move to Spinkhill in Derbyshire, and thence to Preston in Lancashire. Preston was his base for seven years, and the

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[6] *The Builder,* 8 July 1882, p. 44.
[7] It has only recently come to light that this was won in a competition; 'The Hinckley Historian', 80, Winter 2017, pp. 35-39.
[8] Brooks, Michael, 'The Builder' in the 1840s: The Making of a Magazine, the Shaping of a Profession, *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 14, no. 3 (Fall, 1981), pp. 86-93.
[9] *The Builder,* Precursor Number, 31 December, 1842, page 6.

source of many Catholic churches in the county, including his famous St Walburge, see page 240. From here his net spread wider as he diversified into the extension and re-organisation of country houses for members of the Catholic gentry, the largest being Minsteracres, Danby Hall and Lartington Hall (see Plate 9). He also capitalised on his network of contacts through Mrs Laura Petre (later Sister Mary), for whom he built a church in Selby and a Training School for Catholic Schoolmistresses in Liverpool (see Plate 10). Sister Mary was also responsible for the convent in Plymouth which was attached to Plymouth Cathedral, built for Bishop Vaughan in 1856-58. This coincided with work carried out in Boulogne-sur-Mer, two substantial churches, a small chapel and a further convent (see Plate 11).

Hansom's continued dependency upon private patronage side-steps the use of committees, which he had experienced through his Church Commissioners' churches and town halls, but the expansion of growth so typical of the 1850s is demonstrated in his country-house work and large undertakings such as at Ushaw and in Plymouth and Boulogne (see Plate 12). He was able to join with main-stream architects by displaying paintings of his Preston church at the Paris Exhibition of 1855 (see Plate 13). Large-scale works continued later in life, with Holy Name, Manchester (1869-71), St Philip Neri, Arundel (1869-73) and the conversion of Fort Augustus to a Benedictine Monastery (1876), (see Plate 14).

The life and of work of Joseph Hansom has been partially covered in a preliminary biography published in 2010.[10] This was an extension of the Masters thesis written by Denis Evinson, which in turn built upon Professor Stephen Welsh's investigations into the obituary published in *The Builder*.[11] These are valuable resources, however, they only cover a selection of Hansom's work and far greater knowledge and understanding has since been achieved through examination of primary sources not previously accessed. The biography concentrates on the early part of Hansom's life in York, the competition and failings of Birmingham Town Hall, together with political upheavals and involvement with the banker and future Member of Parliament, Thomas Attwood, and the social reformer, Robert Owen. It continues with his re-establishment as a Catholic architect at Hinckley and Leicester, and follows with the founding of the *The Builder*. Whilst some discussion is given of Hansom's work for the Jesuits, the biography rather leapfrogs to the end of his career, with brief mention of work by other members of the Hansom family. Many

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[10] Harris, Penelope, *The Architectural Achievements of Joseph Aloysius Hansom (1803-1882), Designer of the Hansom Cab, Birmingham Town Hall, and Churches of the Catholic Revival* (Lewiston, 2010).
[11] Evinson, 'Hansom'; Professor Stephen Welsh, University of Sheffield, *The Builder,* 8 July 1882, pp. 43-44.

commissions are omitted, and there is no attempt to position him within the wider context of social change or to demonstrate any relevance to changes in professional practice, the aim of this thesis.

Some of these omissions have been covered in articles relating to specific topics, such as 'Mount Pleasant, English aristocrats, and Belgian nuns', and the connection between Anglesey and Birmingham Town Hall.[12] Details of Hansom's work in the north are covered extensively with 'A Nomadic Mission', 'Joseph Aloysius Hansom (1803-82): His Yorkshire Works' and 'The Ironmaster'.[13] There was a need to rectify misrepresentation between Hansom and E. W. Pugin at Ripon, hence 'Hansom and Pugin … a division of labour?'; and 'The Hansom architects and the Clifford family' endeavours to unravel the complicated patronage of the extended Clifford family which overlapped in Plymouth and Boulogne (see Plate 15).[14]

Historiography

The historiography is dominated by two key historians, Summerson and Colvin, whose main works stop at 1830 and 1840 respectively.[15] General studies of Victorian architecture tend to cover a later period, and typically debate building styles, individual architects or associated topics, such as the work of the work of the Church Commissioners, workhouses, town halls, revivals and country houses.[16] Dixon and Muthesius focus on building types and Pevsner's comprehensive series on the *Buildings of England* is structured around location.[17] Biographies which are sub-divided by category are deficient if they deny the fundamental aetiology, a view put forward by Arnold.[18]

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[12] Penelope Harris, 'Mount Pleasant, English aristocrats, and Belgian nuns': financing the English Sisters of Notre Dame', *North West Catholic History*, XXXVI (2009), pp. 19-35; Penelope Harris, 'Was Anglesey the Birthplace of Birmingham Town Hall?', *Georgian Group Journal,* vol. XXVI (2018), pp. 227-246.

[13] Penelope Harris, 'A Nomadic Mission: The Northern Works of the Catholic Architect J.A. Hansom 1803-82', *Northern Catholic History*, 50 (2009), pp. 24-40; Penelope Harris, 'Joseph Aloysius Hansom (1803-82): His Yorkshire Works, Patronage and Contribution to the Catholic Revival', *York Archaeological and Historical Journal*, vol. 85, no 1 (2013), pp. 175-193; Penelope Harris, 'The Ironmaster, the architect and the priest', *Northern Catholic History*, 54 (2013), pp. 49-56.

[14] Penelope Harris, 'J.A. Hansom and E.W. Pugin at St Wilfred, Ripon: a division of labour?,' *True Principles*, The Journal of The Pugin Society, vol. iv, no iii (Spring 2012), pp. 261-267; due to the reredos and altar in Hansom's church at Ripon being designed by E. W. Pugin, the whole church was mistakenly attributed to him, rather than Hansom, see Roderick O'Donnell, *Ecclesiology Today: Pious bachelors, converts, fathers and sons: English Catholic architects, 1791-1939,* 38, May 2007, p. 25; Penelope Harris, 'The Anglo-French Enterprise: the Hansom architects and the Clifford family', *Transactions of the Ancient Monument Society*, vol. 61, 2017, pp. 92-123.

[15] John Summerson, *Architecture in Britain, 1530-1830* (Harmondsworth, 1991); Howard M. Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary of English Architects, 1660-1840* (Yale, 1978).

[16] For example Kathryn Morrison, 'The New-Poor-Law Workhouses of George Gilbert Scott and William Bonython Moffat, *AH,* 40 (1997); Colin Cunningham, *Victorian and Edwardian Town Halls* (London, 1985); James Stevens Curl, *Victorian architecture: Diversity and Invention* (Reading, 2007); Kenneth Clark, *The Gothic Revival, An Essay in the History of Taste* (London, 1938); Mark Girouard, *The Victorian Country House* (New Haven and London, 1979).

[17] Dixon and Muthesius, *Victorian Architecture* (reprinted 1995); Nikolaus Pevsner, Buildings of England series; see also Simon Bradley and Bridget Cherry (eds), *The buildings of England: a celebration* (Beccles, 2001).

[18] Dana Arnold, Elvan Altan Ergut, Belgin Turan Özkaya (eds), *Rethinking Architectural Historiography* (London, 2006), p. xvii.

Jordan claimed that to understand a building it was necessary to give it a social and historical context, an approach used by Birch when she charted Ruskin's life alongside its historical and cultural background.[19] Gotch's early, albeit comprehensive, history of the Royal Institute of British Architects is informative, but again does not emphasise social conditions adequately.[20] Whilst the texts quoted ably cover their immediate context, few relate to the wider impact upon the development of the profession as a whole. The nearest texts which attempt a rounded point of view are those sections on the nineteenth-century in Jenkins' *Architect and Patron*, though even he does not single out the four decades, 1820 to 1860, as being the critical turning point for the profession, the basis of this thesis.[21] Thus there is a gap in the historiography and a need to bring all these elements together in order to provide a more complete picture.

The forty-year period is so complex that it invokes Ruskin's idea of being polygonal in nature, and at times the number of enigmatic scenarios, for example 'artist or businessman' and 'patronage versus industrialisation', unavoidably lead into his trap of needing to contradict three times before being satisfied.[22] The need to control and the wish to expand, the security of the past and the uncertainty of the future, are all far greater issues than those portrayed through Mordaunt Crook's 'Dilemma of Styles'.[23] However, Crook did believe that the study of nineteenth-century architecture should be 'couched in economic, social and religious terms', and Rorabaugh reinforced the need to take historical circumstances into account when trying to understand 'the public expression of architecture'.[24] These are underdeveloped concepts which this thesis explores. Likewise, due significance has not been given to architecture for the contribution it made to the development of the nation, to a far greater extent than Henry's 'image', or Betjeman's 'great period of church-building'. This is applicable to the landscape as much as to urban settings.[25]

Dyos and Wolff underline the significance which Briggs places on pressure placed on the

[19] Robert Furneaux Jordan, 'Sir Joseph Paxton' in Ferriday's *Victorian Architecture* (London, 1963), p. 162; Dinah Birch (ed.), *John Ruskin: Selected Writings* (Oxford, 2004), pp. xxxii-xxxviii.

[20] J. A. Gotch (ed.), *The growth and work of the Royal Institute of British architects*, 1834-1934 (London, 1934).

[21] Frank Jenkins, *Architect and Patron: a survey of professional relations and practice in England from the sixteenth century to the present day* (Oxford, 1961).

[22] Dinah Birch, *Ruskin: Selected Writings* (Oxford, 2004), p. ix.

[23] Joseph Mordaunt Crook, *The Dilemma of Style: Architectural Ideas from the Picturesque to the Post-Modern* (London, 1987).

[24] Joseph Mordaunt Crook, 'The Pre-Victorian architect: Professionalism and Patronage', *AH*, 12 (1969), p. 62; W. J. Rorabaugh, 'Politics and the Architectural Competition for the Houses of Parliament, 1843-47', *Victorian Studies*, 1 December 1973, 17, 2, Periodicals Archive Online, p. 156.

[25] Helga Henry, 'Architecture more than anything, is what creates the image of a place', symposium, 'Birmingham: The Self-Conscious City?', RIBA West Midland Region, 'area'; John Betjeman, *In Praise of Churches* (London, 2010), p. 66.

population from multiple new social forces.[26] However, Wolff and Fox considered the effect of the growing Victorian press to be even greater than that of the growth in population, linking it to a means of developing class consciousness by publicising the dynamics of change.[27] The status of Victorian periodicals is analysed comprehensively by Alvar Ellegård.[28] Ballantyne's view was that buildings were a direct product of the complex interaction between social and economic forces, stressing the enormous power of those who controlled the distribution of funds.[29] Similar views were held by Crook, who claimed that 'attitudes of early nineteenth-century architects ... were conditioned by economics', and Jenkins, who similarly claimed that economics controlled architecture.[30] Crook also considered buildings to be 'products of their own environment', which should be studied in the light of social and religious terms.[31] Conversely Bozdogan warned against losing the relative autonomy of architecture by over-emphasis on politics and power.[32]

Having tracked architects over five centuries, Jenkins concludes that they differed from sculptors and other artists by their need to work within space, thus linking architecture to the environment and humanity through the means of a patron.[33] The claims put forward by Bourne, namely that 'aristocratic private patronage gradually lost hold…to…middle class fields of endeavour', and that 'professionalisation...freed them from dominance of aristocratic patronage ... moving towards independent existence' are not backed by evidence, certainly not before 1860.[34] Neither is support given to Crook's parallel suggestion that aristocratic patronage was subsumed by industrial infiltration after the first four decades.[35] Many new opportunities, such as warehouse and factory building, were well within the capability of competent builders, claims Brandwood, thus these did not necessarily provide new work for architects.[36] Allibone stated that Anthony Salvin worked almost entirely within aristocratic circles and Kaufman, who considered that Lamb's entire career was 'built upon the patronage of landed aristocracy', led Girouard to conclude that architects with

[26] Asa Briggs, 'Human Aggregate', in Dyos and Wolf, *Victorian City* (London, 1973), p. 85.

[27] Michael Woolf and Celina Fox, 'Pictures from the Magazines' in Dyos & Wolff, *Victorian City,* p. 559; *The Ecclesiolgist, The Builder, The Times, The Gentleman's Magazine, Punch* and *The Tablet* all played a part.

[28] Alvar Ellegård in *Victorian Periodicals Newsletter*, no. 13, September 1971, pp. 3-22, jstor.org/discovery …. accessed 25 December 2013: 'The Readership of the Periodical Press in Mid-Victorian Britain II, Directory.

[29] Andrew Ballantyne, 'Architecture as evidence', in *Rethinking Architectural Historiography*, Arnold, Ergut, Özkaya, p. 36.

[30] Crook, 'Pre-Victorian', p. 62; Jenkins, *Architect and Patron*, p. 197.

[31] Crook*, ibid*.

[32] Sibel Bozdogan, 'Architectural History in Professional Education: Reflections on Postcolonial Challenges to the Modern Survey', *Journal of Architectural Education* (1999), p. 207; Watkin, *Architect King*.

[33] Jenkins, *Architect and Patron*, p. xiii.

[34] J. M. Bourne, *Patronage and Society in Nineteenth-Century England* (London, 1986), p. 29; Martin Briggs, *Architect in History* (Oxford, 1927), p. 339.

[35] Crook, 'Pre-Victorian', pp. 66, 71; Edward Kaufman, 'E.B. Lamb: A Case Study in Victorian Architectural Patronage', *The Art Bulletin* 70 (1988), p. 314.

[36] Girouard, *ibid*, pp. 210, 212; Geoff Brandwood, 'Many and varied: Victorian provincial architects in England and Wales', in Katherine Ferry (ed.), *Powerhouses of Provincial Architecture* (The Victorian Society, 2009), pp. 3-14.

largely upper-class practices could 'afford to be snobbish'.[37] With regard to country-houses, the graph prepared by Girouard shows that new building (for *nouveaux riches*), did not overtake remodelling of old (for landed gentry), until 1880 (see Plate 16).[38]

Both Cherry and Gunn, however, maintained that personal contacts were more important than direct patronage.[39] Lamb, Salvin and Blore all exploited social and political contacts, yet Girouard describes a different situation where the wealthy merchant, George More actively 'begged' Salvin to design his house, Whitehall in Cumberland, thus giving unusual approbation in his choice of architect.[40] Familial connections were also exploited as shown in Dungeval's doctoral thesis on Aston Webb, as did Kaufman in his case study on Edward Buckton Lamb.[41] George Gilbert Scott used his friendship with Kempthorne, whose father was a friend of the Chief Commissioner, as a stepping stone to eventually become an 'élitist ecclesiastical architect', a category which Brooks saw as 'doing the most to raise the professional status of architects'.[42]

Whilst each chapter is addressed sequentially, one of the most significant changes common to this period was the introduction of committees. These required negotiating skills in a way hitherto unknown to architects. The building of Church Commissioner churches, town halls and workhouses were all orchestrated by committees, which Jenkins classified as a new form of patronage.[43] With regard to the Church Building Commission, Port is regarded as the standard reference. He endeavours to give credit to buildings which were frequently regarded with contempt and quotes Betjeman, who saw churches built under this regimen as having 'a dignitiy and coherence which we can appreciate today'.[44] Nevertheless, Port admitted that many Commissioners' Churches were neither 'inspired nor inspiring'.[45] Different perspectives of such churches can be found in Payne

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[37] Jill Allibone, *Anthony Salvin: Pioneer of Gothic Revival Architecture* (Lutterworth, 1988), Girouard, *Victorian Country House*, p. 18; Kaufman, 'Lamb', p. 318.

[38] Girouard, *Victorian Country House*, p. 9.

[39] Martin Cherry, 'Patronage, the Anglican Church and the local architect in Victorian England', in Chris Brooks and Andrew Saint, *The Victorian church: Architecture and society* (Manchester, 1995); Simon Gunn, *The public culture of the Victorian middle class: Ritual and authority in the English industrial city 1840-1914* (Manchester and New York, 2000); Hansom worked for Catholics and Roberts for Evangelists; see also James Stevens Curl, *Henry Roberts* (Chichester, 1983).

[40] Girouard, *ibid*, citing Samuel Smiles, *George More, Merchant and Philanthropist* (London, 1878), p. 242; Lamb's determined exploitation of social and political contacts led him to remodel Hughendon Manor for Disraeli, later the Earl of Beaconsfield. Salvin and Edward Blore worked for Tories, and Barry for Whigs.

[41] Ian Dungeval, 'The Architectural Career of Sir Aston Webb 1849-1930', doctoral thesis, University of London (1999); Kaufman, 'Edward Lamb'; Lamb made use of nineteen members of Sir Robert Frankland-Russell's family.

[42] Anna Dickens, 'The Architect and the Workhouse', *Architectural Review*, December 1976, CLX, no. 958, p. 348; see also David Cole, The Work of Gilbert Scott (London, 1980); Brooks in Chris Brooks and Andrew Saint, (eds), *The Victorian Church: architecture and society* (Manchester 1995), p. 20.

[43] Jenkins, *Architect and Patron*, p. 180.

[44] Michael J. Port, *600 new Churches, the church building commission 1818-1856* (Reading, 2006), p. 15, citing W. B. Maynard, 'The Response of the Church of England to Economic and Demographic Change: the Archdeaconry of Durham, 1800-1851', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 42 (1991), pp. 437-62; Port, *ibid*, p. 9.

[45] *Ibid*, p. 11.

and Carr, where Payne examines early patronage of the Established church and the relationship between church and politics politics.[46] Carr stresses financial constraint and the need to provide for as many people as possible at least expense, with some reflection upon the mismanagement and manipulation of competitions, a trend which Bassin considered to be a defining characteristic of Victorian architectural practice.[47]

The issue of civic pride is addressed by Cunningham, who considered that as there was no established architectural proto-type, the building of so many town halls would not have been possible without the *Municipal Corporations Act* of 1835.[48] Rorabaugh pre-dates this, claiming that it stemmed from the Great Reform Bill of 1832 which weakened the Crown and motivated civic authorities.[49] There is, however, consensus across the historiography sharing Pierson's view, that architects were the instruments of the middle classes, who used city centres to display their new-found power and economic success, with Salmon exemplifying Hansom's Town Hall in Birmingham as 'the embodiment of the town's character'.[50] A national perspective is given by Jenkins, who considered such buildings also 'underlined England's position as a major power'.[51] However, Brooks points out that town halls were equally of value to architects as a way to attract new business. Like the State-driven quest for more churches, the building of workhouses was another attempt at social control, and of particular value to hitherto unknown provincial architects. Jenkins estimated that 643 were built in the first twelve years.[52] Two authorities in this field are Dickens and Morrison.[53] Dickens described workhouse budgets as 'impossibly low' and the rules 'unfair', however she also shows how Scott, who refused to accept the workhouse as a 'mere means of earning a living', persuaded Guardians to accept elaborate designs, thus progressing his own

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[46] Reider Payne, *Ecclesiastical Patronage in England, 1770-1801* (New York 2010; see also Brooks, 'Building the rural church: money, power and the country parish', in Brooks and Saint, *The Victorian Church* (Manchester, 1995), pp. 51-81.

[47] Carr, *Commissioners' Churches*, pp. 90, 168, 244; for competitions see pp. 231-280; Bassin, *Architectural Competitions*, p. xvii. See also Jenkins, *Architect and Patron,* p. 180; Dickens, 'Architects and the Union Workhouse', p. 345.

[48] Cunningham, *Town Halls*, pp. 120-121.

[49] Rorabaugh, 'Politics and the Houses of Parliament', pp. 156, 174.

[50] Stanley Pierson, 'The Way Out' in Dyos & Wolff, *Victorian City*, p. 874; Cunningham, *Town Halls*, p. xiv, p. 39, quoting T. W. Reid, *A Memoir of John Deakin Heaton M.D.* of Leeds (Longman, 1883), pp. 147-8; see also Robert Vaughan, *The age of great cities* (London, 1985); Frank E. Salmon, *Building on ruins: the rediscovery of Rome and English architecture* (Aldershot, 2000), p. 153.

[51] Jenkins, *Architect and Patron*, p. 181.

[52] Jenkins*, ibid.,* p. 180.

[53] Anna M. Dickens, 'Architects and the Union Workhouse of the New Poor Law', doctoral thesis, Brighton (1982);. Morrison, Scott and Moffat', *AH,* vol. 40 (1997); see also Norman Longmate, *The Workhouse* (London, 2003); Peter Higginbotham, *The Workhouse Encyclopaedia* (Stroud, 2014).

career.[54] His London partnership with Moffatt was the most prominent in this area, with Morrison calculating that between them they won forty-four of the sixty contracts they targeted.[55]

A common factor between these new sources of committee-generated work was that of selection through competitions, which are analysed in depth by Bassin.[56] Concerns regarding corrupt competitions in the eighteenth-century were similar to those in the nineteenth, yet Jenkins concedes that there was no satisfactory resolution for well over a century.[57] Harper's compilation of British and Irish competitions relies on material from *The Builder,* which repeatedly described the 'system' [of competitions] as evil; whilst Lane stresses the perception of some architects who believed there were long-term benefits.[58] An early competition of note was Hansom's winning of Birmingham Town Hall, which, as Harris and Peers show, ended in bankruptcy (see pages 89-90).[59] Despite every effort to manage the competition for the re-building of the Houses of Parliament in accordance with new codes proposed by the Institute of British Architects (IBA), Rorabaugh shows how this became the most public example of corruption and bungling of a competition (see Chapter IV). The building of the Crystal Palace for the Great Exhibition in 1851 was equally contentious, as explained by Bassin, who believed that mal-administration of competitions adversely affected the question of professional image.[60] The nearest to an architectural exhibit was Pugin's 'Medieval Court', which Wedgwood depicts as an opportunity for Pugin to promote both the Gothic and the Catholic Revivals.[61] Bassin concluded that the need to regularise competitions was one of the reasons for the setting up of the Institute of British Architects, whereas Gotch thought it to be more related to the need to break away from the title of craftsman-architect.[62] Along similar lines, Kaye stated that commercial aspects lowered standards and undermined their integrity.[63] An added dimension is put forward by Port, who complains of the aggressive competition from surveyors and engineers and the drawbacks of competitive tendering or contracting in gross.[64] Jenkins' suggestion

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[54] Dickens, 'Architect and Workhouse', p. 352; *Architectural Magazine*, II, 1835, p. 511 cited by Dickens, 'Architects and the Union Workhouse', p. 351.

[55] *Ibid*, p. 162.

[56] Bassin, *Architectural Competitions*, pp. 203, 17.

[57] Jenkins, *Architect and Patron*, p. 382.

[58] Roger Harper, *Victorian Architectural Competitions: An Index to British and Irish Architectural Competitions in "The Builder", 1843-1900* (London, 1983); John Armstrong Lane, 'Win a competition and you're made', *RIBAJ* (1965), p. 591.

[59] Harris, *Architectural Achievements*, pp. 15-51; Peers, *Birmingham Town Hall*, pp 100-1, 106-107.

[60] Bassin, *Architectural Competitions*, pp. 58-74; see also Yvonne ffrench, *The Great Exhibition of 1851* (London, 1950).

[61] Alexandra Wedgewood, 'The Medieval Court', p. 237 in Pugin, *a Gothic Passion*, Paul Atterbury and Clive Wainwright (eds), (London, 1994).

[62] Bassin, *Architectural Competitions*, pp. 12, 13; J. A. Gotch (ed.), in his *The growth and work of the Royal Institute of British Architects, 1834-1934* (London, 1934).

[63] Barrington Laurence Burnett Kaye, *The Development of the Architectural Profession in Britain: a sociological study*, (London, 1960), p. 83.

[64] M. H. Port, 'The Office of Works and Building Contracts in Early Nineteenth-Century England', *Economic History*

that the forming of an association was 'rapid and complete', is in juxtaposition to Crook, who considered it to be 'protracted, faction-ridden and shambolic'.[65] In an attempt to counter the low image which Kaye highlights, architects endeavoured to raise their credibility by seeking a new style.[66]

The works of Sir Walter Scott are singled out by Fletcher, which, along with Pugin's *Contrasts*, both heightened the popular idea of zeitgeist, and thence nationalism.[67] Bradley shows how much time and effort was wasted by the secondary issue of trying to prove the English provenance of Gothic.[68] Bony states that French origin was undisputed, whilst Boucher-Rivalain explains that the fact that the French Gothic Revival was founded on restoration rather than new churches was because, unlike in England, it was not based on any religious revival.[69] The ensuing English Gothic Revival received extensive coverage.[70] However, Goodhart-Rendell questions the basic concept of Revival, preferring to call it Survival, and arguing that as Gothic had never been extinct it could not technically be revived.[71] Hall shows that 'Development' became the preferred word for Pugin in his *Apology,* and was used repeatedly by Freeman in both *Proceedings* and the *Ecclesiologist.*[72]

Even the religious influence was not straight forward. Gothic was popular with Church Commissioners, being cheaper to build than Classical, and Gwynn shows how Pugin, aided by the Earl of Shrewsbury, promoted Gothic on national grounds.[73] The Jesuits and John Paul Newman, initiator of the Oxford Movement and the Catholic Revival, preferred Classical. Nevertheless, Stamp holds the view that the Oxford Movement led to the English Gothic Revival.[74] Despite being the dominant style for church-building, Gothic was also subject to much negative criticism.[75]

Review, xx (1967), pp. 94-100.

[65] Jenkins, *Architect and Patron*, p. 157.

[66] Kaye, *Development of the Profession*, pp. 71, 125.

[67] Bannister Fletcher, *A History of Architecture on the comparative method for students, craftsmen and amateurs*, 10th edn, rev. and enl. (1938, London), reprinted 1950, p. 854.

[68] Simon Bradley, 'The Englishness of Gothic: Theories and Interpretations from William Gilpin to J.H. Parker', *AH*, 45 (2002), p. 325; for further details of English origin see Michael McCarthy, *The Origins of the Gothic Revival* (New Haven and London, 1987).

[69] Jean Bony, 'French Influences on the origins of English Gothic Architecture', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes,* vol. 12 (1949), pp. 1-2; Odile Boucher-Rivalain, 'Attitudes to Gothic in French architectural writings of the 1840s', *AH*, 41 (1998), pp. 145-152.

[70] See for example: Aldrich (1994); Eastlake (1872) (ed.) Mordaunt Crook (1970); Clark (1962); Clarke (1969); Chris Brooks (1999); Crook (1987); McCarthy (1987); Lewis (2002); Fisher (2002).

[71] H. S. Goodhart-Rendel, 'English Gothic Architecture of the nineteenth Century', read before the Royal Institute of British Architects, 3 March 1924 (printed *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, 21, no. 11); H.M. Colvin , 'Gothic Survival and Gothick Revival', *Architectural Review*, ciii (1948), pp. 91-98.

[72] Michael Hall, ''Our Own': Thomas Hope, A. J. Beresford Hope and the creation of the High Victorian style', *The 1840s - The Victorian Society*, vol. one, 2008 (eds), Rosemary Hill and Michael Hall, pp. 64, 68, 69.

[73] Denis Gwynn, *Lord Shrewsbury, Pugin and the Catholic Revival* (London, 1946).

[74] Gavin Stamp, 'The Victorian kirk: Presbyterian architecture in nineteenth-century Scotland' in Brooks and Saint, *Victorian Church*, p. 99.

[75] Port, *600 churches*, p. 67; Basil Clarke, *Church Builders of the Nineteenth Century: A Study of the Gothic Revival in*

Clarke's view was that it was frail and depressing.[76] Colvin and Lang blamed it for the production of many sham designs, and Duggett considered that the use of Gothic to promote patriotism inhibited architects' imagination.[77] Fletcher maintained that styles continued to be determined by 'individual fancy rather than effort', and set out several pages of comparative listing.[78] Churches, whether built or restored, were closely scrutinised and often condemned by *The Ecclesiologist*, the vehicle of the Cambridge counterpart, as analysed by White.[79]

By the 1850s, enthusiasm for competitions had waned, disputes between Gothic and Classical styles became less important, and Jordan considered that the Battle of Styles ended in a cul-de-sac.[80] This thesis overturns Bourne's claim that individual aristocratic and private patronage were ceasing to have significance and demonstrates the rise of female patronage.[81] One example is the Marquess of Lothian, who commissioned Hansom's St David at Dalkeith (1854), a church described by Sanders as 'one of the best [designed] in accordance with Pugin's medieval revival'.[82] Female patrons were also noted for organisational skills, such as fund-raising at bazaars, which Gilley considered as much a part of nineteenth-century social change as the industrial revolution.[83] One extreme case was the Honourable Mrs Edward Petre (Sister Mary), where Harris depicts how she orchestrated the building of a teacher-training school, two convents and a church.[84] Gentry patronage was further perpetuated through both the building and re-organisation of country houses, the essence of which was size, space and grandeur. These are shown by Girouard and Stone to illustrate how gentry vied with each other, at the same time using their country houses as a buffer against encroachment by the *nouveaux riches*.[85] The Stones draw attention to the number of large landed Catholic families in the North, the focus of Hansom's aggrandisement of country houses for Catholic gentry, as depicted by Evinson and Harris.[86] Not only were houses extended but Girouard shows how the internal structure

*Englan*d (Newton Abbot, 1969), p. 30.

[76] Clarke, *Church Builders*, p. 39.

[77] Colvin, 'Gothic Survival and Gothick Revival', *Architectural Review*, March 1948, p. 91; Kenneth Clark, *Gothic Revival: An Essay in the History of Taste* (Trowbridge and Esher, reprinted 1978), pp. 11-27; S. Lang, 'The Principles of the Gothic Revival in England', *SAHGB,* 25, 4 (1966), 240-267. p. 240; Tom Duggett, *Gothic Romanticism: Architecture, Politics, and Literary Form* (New York, 2010).

[78] Fletcher, *History of Architecture*, pp. 857-866.

[79] James F. White, *The Cambridge Movement: The Ecclesiologists and the Gothic Revival* (London, 1962).

[80] Robert Furneaux Jordan, 'Sir Joseph Paxton', in Ferriday, *Victorian Architecture,* p. 161.

[81] Bourne, *Patronage and Society*, p. 29; see also Allebone re Salvin (1988), Curl re Roberts (1983), Dungeval re Webb (1999) and Kaufman re Lamb (1988).

[82] John Sanders, 'Ecclesiology in Scotland', in Webster and Elliott, *'A Church as it should be',* p. 301; *1000 Churches to Visit in Scotland, Scotland's Churches Scheme* (Edinburgh, 2005).

[83] Sheridan Gilley, 'The Roman Catholic Church in England 1780-1940, in Sheridan Gilley and W.J. Sheils (eds), *A History of Religion in Britain: Practice and Belief from Pre-Roman Times to the present* (Oxford, 1984), p. 354.

[84] Harris: 'Mount Pleasant', pp. 19-35; Harris, 'An Anglo-French Enterprise', p. 114; Harris, 'Yorkshire Works', pp. 187-189.

[85] Mark Girouard, *The Victorian Country House* (London, 1979); Lawrence Stone and Jeanne C. Fawtier Stone, *An Open Elite? England 1540-1880* (Oxford, 1986).

[86] Stone and Fawtier, *ibid*, p. 39; Heather A Clemenson, *English Country Houses and Landed Estates* (Beckenham,

was altered radically to accommodate new living arrangements, and Girouard and Palmer also show how the effects of the industrial revolution led to the incorporation of technological advances.[87] Hansom's St Bueno's College in Wales demonstrates the need for technical 'self-sufficiency' of rural properties precisely as depicted by Palmer, whereas Clemenson stressed the additional requirement to blend the house with the grounds, adding landscaping to the remit of architects.[88] At St Bueno's Hansom included a rose garden and large-scale terracing, (see Plate 17).

During this last decade, the influence of continental architecture upon English style became more marked. Hansom's church in Ripon, which is described as implementing 'a kind of Lombardo-Early Decorated' style, is one notable example.[89] Curl shows how design was also increasingly inspired by that in France, with later examples by Hansom being his Church of the Holy Name in Manchester and St Philip Neri at Arundel (see Plate 14).[90] Based on his study of buildings in Venice, Birch shows how Ruskin's writings made an impression on English thinking, so much so that Curl termed the Oxford University Museum (1854-60), 'Ruskinian Gothic'.[91] Not a trained architect, Ruskin relied heavily on visual rather than structural study, an approach advocated by Trevelyan.[92] Ruskin shared views with Pugin, and Birch shows how he condemned restoration as 'spruced up imitation' and decried the loss of craftsmanship.[93] It was his time spent in Venice, say Dixon and Muthesius, which led to his liking of bright colours and polychromy.[94]

Methodology

The forty-year period covered by this thesis has been identified as being the most formative for the British architectural profession. It was a turning-point away from the random, uncoordinated past of builder-architects and specialist craftsmen, through a period of intense struggle closely associated with nationwide social upheaval, finally emerging in a coherent format which could eventually be

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1982), p. 22; Evinson, 'Hansom', pp. 262-265; Harris, 'Hansom: Yorkshire Works', pp. 10-11.

[87] Girouard, *The Victorian Country House*, pp. 22-25; P. S. Barnwell and Marilyn Palmer (eds), *Country House Technology* (Donington, 2012).

[88] Paul Edwards, *Canute's Tower St Beuno's 1848-1989* (Leominster, 1990); Sarah Staniforth, Museums and Collections Director, the National Trust, in P. S. Barnwell and Marilyn Palmer (eds), *Country House Technology* (Donnington, 2012), p. vii; Clemenson, *English Country Houses*, p. 45.

[89] *The Builder,* 17 May 1862, p. 356.

[90] James Stevens Curl, *Victorian Churches*, p. 20.

[91] James Stevens Curl, *Oxford Dictionary of Architecture and Landscape Architecture*, p. 669; see also Birch, 'The Nature of Gothic', in *John Ruskin: Selected Writings* (Oxford, 2004), pp. 32-63; Ruskin's writings spanned 1829-1889, with *Seven Lamps of Architecture* (1849) and *Stones of Venice* (three vols, 1851-53) the most prominent.

[92] Sir George Trevelyan, *The Active Eye in Architecture* (Ross-on-Wye, 1977).

[93] Birch, *Ruskin*, pp. xv, 24.

[94] Dixon and Muthesius, *Victorian Architecture*, pp. 201, 202.

identified with a twentieth-century service-provider. However, progress was not linear, topics overlap and authorities put forward conflicting points of view.

In order to manage the complexity and diversity of this period, the thesis has been divided into four decades, each one highlighting a distinctive shift in architectural practice. Topics such as the Church Commissioners are dominated by Port, and competitions by Bassin. Literature on the Gothic and Catholic Revivals is abundant, patronage is variable and often biased towards individual architects, whereas other subjects, such as the Great Exhibition, are under-reported. Each of these topics constituted a vital part of the whole, as did the social context which makes use of Briggs, Gilmour, and Richards and Hunt. It has been important to keep a balance regarding the social context, and to be mindful that the profession also carried its own momentum, as shown by Kaye.[95] Thus a very wide range of sources has been accessed, from primary to secondary literature, journal articles, theses and biographies, all of which have been augmented by field work and archival research.

Catholic architects contributed substantially to national development during this crucial forty-year period, yet they too are often unrepresented, a further reason for incorporating the Roman Catholic architect, Joseph Hansom.[96] The lack of a single cache of Hansom records has been advantageous, as information discovered during the search for original records has revealed much about his working practices as well as those of others. Many of the properties referenced have been visited to gain a better understanding, see Appendix III for a complete list. Furthermore, the timing of Hansom's career and the diversity of his work reflects each of the different phases more closely than many of his contemporaries. His unique journal, *The Builder*, is a quasi-history of architecture and useful source of reference from 1843 onwards.

Context

As architecture is not only a product of its time but also a tangible historical record, a general review of contemporary social conditions is essential to bring architecture into history.[97] The fast-moving setting which enshrouded and moulded the formative years of the architectural profession are complex and require explanation. That there were fourteen changes of Prime Minister between 1827 and 1860 is in itself an indication that the country was in disarray.[98] Kaye stated that the first three decades were 'characterised by chaos'.[99] It was also a period of opposites, of acute poverty and extreme wealth, where living conditions of the lower classes were no better than in the previous

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[95] Kaye, *Development of the Profession*.
[96] See Bryan Little, *Catholic Churches since 1623: A Study of Roman Catholic Churches in England and Wales from Penal Times to the Present Decade* (London, 1966).
[97] Ballantyne, 'Architecture as evidence', p. 36.
[98] Seven changes took place between 1827 and 1835; Woodward, *The Age of Reform*, 1815-1870 (Oxford, 1854).
[99] Kaye, *Development of the Profession*, p. 125.

century.[100] Taylor elaborates on this by quoting Burke, who described it as an age of violence and tension mixed with power and strength.[101] The nobility and gentry were forced to compete with a new breed of wealthy middle classes; radicals such as Thomas Attwood in Birmingham were calling for political reform, and the Church of England was threatened by the growing number of Dissenters, also particularly prevalent in Birmingham.[102] Hansom's involvement and participation in Birmingham politics nearly ended his career.[103]

The forty-year period was heralded by a potential loss of control which was of real concern. A break-up of tradition spread across Europe following the French Revolution, causing fear of the same thing happening in England, which was simultaneously grappling with a state of change and growth rapidly escalating out of control.[104] Shortage of funds following the Napoleonic wars, which had temporarily arrested the progress of art by denying educational travel to the continent, combined with domestic unrest.[105] The Established Church, previously a stabilising influence, was weak and under threat.[106] It embarked upon a joint initiative with the State to diffuse the situation by building a large number of churches and encouraging education.[107] This was followed by the *Poor Law Amendment Act* in the next decade which necessitated the building of workhouses on a national scale.[108] Concurrent with this, was a rising middle class undermining the English *status quo* and creating new mandates in the form of civic pride. Increased wealth and power was flaunted in the form of town halls which were expected to better those of their neighbours.[109] Thus, within two decades, the services of architects were suddenly in great demand across three areas of national importance: religion, management of the poor and the visible manifestation of grandiose status

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[100] Kitson Clark, *The Making of Victorian England* (London, 1970), p. 59; what Dickens called 'the best of times, and the worst of times', (Charles Dickens, *Tale of Two Cities*, 1859).

[101] Nicholas Taylor quoting Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful (1757)*, 'The Awful Sublimity of the Victorian City' in Dyos & Wolff, *The Victorian City: Images and Realities* (London, 1973), p. 435.

[102] David E. H. Mole, 'Challenge to the Church: Birmingham 1815-1865' in Dyos & Wolff, *Victorian City*, p. 815; Clark, *Victorian England*, p. 125; David J. Moss, *Thomas Attwood: The Biography of a Radical* (McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990); Carlos Flick, *The Birmingham Political Union and the Movements for Reform in Britain 1830-1839* (Folkestone, 1978); James Stevens Curl, *Piety Proclaimed: an introduction to places of worship in Victorian England* (London, 2002).

[103] See Harris, *Architectural Achievements*; Peers, *Birmingham Town* Hall; Evinson, 'Hansom'.

[104] Briggs, 'Human Aggregate', p. 85; Kitson Clark, *The Making of Modern Britain* (London, 1970 reprint), p. 4; Frances Knight, *The Nineteenth-Century Church and English Society, 1995* (online version July 2010), p. 11; Gilmour, *The Victorian Period, The Intellectual and Cultural Context of English Literature 1830-90* (Harlow, 1993), p. 25; Roger Dixon and Stefan Muthesius, *Victorian Architecture* (London, reprinted 1995), p. 10; Gertrude Himmelfarb, 'The Culture of Poverty' in Dyos & Wolff, *Victorian City*, p. 729; F. Jenkins, *Architect and Patron: a survey of professional relations from 16C to present day* (Oxford, 1961), pp. 179-80.

[105] Port, *600 churches*, p. 11; Crook, 'Pre-Victorian', p. 73; Fletcher, *History of Architecture*, p. 853; Allibone, *Salvin*, p. 21.

[106] Mole, 'Challenge to the Church' in Dyos & Wolff, (1973).

[107] See for example Port, *600 churches* (2006); Carr, 'The Commissioners' Churches', (1976).

[108] See Morrison, 'The New-Poor-Law Workhouses' (1997); Dickens, 'Architect and Workhouse' (1976).

[109] See Cunningham, *Victorian and Edwardian Town Halls* (1981); Salmon, *Building on Ruins* (2000); Gunn, *Public Culture* (2000).

symbols. These multi-faceted campaigns engendered a previously unknown awareness of the importance of building, in particular the significance of design, firstly at a practical level, and subsequently aesthetically. They provided a platform upon which several renowned architects were able to build their careers, at the same time shifting business practices from traditional forms of patronage to collective employment.[110] This was stimulated by a number of Acts of Parliament and the advent of the railway system.[111] As the nation changed, so did the architectural profession. Significantly, the much-abused method of competitive selection implemented to appoint architects highlighted short-comings and led them to call for some form of regulation, prompting the setting up of the Institute of British Architects in 1834.[112]

Though England was insular, it was not isolated from the effects of other countries. The wars in and with France left the country with huge debts and the loss of jobs, with empty munitions factories and out-of-work soldiers. This inculcated a sense of instability and insecurity in an already difficult situation, with Luddite attacks on machinery (1811-13), the Manchester Massacre (1819) and Spa Fields riots and the Cato Street Conspiracy in London (1820). Internal problems stemmed from the agricultural revolution, with the *Enclosure Acts* which lasted from 1750 through to 1860 and took away seven million acres of common (free grazing) land.[113] The Corn Laws of 1815, which restricted the importation of foreign corn, backfired when the price of bread increased. They had to be repealed in 1846. In Ireland the situation was exacerbated by repeated potato famines, introduced by blight-diseased potatoes from America (1845 and 1847), leading to a huge exodus of Irish into England.[114] Then, in 1861, America withdrew cotton exports, due to its own Civil War, and this caused the collapse of the Lancashire cotton industry.

The English agricultural revolution created a ripple effect, the consequences of which were to shape the future architectural profession. As large landowners swallowed up their tenants' land, and peasant smallholders were driven to towns to seek work, the beginning of urbanisation manifested further change. Home-based work and cottage industries ceased with the introduction of large factories, and technology replaced manual labour. Migration from country to town increased, creating pockets of population explosion, such as in Birmingham, Manchester and Newcastle. These brought attendant financial and commercial elements, the 'Hungry Forties' and trade

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[110] See Jenkins, *Architect and Patron* (1961).
[111] For example the *Church Building Act*, 1818; the *Great Reform Act*, 1832; the *Poor Law Amendment Act*, 1834; the *Municipal Corporations Act*, 1835.
[112] See Bassin, *Architectural Competitions* (1984); Harper, *British Architectural Competitions* (1983); Gotch, *The Royal Institute of British Architects* (1934).
[113] C. H. K. Martin, *The Groundwork of British History*, Part II, 'From the Union of the Crowns to the Present Day' (London, 1921), p. 585
[114] See T. W. Moody and F. X. Martin (eds), *The Course of Irish History* (New York, 1967).

depression.[115] Population in England and Wales doubled between 1801 and 1851 to eighteen million, thirteen per cent of which was London-based.[116] That of the British Isles was 20.9 million in 1821, rising to 28.9 million in 1861.[117] Iron and coal were vital, as was transport. Roads were improved, canals built, and finally railways.[118] The railway mania of the 1840s was key – it provided work, a means of investment and above all, the mobility so necessary for architects to expand their working areas and make use of a wider range of building materials. A bonus which urbanisation yielded was the need for better administration of towns, such as seen in the *Town Improvements Act* of 1828 which facilitated Birmingham Town Hall, and led to the *Municipal Corporations Act* of 1835.

Within this setting of rapid growth and expansion, architects sought to express and define their profession. This was not straightforward as their remit overlapped with others, such as surveyors, and they could not, therefore, claim to have a monopoly. They did not wish to be considered a commercial enterprise, and their aim was to be accepted as 'gentlemen architects'.[119] Fundamental to their predicament was the lack of any organisational framework and provision of formal education.[120] Previous empirical training served as the equivalent to Oxbridge for the clergy, but was subjective and had no official standing.[121] Likewise, various social support groups and quasi associations had no authority, were largely élitist and London-based, and even when lectures were offered, Corfield described them as 'disorganised and unsystematic'.[122] Even the Institute of British Architects, was not a complete process because it was not properly organised and large numbers chose not to join the Institute for, as Jenkins explained, they found it too restrictive.[123] This was their dilemma: on the one hand a requirement for regulation, to prevent the untrained from calling themselves architects and bringing the profession into disrepute, and on the other a wish to retain individual flexibility, both commercial and artistic. However, change became inevitable. Architects were at risk of becoming redundant if they could not improve their organisation and enhance their

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[115] Richard L. Schoenwald, 'Training Urban Man' in Dyos & Wolff, p. 676; Gertrude Himmelfarb, 'The Culture of Poverty' in Dyos and Wolf, p. 717; D. Morier Evans, *The Commercial Crisis 1847-1848 being Facts and Figures* (2nd edition revised and enlarged, Newton Abbot 1849); C. N. Ward-Perkins, 'The Commercial Crisis of 1847', Oxford Economic Papers (1950 2 (1): pp. 75-94; Clark, *Modern Britain*, p. 83; *Essays in Labour History*, (ed.), Asa Briggs and John Saville (London, 1960), p. 49.

[116] Gilmour, *Victorian Period*, p. 2; G. F. Chadwick, 'The Face of the Industrial City', in Dyos & Wolff, *Victorian City*, p. 415; Kitson Clark, *Victorian England*, pp. 66, 113.

[117] Denis Richards and J. W. Hunt, *Modern Britain* (London, 1956).

[118] R. B. Mowat, *The Victorian Age* (London, 1939), p. 203; L. C. B. Seaman, *Victorian England; Aspects of English and Imperial History* (London, reprinted 1977), p. 29.

[119] Kaye, *Development of the Profession*, p, 45.

[120] Jenkins, *Architect and Patron*, pp. 166-167; Crook, 'Pre-Victorian', p. 70.

[121] W. J. Reader, *Professional Men, The Rise of the Professional Classes in Nineteenth-Century England* (London, 1966), p. 118; Colvin, *Dictionary*, p. 26.

[122] Penelope J. Corfield, *Power and the Professions in Britain 1700-1850* (London and New York, 1995), p. 153.

[123] Jenkins, *Architect and Patron*, p. 118.

reputation to equal that of engineers and surveyors.[124]   Their ultimate aim was to raise their reputation and achieve a status on a par with the medical and legal professions.

The financial crises of the mid-1840s temporarily halted the process. However, the literary works of Sir Walter Scott and the earlier building of Strawberry Hill and Fonthill Abbey, combined with the force of Augustus Welby Pugin to encourage a mood of zeitgeist, nostalgia for the mediaeval past, the Romantic phase whereby architects used Gothic designs (see Chapter VI). Whilst doing so, they also looked to the future, striving to find a new style by which they could be remembered.[125]   In the absence of any formal training, this was a period when published works, such as Pugin's *Contrasts*, and journals such as Hansom's *Builder,* provided both information and criticism (see Chapter V).[126] Progress of the profession was then interrupted by two movements, the Oxford Movement, which saw many conversions to Catholicism, and the Cambridge Camden Society (CCS), which arbitrarily attempted to establish 'rules' for architects through its journal *The Ecclesiologist*.[127]   Subsequently labelled the Catholic Revival and the Gothic Revival, these caused disruption and internal disputes, where the one impacted upon the other.[128]   Following the death of Pugin and his chief patron, the Earl of Shrewsbury, together with the lessening of the dogmatic approach by the CCS, architecture was freed to move into a new phase of expansion. It benefitted from female patronage, a national thirst for education and the aggrandisement of country houses. There was now a requirement to incorporate new technological advances, which were promoted through two great exhibitions, London in 1851 and Paris in 1855.[129]

Despite earlier attempts to dictate or restrict the artistic traits of architects, even within their own ranks, these were ineffective. Diversity and originality prevailed, often overshadowing commercial

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[124] Gutman, 'Patrons or Clients', p. 151.

[125] Jordan notes the significance of the 'gesture' made by Beckford when building Fonthill, (see page 199), more akin to statements made by Victorian patrons in the nineteenth-century; Robert Furneaux Jordan, *Victorian Architecture* (Harmondsworth, 1966); p. 209; see also Hill, *God's Architect* (2007); Goodhart-Rendel, 'English Gothic' (1924); Crook, *Dilemma of Style* (1987).

[126] A. W. N. Pugin, *Contrasts or a parallel between the noble edifices of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and similar buildings of the present day; shewing the present decay of taste; Accompanied by appropriate Text* (Salisbury, 1836).

[127] Christopher Webster and John Elliot (eds), 'A Church as it should be': The Cambridge Camden Society and it's Influence (Stamford, 2000); White, *The Cambridge Movement* (London, 1962).

[128] Denis Gwynn, *Lord Shrewsbury, Pugin and Catholic Revival* (London, 1946); Clark, *Gothic Revival*; Basil Clarke, F. L., *Church Builders of the nineteenth century: A Study of the Gothic Revival in England* (Newton Abbot, 1969 reprint); Charles Locke Eastlake, *A History of the Gothic Revival: an Attempt to Show How the Taste for Mediaeval Architecture, which Lingered in England during the Two Last Centuries Has since Been Encouraged and Developed* (London, 1872), J. Mordaunt Crook (ed.), (1970); Michael J. Lewis, *Gothic Revival* (London, 2002).

[129] Girouard, *Country House Companion*, (1987); Girouard, *The Victorian Country House* (1979); Wilson and Mackley, *Creating Paradise* (reprinted 2011); Palmer, *Technology in the Country House* (2016); Arthur Chandler, '*The French Universal Exposition of 1855*', World's Fair, 6, no. 2, revised 2014; Charles Baudelaire, *Exposition universelle, 1855: Beaux arts, in Oeuvres completes* (Paris, 1961); Patricia Mainardi, *Art and Politics of the Second Empire* (New Haven, 1987).

expectation.[130] Progress throughout this forty-year period was aided by the legislative measures, increased mobility and greater choice of building materials. However, the success of enhanced opportunities, which devolved from a combination of the old and the new, was dependent upon architects' ability to adapt.[131] The thesis will conclude that change, which took place within a measure of continuity, was beneficial rather than detrimental. Not only was it responsible for the over-arching characteristic of the 1850s, that of the escalating size and scale of projects, but also the eventual long-term goal of the profession, statutory regulation.[132]

Summary of Chapters

Two topics dominate the second chapter, the 1820s: the gradual devolvement of conventional patronage and the building of Commissioners Churches. The first half of the chapter will start by defining the origin of patronage, explaining architects' historical dependency and how and why this lessened. Larson shows that custom and practice in Italy led the way and resembled that in England in the early part of the nineteenth century.[133] The idea of continuity within change is demonstrated by Bourne, who argues that patronage permeated nineteenth-century life regardless of social and economic change.[134] The second half discusses practical issues associated with management of the country, in particular the 1818 *Act for Promoting the Building of Additional Churches in Populous Parishes*. Church-building for the Church Commissioners was the first major shift from individual aristocratic patrons to groups of bureaucratic corporate bodies. Views differ as to whether cost or design was the main priority, however there is general acceptance of the wish to build 'as many [churches] as possible as cheaply as possible'.[135] The opportunities these offered awakened an awareness of architecture across the nation and provided a stepping-stone towards the break-up of the unofficial élitist, London-based monopoly. The inescapable introduction of collective patronage which this engendered was a cathartic moment for the profession, a move towards commercial business practices, with employers rather than patrons.

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[130] Christopher Webster, *The Practice of Architecture* (2012), citing Robert McLeod, *Style and Society Architectural Ideology in Britain 1835-1914*, RIBA publications (1871), p. 123; James Stevens Curl, *Diversity and Invention* (2007). Scott's legacy amounted to £130,000, David Cole, 'Sir Gilbert Scott', in Ferriday, *Victorian Architecture*, p. 184; Roberts left £25,000, James Stevens Curl, *The Life and Works of Henry Roberts 1803-1876, the evangelical conscience and the campaign for model housing and healthy nations* (Chichester, 1983), p. 60; Pugin left £10,000, but being intestate his family was impoverished, Hill, *God's Architect*, p. 494; Hansom only achieved £1,105 and Loudon and Lamb ended their lives in extreme poverty. Wightwick was so disillusioned that he abandoned the profession.
[131] Jim Cheshire, *Stained Glass* (2004), p. 137.
[132] This was not finally achieved until 1938; Jenkins, 'The Victorian Architectural Profession', in Ferriday, *Victorian Architecture*, p. 49.
[133] Larson, 'Patronage and Power', p.130; see also G. F. W. Kent and Patricia Simons with J. C. Eade (eds), *Patronage, Art, and Society in Renaissance Italy* (Oxford, 1987) and John Ruskin, *Stones of Venice* (1851-53).
[134] M. Bourne, *Patronage and Society in Nineteenth-Century England* (London, 1986); Reider Payne, *Ecclesiastical Patronage in England, 1770-1801* (New York, 2010).
[135] Port, *600 churches,* pp. 32, 41.

It was during the 1830s that the impact of change brought about by industrialisation and urbanisation was most noticeable. This decade is divided into two separate chapters, the first of which emphasises how closely the development of architecture was dictated by two opposite forces resulting directly from current political and social change: the outward expression of wealth and urban growth, which led towns and cities to compete for ever-grander displays of public building; and the other end of the spectrum, an attempt to contain poverty in a growing population by building workhouses. In both areas architects had to adapt to working for committees and compete for commissions without the luxury of individual patrons. To compensate, they cultivated personal contacts. Commercial growth led to a wave of civic pride, pre-empted by Hansom's iconic town hall in Birmingham. Taking advantage of improvements to the national transport infrastructure, he enhanced the centre of Beaumaris on the Isle of Anglesey before moving to Birmingham, where he struggled to make use of Anglesey stone for his ill-fated town hall. Town halls are then discussed in general, as are Mechanics Institutes and banks. Like the Commissioners Churches, the ensuing workhouses were a source of new work for architects on a mass scale, and contributed greatly to developments within the emerging profession.[136] The unusual and extreme working practices of Scott and Moffat, who sought to monopolise the building of workhouses, are then examined in some detail.

Civic buildings and workhouses were invariably subjected to an unsatisfactory selective competitive process, prompting the resultant need for formal regulation of the profession, as covered in the fourth chapter. The first section of Chapter IV investigates the extent to which competitions, the primary aim of which was to 'solve a problem', dominated architecture in terms of style and cost as much as choice of architect.[137] Aggressive tactics on the part of architects were matched by unscrupulous manoeuvres on the part of competition organisers. Both perspectives are investigated, and illustrated with examples such as the highly irregular new Houses of Parliament, a competition dominated by political intervention.[138] The second part of this chapter shows how the difficulties caused by the one-sided competition system compelled architects to protect their profession through self-regulation. The amount of wasted time and cost preparing submissions for unsuccessful competition entries was of particular concern. Thus architects sought to improve their status and minimise architectural hypocrisy by establishing a code of ethics, guidelines for competition organisers, and formalised training for future architects. However, uptake in membership of the recently founded IBA was initially very low and at first it failed in its mission.

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[136] Dickens, 'Architects and the new Poor Law', pp. 9, 41-51.
[137] Joan Bassin, *Architectural Competitions in Nineteenth-Century England* (Michigan, 1975), p. 1.
[138] Bassin, *ibid*, pp.19-36; W. J. Rorabaugh, 'Politics and the Houses of Parliament', pp. 155-175.

Designated the 'Hungry Forties', architects had to reconcile financial constraints with increasingly ambitious demands of changing public taste. They continued to seek and reinforce their identity but were unable to agree amongst themselves and deflect manipulative press coverage. The two main themes of the fifth chapter cover their quest for a new style to represent the nineteenth-century, and the pressure put upon architects by critical, dictatorial, and sometimes adverse publicity. The inability to formulate a new style led to lengthy and fruitless discussion as to whether or not to revert to Classical or Gothic styles. This in turn led to even more wasted energy by trying to boost patriotism and prove that Gothic originated in England. Their failure to devise a new style impeded their main priority, that of professional recognition as a collective group, along with, more importantly, enhanced social status as individuals. Controversial contemporary writing, for example books by A. W. N. Pugin, Hansom's *Builder* and the Cambridge Camden Society's journal, the *Ecclesiologist,* added to the complexity.[139] However, these flourished in the absence of any formal training which the Institute was unable to provide.

Chapter six highlights the impact which two much-publicised movements, the Gothic Revival and the Catholic Revival, had on the development of the architectural profession. The two main sections of this chapter are treated separately, but brought together as they were so closely inter-dependent. Both were dominated by a number of strong personalities. Pugin wanted to Gothicise all churches, Catholic or Protestant; his patron, the Earl of Shrewsbury, was happy to pay for new churches to be built, and their mutual friend Ambrose de Lisle Phillipps wanted to convert the nation to Catholicism. Pugin's promotion of the Gothic style was at its peak, but his extremist views linking the design of churches to the Catholic faith were a disruptive interlude in the overall development of the profession, as was the conversion of John Henry Newman. This was followed by a further spate of conversions, which accompanied the Oxford Movement and added to the de-stabilisation of the Church of England. This was exacerbated by a high influx of Irish, largely Catholic, immigrants.

The seventh chapter looks at the 1850s, a diverse range of topics, with emphasis on expansion and growth. Despite the benefit of a wide range of new opportunities and progress made within the profession, many traditions remained, with patronage and networking still playing important roles. Female patronage in particular increased, providing new opportunities along old lines. Emphasis on separation and segregation, essential to the design of workhouses, now became a feature of country houses. Logistically complicated, architects were asked to completely reorganise existing properties, creating divisions and sub-divisions both for the owners and their servants. At the same

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[139] Other notable examples are Carpenter, Loudon, Neale and Weale; see also Nikolaus Pesvner, *Some architectural writers of the nineteenth-century* (Oxford, 1972).

time they were expected to incorporate new technology, products of the industrial revolution. A further element, the need for education, extended beyond that of the profession and included the mass provision of schools for the poor, with university extensions for the elitist few. Not only is Hansom's work illustrative of this diversity, but he introduces a new dimension when he works simultaneously in Plymouth and Boulogne-sur-Mer, work generated by a single family of English aristocrats. This is also indicative of growth and expansion at international level, reinforced by competitions on the Continent won by English architects. Finally, comparisons are drawn between two exhibitions, those in London and Paris. The London event was centred on technological advances, with architecture barely featuring. That in Paris devoted a separate section to architecture, with fifty different British architects exhibiting.

These brief summaries provide the groundwork or plan upon which to build the following seven chapters of this thesis. They illustrate the part played by architecture in the history of the nation and the interplay between the two. They also give credence to the theory that development of the future profession mirrored the rapid and problematic national overall growth, expansion and turbulence which occurred between 1820 and 1860.

Plate 1
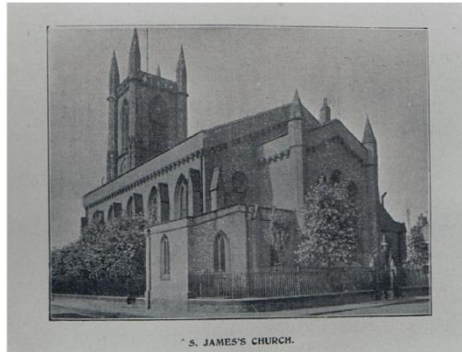
St James' Church Myton
Illustrated History of St James
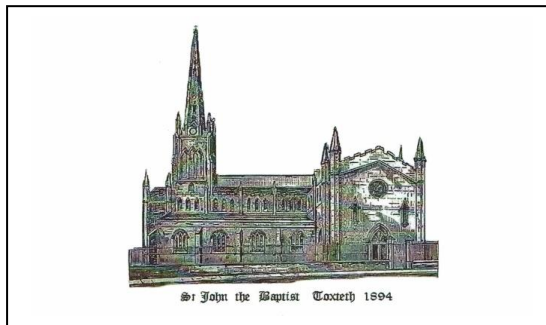
St John the Baptist, Toxteth
Liverpool Review, 31 March 1894

St Stephen's Church, Acomb
author's photograph, 2006

Plate 2
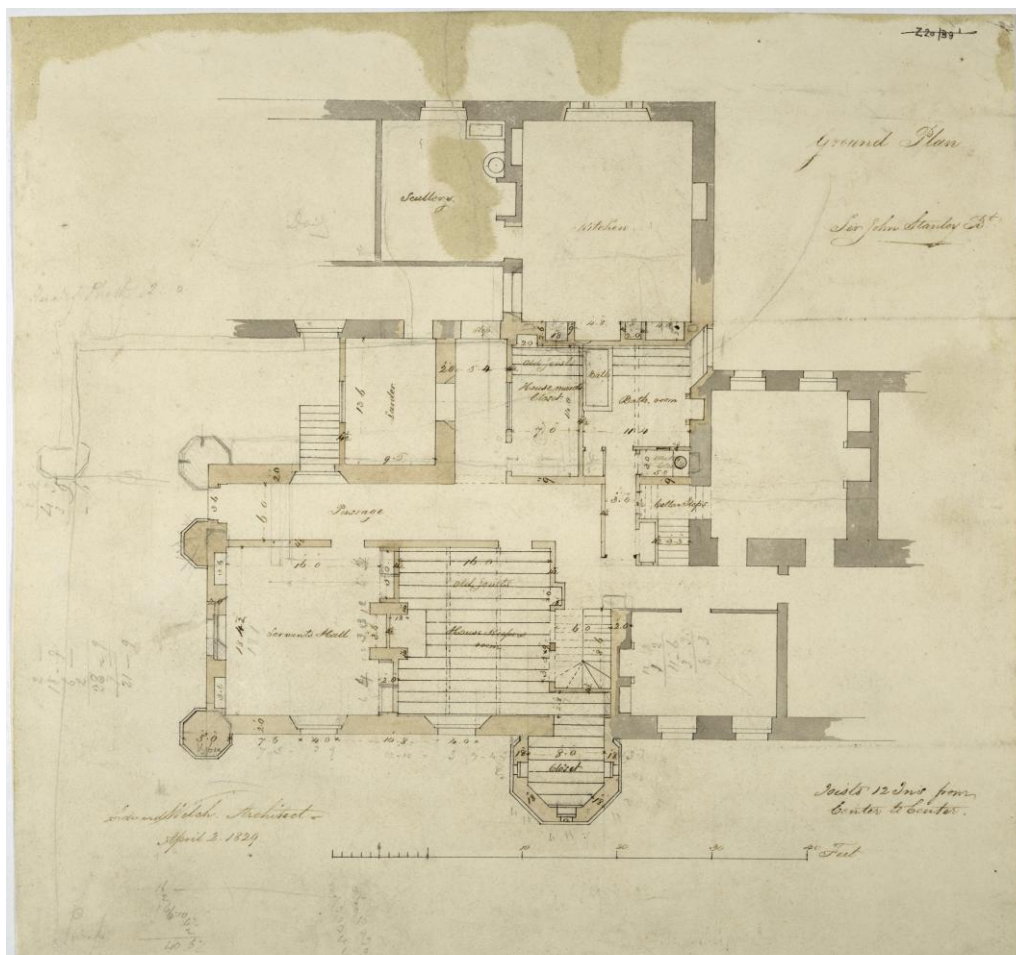
Penrhos Hall, 1829
RIBA Drawings and Archives PB391/3(1)

Birmingham Journal, 7 December 1833

Plate 4

At a GRAND MEETING of all the Members of all the Lodges of Manchester, called by special Notification to each Lodge, to meet ROBERT OWEN, JOSEPH HANSOM, and EDWARD WELCH, held in the Manor House. Brown-street. Manchester, on Thursday, 12th Sept. 1833:

ROBERT OWEN, IN THE CHAIR.

The Chairman, after stating the servile and deplorable condition to which the producers of wealth, throughout Great Britain and Ireland, have been reduced by competition with machinery and with each other, and explaining to the meeting the utter impossibility of any permanent improvement being effected for their benefit while this competition shall be permitted to be continued, submitted to them the following proposals, as a certain, speedy and effectual mode of giving a new direction to the industry of the Building classes, and as a means of placing them and their children and their children's children in a state of permanent independence.

UNION.

To the United Working Builders of Great Britain and Ireland.

Proposals for the Establishment of a National Association for Building, to be called " THE GRAND NATIONAL GUILD OF BUILDERS, to be composed of Architects, and Surveyors,—Masons,—Carpenters and Joiners, Bricklayers,—Plasterers,—Slaters,—Plumbers and Glaziers, and Painters,—Whitesmiths,—Quarrymen,—and Brickmakers.

OBJECTS OF THE UNION.

1. The general improvement of all the individuals forming the Building Class; ensuring regular employment to all.
2. To ensure fair remuneration for their services.
3. To fix a reasonable time for labour.
4. To educate both Adults and Children.
5. To have regular superior Medical Advice and assistance, and to make provision for the comfortable and independent retirement of the aged and infirm.
6. To regulate the operations of the whole in harmony, and to produce a general fund sufficient to secure all these objects.
7. To ensure a superiority of Building for the Public at fair and equitable prices.
8. To obtain good and comfortable Dwellings for every Member of the Union—extensive and well arranged Workshops,—Places of Depôt for Building Materials,—Provisions and Clothing,—Halls for the Meeting of the Lodges and Central Committees,—Schools and Academies for the instruction of Adults and Children in Morals and the useful Sciences.
9. And also the Establishment of Builders' Banks in the various districts in which the Grand District Lodges shall be established.

Notice of Grand Meeting, Owen, Hansom and Welch
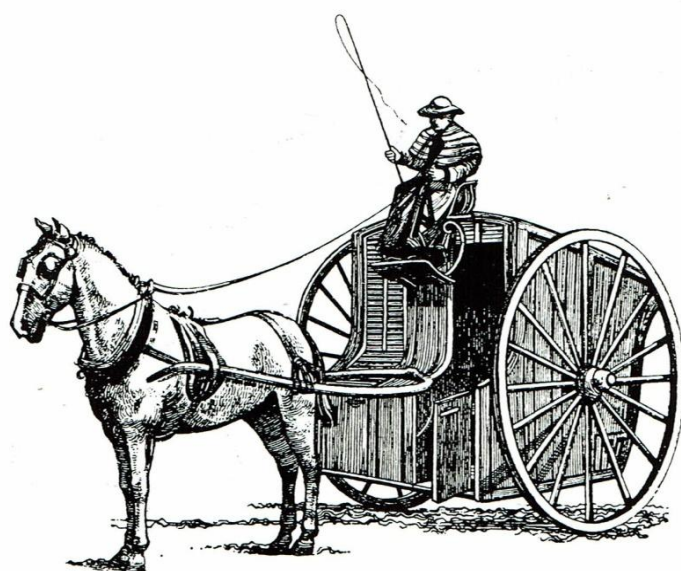
Plate 5

Original cab as designed by Hansom
Illustrated and Sporting Dramatic News, 14 April 1833

Plate 6

Church of Our Lady of the Angels, Nuneaton
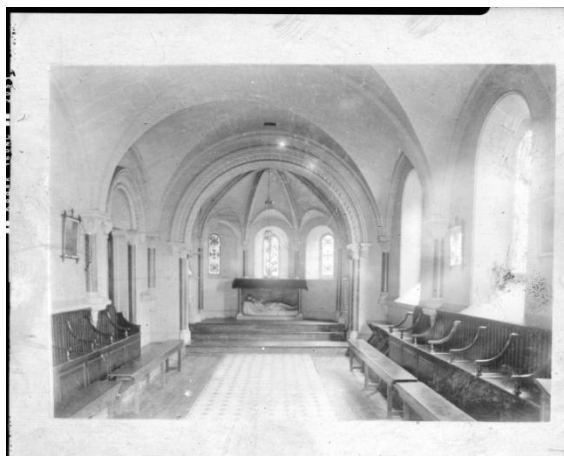
**Mortuary Chapel, Priory of Our Lady
of the Angels,** Princethorpe

Our Lady of the Rosary, Atherstone

Plate 7

Hinckley Union Workhouse

Plate 8

THE BUILDER.

BUILDERS' COLLEGE, LONDON.—To PARENTS AND GUARDIANS.—Mr. HANSOM, Architect of the Birmingham Town Hall, &c. &c., has associated with his practice an Institution to give enlarged facilities to students in Architecture and Architectural Engineering; and to form a superior class of Architectural Sculptors, Carvers, Modellers, &c., to be engaged in his own office and works until competent to practise a liberal and lucrative profession.

It has been Mr. Hansom's study to lay down a plan for the instruction of architectural decorators and furnishers, which shall combine the advantages of the school, the office, and the workshop; so that general education, professional training, and handicraft skill may be acquired and perfected together—that the benefits of college discipline, and residence of systematic tuition under proficient masters, of lectures and examinations, and of constant familiarity with books, models, and works may be united in one establishment.

Pupils are eligible at the age of fourteen and upwards, and are articled in the usual manner as apprentices. The terms are moderate, and with other particulars, may be known on application at the office, 27, Foley-place, London.

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Precursor issue of *The Builder,* 31 December 1842

Plate 9

Minsteracres, author's photograph 2012

Danby Hall, author's photograph, 2011

Lartington Hall, from Lartington Hall, A History, Robin Rackham

Plate 10

St Mary and St Germaine, Selby
author's photograph, 2011

Training School for Catholic Schoolmistresses
SNDN archives, Liverpool Hope University

Plate 11

Boulogne convent with Saint-Sang in background
author's photograph, 2014
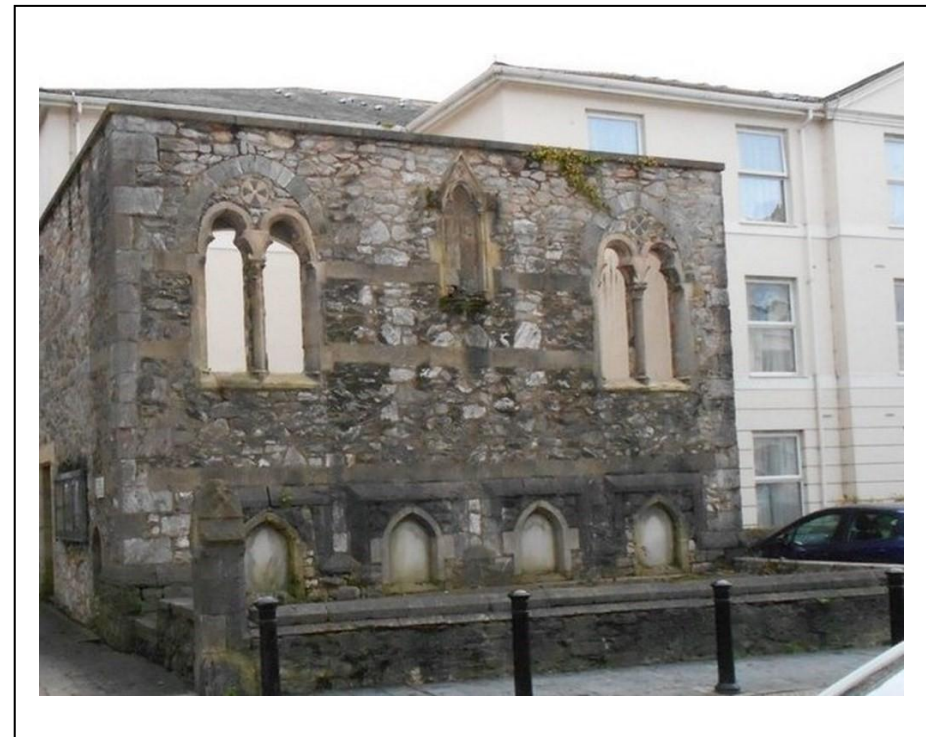
Remains of Plymouth convent
author's photograph, 2015

Plate 12

St Cuthbert's College, Ushaw – Big Library, external, 1849-51
Edumnd Harris, Victorian Society

St Cuthbert's College, Ushaw – Big Library, internal, 1849-51
Edumnd Harris, Victorian Society

Plate 13

Hansom's paintings of St Walburge's church in the Paris Exhibition
photographs, Mark Watson

Plate 14
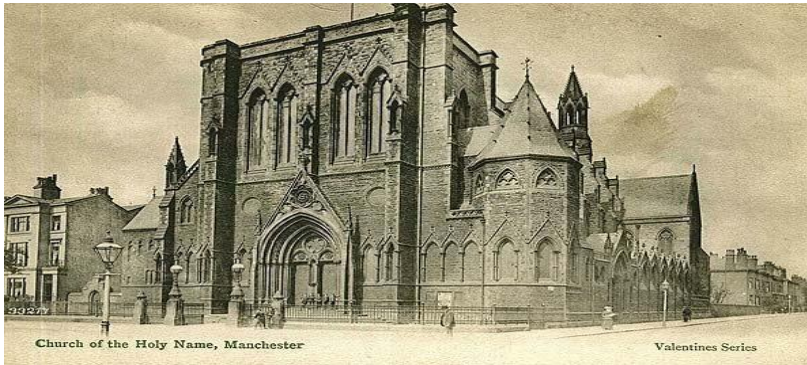
Church of the Holy Name, as far as built by Hansom

Arundel Cathedral, author's photograph, 2013

Fort Augustus Tower
author's photograph, 2009

Plate 15

St Wilfrid's Church, Ripon
showing E.W. Pugin's reredos and altar
author's photograph, 2008

Fig. 1. Graph showing the chronological disper-
sion of a sample of 500 Victorian country houses.
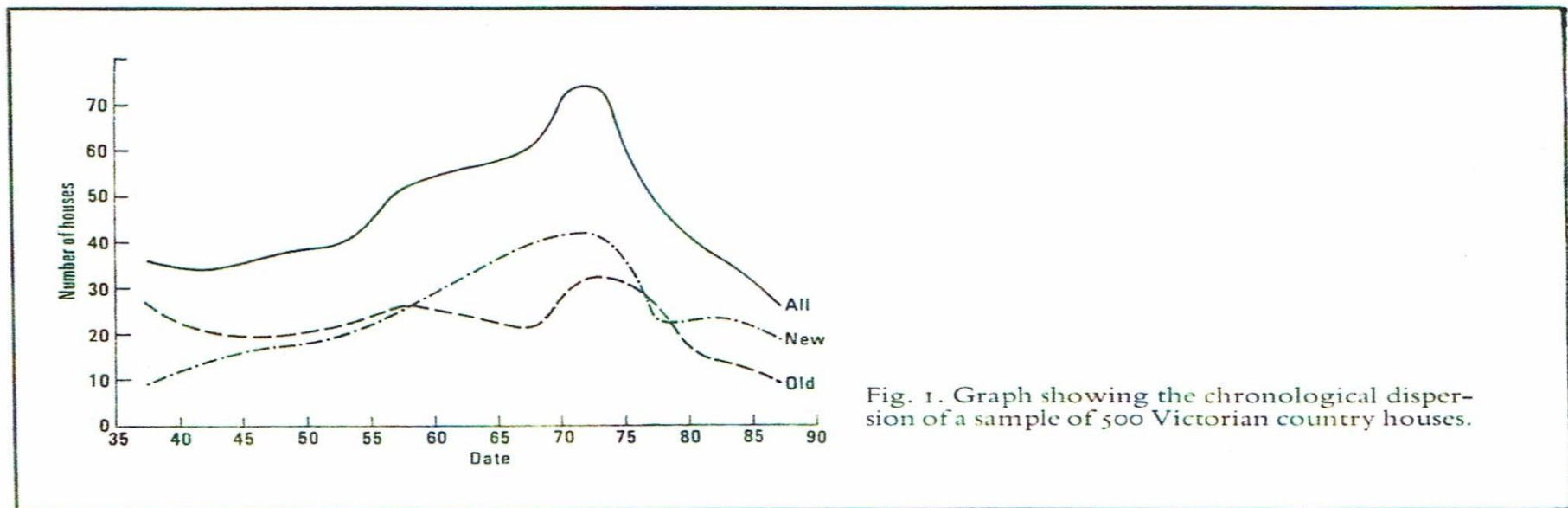
Graph showing differences between re-organisation of existing properties and new build

Marc Girouard, *Victorian Country Houses,* p. 9

Plate 17

St Beuno's College, Tremeirichion
author's photograph, 2008

CHAPTER II
THE 1820s - ARCHITECTURE WITHIN SOCIAL CHANGE

Prior to the establishment of architecture as a credible profession, the small number of specialist architects, as opposed to more general architect-builders and masons, was heavily dependent upon élite patronage. For the profession to survive and grow, both architects and the nature of their patronage had to adapt to changing needs. Neither can be divorced from social and economic conditions which, as Crook points out, provided a catalystic platform which enabled architects to take advantage of new opportunities and break with the past.[1] This view is shared by Ballantyne, particularly with regard to hitherto unknown sources of funding.[2] Initially based in Halifax, Hansom picked up on his employer's use of new work provided by the Church Commiessioners. He acquired three appointments, initially in Yorkshire, and then further south in Liverpool.

Historiography

The first section of this chapter will discuss the origins of patronage, with Larson showing how custom and practice in Italy led the way and resembled that in England in the early part of the nineteenth century.[3] The overview by Jenkins of the relationship between architects and their patrons from the sixteenth century to the middle of the twentieth century fails to give sufficient significance to the early- mid-nineteenth century, though he acknowledges the value of architecture to society.[4] Continuity within change is demonstrated by Bourne, who argues that patronage permeated nineteenth-century life despite social and economic change, whereas the traditional ecclesiastical aspect of patronage is examined by Payne.[5] Having examined the *status quo*, this chapter will demonstrate how practical issues associated with management of the country, such as the 1818 *Act for Promoting the Building of Additional Churches in Populous Parishes*, precipitated a break from former practices.[6] Two different perspectives are gained from Port, whose coverage of the Church Commissioners dominates this topic, and Carr, who focuses more on individual church buildings.[7] Carr disagrees with

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[1] Crook, 'Pre-Victorian', p. 62.

[2] Andrew Ballantyne, 'Architecture as evidence', in *Rethinking Architectural Historiography*, Dana Arnold, Elvan Altan Ergut, Belgin Turan Özkaya (London, 2006), p. 36.

[3] Larson, 'Patronage and Power', p.130; see also G. F. W. Kent and Patricia Simons with J. C. Eade (eds) *Patronage, Art, and Society in Renaissance Italy* (Oxford, 1987) and John Ruskin, *Stones of Venice* (1851-53).

[4] Frank Jenkins, *Architect and Patron: a survey of professional relations from 16C to present day* (Oxford, 1961).

[5] M. Bourne, *Patronage and Society in Nineteenth-Century England* (London, 1986); Reider Payne, *Ecclesiastical Patronage in England, 1770-1801* (New York, 2010).

[6] 58 George III, c.45.

[7] Port, *600 churches: The Church Building Commission 1818-1856* (Reading, 2006); Gerald Lawrence Carr, 'The Commissioners' Churches of London, 1818-1837: a study of religious art, architecture and patronage in

Port in that he believed the Commissioners to be more concerned with cost than design.[8] Nevertheless, the call for large numbers of churches to be built simultaneously released and empowered architects. The ensuing introduction of collective patronage was a cathartic moment for the profession, the first step towards commercial business practices, when architects had employers rather than patrons.

Architectural Patronage

The origins of the concept of patronage, and likewise the term 'client', are somewhat perverse and interchangeable.[9] Both are closely linked to social status and public image, particularly during the mid-eighteenth to early nineteenth-centuries.[10] In Roman times, the term 'patronage' was derived from the Latin *pater*, 'father', and referred to a period when citizens or patrons had dependents, manumitted slaves termed clients.[11] Patrons of this era were socially superior and the influence they wielded was a marketable commodity. Initially, it was they who were paid by their clients to act as protectors, legal advisers and generally to promote their interests.[12] Over time, the terms of payment reversed and it was the patron who not only paid fees to the architect, but also exercised varying degrees of power and control over their output. The role of a patron was typically associated with impoverished artists, whereby in 1775 Samuel Johnson depicted a patron as 'one who looks with unconcern on a man struggling for life in the water, and, when he has reached ground, encumbers him with help'.[13] The underlying theme of influence and support through social superiority remained constant as the client, in this instance the architect, became increasingly subservient.[14] The status of architects was muddled and confused. For example, Thomas Taylor's failure to submit tenders on time for St John's church at Dewsbury Moor was considered to be *untradesmanlike*, terminology which architects sought to rectify by means of professionalisation.[15]

The Kit Kat Club of the early eighteenth-century did much to revive interest in the arts, yet even in the nineteenth century individual 'patrons of the arts' remained generally associated

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Britain from the formation of the Commission to the accession of Victoria', unpublished thesis, University of Michigan (1976).

[8] Carr, *ibid*., pp. 98 and 255, citing *The New Monthly Magazine*, vi 1 October 1982, pp. 445-461.

[9] See Robert Gutman, 'Patrons or Clients?', *Harvard Architectural Review* 6 (1987), pp. 149-159.

[10] Bourne, *Patronage*, pp. 121, 187; Crook, 'Pre-Victorian', p. 71.

[11] The term *patronus*, a protector or defender of clients, was seen as the opposite of *libertus*, a freed man.

[12] *Chambers Encyclopaedia*, 7 (1901), pp. 808-9.

[13] Johnson letters no. 56, Samuel Johnson to Lord Chesterfield, February 1755.

[14] Jenkins suggests that architects ceased to seek patrons, but patrons sought architects; Jenkins, *Architect and Patron*, p. 159; the evidence does not indicate that this was widespread.

[15] Port, *600 Churches*, p. 105 (20): CBC, Building Committee, Minute Book 7, p. 171.

with painters, sculptors or musicians.[16] Such artists as these required minimal financial input, albeit sometimes extending to the provision of accommodation. However, by its very nature, architectural patronage differed from all other forms of patronage. Even at a simple level, large sums of money were essential for the purchase of a site, the purchase of materials and the employment of a workforce, in addition to the fees of the architect as designer. The end-product is by default static, and invariably credit is given to the benefactor rather than the creator, who was considered just a necessary 'part of the construction process'.[17] It is this single over-arching factor, the inability of architects to function without substantial funding, which sets them apart, an inescapable dependency-factor which is noticeable in its lack of prominence in the historiography.

At the beginning of the nineteenth-century, English patronage was either state-driven or in the hands of a select number of aristocratic or excessively wealthy individuals.[18] The general attitude towards architecture was essentially functional in objective - on the one hand massive grandiose palaces or castles to accommodate large-scale entertaining, to display paintings or sculpture, or as fortresses for protection; or on the other hand magnificent cathedrals as settings for religious celebrations. The role of an architect as one of adding an artistic element to the mere construction of a building was not fully appreciated until it became linked to Crown or State in the form of the Office of Works, Woods, Forests, Land Revenues, Works and Buildings.[19] The first three Attached Architects to be appointed were Robert Smirke, a Greek protagonist; John Nash, the favourite of the Prince Regent, and John Soane, whose career best illustrates the changes in culture between the two centuries and did most to pave the way for formal training and professionalisation.[20] All three relied heavily on royal or aristocratic patronage, and set themselves above the majority, using their position as a

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[16] The Kit Kat Club was a social, largely Whig, group with strong political and literary connections, who met regularly at various pubs in London; see Ophelia Field, *The Kit-Kat Club* (London, 2008); see also Philip Carter, 'Kit-Cat Club (act. 1696-1720)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, [http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.bangor.ac.uk/view/theme/7360-9, accessed 18 January 2017]; see also Daniel M. Fox, 'Artists in the Modern State: The Nineteenth-Century Background', *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism,* 22, no. 2 (Winter, 1963), pp. 135-148.

[17] *'Founders of the Royal Institute of British Architects' ,* http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.unicat.bangor.ac.uk/templates/theme, last accessed 30 November 2012.

[18] See Olive Johnson Brose, *Church and Parliament: The Reshaping of the Church of England 1828-1869* (Stanford, 1959).

[19] Port, *600 churches*, pp. 59-82; see also J. Mordaunt Crook and Michael H. Port, *History of the King's Works, 1782-1851,* VI (London, 1973).

[20] Nash was responsible for George IV's improvements to Regents Park 1820-21; as will be seen, the Church Commissioners turned to this select London-based group for advice when embarking upon their church-building campaign; Port*, 600 churches*, p. 11.

means of social-climbing by association with patrons of high-standing.[21] Whilst far more highly skilled and dedicated to their occupation than their medical counterparts, these privileged architects were reminiscent of the elitist apothecaries in the seventeenth century, who underwent a similar evolutionary process, moving through the three states of aristocratic, plutocratic and finally bureaucratic.[22] Coming from diverse backgrounds, architects aspired to the social status of their patrons.[23] Anthony Salvin achieved a small estate in Sussex, but Lamb bankrupted himself whilst building his own large country home.[24] Charles Barry reputedly 'loved Lords and built for Lords', Lamb's career was founded on the patronage of landed gentry, and Pugin took full advantage of his close association with the Earl of Shrewsbury.[25] According to Jordan, Scott was deemed to have 'possessed some magical power of charming money out of his clients' pockets', and Hansom tapped into this élitist group when he advertised that he had taken over the home and office of Barry in 1841, by way of self-promotion.[26] Apart from bringing extra commissions, personal reputation was enhanced in a tangible form when, for example, Barry, Smirke and George Gilbert Scott, were given knighthoods.[27] The other advantage of such contacts was the opportunity to travel, which both Soane and Barry did extensively.[28]

Travelling on the continent was the architects' equivalent of the mandatory Grand Tour undertaken by English gentry.[29] More than that, in the absence of any formal training, it was

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[21] Magali Sarfatti Larson, 'Emblem and Exception: The Historical Definition of the Architect's Professional Role', in Judith R. Blau, Mark la Gory, John S. Pipkin (eds), *Professionals and urban form* (eds), (New York, 1983), p. 59.

[22] Crook, 'Pre-Victorian', p. 71; it took apothecaries two hundred years from achieving a Royal Charter to full recognition in 1815; they underwent similar machinations over training and competition from barber-surgeons, grocer-apothecaries and quacks, as did architects with surveyors, engineers and the untrained; Margaret Pelling, *Medical Conflicts in Early Modern London: Patronage, Physicians and Irregular Practitioners*, (1550-1640), (Oxford, 2003); see also W. S. C. Copeman, *The Worshipful Society of Apothecaries of London, A History, 1617-1967* (London, 1967).

[23] For example: Nash's early career started with bankruptcy before he moved to an official posting in London; Soane's father was a bricklayer; Vulliamy the son of a clockmaker; Paxton was the son of a Bedfordshire farmer; Barry was the son of a well-to-do stationer and book-binder to the Stationery Office, and Pugin the son of a French emigrée.

[24] See Jill Allibone, *Anthony Salvin: Pioneer of Gothic Revival Architecture, 1799-1881* (Columbia, 1987) and David Farrington, 'Lamb, Edward Buckton', *ODNB,*
http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.bangor.ac.uk/view/article/15913, accessed 17 February 2017.

[25] Robert Furneaux Jordan, Victorian Architecture (Harmondsworth, 1966), p. 224; Kaufman, 'Lamb', pp. 317, 318, 325; Sir Robert Frankland-Russell assisted in establishing Lamb's practice; he worked for nineteen different family members, see Table C 'Kinship and Patronage'; Gwynn, *Shrewsbury*, p. xv; Phoebe Stanton, *Pugin* (New York, 1972), p. 56; see also Hill, *God's architect*.

[26] Goodhart-Rendell, *English Gothic*, p. 331; *Tablet,* 13 November 1841; Barry moved to Westminster when he started to build the Houses of Parliament.

[27] Crook, 'Pre-Victorian', p. 72, quoting Henry-Russell Hitchcock, *Architecture: 19th and 20th centuries* (1963), p. 173.

[28] Soane's travels came as a result of an introduction to the architect George Dance junior, followed by the winning of a travelling scholarship, and Barry benefited from a family legacy.

[29] The Grand Tour was the traditional trip of the upper-class European young men of means. The custom

an essential part of an architect's education. Not only did they gain an understanding of style by studying buildings in other countries, but travelling provided the added bonus of establishing influential contacts, which in turn led to work on their return to England.[30] Hansom was not in a position to travel early in life, though he was reputedly very widely read and emphasised the need to travel and speak foreign languages in the prospectus for the Builders' College which he attempted to establish in London in 1842 (see page 133).[31] A late example of such a continental trip was when his younger brother, Charles Francis, was taken to Belgium, France and Cologne by his mentor and patron, Bishop William Ullathorne, 'to educate his taste and stimulate his ideas.[32] Such an arrangement relied upon the fostering of a personal relationship between architect and patron.[33] Regular contact between both parties raised the social and professional profiles of architects and set them apart from mere craftsmen.[34] Indeed, as Marx pointed out, craftsmen did not share the same aspirations as architects:

> every medieval craftsman was completely absorbed in his work, to which he had a contented, slavish relationship, and to which he was subjected to a far greater extent than the modern worker, whose work is a matter of indifference to him.[35]

Close association with patrons did not empower architects to the extent that they became final decision makers, but it did provide opportunities to extend their artistic role, which was either curbed by lack of finance, or in later decades by bureaucratic regulation.[36]

Lower down the scale such a level of dependency was so demeaning that architects were obliged to grovel to their patrons.[37] In the eighteenth-century, Samuel Johnson defined a patron as 'a commonly wretch who supports with insolence, and is paid with flattery'.[38] Extant correspondence a century later demonstrates how accepted methods of address such as *'Honored* Sir' and 'Your Lordship's most *respectful and obliged humble servant*' were

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flourished from about 1660 until the advent of large-scale rail transport in the 1840s - a 'rite of passage', particularly associated with British nobility and wealthy landed gentry; Stone, Open Elite, pp. 41, 133; Nicholas Taylor, 'The Awful Sublimity of the Victorian City', in H. J. Dyos and Michael Wolff, *The Victorian City: Images and Realities*, vol. 2 (London,1973), p. 437; Crook, 'Pre-Victorian', p. 63.

[30] For example Soane, who met Thomas Pitt, cousin of Prime Minister William Pitt, and Smirke, who met Robert Peel; Crook, 'Pre-Victorian, p. 63.

[31] *Builder*, precursor issue 31 December 1842.

[32] Judith Champ, *William Bernard Ullathorne: A different Kind of Monk* (Leominster, 2006), p. 116 (74): Leo Madison, 'The Devil is a Jackass' (Leominster, 1995).

[33] Crook, 'Pre-Victorian', p. 53.

[34] Magali Sarfatti Larson, *Patronage and Power*, isites.harvard.edu/fs/docs/icb.topic753413.files/.../Larson_Patronage.pdf, accessed 1/9/15, pp. 130-131.

[35] Carl Marx, *Pre-Capitalist Economic Formations* (London, 1964), p. 130, cited in Craib, *Social Theory*, p. 215.

[36] Larson, 'Emblem and Exception', p. 54.

[37] Bourne, *Patronage*, p. 122; Payne, *Ecclesiastical Patronage*, p. 205.

[38] *Dictionary of the English Language* (London, 1755); Bourne, *Patronage*, p. 51.

exaggerated, as if architects felt the need to inflate the morale of their patron by emphasising their own social inferiority.[39]   An extreme example is drawn from letters written by Hansom when he was fighting for the contract to design the new Catholic church in York, his birthplace, and, therefore, a work to which he felt entitled. He considered himself to be under threat of competition from Pugin, who might be given the contract on the grounds of 'professional fame' (see Plate 18).[40] Almond believed that Hansom put his vocational sentiments before commercial gain when he stated that his wish to design the church was 'not a matter of business but a matter of devotion'.[41]   Hansom's letter to Reverend Matthew Newsham said that he begged 'to disclaim any feeling of business seeking ... he wished not to take from but to give'.[42]   John Middleton designed his first Cheltenham church free of charge, a practice which would not have been condoned as professional by the RIBA.[43] Of the three extant York letters from Hansom, the first was signed 'I am most humbly your devoted Servant'; the second was signed 'Your very humble and obe^t Ser^t', and the lengthy third letter was signed 'Begging Revd Sir your forgiveness for this intrusion, I am your very humble faithful Servt'.[44] Like many other architects, his letters were of a personal nature, wherein he drew attention to his family connections in his endeavours to persuade the Catholic decision-makers to employ him as their architect. He also tried to persuade them that it was to the advantage of the local Catholic community that the church was built by a local architect.[45]

At nationl level, outside London, and up until the escalation of the industrial revolution, the lord of the manor had typically paid the bulk of building costs, depending upon a varying number of factors: hereditary obligation and duty to the community, the level of wealth and generosity.[46] This was more likely due to self-aggrandisement and a wish to restate the lord's position rather than any form of self-sacrifice.[47] Prior to the onset of urbanisation, churches

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[39] Letter Hansom to Bishop Briggs, 13 April 1842, Middlesbrough Diocesan Archives, (MDA).

[40] *Ibid.*

[41] Hansom to Briggs 18 May 1842, *MDA*; his work at Ampleforth was 'something more than a mere commercial transaction ... a labour of worship and love', Almond, Cuthbert, *History of Ampleforth Abbey*, 1903, p. 346.

[42] Hansom to Newsham 10 May 1842, *MDA*; (underlined sections appear as in the original source).

[43] *Cheltenham Examiner*, quoted by Brian E. Torode, *John Middleton - Victorian, Provincial Architect*, p. 30.

[44] *Ibid.*

[45] St George's Church, York, was built jointly by Joseph and Charles Hansom in 1849-50, (see Plate 19). There ensued arguments about misappropriation of funds by the priest. This inhibited further development of St George's, when money which had been initially raised for a different church was returned, and St George's was sidelined by Goldie's building of the larger, more central and more ornate St Wilfrid's Church (1864).

[46] M. J .D. Roberts, 'Private Patronage and the Church of England, 1800-1900', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History,* 32, no. 2 (April 1981), pp. 2, 10, 32; Bourne, *Patronage*, p. 14; Cunningham, *Stones*, p. 9.

[47] Bourne, *Patronage*, p. 4; Charles Rawding, 'The iconography of churches: a case study of landownership and power in nineteenth-century Lincolnshire', *Journal of Historical Geography,* 16:2 (April 1990), pp. 158, 159, 160; Robert Lee, 'Encountering and managing the poor: rural society and the Anglican clergy in Norfolk, 1815-

had always been the main architectural feature of most towns. As early as the fifteenth-century they were built specifically to reflect local affluence, such as in East Anglia, where they are still known as 'wool churches'.[48] In the early nineteenth-century, major traders and local corporations or guilds began to patronise churches to reflect their own power and the prosperity of their congregations, increasingly superseding the manorial hierarchy of patronage.[49] A parallel situation can be seen in religious communities where early monasteries, particularly the Benedictines, used buildings to establish a corporate identity, and thus designed them specifically to enhance the reputation of their community in exactly the same way that towns and cities competed with each other following the *Municipal Reform Act* of 1835.[50] Thus, regardless of scale, location or function, buildings had symbolic importance, assuring a lasting memorial to those whose name they carried or those who paid for them, with little credit given to the artists and craftsmen concerned.[51]

A similar situation had existed in Italy, a country which greatly influenced English architects. Ekinci's analysis of Filarete's treatise on the Italian patrons, Sforza and Medici, written much earlier but not published until the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, many of the key points he highlighted correlated with current changes in status, when the use of architecture as a demonstrable power-base was equally relevant for political as much as cultural purposes.[52] This grandiose Italian style of patronage had already been emulated in England when the patron-driven status of William Cecil, chief advisor to Elizabeth I, awakened public awareness as to the intellectual demands upon the profession.[53] In the lead up to the nineteenth-century George III's passion for patronage of architecture is likened by Watkin to that of the Enlightenment.[54] His revival of the Medici-style patronage was exploited by Nash, Soane and other architects of the 'Grand Tour' era.[55] However, neither royal extravagance

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1914', unpublished thesis, University of Leicester (2003).

[48] Colin Cunningham, *Stones of Witness: Church Architecture and Function* (Stroud, 1999), p. 9.

[49] *Ibid.*

[50] See Chapter II. Patron saints were nominated for prestige, but in this case rarely were they donors, Luxford, *Art and Arch*, pp. 31, 32, 51; Larson, *Patronage*, p. 130.

[51] Rawding, 'iconography of churches', p. 157; Larson, *Patronage,* p. 142, n. 8. Larson takes this a step further, describing the architect as an 'anonymous' producer. Larson, 'Emblem and Exception', pp. 55, 58.

[52] The emergence of the architectural profession, along with 'a social status [as] distinct from [that of] the craftsman's', 'a transformation of architectural patronage', 'the rise of a new wealthy class' and the 'use of architecture as a tool for converting economic power into political, social and cultural power' are phrases chosen by Ekinci in his analysis: Sevil Enginsoy Ekinci, 'Reopening the question of document in historiography : reading (writing) Filante's treatise on architecture for (in) Piero de' Medici's study', *Part II, Critical Engagements*, 9 (2006), p. 127; see also Frazer Jenkins, 'Medici's Patronage of Architecture', *Journal of the Warburge and Courtauld Institutes*, 33 (1970), pp. 162-170.

[53] Jillian Husselby, *Architecture at Burghley House: the patronage of William Cecil, 1553-1598*, unpublished thesis, University of Warwick, 1996.

[54] David Watkin, *The Architect King: George III and the Culture of the Enlightenment* (London, 2004).

[55] Richards and Hunt, *Modern Britain,* p. 24.

nor state favouritism in the form of the Office of Works was popular and this outmoded way of operating was soon to be challenged by the industrial revolution, rising middle-classes and other associated social change. To add to the confusion the situation was blurred, yet to a certain extent perpetuated, due to unclear divisions between Church and State and overlapping types of patronage, especially where noble blood intervened.[56] Kaufman, Jordan and Crook all show how architects could not altogether free themselves from aristocratic patronage, but neither could they permit it to be subsumed by industrial infiltration, as suggested by Bourne.[57] The development of the architectural profession was, therefore, prey to strong external forces beyond their control.

The difficulties with which they were faced were as varied and complex as the 'multitudinousness of Victorian life', and exacerbated by their unsalaried status, which engendered a sense of insecurity.[58] The relationship between architects and their benefactors was tenuous, a dichotomy between elevating and compromising status, where the concept of patronage was of necessity one-sided and loyalty fickle.[59] Furthermore, as Larson pointed out, they were in an awkward position, being the servants of their patrons, whilst also masters of their builders and craftsmen.[60] Neither architects nor patrons were bound to each other, there was no business contract and both were reliant on good will. That alternative architects could be more readily found than alternative patrons, was experienced by Pugin when he complained at Salford that the patrons did not know what they wanted and asked absurd questions.[61] Despite this, Pugin was known to put pressure on at least three of his patrons, Bishop Gillis, Captain Hibbert and the Earl of Shrewsbury.[62] Many were the arguments between Pugin and the Earl over the use of a rood screen, and artistic temperament flared up when they both stormed out of the opening ceremony of St Mary's at Derby in 1839 because they objected to the performance of a Beethoven Mass which had been arranged by the priest.[63] On another occasion, the architect William Railton, who had been ousted by

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[56] Payne, *Ecclesiastical Patronage*, p. 28.

[57] Kaufman, 'Lamb', p. 314, Jordan, *Victorian Architecture;* Crook, 'pre Victorian', p. 72; Woodward, *Age of Reform*, p.17; Bourne, *Patronage*, p. 29.

[58] Matthew Arnold, in Robin Gilmour, *The Victorian Period: The intellectual and cultural context of English literature, 1830-1890,* Longman, 1993, p. xiii.

[59] Bourne, *Patronage*, p. 7.

[60] Larson, 'Patronage and Power', p. 131.

[61] Hill, *God's architect,* p. 299; Benjamin Ferrey, *Pugin,* p. 276; Benjamin Ferrey, *Recollections of A. W. N. Welby Pugin and his father Augustus Pugin* (London, 1861) reprinted with an introduction by Clive Wainwright and index by Jane Wainwright (London, 1978), p. 169.

[62] Joseph Sharples, 'A. W. N. Pugin and the patronage of Bishop James Gillis', *AH,* 28 (1985), p. 146; Stanton, *Pugin*, pp. 120,176.

[63] Hill, *God's Architect*, p. 219; Pugin was taking a risk as the priest-in-charge was on the judging committee for a church Pugin was hoping to build in London.

Shrewsbury at Grace Dieu in favour of Pugin, refused to attend the unveiling of the Nelson Memorial in Trafalgar Square (1839-43), because he had been obliged to scale back the size of his original design.[64] Public displays of personal attitudes would not have been advantageous to their would-be professional image.

As defined in the introduction, the aim of professionalisation was an attempt to protect the public as much as architects. It did little to ensure an income, and patronage became a kaleidoscope of constantly changing patterns, of old systems running alongside and integrated with new.[65] Crook favoured traditional patronage, considering it a necessary buffer against the open market, at the same time helping to maintain taste and delaying industrial mediocrity.[66] A transitional compromise was for architects to align themselves informally to groups. Gilbert Scott's first four commissions were gained through a circle of family contacts, as were Webb's several decades later; Henry Roberts benefitted greatly from his association with the Reverend Baptist Wriothesley Noel and the Presbyterians; and Hansom became the unofficially appointed Jesuit architect, providing work for a succession of Provincials intermittently between 1842 and 1875, (see Appendix IV).[67] As late as 1915, the prolific, renowned architect Sir Edwin Landseer Lutyens was still proclaiming that great patrons were essential to produce great architecture.[68] However, this was idealistic and unrealistic for all but the most privileged and talented, such as Pugin and the Earl of Shrewsbury. John Talbot, 16th Earl of Shrewsbury and Waterford only paid outright for three of Pugin's churches but acted as a quasi patronage-broker. His ability to influence other potential patrons on Pugin's behalf was of great importance.[69] For example, at Macclesfield in 1838, he offered to add fifty pounds to his yearly subscription, providing the job was given to Pugin.[70] Whilst Pugin and Shrewsbury are an extreme case, the majority of successful architects continued to develop some form of patron-architect association in order to promote

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[64] Hill, *God's Architect*, pp. 174, 342; the change in size of the Nelson Memorial was an unavoidable cost-cutting measure due to insufficient money having been raised by subscription, Hansard's Parliamentary debates, vol. CXLIV, p. 1220; the Duke of Buccleuch, former chairman of the Nelson Memorial Committee, donated sandstone for the statue, http://www.grantonhistory.org/industry/granton_quarry.htm, accessed 09/10/2015; John Timbs, *Curiosities of London Exhibiting the Most Rare and Remarkable Objects of interest in the Metropolis* (London, 1867), p. 225.

[65] Jordan, *Victorian Architecture,* p. 19; both Sir Aston Webb and his partner Edward Ingress Bell relied on aristocratic patronage well into the twentieth century.

[66] *Crook, 'Pre-Victorian',* p. 66, n. 33, quoting John Summerson, 'Heavenly Mansions' (1948), pp. 197-198.

[67] Morrison, *Workhouses*, p.187; Ian Robert Dungeval, 'The Architectural career of Sir Aston Webb (1849-1930), unpublished thesis, Royal Holloway, University of London (1999), pp. 45, 47; Curl, *Roberts*, pp. 16-17, 19, 20, 21, 22, 28, 33, 35, 46, 47, 52, 55-56, 178; see Harris, *Architectural Achievement;* Appendix 2.

[68] *Country Life*, 8 May 1915.

[69] Gwynn, *Shrewsbury*, p. xx; Roderick O'Donnell, *The Pugins and the Catholic Midlands* (Leominster, 2002), pp. 12-13.

[70] Hill, *God's architect*, p. 200; Shrewsbury to Revd John Hall, 14 September 1838, quoted in Michael J. Ullman, *St Alban's Maccelsfield* (Macclesfield, 1982), p. 9; Gwynne, *Shrewsbury*, p. xiii.

their careers. As the nineteenth-century progressed and the market became more competitive and business-like, it was still important for architects to maintain personal contacts and remain 'in favour'.[71]

In addition to high profile donors, those who paid for an entire building, there were subsidiary, or 'unofficial' donors, those who made valuable contributions, such as the Misses Roper who paid for the twenty-two foot rose window in St Walburge's church, Preston, (see Plate 40).[72] Stained glass was particularly popular as it served a dual purpose, where many gifts were also lasting memorials to the benefactor or members of their family. However, apart from decorative features, unofficial donations came in many other forms, such as purchase of a site, the provision of timber or stone, or the organ donated by Hardman to Hansom's humble Nuneaton church.[73] Without such ancillary contributions from wealthy, often landowning donors, many buildings would have been plain if not insignificant.[74] Public subscriptions were also a common way of raising funds, and in Preston systematic collections were organised by local priests who put pressure on poverty-stricken Roman Catholics to contribute regular payments.[75] Rarely acknowledged as such, these were another form of 'unofficial' patronage, a vital subsidy which enabled buildings to be completed.

Changes in the style of patronage were largely driven by changes in social structure, industrialisation and urbanisation. These prompted a series of government initiatives in the 1820s and proved to be the largest contributable factor to widening the scope of patronage. They provided new work and a fresh source of funding, at the same time shifting emphasis away from individual patrons towards business clients under the umbrella of collective or group patrons.   These came in the form of Church Commissioners, Workhouse Commissioners and Town Councils.[76] Long-term benefits were considerable, but initially these valuable sources of work had a negative impact. They called for new and different

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[71] See Fox, 'Artists in the Modern State', p. 135; Chapter VI will show how Hansom's first commission for Bishop Vaughan gave him a near monopoly of Gothic Work across the West Country; Andrew Derrick and Neil Burton, 'Churches in the Roman Catholic Diocese of Plymouth: An Architectural and Historical Review' prepared for English Heritage and the diocese of Plymouth (2009), pp. 12, 21.

[72] *Preston Guardian,* 5 August 1854; the role of female donors is more widely discussed in Chapter V.

[73] Luxford, *Art and Architecture*, p. 32; when building Birmingham Town Hall, Captain Bradshaw gave Hansom free tonnage for stone along the Duke of Bridgewater canal, Joseph Hansom, *Statement of Facts relative to the Birmingham Town-Hall with an appeal to the rate-payers and inhabitants of Birmingham* (1834), p. 8; Julian Luxford, *The Art and Architecture of English Benedictine Monasteries 13-00–1540: A Patronage History* (Woodbridge, 2005), pp. 104-112; Harris, *Architectural Achievement,* p. 116, n. 55; John Kelly, *A Parish History of Our Lady of the Angels Church, Nuneaton 1829-2002* (2003, unpublished), p. 6.

[74] Rawding, 'iconography of churches', pp. 165, 173.

[75] *Preston Guardian*, 19 January, 1850; J. S. Leigh, *Preston Cotton Martyrs: The millworkers who shocked a nation* (Lancaster, 2007), p. 43.

[76] Jenkins, *Architect and Patron*, p. 188; these are discussed below and further in Chapter III.

skills and were instrumental in transforming the artist-architect into a business-professional, though working under the auspices of a bureaucratic setup severely restricted the opportunity for artistic freedom.[77] It was only possible for architects to retain a measure of autonomy by means of individual, Non-Conformist or Catholic patrons, the latter often emanating from the spate of wealthy Anglican converts in the wake of the Oxford Movement.[78] Retained land-ownership and the subsequent *Catholic Emancipation Act* of 1829, meant that Catholic gentry were able to enter the political scene and take a more influential role within both local communities and national politics. Together with the *Reform Act* of 1832, this led to a rise in expectation and a levelling of social orders, but it did not give Catholics any right of access to the funding granted by parliament towards church-building in 1818, nor funding for school-building when an annual grant of £20,000 was allocated in 1833.[79] Private investment, therefore, remained paramount to meet Catholic needs.

Commissioners' Churches

The first, and most important, government measure to impact upon the profession was an attempt to stabilise the country by building a large number of churches. This followed the swell of unrest in the early part of the nineteenth century which resulted from a ripple which pre-dated both the French Revolution and the Industrial Revolution. It stemmed from the much earlier Agrarian Revolution, when farming practices changed radically and the *Enclosure Acts* forced rural workers to leave the country and seek work in the town. Living standards were appalling and costs rose due to the shortage of European imports and increases in duty. There was further discontent amongst the lower classes where some had to work a seventeen-hour day, and others had no work at all due to the introduction of machinery. Campaigns for better conditions were anti-clerical and atheist in tone, unsettling and uncomfortable reminders of the French Revolution.[80] The State and Church shared a single objective: to manage disruption caused by the rapid change in social conditions, particularly urbanisation. In their view moral teaching within the church would act as a 'bulwark against revolution'.[81] Thus it became necessary to implement change in order to manage change. To do this a large number of new churches would have to be built and education provided for the poor.

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[77] Johnson, *Professions*, p. 65.
[78] Curl, *Book of Victorian Churches* (Bath, 1995), p. 18; see Chapter VI.
[79] It was a requirement that two-thirds for churches and half the cost would be raised by private subscription.
[80] Woodward, *Age of Reform*, p. 19; Port, *600 churches*, pp. 11, 15, 17; Jenkins, *Architect and Patron*, pp. 179-180; Fletcher, *History*, p. 853.
[81] Port, *600 churches,* p. 15*;* see also Josef L. Altholz, *The Liberal Catholic Movement in England: The 'Rambler' and its Contributors 1848-1864* (London, 1962), p. 11.

Apart from the arts, patronage had been typically associated with political office, government posts and institutional patronage. The State and the Church of England were bound together through the advowson system whereby they held the right of presentation of a living to a church or ecclesiastical benefice. In 1823, the political élite comprised three hundred peers and baronets, with a combined patronage of 1400 church livings.[82] The clergy were also responsible for the maintenance of law and order, thus their function was as much one of social control as of religious duties.[83] The common factor between the clergy and their patrons was one of status and the shared power-base of land-ownership.[84] Livings could be purchased, were sometimes hereditary, and importantly brought independence.[85] Clergymen were often related to the lords of the manor, and saw their positions as a means to ensure respectable, if not professional status.[86] For their part, the landed gentry were responsible for the building of churches as much as the upkeep of ministers. As providers of finance, architects needed the support of both.[87] Social unrest and increasing disaffection with the Church of England led to a joint conclusion that the only way to resolve both issues was by 'churchifying' the masses, the hope being that by raising moral standards and encouraging education under the auspices of the church, order would be restored and the country become more prosperous.[88] Added advantages were those of bringing people together through the regular communal activity of church-going and building work which would provide jobs for otherwise unemployed trouble-makers.[89] This led to substantial government funding and a nationwide building campaign whereby the number of new or restored churches which followed demonstrated the power of ruling-class control over the religious environment, both gentry, urban élite and middle-class.[90]

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[82] R. Yates, *Patronage of the Church of England, London, 1823,* p. 110 cited by Roberts*, 'Private Patronage'*, p. 209; Rawding*, 'iconography of churches'*, p. 161.

[83] Charles Locke Eastlake, *A History of the Gothic Revival* (first published 1872, J Mordaunt Crook (ed.) 1970), p. 15 quoting Geoffrey Best, *Temporal Pillars: Queen Anne's Bounty, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and the Church of England,* p. 152; Knight, 'Nineteenth-Century Church', p. 11.

[84] Within the Established Church, Lords of the manor were automatically patrons of churches, provided that the right of patronage remained attached to the manor, and provided that the lord was neither a Catholic nor a Jew, in which case either the Bishop or the Universities of Oxford or Cambridge held the right of appointment.

[85] M. J. D. Roberts, 'Private Patronage and the Church of England, 1800-1900', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History,* vol. 32, issue no. 2, April 1981, p. 206.

[86] *Ibid*., p. 203.

[87] Larson, 'Emblem and Exception', p. 59.

[88] Port, *600 churches*, p. 15; Knight, 'Nineteenth-Century Church', p. 63; Roberts, 'Private Patronage', pp. 199-223; Curl, *Victorian Churches,* p. 22; Gerald Lawrence Carr, 'The Commissioners' Churches of London, 1818-1837; a study of religious art, architecture and patronage in Britain from the formation of the Commission to the accession of Victoria', unpublished PhD thesis, vol. 1, University of Michigan (1976), pp. 74, 76.

[89] M. Harrison, 'ritualism and the location of crowds in early nineteenth-century English towns', Cosgrove and Daniels (eds), cited by Rawding, 'iconography of churches', p. 158.

[90] Rawding, 'iconography of churches', p. 161.

Mass building of churches was not a new idea. In 1710, under Queen Anne, an Act of Parliament had set up a 'Commission for Building Fifty New Churches'.[91] Funded by coal duties, these were intended to compensate for damage caused by the Great Fire of London, when eighty-seven churches were lost.[92] Termed 'surveyors', Hawksmore and Gibbs were appointed on a similar basis to the architects appointed under George IV.[93] At the turn of the nineteenth century William Cleaver, Bishop of Chester, who highlighted a mis-match between accommodation and population, repeatedly put forward strong arguments for building churches.[94] It was many years before any meaningful changes occurred. In 1800, a letter was sent to William Wilberforce, putting forward a proposal for free churches, in the hopes that he would bring the matter before Parliament, but he did not and his concerns were then repeated by other bishops.[95] The 1803 Act for promoting the building, repairing or otherwise providing of churches and chapels achieved very little.[96] In 1811 the National Schools Society, a precursor to the *Million Act,* was set up to educate the poor within the principles of the Established Church and protect it from dissenters, in particular the Methodists, who were better organised both in their religion and in providing schooling.[97] Campaigning continued, led by Joshua Watson, a wine-merchant who retired in 1814 to become chief lay adviser to the Archbishop of Canterbury.[98] Together with John Bowdler, an independent writer of religious pamphlets, Watson sent a memorial signed by 120 laymen to the Prime Minister late in 1815 with their demands that only 'parliament can [could] do it'.[99] Church and State had long since agreed that there were problems, but it was this petition from 120 laymen which finally prompted action.[100] The Reverend Richard Yates also sent a copy of his pamphlet entitled *The Church in Danger,* referring to the 'appalling deficiencies' in seating for the poor, advocating appropriate division of parishes and recommending that a

[91] Act for New Churches in London and Westminster, 9 Queen Anne, cap. 17, 1710; see also Michael Port (ed.), 'The Commissions for Building Fifty New Churches': The Minute Books, 1711-27: A Calendar' (*London Record* Society, 23 1986).

[92] Not all fifty were built; Port, *600 churches*, p. 15.

[93] Gibbs lost his post due to his Roman Catholic background, but later gained the patronage of Richard Boyle Burlington, 3rd and 4th Earl of Cork, and then John Campbell, 2nd Duke of Argyll.

[94] R. A. Soloway, *Prelates and People, Ecclesiastical Social Thought in England, 1783-1852* (London, 1969), p. 287, quoted by Port*, 600 Churches,* p. 20, n. 64.

[95] Port, *ibid.,* p. 21.

[96] 43 Geo. 3, c.108, 27 July 1803.

[97] Port, *600 churches*, p. 39.

[98] Port*, ibid.,* p. 19; for other key personalities involved in campaigning, see Port, *ibid.,* pp. 18-28; see also E. Churton, *Memoir of Joshua Watson* (2 vols, Oxford, 1861).

[99] Port, *600 churches*, pp. 19, 25-26; T. Bowdler, *The Life of John Bowdler*, (1825), pp. 244-5, quoted in Port, *ibid*., pp. 25, 26; Clarke, *Church Builders*, p. 22.

[100] Clarke, *ibid.*

new church be built wherever there were three or four hundred houses'.[101] Still nothing transpired. Clarke attributes this to the lack of money due to continuing wars.[102]

Further delays occurred in 1816 when the tax raised to reduce war debts before they were cleared was abolished, and the financial state of the nation worsened. However, surveys in 1816 and 1818 were carried out across the country to see where churches were most needed.[103] Examples were Sheffield, where there was a population of 55,000, with only 6,280 seats, and Manchester, whose population was 80,000, but which had only 11,000 seats.[104] A public meeting was chaired by the cleric Joseph Cotton in 1817, at which point it was considered that money could be raised by subscription from 'opulent and patriotic merchants of London'.[105] It was fifteen months from the memorial and eighteen years since Cleaver's letter before the *Act for Promoting the Building of Additional Churches in Populous Parishes* finally passed its second reading on 15 May 1818, with an allocation of a million pounds.[106] At this stage there was some discussion that the churches be known as 'Waterloo Churches' in celebration of recent military successes, but none were built specifically as war memorials.[107]

The first Church Building Act authorised subscriptions and appointed Commissioners, calling for as many churches to be built as economically as possible, with no 'useless splendour', and all within a time-limit of ten years. It was a cumbersome and bureaucratic short-term measure founded on two premises: firstly Best's perceived role of the church as regulators of 'social control'; and secondly the statement published in the Tory *Quarterly Review*, whereby 'the sure and only way of making the people good subjects is by making them good Christians and good men'.[108] When distributing money, they could do so by giving a grant for the total cost of the church, a partial grant or a loan. They hoped to provide a hundred new churches, possibly double that amount with subscription money.[109] The earlier aspiration of providing free seating for everyone was quickly acknowledged as being unrealistic, and

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[101] Port, *600 churches*, p. 26; Eastlake, *Gothic Revival*, p.15; Clarke, *Church Builders*, p. 22; this theme was also taken up by Edmund Burke, William Wordsworth and Samuel Taylor Coleridge; it was reiterated by Pugin in his *Contrasts* published in 1836; see *Contrasts, or a Parallel between the Architecture of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries and Similar Buildings of the Present Day*, published in 1836.

[102] Clarke, *ibid.,* p. 22.

[103] Port, *600 churches*, p. 22, n. 70: Parliamentary Papers (House of Lords), PP (HL), 1816 (116 and 118) LXXIX; 1818 XCIII.)

[104] Port, *ibid.*

[105] *Ibid*., p. 27.

[106] *Ibid*., p. 29, n.124; Parliamentary Debate XXXXVIII, 709.

[107] Curl, *Victorian Churches*, p. 21; Port, *600 churches*, pp. 38, 43; Cunningham, *Stones*, p. 191; Carr, 'Commissioners' Churches', p. 60, quoting *The Sun*, 29 May, 23 June, 1817; Clarke, *Church Builders*, p. 24.

[108] Port, *600 churches*, p. 16, citing Best: *Quarterly Review,* p. 42, 23, no. 46 (1820), pp. 549ff.

[109] Port, *ibid*., p. 39.

bearing in mind that some people would never go to church however many free seats were available, the target was set at seating for one in three or four people.[110] Nevertheless it still aimed to provide as many sittings as possible, with a statutory requirement to build as cheaply as possible, confining architects to minimum ornament.[111] The combined restrictions on both design and cost were disincentives for architects, who had barely been considered at this stage, reducing any artistic or professional aspirations to one more akin to a commercial building contract. The objective was to create large numbers of seating, not to build architectural monuments.[112] Eastlake claimed that due to financial constraints, churches were 'not designed with any aim at architectural effect', and the resulting commercial pressures would lead to a mediocrity which 'brought no good message to the cause of architecture'.[113]

Management of the Commission comprised the three top London-based Crown (or Attached) Architects seconded from the Office of Works, Nash, Soane and Smirke, a Surveyor and a Building Committee, the latter being largely operated by two Archdeacons and, again, Watson.[114] These distinctive elements all had to liaise with a parochial structure of variable competence, and finally gain the approval of the Board before a grant was given. Obsessed with the need for statistical evidence to justify each individual request, current population and seating capacity, technical assurances as to suitability of style, structural adequacy and constant cost-cutting, the system was time-consuming and inherently frustrating for all concerned - at times even counter-productive. Architects suffered the most, frequently being asked to amend their plans, with no guarantee they would be selected or receive recompense for their efforts. On the basis of need, the parish of Stoke Damerel in Plymouth, which had a population of 32,250 and seating for only 5,000, was highly contentious, whereas that of Hawarden in Flintshire, with a population of only 4,435, proceeded without difficulty, perhaps due to being an early submission which had the backing of the Bishop of Chester and Sir Stephen Glynne, as discussed below.[115] Attempts to create good contacts were made by chasing around the country and meeting with committees, as did Goodwin with

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[110] *Ibid.*, p. 29.

[111] *Ibid., pp*. 32, 41; Eastlake, *Gothic Revival* (ed.), J. Mordaunt Crook 1970 (Leicester, 1970), pp. 188, 189; Carr, *'Commissioners' Churches'*, pp. 90, 168, 244.

112 Carr, ibid., p. 2.

[113] Eastlake, *Gothic Revival*, pp. 88, 32.

[114] Port, *600 churches*, p.51; Watson was the most active campaigner and a Church Commissioner for thirty-three years; Port, *600 churches*, pp. 30, 19.

[115] The population of Stoke Damerel was widely scattered - it finally achieved six new churches, between 1838 and 1887.

Commissioners' Churches, a technique mirrored by Scott when seeking workhouse commissions.[116]

Having agreed to provide resources, there still remained many practical obstacles to overcome. Port reduces the financial aspects to the 'four Ps': Patron, Parson, Pews and Parish, considering the existing authority and autonomy of local patronage to be the most difficult to negotiate.[117] However, issues were far wider. The questions of style and how contracts should be awarded had yet to be resolved, and even the concept of education was considered a risk element in that a general improvement might raise expectations, causing the masses to become too demanding. Furthermore, before any money was allocated, consensus was needed between the diocesan bishop, the patron and the incumbent.[118] This was no easy task. Parson and congregation alike stood to lose out. Any change on this scale would threaten the *status quo*. New churches, especially if they were to consist wholly of free seats would completely unbalance the long-established social hierarchy of the community.[119] Though seating was to be a mix of enclosed and free, with pew rents still needed to assist towards the stipend, the high proportion of free seats which aimed at bringing all classes together to worship under one roof was not universally popular. The parsons were comfortable financially and the landed gentry valued the locked seats tied to their property ownership. Rather than having a safe source of income, new proposals would divert funds, and increases in church rates would be required, an unpalatable additional charge on the one hand and a loss on the other.[120]

A key role of the Commissioners was to divide or subdivide parishes, partly because of disparity of existing boundaries, but also to counter the ease with which dissenters could build.[121] This meant more churches and more work for architects, however, the division of a parish required an Act of Parliament. Dissenters only needed a licence, which was easier and cheaper to obtain.[122] At Derby Goodwin argued against cost-cutting, pleading on the grounds

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[116] Michael Port, 'Francis Goodwin (1784-1835): an architect of the 1820s, a study of his relationship with the Church Building Commissioners and his quarrel with C.A. Busby', *AH, v*ol. 1, (1958), p. 65; see second half of Chapter II.

[117] Port, *600 churches,* p. 22.

[118] *Ibid*., p. 28.

[119] Knight, 'Nineteenth-century Church', p. 1.

[120] It was the question of church rates which so infuriated the Catholic priest, Thomas McDonnell in Birmingham, and dragged Hansom into the radical political scene, arguably losing him the opportunity to build St Chad's Cathedral, the Birmingham Grammar School and enter the competition for the Houses of Parliament; Judith F. Champ, 'Assimilation and Separation: the Catholic Revival in Birmingham c. 1650-1850', unpublished thesis (University of Birmingham, 1984), p. 167.

[121] Port, *600 churches*, p. 12.

[122] Carr, 'Commissioners' Churches', p. 75; Port*, 600 churches*, p. 23.

that the parish deserved a better design in view of the liberal subscription which had been raised 'in opposition to the dissenting party'.[123] Threats from dissenters were always uppermost in their minds.[124] Whenever possible, the Commissioners favoured the use of parish committees to acquire their own site and source a local architect to both encourage new talent and save on travel expenses. Competitions were invariably held to select the architect, a ploy used to find the cheapest design rather than the most attractive or most suitable, with a more overt system of competitive tendering used to find the contractor.[125] As funds became less accessible, it was sometimes the missioner who donated the land. In some instances Commissioners had the power to compel a parish to purchase a site, or obtain funding therefor.

Rules set by the Commissioners were strict and unyielding, though not always consistent. So many changes and reversions of decision had taken place by 1827 that the Commissioner and Ecclesiastical Judge, Dr Stephen Lushington MP, stated that it had become 'a most complicated morass of confusion'.[126] Rickman was acquiescent in not claiming for travel expenses until he discovered that others were successfully doing so.[127] In a number of cases architects were allowed to repeat previous styles, but this led to a reduction in fee, from the usual five per cent to two and a half per cent.[128]

Watson's influence continued to be strong throughout the duration of the Act, and the many amendments which followed. Of the thirty-four Commissioners appointed, ten of the lay members were associates of or related by marriage to Watson and it was Watson who drew up the questionnaire which needed to be completed when architects submitted an application to build. A five per cent penalty was imposed if estimates were exceeded.[129] When a salaried surveyor was appointed, it was Edward Mawley, a former employee on the estate of Watson's wealthy brother-in-law Reverend Henry Handley Norris, who was chosen.[130] Watson was also a member of the Select Committee which administered money provided by

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[123] Port, *ibid,* p. 174.

[124] Curl, *Victorian Churches*, p. 22.

[125] When Hansom advertised for contractors, he generally stated that the lowest figure would not necessarily be chosen, such as for his Selby church in Yorkshire: 'No pledge is given for the lowest or any other Tender', *Leeds Mercury, Bristol Mercury¸* 10 March, 1855; see also M. H. Port, 'The Office of Works and Building Contracts in Early Nineteenth-Century England, *Economic History Review*, xx (1967), pp. 94-100.

[126] Port, *600 churches*, p. 255, n.127; CBC, Minute Book 52, p. 179.

[127] Port, *ibid.,* p. 106, n. 35, 36; CBC, Building Committee, Minute Book 4, p. 5, 6 Nov 1821; CBC BC, MB 33, 23 December 1828; a maximum of seven journeys was then permitted.

[128] Port, *ibid*., p. 106.

[129] *Ibid*., p. 105.

[130] *Ibid,* p. 89; Carr described Mawley as a house-painter and did not consider him suitable for the position; Carr, 'Commissioners' Churches', p. 215.

the second *Half Million Act* in 1824, implemented when the first round of funding was exhausted.[131]

By 1820, grants had been awarded towards the building of 85 churches and funds for a further 25 were promised, far short of their original target.[132] The Incorporated Church Building Society was not able to sustain the initial level of income and signs of financial crisis were identified before the 'cheap phase' at the end of the 1820s.[133] The criteria for allocating funds changed with the Half-Million Grant. Commissioners were strongly influenced by the amount of money raised at local level and by the strength of need put forward in the proposal. Smaller churches were now considered sufficient as some of the early larger ones were not fully utilised and did not always comply with the requirement that the preacher should be heard adequately by the whole congregation. Even with the additional grant, they were unable to fund Keighley in Yorkshire due to 'the present exhausted state of Society's funds'.[134] In 1825 Letters Patent had enabled five new members to be appointed, to replace members who had died, thus relieving a heavy workload.[135] Towards the end of the second grant, sums as low as £5 were being given out, yet despite this parishes tried to outbid each other for money. Disparity was very wide. Under the second Act the majority of grants were less than a thousand pounds. Twenty-two whole grants were allocated, but also ten of only £10 and five of only £5.[136] A book was published to show just how cheaply churches could be built.[137] The radical change which had taken place since implementing the first Act is highlighted by the case of Newington (1823-24), where the scale of premiums was higher than later grant allocations.[138]

The question of a suitable style was widely discussed but never resolved as there were so many variables and it was always linked to cost.[139] The Bishop of Chester put forward the name of his protégé, Thomas Rickman, to the Commissioners with a suggested template, or

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[131] 5 Geo, c.103; additional funding was only enabled due to the unexpected return of a war-time loan from Austria, Port, *600 churches*, p. 227.

[132] Port, *ibid*, p. 54.

[133] *Ibid.,* p. 41; see also T. M. Parry, 'The Incorporated Church Building Society 1818-1851', Oxford M.Litt. thesis (1984).

[134] Knight, 'Nineteenth-century Church, p. 65; LPL ICBS MB vol. 3. fol. 229.

[135] Port, *600 churches,* p. 231; Triennial Royal Letters for collections were implemented in 1838, but stopped by Palmerston in 1853 on the grounds that too close a link had been formed between Church and Crown; Knight, 'Nineteenth-century Church', pp. 66, 211.

[136] Port, *600 churches*, Appendix I, pp. 331-347.

[137] Port, *ibid.,* p. 191.

[138] Two premiums of £100 were awarded, with second and third prizes of £50 and £30 respectively; Carr, 'Commissioners' Churches', p. 242.

[139] Port, *600 churches*, p. 59.

'general plan', for all new churches.[140]   After a four-hour meeting, the matter remained open.[141]   The Crown architects were then asked to prepare sample plans.[142]   Soane's design was far too elaborate and expensive; Smirke's simplified Classical style was around £24-£25,000, and Nash put forward a selection of ten different designs, with a meaningless cost of £10,000, which did not allow for essentials such as pews and pulpit.[143]   Alarmed at the expense of their proposals, Commissioners focussed almost exclusively upon minimising cost.[144]   They set a maximum price of £20,000 in the Metropolis and £16,000 elsewhere.   The style of early churches reflected the larger sums granted, becoming more basic as funding depleted.   Classical designs required stone porticos and towers to differentiate them from town halls, and two brick churches could be built for the price of one in stone.   Thus the Classical style favoured by the Crown Architects was replaced with a more general-purpose Gothic.   Decoration had to be kept to the minimum.   Paintings were disallowed, though occasionally stained-glass was permitted, with small panes used in preference to larger ones.[145]   It was restrictions such as these which impacted upon the artistic freedom of architects and suppressed their talent.   The only stipulation as to design was that buildings should be distinguishable as a church rather than any other public building, but again for reasons of economy, architects were repeatedly asked to remove interesting features.   For example, when designing St John's at Derby (1826-8), Goodwin was obliged to replace his tower with two turrets, and similarly at Alverstoke, Hampshire, Owen and Son had to replace their tower with a bell-turret.[146]

Decisions as to choice of architect were far from impartial and frequently made as a result of personal intervention by the vested interest of third parties.   The Board of Commissioners, administrators of the ICBS, exercised the heaviest form of authoritarian control over architects, and where the greatest number of examples of architects 'grovelling to their patrons' can be found.   They were not in a position to unite, such as when trades unions called strikes among builders, and without a professional body they were unable to stand up to the Commissioners as a group.   Unless they had a contact (or patron) within the 'inner circle', they were a lone voice up against the Board or one of its various committees.   As parishes became obliged to compete with each other for the ever-dwindling funds, architects

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[140] *Ibid.,* pp. 152-154; Carr, 'Commissioners' Churches', pp. 199-202.
[141] *Ibid.,* p. 153.
[142] Carr, 'Commissioners' Churches', pp. 167-168; Rhodri Liscombe, 'Economy, character and durability: specimen designs for the Church Commissioners, 1818', *AH*, vol. 13 (1970), pp. 43-57.
[143] Smirke built seven Commissioners' Churches, Soane three and Nash two.
[144] Carr, 'Commissioners' Churches', pp. 203, 210, 211; Liscombe, 'specimen designs', pp. 50, 51.
[145] Carr, *ibid.*, p. 135; Eastlake, *Gothic Revival*, p. 189.
[146] Port, *600 churches*, pp. 93-4, 242.

had to 'sell themselves', especially if they were unknown. Outright rejection impacted upon their professional reputation and was seldom reversed. Either the Board would instruct the parish to source an alternative, or they might impose an architect of their own choice. In the case of Belper, Derbyshire, the chosen architect was rejected due to estimates over budget. The industrialist and local landlord Jediah Strutt argued that the architect was a 'young man' whose career would be jeopardised were he to lose his job.[147] On this occasion the Commissioners yielded to the local request. However, as a general principle, Soane complained that the use of inexperienced architects was a false economy and detrimental to architecture [the profession].[148]

Thomas Rickman, a self-trained Quaker architect, was one of the most prolific working for the Commissioners.[149] When he defined mediaeval Gothic as Norman, Early English, Decorated English and Perpendicular English, terminology which was widely used by others, including Pugin, this assured him of an automatic place as a designer of Commissioners' Churches.[150] However, it was the industrialist and iron-master John Cragg of Liverpool, who paid for the first of his three churches, an association which led to Rickman's extensive use of iron for tracery and brought him to the attention of George Henry Law, Bishop of Chester (1812-24).[151] Three consecutive Bishops of Chester were amongst the most pro-active within the Commissioners, and Bishop Law's intervention on behalf of Rickman was of particular benefit to him.[152] Despite the limit as to the number of churches which could be built by any single architect, Rickman designed a total of twenty-two, two in Birmingham which were in Classical style, and the rest in Gothic.[153] Colvin described Rickman's work for the Commissioners as 'economical'.

Tight budgets impacted upon both choice of architect and design of building; however financial restrictions went far deeper than that, affecting architects at all stages, when competing for contracts, during construction, and long after work was completed. The architect never had a free hand. He was closely monitored throughout, being scrutinised,

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[147] Port, *ibid.*, p. 102.
[148] *Ibid.*, p. 105.
[149] Rickman was placed third to Hansom in the competition for Birmingham Town Hall.
[150] Thomas Rickman, *An Attempt to Discriminate the Styles of English Architecture from the Conquest to the Reformation* (1817?); Early English or Early Pointed is defined as thirteenth-century, lancet windows without tracery; Decorated or Mid-Pointed is fourteenth-century, tracery replacing lancet windows; Perpendicular, or Late Pointed is c. 1360-1550, with vertical and horizontal tracery; Briggs, *Encyclopaedia*, pp. 118, 122; Clarke, *Church Builders*, p. 18, 19.
[151] Port, *600 churches*, p. 154.
[152] Bishop Law was one of the first and most active Commissioners to be appointed in 1818; Port, *ibid.*, p. 33.
[153] *Ibid.*, p. 154.

criticised and frequently subjected to modification, any of which could lead to rejection or dismissal, with minimal reimbursement, if any, for his outlay. Furthermore he was bound to a fifteen per cent penalty should he exceed his own estimate, even when circumstances arose which could never have been foreseen at the outset. All three Crown Architects objected to the concept of a bond, which the Commissioners required. Soane thought it 'altogether improper' and Smirke stated that he would find it 'personally impossible to enter a professional engagement upon such terms'.[154] Nash considered it unreasonable to impose a fifteen per cent penalty against a contract where the commission was only five per cent; whilst the architect Charles Robert Cockerell complained bitterly about the clause on the grounds that it was reducing the role of an architect to that of a tradesman. As Carr noted, the requirement of a bond was unprecedented in architecture and changed 'the principle as well as the usage of the profession', even injuring 'the honour of the profession'.[155] Architects were over-ruled by the Commissioners, who defended their position by stating that the bond would be cancelled on satisfactory completion of the work, which, as explained, could be after an indeterminate time.

When applying for a contract, a set of forms had to be completed, giving overall style, materials, dimensions and estimate, a daunting task for inexperienced newcomers.[156] The time it took to prepare submissions was considerable, necessitating site visits and discussion with local clergy and building committees. Such tasks were routine, but when there was no certainty of a contract, it was potentially 'dead money'. The rising cost of wages and materials faced architects with difficulties due to the time lag between calculating their estimate, which was in effect a fixed quotation, and execution of the work. Architects were exploited to the full and bore the brunt of the risk factor. Firstly they had to carry the costs of advertising for tenders and lay out other capital prior to the awarding of a contract, and then they had to wait for their commission. All expenses had to be cleared and work passed by the Commissioners' Surveyor prior to payment.[157] As it was considered that a building could take between three and five years to 'consolidate', mainly to ensure that the foundations were secure, the time lapse was considerable. One extreme case, which involved a dispute after a change of builder, took twenty years to be settled.[158] Builders, on the other hand, were paid

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[154] Port, *600 Churches*, p. 105.

[155] Carr, 'Commissioners' Churches', p. 96; Port, *600 churches,* p. 104, n. 11, CBC MB 6 12 March 1822.

[156] Port, *ibid,* p. 105.

[157] Michael Port, 'Francis Goodwin (1784-1835): an architect of the 1820s: A study of his relationship with the Church Building Commissioners and his quarrel with C. A. Busby', *AH,* vol. 1 (1958), p. 65.

[158] Port cites the case of Lewis Vulliamy, where the Board disputed claims regarding two churches, amounting to £855, CC file 21819; Port, *600 churches*, p. 105.

immediately.[159] A further measure of the unequal power exerted by the Commissioners was that once plans had been acted upon they became the property of the Board, who could repeat them as often as they pleased and employ different superintendents if they so wished.[160] These factors combine to reflect the vulnerability of architects, the lack of trust and respect they were afforded, and a general attitude of subservience. The Appointed Architects were treated in like manner.

Such arbitrary constraints led disreputable architects to try and outwit the Commissioners by bending the rules. Responsible for many major Commissioners' churches, Francis Goodwin could hardly be deemed 'disreputable', though his tactics were questionable and at times he became desperate, on one occasion begging the Commissioners for an advance of £300 on account. He travelled widely, attempting to impress local committees with elaborate designs which would never have been agreed by the Board, at the same time quoting unrealistic prices in order to undercut his competitors, particularly Rickman.[161] He was accused of trying to obtain advance notice of future projects by eliciting inside information from one of the Commissioners' clerks. He routinely claimed excessive travel expenses and attempted to obtain commission on the salary of his clerk of works. Such behaviour did nothing for the reputation of the profession as a whole. Though the Commissioners were aware of his sharp practice, they still awarded him many contracts.[162]

It was Goodwin's ruthless competitiveness which led the Commissioners to set a limit on the number of projects a single architect could manage at any one time.[163] This was modified to take into account the architect's capacity to provide the necessary security in the form of a bond. To get round this Goodwin persuaded his clerks or other architects to submit his plans in their name. If successful, they were to pass half the commission to him. However, his double-dealing with numerous committees and numerous members of his practice resulted in such a tangle that Charles Augustin Busby, one of his senior employees, circulated a pamphlet to all architects and Members of Parliament outlining the injustices which he felt he had suffered.[164]   In the case of Belper, he used his influence with Commissioner Lord Kenyon, to persuade his colleagues to agree to a split of the commission between himself and

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[159] Port, *ibid.,* pp. 105, 107; Liscombe, 'Economy', p. 43.
[160] Port, *ibid*., p. 106; Carr, 'Commissioners; Churches', p. 211.
[161] Port, 'Goodwin', pp. 61, 63.
[162] Goodwin was the nominated architect of seven churches under the first grant; Port, *600 churches*, Appendix 1, 'Churches built with the aid of the first Parliamentary grant', pp. 326-329.
[163] Port, 'Goodwin', p. 63.
[164] Port, *ibid.,* p. 69.

Busby.[165] Even the favoured Rickman nearly got caught by the 'maximum limit rule', when his plans for Liverpool, Leicester and Manchester were all turned down as he already had four churches underway.[166] His plan for Chorley was rejected on the grounds of being 'ill-constructed' despite being the same as that he had already used for Birmingham. Rickman believed 'hostile influences' to be at work, but when Joseph Watson and Rickman's friend the Reverend J. H. Spry intervened, he was allowed to re-apply - a further example of the benefits of personal contacts.[167]

Whilst they were in a minority, there does not appear to be any discrimination against Catholic architects, Hansom being one of five who were selected.[168] His first contact with Commissioners' Churches was through Peter Atkinson jnr. the partner of his first employer Matthew Phillips. Of the sixteen churches he built between 1820 and 1831, twelve were for the Commissioners. However when Phillips died, and having completed his training in York, Hansom relocated to Halifax to work under the established architect John Oates, who built sixteen Commissioners' Churches.[169] Atkinson and Oates demonstrate the importance of this type of work. Despite being largely Yorkshire-based, Oates' first was at Buckley in Flintshire, close to the birthplace of Edward Welch, Hansom's future partner.[170] In 1824 Oates carried out further work in Flintshire, St Mary's Church at nearby Broughton. An extended version of the 'advowson' system, this church was built for the Honourable George Neville, former Master of Magdalene College, Cambridge, who was appointed Rector of Hawarden by his brother-in-law Sir Stephen Glynne of Hawarden Castle. The Rector raised subscriptions locally and personally donated £100 towards the building of the church, which was under the auspices of the Church Building and Enlargement Society.

It was through Oates' association with Buckley and Broughton that Hansom came into contact with Welch, who was already working in the Oates office in Halifax when Hansom joined. They left to form an independent partnership.[171] Amongst their early works were three Commissioner's churches, Acomb near York (1828-32); Myton near Hull (1829-31) and Toxteth near Liverpool (1830-1), (see Plate 1). These were under the Half-Million

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[165] *Ibid*., p. 65.
[166] *Ibid.,* p. 157: (44) *CBC*, *MB* 3, 18 June 1820.
[167] *Ibid.,* p. 157.
[168] The others were George Basevi, Ignatius Bonomi, Anthony Salvin and Joseph John Scoles.
[169] See Appendix III, Commissioners' churches by John Oates.
[170] The first application, numbered CBC.006, was submitted in 1818, the year of the Act and before the Commission became Incorporated, but it was rejected. Funds were allocated three years later and Oates was awarded the contract. The cost was £4,000, fractionally under the grant of £4,052. The church provided 322 pews and 418 free seats and was in Gothic style.
[171] *Architectural Magazine,* ii (1835), p. 325.

Grant. St Stephen's at Acomb was a modified and extended version of the original church, sited on high ground with a spire visible from some distance.[172] It received a grant of £300 and provided 609 sittings, 212 of which were free. St James at Myton cost £5,373, with a grant of £3,591. It had 600 pews plus 603 free seats. Local subscribers were encouraged by announcing that their names would be acknowledged publicly.[173] St John the Baptist at Toxteth cost £6,612 and received a grant of £5,262. It was built on land donated by the Earl of Sefton.[174] It provided 862 pews and 938 free seats. Myton was in Gothic style and Toxteth in Early English. The building of each of these churches was problematic and illustrates the type of hazards encountered by architects seeking work through the Church Commissioners.

Acomb was surrounded by controversy, heated in-fighting with a faction-ridden congregation and meetings overflowing into the churchyard which required the intervention of the Dean of York to resolve.[175] Arguments arose over funding and seating arrangements, and whether or not George Towns[h]end Andrews or Peter Atkinson jnr. should be the architect. That the job was given to the young and unknown firm of Hansom and Welch was, possibly, a way of ending the conflict. Confusion was caused when Andrews tried to circumvent the local building committee by submitting his own plans directly to the Commissioners, and a separate faculty was granted in error. They were again in competition with Atkinson at Myton. Atkinson complained to the Archbishop of York when Hansom's design was selected, alleging unfairness. This was denied in a letter from the Vicar of Hull to the Church Commissioners, and work to Hansom's design commenced.[176] The specification laid down by the local building committee was typical of Commissioner requirements: 'plain and substantial'.[177] They were also insistent that the church was vaulted. This aimed at preventing the very problems which Hansom encountered. The site was known to be low and damp and they hoped vaulting would overcome this. In the event, the tower sank by twenty-two inches, impacting upon the main building.[178] Hansom and Welch were later accused of 'injudicious construction' and ordered to pay £50 towards repairs.[179] And yet again in competition with Peter Atkinson jnr, it was Toxteth which had necessitated a trip to London

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[172] *York Gazette*, 4 July 1829.

[173] *Hull Packet and Humber Mercury*, 3 March 1829; the mayor and burgess headed the list with a gift of £200, *Hull Packet*, 17 March 1829.

[174] David Lewis, *The Churches of Liverpool* (Liverpool, 2001), p. 54.

[175] Bill Fawcett, 'Some notes on the rebuilding of Acomb Parish Church', *Yorkshire Historian*, 14 (1997), p. 56.

[176] Letter, J.H. Brondsby, Vicar of Hull to the Church Commissioners, 30 March 1829, ECE/7/1/18273, Church of England Record Centre, London.

[177] Hull Corporation subsidised the building but refused to pay for a spire or rent a pew, Hull Corporation Records, BB. 22, p. 385; 12, pp. 27, 55.

[178] Surveyor's report, 4 June 1832, CBC/7/1/3, fol. 168v., Church of England Record Centre.

[179] *Ibid.*, fols 170r., 171r.

to meet with the Commissioners. The tenders for his application were £6,500, well above the budget of £5,967. Hansom discovered a number of errors on the part of one person, thought to be a Liverpool surveyor, which had inflated his estimate.[180]

Work carried out for the Commissioners was rarely straightforward. Just seven months after Oates' church at Sowerby Bridge opened, the ridge sank by eight inches and had to be closed for repairs.[181] Rickman and Hansom and Welch each submitted plans for a grant, but the Commissioners refused to make further contributions towards this church.[182] Four years after the break-up of their partnership, Welch gained a contract for the small church of Christ Church in Norman style at Adlington, Lancashire (1838).[183] The cost was £1,560, with a grant of £400, and 629 seats, 331 of which were free. However he lost money on his application for a church at Scholes in Lancashire. On the recommendation of the Commissioners he modified his original plans, went over budget by £92, and the contract was given to another architect. The Commissioners refused to pay his expenses.[184]

After the partnership had broken up, Edward's brother John also continued to practice in his own right, firstly on the Isle of Man and latterly in North Wales. Personal contacts in both locations were advantageous. Bishop William Ward was appointed to the crown post of Bishop on the Island. He deplored the dilapidated state of churches, which had a population of 50,000 and seating for only 9,000.[185] He firstly approached the CBC and then the Society for Building and Enlarging Churches, but being of self-governing status, the Isle of Man was not eligible for grants under either. Prior to taking up his post, Ward had been recommended by Bishop Porteous as tutor for children of the widowed Duchess of Gloucester.[186] Realising that he needed to turn to the mainland for private funding, he sent out one of his rectors as an envoy to visit his wealthy personal contacts.[187] The rector's trips were highly successful, and 'opened the purses of many', thus enabling firstly the Hansom and Welch partnership, and then the younger Welch to build eight churches on the island between 1832 and 1843.[188]

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[180] Port, *600 churches*, p.111, n. 56, Hansom to Jenner, 30 March 1830. Having explained the situation to their satisfaction, he was then awarded the contract; CBC BC MB 5, pp. 140-141.

[181] Such instances were one of the reasons why the Commissioners were slow to pay architects.

[182] ICBS 01217, 1830.

[183] Port, *600 churches*, p. 334; Clare Hartwell, *The Buildings of England: Lancashire: North* (New Haven and London, 2009), p. 82.

[184] Port, *ibid.,* p. 105.

[185] *Manx Church Magazine* July 1896, Manx National Heritage Library and Archives, Douglas, Isle of Man.

[186] Manx Note Book.

[187] The rector was a son of the Duchess of Gloucester who later became Lord Ripon and was Prime Minister between 1827 and 1828.

[188] In 1838 John Welch returned to North Wales, where he built a further eight churches for the Incorporated Church Building Society; Lambeth Palace Archives, London.

Conclusion

This decade shows a wider spectrum of continuity and change for architects than any other. It illustrates how changes were driven by fear of social unrest and a possible repeat of the French Revolution in Britain; and also hampered by lack of finance due to debts from the Napoleonic Wars. The one moved the profession forward in the form of new work, whilst the other held it back.

In addition to social issues, such as poverty, urbanisation and increased population, there were struggles for power and control, between the State and the Established Church, between the Church and dissenters. When Parliament passed the *Church Building Act* in 1818, church-building became a viable option for provincial architects, moving the profession away from the élitist, London-based clique. Expansion continued under the second Act when, despite the greatly reduced size of grants, the increased volume of work is exemplified by Lancashire, where nineteen were allocated under the first Act and sixty under the second. However doors were now open to the untrained, and as a body, architects were far from achieving the kind of recognition they sought. They already had a poor reputation, one of exceeding budgets and inferior workmanship. They needed to maintain good contacts, both within and without the Church Commission system, but this resulted in accusations of collusion and corruption. That even high-profile architects were subject to the rulings of the Church Commissioners and that any of them could be called to task by the Commissioners or their Surveyor motivated them to improve building standards as to structural soundness and address issues surrounding their unregulated profession.

Architects were still an uncoordinated group and their working practices haphazard. Demanding and disagreeable as working for the Commissioners often was, it was theoretically a vital source of income for many, though even this was questionable. Architects were effectively subsidising the Commissioners, firstly by providing bonds, secondly by covering their own expenses and thirdly having to wait for payment, an unreasonable, unjust and demoralising situation, but one they had to accept if they wanted the work. It was not unusual for architects to go bankrupt.[189] This goes some way to justifying Craib's statement that architecture was a 'not for profit' business.[190] Nevertheless, there were distinct long-term benefits: the experience of working in a competitive market and the need to be more disciplined. The Act also gave architects their first experience of working for

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[189] Carr, 'Commissioners' Churches', p. 97.
[190] Craib, *Social Theory*, p. 121.

committees and accustomed them to working within tight constraints. This prepared them for the next decade when they submitted designs to town councils for municipal buildings and to Boards of Guardians for workhouses, both of which are discussed in the next chapter. There were similarities between these and the Commissioners' Churches: town councils aimed for elaborate showpieces, but were harsh in their demands and expectations which invariably exceeded their budget, whilst the Commissioners required the greatest number of workhouses to be built for the least spend.

27. Foley Place. London
April 13. 1842

My Lord

I would gladly have taken more time
and written under the influence of a quieter feeling than
at present actuates me. but the necessity of my
being prompt if I move at all. and the hurry of preparation
for a Journey. leave me no alternative. permit me therefore
most humbly to beg your lordships indulgence for all the
defects or improprieties of this approach.

this injustice — I admire. I esteem Mr Pugin.
will to day write to him to conjure him to save
himself from the ungenerous stigma that will
attach to him. if for the mere sake of profession.
fame or advantage. he step over the almost sacred

I am most humbly your devoted Servant
Joseph Hansom

Extracts from letter Joseph Hansom to Bishop Briggs

Plate 19

St George's Church, York
author's photograph, 2011

CHAPTER III
THE 1830s part I - SECULAR POWER: CIVIC PRIDE AND WORKHOUSES

The two sections of this chapter discuss opposite ends of the social spectrum, the wealth and power of the rising middle-classes, and the impoverished unemployed and homeless who had no power. These two groups share the common themes of architects working for collective committees and having to compete for commissions without the benefit of individual patrons, as in the past.[1] They also demonstrate the importance of cultivating personal contacts in order to promote business.

Throughout his career, Hansom demonstrated both expertise and dependency upon his networking skills, and where committees were concerned, he used his persuasive powers to convince potential employers as to his suitability for commissions. This was particularly important when he convinced the Birmimgham Street Commissiones to appoint him in preference to more experienced architects, and again in Hinckley when his winning entry for the workhouse was rejected and he succeeded in negotiating his re-appointment.[2]

Historiography

The first half of this chapter discusses the wave of civic pride emanating from commercial growth, and starts with emphasis on Hansom's career, much of which equated directly to trends in social change. It progresses from contracts on the Isle of Anglesey, facilitated by Thomas Telford and improvements to the national transport infrastructure, through to the building of his iconic Birmingham Town Hall, amidst the ructions of the *Great Reform Act* of 1832.[3] Rich extant records of Hansom's work on Anglesey are augmented by Nottingham and Hayman.[4] Birmingham and other town halls are covered extensively. Whilst the minutes of the Town Hall Committee were lost in a fire, those of the Street Commissioners have survived. Salmon considers Birmingham in some depth, whereas Cunningham stresses the importance of façades in general as a 'permanent reminder of the success and power of civic institutions', an indicator of Victorian attitudes.[5] Gunn, on the other hand, considers town halls to be emblematic of a cultural explosion and the up-coming middle

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[1] Colin Cunningham, *Victorian and Edwardian Town Halls* (London, 1981), p. 81.

[2] An example of this trait occurred in York, with the design of St George's church, as graphically illustrated by extant correspondence, see previous p. 57.

[3] Thomas Attwood, one of Hansom's financial backers for the Town Hall, was a political campaigner who founded the Birmingham Political Union and led mass rallies; see David J. Moss, *Thomas Attwood: The Biography of a Radical* (Montreal and London, 1990) and Carlos Flick, *The Birmingham Political Union and the Movements for Reform in Britain, 1830-39* (Connecticut and Folkestone, 1978). Hansom was also involved with Robert Owen, for whom he built a Guildhall to house the Birmingham Builders' Union, *The Pioneer*, 7 December 1833, p. 107.

[4] Lucie Nottingham, 'Victoria Terrace', *Transactions of the Anglesey Antiquarian Society* (1994), pp. 23-54; Richard Hayman, 'Architecture and the development of Beaumaris in the nineteenth century', *Archaelogia Cambrensis*, issue 152 (2004);

[5] Frank E. Salmon, *Building on Ruins: the rediscovery of Rome and English architecture* (Aldershot, 2000); Cunningham, *Town Halls*, pp. 126, 176.

classes.[6] They remained important up to 1875 and beyond, when John Gibson built Tordmorden on the Yorkshire/Lancashire border for the Fielden family. Also discussed are Mechanics Institutes, which Briggs saw as 'products of the age of improvement'.[7]

The second half of the chapter illustrates a furtherance of social control on the part of Parliament in the form of mass production of workhouses. The historiography on workhouses is dominated by Dickens' thesis, supplemented by discussion by Porter.[8] Dickens concludes that workhouses were of particular social and architectural significance and co-relates the opportunities they provided with the emerging profession.[9] An in-depth examination of the working practices of Scott and Moffatt is provided by Morrison.[10] Both the civic pride era and the building of workhouses resulted from investigative Royal Commissions set up by parliament, which led to the *Poor Law Amendment Act* of 1834 and the *Municipal Corporations Act* of 1835.[11] Together they provided opportunities for provincial architects to establish their own profiles, whereas they had hitherto been overshadowed by those in London.

Civic Pride

As the provider of marble, Anglesey gave added incentive to the use of a temple form for Birmingham Town Hall, and the Town Hall was fundamental to the *raison-d'être* behind many subsequent civic buildings. A plausible, but unsubstantiated reason for the presence of Hansom and Welch on the Isle of Anglesey was the political and social connection between the Stanley family of Alderley, Cheshire and the Williams-Bulkeley family of Beaumaris. Hansom and Welch were working in Liverpool at the time, and John Welch, Edward's father, had moved to North Wales where he was a prestigious surveyor and land-agent, with many influential contacts.[12] It is suggested that these led to the partnership being invited to re-design and extend Penrhos House, near Holyhead for Sir John Thomas Stanley in 1829 (see Plate 1).[13] Pre-dating the nationwide

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[6] Gunn, *Public Culture*, p. 135.

[7] Asa Briggs, *Victorian Cities* (Hardmondsworth, revised 1968, reprinted 1977), p. 47.

[8] Anna M. Dickens, 'Architects and the Union Workhouse of the new Poor Law', unpublished PhD thesis (Brighton Polytechnic, 1982); Thomas Porter, 'Architectural Competitions', *RIBAT* (1880).

[9] Dickens, 'Architects and the new Poor Law', pp. 9, 41-51.

[10] Kathryn A. Morrison, 'The New-Poor-Law Workhouses of George Gilbert Scott and William Bonython Moffatt', *AH* 40 (1997), pp. 184-203.

[11] Long titles: An Act for the Amendment and better Administration of the Laws relating to the Poor in England and Wales, 4 & 5 Will. 43 c. 76; An Act to provide for the Regulation of Municipal Corporations in England and Wales, 5 & 6 Will. 4 c.76.

[12] 1841 census; Welch senior was also involved in the creation of tithe apportionments for several Welsh parishes, for example IR 29/49/65, IR 29/52/21, IR 29/49/45, held by The National Archives; when Hansom was obliged to leave Birmingham, he also took a post as land agent, *Builder,* 8 July 1882, p. 44.

[13] Hansom was, at the time, re-ordering and extending Collingham Vicarage in the West Riding of Yorkshire, see *Borthwick Institute*, University of York, MGA/1828/3.

pursuit of civic pride movement, Sir Richard Bulkeley Williams-Bulkeley, who owned much of the property in Beaumaris, initiated a joint commercial venture with the Corporation in order to elevate its social status and boost the town as a tourist centre.[14] It was triggered by the construction of Telford's Menai Suspension Bridge (1819-26), which connected Anglesey to the mainland, and further enhanced by extensive road improvements.[15] Telford's development of the former Roman road, Watling Street (1819-26), which ran from Marble Arch in London to Admiralty Arch in Holyhead, via the Menai Bridge, was an important new postal route from London to Dublin, backed by parliament. It was also of value to Hansom.[16] Apart from providing access to Anglesey, he worked in various places along the route in England, where he built a church, two convents and two banks.[17] Most notably the road passed though Hinckley in Leicestershire, where the hansom cab was designed in 1834.[18] The impression made on Hansom by Telford's suspension bridge was such that in 1842 he based his entry for the competition to build the London Metropolitan Music Hall on similar engineering principles, whereby the four corners of the building would provide support rather than the customary heavy walls and multiple columns.[19] Evinson maintained his scheme had the potential to be the forerunner of skyscraper buildings but the idea was too advanced and Hansom's entry was rejected.[20]

With the growth of Liverpool as a port, and the new road effectively side-lining Beaumaris, a conscious move was made to regenerate the town as a fashionable resort.[21] The local Corporation employed the Bangor architect John Hall to design Green Edge, a terrace of seven rented houses on the sea front, specifically targeting a non-local middle-class and professional clientele.[22] The cost

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[14] *Bangor University Archives* (BUA), Baron Hill 6496 and 8211, plan and schedule of Beaumaris by Richard Yates, 1829, cited in *Archaelogia Cambrensis* by Hayman, 'Architecture and the development of Beaumaris', p. 112.

[15] Telford's father died when he was four months old, and after several advantageous career moves, initially as a stonemason, he was appointed Surveyor of Public Works for Shropshire, aided by his wealthy patron, William Pulteney, the local Member of Parliament. Telford also built several churches and renovated Shrewsbury Castle; Thomas Telford (1757-1834), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/27107, accessed 29/11/15; see also Rolt (1985), Pearce (1978), Ellis (1974), Gibb (1935).

[16] Telford also built the Birmingham and Liverpool Junction canal (1826-35), shortening the route by twenty miles, www.microform.co.uk/guides/R97063.pdf, 'the public works of Thomas Telford', Alastair Penfold (ed.), p. 3, accessed 21 November 2015.

[17] Priory of Our Lady of the Angels, Princethorpe; St Scholastica's Priory, Atherstone; Leicester and Warwickshire Banking Company, Hinckley and Coventry Union Bank, Atherstone.

[18] Hansom personally drove a cab along the A5 from Hinckley to London by way of a publicity stunt; Henry James Francis, *History of Hinckley* (Hinckley, 1930), p. 126.

[19] The building was intended to be as large again as Westminster Hall, catering for fifteen thousand people and housing the 'organ of the world'; for detailed description see *Mechanics Magazine*, 36 (1842), pp. 265, 266.

[20] Evinson, 'Hansom', pp. 134-139.

[21] Nottingham, 'Victoria Terrace', pp. 23-24, citing minutes and account book of 'Committee for Managing Matters Relating to Building in Beaumaris Green' (1824-33), *BUA,* BA/2/11.

[22] Hayman, 'Development of Beaumaris', p. 112.

was £3,475.[23] A further step to 'gentrify' the town was financed by Williams-Bulkeley, who made use of Beaumaris' spectacular natural scenery and the *in-situ* ruins of the castle as a 'folly'.[24] This necessitated the reclamation of land adjacent to Green Edge and the addition of a further terraced property of superior quality. To achieve this it was necessary to demolish and re-site the old gaol.[25] The original estimate was £6,006 4s. 6d, but it escalated to £8,000.[26] It was the first of several projects carried out by Hansom and Welch in Beaumaris, all following on from the connection they had already made at Penrhos. As part of Williams-Bulkeley's wish to improve the status of the town, warm salt-water baths were built at the west end of the sea front.[27] An extant boiler-house stack resembles the water-tower at the gaol, leading Hayman to conclude that the baths were also built by Hansom and Welch.[28] The architects were then commissioned to build a new hotel, the Williams-Bulkeley Arms Hotel (see Plate 20).[29]

Their work continued when they were chosen by Beaumaris Corporation to design Victoria Terrace in preference to the Liverpool architect John Foster and the Shrewsbury architect Edward Haycock, both of whom had submitted designs.[30] The new work completed the sea front by filling the gap between the hotel and the baths.[31] Victoria Terrace was built after the style of Wood-the-Younger's Royal Crescent in Bath (1775) and Nash's Park Crescent in London (1811), but differed in that each side slanted away from a strong central pediment (see Plate 21).[32] Each of the ten units was to be sold separately and designed according to the wishes of the buyer, with the Corporation retaining overall control and collecting ground rent.[33] The specification laid down by Hansom and Welch was unusual in that it called for a unified frontage, which placed so much emphasis on aesthetics that no sign of rainwater was permitted at the front of the building.[34] Terraces, as well as circuses and squares, were becoming popular, but hitherto they tended to be built in blocks by different

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[23] Nottingham, 'Victoria Terrace', p. 25.

[24] *Ibid*., p. 24; *BUA*, Baron Hill 3696; in 1831, Beaumaris was described as a rich and opulent neighbourhood; *North Wales Chronicle*, 17 March 1831.

[25] This was in part due to comply with the 1823 Gaols Act, 4 Geo IV c 64, cited by Hayman, 'Development of Beaumaris', p. 114.

[26] *Anglesey Archives* (*AA*), WQ/A/G/334, 5 March 1828; Nottingham, 'Victoria Terrace', p. 27; the design was unnecessarily large and elaborate, resulting in the closure of the goal in 1878; Hayman, *ibid*., p. 114.

[27] 'Beaumaris a History Trail' (pamphlet, 1985), p. 19.

[28] Hayman, 'Development of Beaumaris', pp. 112, 115; *Pigot's National Commercial Directory* (1828), p. 687.

[29] Princess Victoria, after whom the new terrace was named, stayed at the hotel during the Eisteddfod in 1832; *North Wales Chronicle*, 21, 28 August 1832; *Morning Post*, 28 August 1832; Edward Parry, *Royal Visits and Progresses to Wales and the Border Counties* (Chester, 1851), pp. 435, 447.

[30] Sir Richard William Bulkeley, his agent, William Wynne, the town clerk and a lawyer were among the committee members; Nottingham, 'Victoria Terrace'; p. 24, citing Building Committee Minutes, *BUA*, BA/2/11.

[31] Nottingham, 'Victoria Terrace', p. 30; for copies of plans, see uncatalogued Beaumaris and Anglesey manuscripts, *Bangor Archives and Special Collections*, *BUA*.

[32] Nottingham, *ibid*., p. 30; Hayman, 'Development of Beaumaris', p. 114; Evinson, 'Hansom', p. 31.

[33] Nottingham, *ibid*., p. 33: *BUA*, iv, 59.

[34] Nottingham, *ibid*., pp. 34, 35: *BUA*, *ibid*., iv, 334; Nottingham, *ibid*., p. 36.

builders, and façades differed accordingly.[35] Victoria Terrace was faced with limestone from the Penmon quarries, the same stone which was used for Birmingham Town Hall.[36] Despite prolonged and careful planning, progress was not entirely satisfactory. The Corporation, the architects and potential owners all encountered difficulties. Not all the eighty-year leases were sold as quickly as had been hoped and the Corporation was obliged to take out a £600 bond.[37] The architects were under financial strain due to their new work on the Town Hall in Birmingham and Hansom requested an amount of ten pounds to alleviate his personal cash flow problems.[38] As will be seen, this was exacerbated by the punishing schedule the partnership had undertaken, and worsened by the Birmingham Street Commissioners' refusal to pay the architect's travel expenses.[39] An added complication at Beaumaris was erratic timing with regard to sale of the properties, multiple use of different builders for each of the units, and unavoidable absences on the part of the architects.[40] On one occasion a buyer complained that a partition wall was too thin, on another one unit had to be pulled down and re-built, and on another the buyer refused to pay the architects' fees of £33, which had to be covered by the Corporation.[41] However, the project achieved its objective when Samuel Butler, future Bishop of Lichfield and Sir John Jervis, MP for Chester, later Solicitor General, became two of the leaseholders.[42]

Hansom and Welch used the same builders, William Thomas and William Kendall, for the gaol and hotel as they had for the Commissioners' Church in Liverpool, and again for Birmingham Town Hall.[43] They were economical in their re-use of part of the old gaol and the old town wall (which also had to be demolished), for the side walls of the hotel, with ironwork being transferred to the new goal.[44] Hansom and Welch's final contribution to the effect which national fashionable trends

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[35] Girouard, *English Town*, pp. 69-71, 157.

[36] Conservation area character appraisal for Beaumaris, www.anglesey.gov.uk/journal/2011/09/28/beaumarisappraisal, p. 32, accessed 24 November 2015; 'Contract for providing and working blocks of Anglesey white marble for Birmingham Town Hall', 8 May 1832, *AA*, WM/322/3.

[37] Nottingham, 'Victoria Terrace', p. 33; *BUA*, iv, 334.

[38] Nottingham, *ibid*., p. 32; letter Hansom to John Jones, Town Clerk, 8 June 1833, *BUA*, iv, 55; Welch had previously requested an advance of fifty pounds in order to pay wages for men working on the gaol, *AA*, WQ/A/392.

[39] Their work schedule comprised: Beaumaris gaol 1828-29; hotel 1829-33 and terrace 1830-33; St John's church in Liverpool 1830-32; Boddelwyddan Hall, 1830-42 and Birmingham Town Hall, 1833-1834, in addition to other minor works. Together with John Welch, younger brother of Edward, they were also building King William's College and four churches on the Isle of Man between 1830 and 1834.

[40] Nottingham, 'Victoria Terrace', p. 37.

[41] *Ibid*., pp. 37, 38; see also Town Clerk's correspondence, *BUA*, ii 596.

[42] Nottingham, 'Victoria Terrace', pp. 40-41; unlike other resorts undertaking similar missions, such as Bournemouth, Llandudno and Torquay, Beaumaris was able to retain its exclusivity by not having a railway connection; Hayman, 'Development of Beaumaris', p. 123.

[43] *AA*, WQ/A/G/359, 365, 366, 380-381, 382, 383, 386, 391, 392; 'Contract for Anglesey marble', *AA*; Pugin's favoured builder was George Myers, see Patricia Spencer-Silver, *George Myers: Pugin's Builde*r (Hull, 1993).

[44] Nottingham, 'Victoria Terrace', pp. 28, 29; Samuel Lewis, *Topographical Dictionary of Wales*, i 1833, p. 30, cited by Hayman, 'Development of Beaumaris, p. 114; E. Neil Baynes, 'The early history of Beaumaris Castle, *Transactions of the Anglesey Antiquarian Society and Field Club* (1927), p. 61; Conservation appraisal, p. 16.

were having on Welsh architecture was the extension and castellation of Bodelwyddan Hall (now Castle) on the main land (see Plate 22).[45] The building had been owned by the Williams' family since the seventeenth century and latterly by Sir John Williams, High Sheriff of Beaumaris. It was remodelled in Neo-Classical style between 1805 and 1808, but when Sir John Hay-Williams inherited the property in 1830, he used his increased wealth from lead mining to commission Hansom and Welch to extend and refurbish the property.[46] Work commenced in 1830 and continued until 1842, during which time the grounds were also redesigned.[47] The most striking features were the castellation and additional towers at the West end, larger than those of the house itself.[48] Such a project was in line with the theme of 'sham castles', those started by Walpole at Strawberry Hill (1749-76), and followed by James Wyatt at Fonthill (1796-1812) and Ashridge (1802-13), all of which were modern replicas built for effect. A later example is Gwrych Castle (from 1819), which represented all that Pugin deplored.[49]

Developments in Beaumaris had been initiated by local wealthy families and were seen as an investment by the local Corporation, but the most enterprising project of the partnership was the town hall in Birmingham. Built ahead of the *Municipal Corporations Act*, the publicity it received, heightened by simultaneous political campaigns, set a precedent for the many other town halls which were built across the country over several decades, all vying with each other for prestige and status symbols.[50] Birmingham met the criteria Barry laid down some thirty years later for town halls in all respects except a bell tower and peal of bells, which would not have been appropriate for the chosen style:

> A Town Hall should be the most dominant and important of the municipal Buildings of the City ... give expression to public feelings upon national and municipal events ... should be the exponent of life and soul of the City. To fulfill these conditions it should occupy a central and elevated position, isolated from surrounding buildings ... be a lofty structure with tower of commanding importance, a clock seen from all parts of town and a peal of bells ... provide for occasional displays flags, illuminations fireworks ... so arranged as to afford the means of holding public meetings within it and addressing public gatherings of the people around the exteriors.[51]

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[45] Bodelwyddan is situated along the A55 from Bangor to Chester, another important road worked on by Telford.

[46] National Library of Wales GTJ25870; Edward Hubbard, *Denbighshire and Flintshire* (Harmondsworth, 1986), pp. 63, 325.

[47] Thomas Roscoe, *Wanderings and Excursions in North Wales* (London, 1844), p. 77.

[48] Tudor Edwards described the end result as the most ambitious of Hansom's houses, *Country Life*, 'Architect of Catholic Tastes: Joseph Aloysius Hansom', 2 September 1982, 172, pp. 690-691; Evinson considered the much larger, nearby Gwrych Castle to be the immediate inspiration, Evinson, 'Hansom', p. 46.

[49] Crook, *Dilemma*, p. 43.

[50] G. M. Trevelyan, *Illustrated English Social History*, iv (1952), p. 118 cited by Asa Briggs, *Victorian Cities* (Harmondsworth, reprinted 1977), p. 46; Bradford Town Hall copied Liverpool, and Leeds copied Bradford; Bassin, *Architectural Competitions*, p. 38.

[51] R. de Hall, *Halifax Town Hall* (Halifax, 1963), cited by Girouard, *English Towns*, p. 210; Barry's design for Halifax

Birmingham was the fastest growing town in England, where the population explosion helped create the new concept of an urban centre.[52] In 1783 the Board of Guardians had attempted to purloin responsibility for all municipal functions, including the building of a new town hall.[53] Their bill to allow this was defeated and as Birmingham was unincorporated, the self-elected Street Commissioners were able to gain in power, co-opting any objectors as necessary.[54] The town hall, first discussed in 1827, was prompted by the need for a larger venue to accommodate the Triennial Musical Festivals which raised funds for the local hospital.[55] It was also intended as a monument to celebrate the Commissioners' achievements and to extend their power by providing a focal point around which the town could grow.[56] This required an Act of Parliament granting permission to raise rates for both the hall and other general improvements.[57] The Act was passed in 1828 and allocated £45,300 to Birmingham, of which £25,000 was set aside for the purchase of land and a town hall to accommodate 3,000 people. Additionally, loans of a thousand pounds each were made by eleven citizens, heralding a new middle-class involvement.[58] Birmingham was unique in that it comprised many independent small workshops rather than large factories, as in the north of England.[59] It was at the forefront of social unrest, a natural breeding ground for political activists, encouraged by the banker Thomas Attwood who believed in monetary reform and coming together

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(1861-63) was selected but it was built by his son after his father's death.

[52] At the beginning of the nineteenth-century the population of Birmingham stood at 74,000, but by mid-century it was second in size to London; in 1800 only London exceeded a population of 100,000, whereas by 1837 there were five towns; Briggs, *Victorian Cities*, p. 59; see also H. J. Dyos, 'The Growth of Cities in the Nineteenth Century: A Review of Some Recent Writing', *Victorian Studies* 9, 3 (1966), pp. 225-237; the 1851 census was the first to show that over half the population were now living in towns; Cunningham, *Town Halls*, p. 2.

[53] Fraser, *Power and Authority*, pp. 80-81.

[54] *Ibid*., p. 163.

[55] Minutes of the Street Commissioners relating to the building of the Birmingham Town Hall, 1834, 'Power to erect a Town Hall', 3-5 December 1827, Birmingham City Archives; clause xciv, 5 December 1827 refers specifically to the purpose as being public meetings, but also a 'Music Festival for the benefit of the Birmingham General Hospital' including the erection of an organ; Cunningham, *Town Halls*, pp. 43, 136.

[56] Salmon, *Building on Ruins*, p. 163; Harris, *Architectural Achievement*, pp. 17-51; Hansom, 'A Statement of Facts relative to the Birmingham Town-Hall, and an Appeal to the Rate-Payers and Inhabitants of Birmingham (1834); Evinson, 'Hansom', pp. 52-75; see also Anthony Peers, *Birmingham Town Hall* (Farnham, 2012); Cunningham, *Town Halls*, p.111; the Commissioners were a self-elected group of fifty residents, set up in 1769; amongst the members were bankers Paul Moon James and Richard Spooner, Attwood's partner who also became a Member of Parliament for Birmingham, Charles Edge, Birmingham architect and Charles Shaw, brass founder; see Commemorative Plaque, Birmingham Town Hall.

[57] Local and Personal Act, 9 George IV c. liv, HL/PO/PB/1/1828/9G4n91: *An Act for better paving, lighting, watching, cleansing, and otherwise improving the Town of Birmingham in the County of Warwick, and for regulation the Police and Markets of the said Town.*

[58] Salmon, *Building on Ruins*, p. 153.

[59] Fraser, *Power and Authority*, p. 84; Simon Gunn, *Public culture*, p. 14; Asa Briggs, *Victorian Cities*, pp. 186, 393: *Cambridge Historical Journal*, 'The background of the parliamentary reform movement in three English cities (1830-2)', Asa Briggs, 10, 3 (1952), pp. 293-317.

of masters and men.[60] The first brick of the Town Hall was laid amidst his famous New Hall Meetings in the lead-up to the passing of the Great Reform Bill.[61]

A lengthy discussion as to choice of site preceded the convoluted and protracted competition, with Hansom the winner out of sixty-nine entries.[62] Hansom and Welch submitted separate designs. Hansom's was based on the Greek temple of Castor and Pollux, a design which not only won him the competition, but also attracted nationwide publicity.[63] It was unusual in that rather than simply resembling the temple, he attempted to replicate it, using dimensions which were almost exactly three-quarters the original size.[64] Authenticity was enhanced by the use of white marble (limestone) donated by Sir Richard Bulkeley, owner of the Penmon quarries on Anglesey.[65] To convince the Commissioners of the validity of their low estimate, the architects and builders agreed to stand as financial guarantors, necessitating a bank loan.[66] The impact of the building was enhanced by being set on a podium in an island site, and Hansom, therefore, suggested that the western side should also be encased in stone.[67] The Commissioners agreed to the additional work, but refused to pay the cost, due to 'pecuniary inability'.[68] As the project progressed, Hansom spent much time trying to source materials and make economies. He admitted, however, that he could have saved twenty per cent on labour costs had he used machinery, but he chose instead to preserve the jobs of his workmen.[69] Despite his efforts, excessive pressures on his time and an unrealistic budget led to bankruptcy and the break-up of the partnership.[70]

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[60] *Quarterly Review*, 6 February 1830; Briggs, *Victorian Cities*, p. 393: *Cambridge Historical Journal*, Asa Briggs, 'Thomas Attwood and the Economic Background of the Birmingham Political Union', 9, 2 (1948); Attwood and two members of his family contributed to the loan; see also David J. Moss, *Thomas Attwood.*

[61] Salmon, *Building on Ruins*, p. 163; *Birmingham Journal*, 18 May 1833.

[62] Hansom, 'Statement', p. 5; for further discussion on the competition process, see part one of Chapter IV.

[63] The design was taken from Taylor and Cresy's *Architectural Antiquities of Rome*, see Frank Salmon, 'Storming the Campo Vaccino', British Architects and the Antique Building of Rome after Waterloo', *SAH*, 38 (1995), pp. 163,164, http://www.jstor.org/stable/1568626 accessed 8 November 2015; the contemporary Welsh poet, Charles Reece Pemberton, believed that there was not 'any building in England that can exhibit such a glorious range of columns', cited by Robert K. Dent, *Old & New Birmingham*, (1880), p. 472; *The Times*, 1 September 1834 ignored subsequent work carried out by others and called it a "Great Triumph for Mr Hansom".

[64] Henry-Russell Hitchcock, *Early Victorian Architecture in Britain* (London, 1973), pp. 299,300; Salmon, 'Campo Vaccino', p. 164, n. 84.

[65] Dent, *The Making of Birmingham: being a history of the rise and growth of the Midland metropolis* (London, 1894), p. 376; contract between William Thomas and others (builders) and William Hughes and others (stonemasons) for providing and working blocks of Anglesey White Marble for the Birmingham Town Hall, Anglesey Record Office, WM/322/2; for a full description of merits and workability of Anglesey limestone, see Philip Brannon, 'A Visit to the Marble Quarries of Anglesea', *North Wales Chronicle*, 17 March 1877.

[66] Dent, *Making of Birmingham*, p. 377; Assignment of monies borrowed in connection with the building of Birmingham Town Hall, 23 August 1833, *AA*, WM/322/3.

[67] Hansom, 'Statement', p. 8; Cunningham, *Town Halls*, p. 175; invariably purchase and demolition of existing properties were required, together with loans or mortgages and an Act of Parliament, Girouard, p. 185.

[68] Hansom, 'Statement', p. 8.

[69] *Ibid*., p. 13.

[70] His estimate was £16,648, to meet a limit of £17,000; the Anglesey supplier defaulted on his contract, bad weather

Political feeling in Birmingham was so strong that Hansom was fleetingly described 'the socialist architect'.[71] His involvement was complex. Apart from participating in Attwood's mass rallies, he became embroiled in arguments between the Roman Catholic priest Father Thomas McDonnell, Bishop Walsh, Pugin and the Earl of Shrewsbury.[72] He also got caught up in the work of the social reformer, Robert Owen, who provided work but also unsettled the local workforce, provoking building strikes.[73] These distractions contributed to his bankruptcy and potentially lost him the opportunity to build St Chad's Catholic Cathedral (designed by Pugin at no cost), and the Birmingham Free Grammar School, built by Barry and assisted by Pugin.[74] The work which Robert Owen provided, the Operative Builders Guildhall in Birmingham, was only a minor compensation and a further drain on Hansom's personal resources (see Plate 23).[75] Notwithstanding the temporary setback to his own career, the Birmingham episode is an illustration of how easily architects could be drawn into and affected by national events, which in turn had wide repercussions on the architectural profession as a whole.

The *Great Reform Bill* of 1832, instigated by Attwood, one of Birmingham's first Members of Parliament, led to the *Municipal Corporations Act* of 1835.[76] The latter brought many changes across the country and enabled Corporations to build the town halls which were characteristic of this ambitious age.[77] However, it was socially divisive in that restrictions on eligibility for election meant that there was a middle-class electorate with middle-class councillors, who were in a position to stamp their values and authority on the monuments they erected.[78] Though new councillors had

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caused delays and the Commissioners refused to pay any expenses, though he did manage to negotiate free tonnage from Captain Bradshaw for stone along the Bridgwater Canal, Hansom, 'Statement', p. 8; he was convinced that the Commissioners knew from the outset that his budget was unachievable: *ibid.*, p. 7; *The Times*, 26 April 1834.

[71] R. W. Postgate, *The Builders History* (1923), p. 90; *Victoria County History Warwick, City of Birmingham*, p. 314.

[72] Father McDonnell campaigned for the abolition of church rates and was an active member of Attwood's [Birmingham] Political Union; Asa Briggs, 'Thomas Attwood and the economic background of the Birmingham Political Union', *Cambridge Historical Journal*, 9 (1947-9), p. 191; Briggs, *Victorian Cities*, pp. 68-69; Roderick O'Donnell, *The Pugins and the Catholic Midlands* (Leominster and Leamington Spa, 2002), pp. 18-21; *Standard*, 21 July, 1828; *Bradford Observer*, 11 December 1834.

[73] For further details see Evinson, 'Hansom', pp. 88-97; Harris, *Architectural Achievement*, pp. 59, 65-66; Edward Royle, *Robert Owen and the Commencement of the Millennium: A study of the Harmony community* (Manchester, 1998.)

[74] O'Donnell, *Catholic Midlands*, p. 19; St Chad's was an ecclesiastical equivalent to civic pride and the Grammar School was Barry's prototype for the building of the new Houses of Parliament; Elmes also modelled his St George's Hall (Liverpool 1839), on the Grammar School; 'Harvey Lonsdale Elmes', http:/0-www.oxforddnb.com.unicat.bangor.ac.uk/view, accessed 1 March 2007.

[75] Letter Hansom to Owen stating he had a shortfall of £500, 23 February 1834, Co-operative College, Manchester, R.O. 676; *Birmingham Journal*, 21 December 1832; *Birmingham Despatch*, 28 November 1833; *Birmingham Journal*, 30 November 1833; Frank Podmore, *Robert Owen, a Biography*, 1 (London 1906), p. 445; *The Pioneer; or Trades Union Magazine*, 7 December 1833, p. 107.

[76] Fraser, *Power and Authority*, p. 5; in 1838, Birmingham was one of the first towns to be incorporated; 5 & 6 Wm. IV c 76.

[77] Cunningham, *Town Halls*, p. 12; Hitchcock, *Architecture,* p. 299.

[78] Only those with property worth more than a thousand pounds, or rateable value of £30 were permitted; Girouard,

fewer powers than previously, they became more financially focussed as they no longer received rent from property and were dependent upon rates for income. They supplemented these with large-scale borrowing in order to further their ambitions and express their power and authority, as they had in Birmingham.[79] They increasingly ran their own domains, with little interference from government, and needed to justify their existence through architecture, using buildings as a visible and enduring expression of their own success.[80] The sense of community consciousness which arose produced overt inter-city rivalry with a wish to identify their own domains, such as Birmingham, the 'Hardware Village'. Manchester represented the whole cotton region and was known as 'Cottonopolis', whereas Bradford, with its thirty-eight worsted mills, was known as 'Worstedopolis'.[81]

These characteristics became synonymous with their buildings, which became increasingly large and more elaborate than previously. Town halls now served both practical and social needs. Under the new regimen, they were essentially halls of the people, whilst also providing somewhere for governing bodies to meet, carry out their functions and keep records.[82] Court rooms were incorporated, with a raised platform for the magistrate, and a 'big room' for banquets and other forms of entertainment.[83] Historically the only large internal spaces in a town were churches, and competition for large and ornate buildings had been between cathedrals in the Middle Ages.[84] There were contemporary religious, political and social agendas behind the building of town halls inasmuch as Council members were invariably Non-Conformist radicals and defiant of Church of England autonomy; and the mandatory 'big rooms' were used as concert halls, a further attempt to improve the manners and habits of people by raising their tastes.[85] The exceptionally large Hill's organ installed at Birmingham was a trend-setter, and organs became a routine feature of later halls.[86]

English Towns, p. 203.

[79] *Ibid.*, p. 205; http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20110118095356 accessed 16 November 2015, Tristram Hunt, 'The rise and fall of the Victorian city: lesson renewal', 12 May 2005.

[80] Gunn, *Public Culture*, p. 13.

[81] Cunningham, *Town Halls*, p. 219; Asa Briggs 'The background of the parliamentary reform movement in three English cities', *Cambridge Historical Journal*; Gunn, *Public Culture*, p. 12; Robert Gray, *The Factory Question and Industrial* England, 1830-1860 (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 94-101; William Cudworth, *Worstedopolis: A Sketch of the Town and Trade of Bradford* (facsimile reprint 1997).

[82] Fraser, *Power and Authority*, p. 19; Girouard, *English Town*, pp. 26, 208.

[83] *Ibid.*, p. 26; Hansom built a small-scale version along these lines at Lutterworth; *Architectural Magazine* 3 (1836), pp. 569-573; *ibid.*, 4 (1837), p. 405.

[84] Hitchcock, *Early Victorian*, p. 300.

[85] Cunningham, *Town Halls*, pp. 44, 177.

[86] *Mechanics Magazine*, 22 March 1834, pp. 401-404, 7 June, 1834, p. 176; 25 April, 1840, p. 676; Girouard, *English Town*, p. 206; at 35 feet wide, 15 feet deep and 45 feet high, the Birmingham Journal claimed that it was the largest in the world, *Birmingham Journal*, 23 November 1833.

Even though St George's Hall in Liverpool (Harvey Lonsdale Elmes, 1841-54) and Leeds Town Hall (Cuthbert Brodrick, 1853-58) far outshone Birmingham in terms of size and grandeur, no town hall exceeded the passion or extent of social, political and civic involvement which led to the building of that in Birmingham; and though most town halls were Classical in style, none were exact replicas like Birmingham.[87] Liverpool, the second richest corporation in the country, expected to live off income and succeeded in building the tallest building in the town.[88] Even younger than Hansom at the time of Birmingham, Elmes won two competitions in 1839, one for a concert hall and the other for assize courts.[89] As a cost-cutting measure, both were offered to the city surveyor, but when Elmes objected, they were passed back to him and he combined them into a single building. However, like Hansom, he suffered financially as he was paid on the original estimate of £92,000 and not on the final cost of £145,000.[90] Leeds, a poor city in comparison, was slow to follow suit, being more involved in internal rivalry.[91] A town hall had been discussed since 1830 and, in defiance of local poverty, it was finally built to compete with Bradford, the main aim being to promote the town by building a court room far in excess of need and thus achieve the position of assize town for West Riding.[92] The original limit was £35,000, but the final cost exceeded £125,000, showing how much things had changed since Hansom's pioneering in Birmingham, and the value put on the kudos of large and opulent buildings.[93] The architect's over-enthusiasm and the addition of repeated extra features, encouraged by Barry, led to the builders' bankruptcy.[94]

Choice of site was often problematic – even Birmingham suffered. Firstly, eighteen houses, six street front shops and other buildings were demolished, and Hansom had to encroach upon the footpath and omit an imposing entrance in order to maximise internal space.[95] Brighton Town Hall

[87] Salmon, 'Campo Vaccino', p. 164, n. 84; Hitchcock, *Early Victorian*, pp. 299; see also Tristram Hunt, 'The rise and fall of the Victorian city: lessons for contemporary urban renewal', *Chartered Association of Building Engineers* (12 May 2005).

[88] Girouard, *English Town*, p. 29.

[89] Liverpool also held triennial music festivals; Gunn, *Public Culture*, pp. 138-139.

[90] He fell ill from the stress of the work and died in 1847, aged thirty-three, before the work was completed; his successor, Charles Robert Cockerell, made considerable internal changes; http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.unicat.bangor.ac.uk/view, accessed 27 December 01.

[91] Briggs, *Victorian Cities*, p. 184; the annual income of Leeds was £90,000, compared with £220,000 in Liverpool; Fraser, *Power and Authority in the Victorian City* (Oxford, 1979), p. 52.

[92] Cunningham, *Town Halls*, p. 90; C. J. K. Cunningham, 'A Study of Town Halls of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries', doctoral thesis, Leeds University (1974); Derek West, 'West Yorkshire Architects and Architecture', doctoral thesis, London University (1978); Girouard, *English Town*, pp. 208, 56.

[93] Cunningham, Town Halls, p. 91.

[94] Briggs, *Victorian Cities*, p. 207; a Baroque clock tower was added in 1856 to reinforce the status of the building; for details of other extra work, see Cunningham, *Town Halls*, pp. 90-93.

[95] Cunningham, *ibid.,* p. 175; The Street Commissioners were insistent that designs should not extend beyond the scope of the site, Salmon, 'Campo Vaccino', p. 163, n. 83 quoting 'Proceedings of the Commissioners for Paving ... 1828-37',

(1830-32) was never completed because part of the proposed site could not be purchased, despite the classical design being prepared by one of the Commissioners, the non-architect Thomas Cooper.[96] Penzance Town Hall (1836-37), which fulfilled Barry's criteria, lasted less than thirty years because the site had also been too small from the start.[97] When Hansom moved from Warwickshire to Leicestershire, the publicity and reputation which he had gained in Birmingham generated further business. His design of Lutterworth Town Hall, largely paid by local subscriptions and costing £1,600, was also dictated by the awkwardness of the triangular site (see Plate 24).[98] Appropriately for a small market town, it was multi-purpose, with an open corn exchange and butter and cheese market at street level. On the first floor there was a 'big room' with a judge's balcony for court proceedings, which was also used for social functions.[99] The underlying reasoning behind the building was that, as it was on a major coaching route, it would add value to the town.[100]

As has been seen in Birmingham, English towns were characterised by intense struggles between social classes, political parties and architectural style. Civic pride extended beyond buildings built for Corporations and included the patronage of limited companies and private individuals such as George Hudson, whose name is associated with railway stations and the York-based architect G. T. Andrews.[101] Examples of town and street design are those by the developer Richard Grainger in Newcastle, and architects James Gillespie Graham with Hamilton Square in Birkenhead and Moray Place in Edinburgh, and John Foulston in Plymouth.[102] The diverse range of buildings now required in the 1830s had no past precedents and the introduction of capitalism brought great opportunities for those architects, who were not hampered by the financial constraints of the Church Commissioners or the later design criteria of the Ecclesiologists. At last they could experiment with original concepts.[103]

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meetings of 5 April and 2 May 1831, Birmingham City Archives.

[96] http://www.my brightonandhove.org.uk/page_id_8911.aspx, taken from Tim Carder, *Encyclopaedia of Brighton* (1990), accessed 12 December 2015.

[97] J. S. Courtney, *Half a Century of Penzance* (1878), p. 135, cited by Girouard, *English Town*, p. 216.

[98] Cunningham, *Town Halls*, pp. 256-7; *Architectural Magazine and Journal*, 3 (1836), p. 569.

[99] *Architectural Magazine, ibid.,* 13 (1836), pp. 569, 570-3 with illustrations in l 14, pp. 405-7; Cunningham, ibid., p. 4; Girouard, *English Town*, p. 82.

[100] It had been intended for a statue of John Wycliffe, former Rector of Lutterworth, who died there in 1384, to be placed between two columns over the main entrance, but funding ran out, personal communication, Tim Fisher (unpublished report).

[101] Hitchcock, *Early Victorian*, p. 300; Jenkins, *Architect and Patron*, p. 190.

[102] See L. Wilkes and G. Dodds, *Tyneside Classical: the Newcastle of Grainger, Dobson and Clayton* (1964); James Gillespie Graham, *Dictionary of Scottish architects*; John Foulston, *The Public Buildings erected in the West of England, as designed by J. Foulston* (London, 1838); D. Cannadine, *Lords and Landords: the Aristocracy and the Towns: 1774-1967* (Leicester 1980).

[103] Hitchcock, *Early Victorian*, p. 300; Cunningham, *Town Halls*, p. 70; Girouard, *English Towns*, p. 185.

Between 1836 and 1837 Hansom moved to Leicester, a hosiery and textile town.[104] As an unincorporated town, it was not responsible to its citizens and promoted its own interests to the detriment of town welfare.[105] Leicester was particularly corrupt and choice of architectural style had little to do with management of the town.[106] The radical Liberal, William Biggs, was resolute that conspicuous monuments would take precedence over below-ground sanitation and cemeteries and old symbols of plate were sold to pay for them.[107] In later years there was a determination for Leicester to have its own 'Brummagem Town Hall'.[108] It was here that Hansom built the Non-Conformist Leicester and Leicestershire Proprietary School in New Walk, a Liberal move in direct competition with the Anglican Collegiate School built one year earlier.[109] Based on the new University College, London, this was one of the earliest Proprietary schools to be built in the provinces.[110] Local, middle-class shareholders purchased the site at auction from Leicester Corporation.[111] The school only survived for ten years, after which the building was purchased by the Corporation and turned into a Museum, possibly in response to the *Museums Act* of 1845.[112] The price paid was £3,390, with a further £900 paid for adaptation.[113] The Leicester Literary and Philosophical Society (see below), loaned its collection to the museum.[114] New Walk, which passed in front of the building, is a good extant example of a Victorian urban walkway, dating from the late eighteenth-century.[115] These were fashionable outdoor equivalents to Assembly Rooms, the

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[104] Fraser, *Power and Authority*, p. 111.

[105] Cunningham, *Town Halls*, p. 2.

[106] Fraser, *Power and Authority*, pp. 120-127; Girouard, *English Town*, p. 208; this affected all aspects of running the town, leading the clerk to the Leicester Board of Guardians to comment that 'politics are doing us much mischief at Leicester'; Kathryn M Thompson, 'Leicester Poor Law Union, 1838-1871', doctoral thesis (Leicester, 1988).

[107] *Leicester Chronicle*, 17 October 1846; Briggs, Victorian Cities, p. 371.

[108] Fraser, *ibid*, p. 126.

[109] Charles James Billson, *Leicester Memoirs* (Leicester, 1924), p. 89; T. Fielding Johnson, *Glimpses of Ancient Leicester*, p. 391.

[110] A. Temple Patterson, *Radical Leicester - A History of Leicestershire*, 1780-1850, pp. 242-243; *Leicester Journal*, 20 November 1835, 12 August 1836; University College (later London University) was founded by the Radicals as a secular alternative to Oxford and Cambridge.

[111] *Leicester Journal*, 24 October 1834; Billson, *Leicester Memoirs*, p. 88, with description of the building and its usage, p. 89 .

[112] Billson, *Leicester Memoirs*, p. 88; Fielding Johnson, *Ancient Leicester*, p. 391; R. B. Pugh (ed.), *VCH, Leicester*, IV, (London, 1958), p. 335; Hansom's original plans had been subjected to detailed requirements by the Corporation, Graham Potts, *New Walk in the Nineteenth Century* (1969); 8 and 9 Vict., chapter 43.

[113] John Storey, *Historical Sketch of some of the principal works and undertakings of the Council of the Borough of Leicester* (Leicester, 1895), p. 32.

[114] Storey, *ibid.,* p. 33; Lott, *The Centenary Book of the Leicester Literary and Philosophical Society*, p. 49; Leicester Mercury, 2 April 1982, p. 14; a senior master was associated with both the Leicester Literary and Philosophical Society and its Mechanics' Institute; Fielding Johnson, *Ancient Leicester*, p.391.

[115] http://www.york.ac.uk/depts/arch/landscapes/ukpg/sites/newwalk.1.htm, accessed 1 October 2005; Girouard, *English Town*, p. 185.

epitome of social acceptability, meeting places, exchange of news and above all an opportunity to flaunt individual status.[116]

Combining both themes of social reform and education, against a backdrop of industrialisation, the Literary and Philosophical Societies and the Mechanics' Institutes also provided work for architects. The pursuit of knowledge was important to Victorians, who built dedicated museums, libraries and art galleries. However they were in competition with independent organisations. The Literary and Philosophical Societies, whose membership comprised those who were already well-educated, incorporated their own libraries and provided lectures, which were copied in turn by Assembly Halls.[117] They were largely funded by middle-class Non-Conformists in reaction to the upper classes and Church of England.[118] Such Institutes were established to benefit the working classes where charity schools were deemed inadequate.[119] In part a means of social control, they were also a way of persuading the more intelligent artisans to accept industrialisation. It was through his membership of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society that Robert Owen acquired debating skills.[120] Very much in tune with his own philosophies they led Owen to generate a considerable amount of building work, including his own Hall of Science, in Campfield.[121] He also set up a small school in 1831, moving to larger premises, the Co-operative Social Institute, in 1835; then the Salford Institute, and finally, in 1840, the Hall of Science, a building which cost £7,000 and could hold over 3,000 people.[122] This was followed by Queenwood, or Harmony Hall, in Tytherley, Hampshire, designed by Hansom between 1841 and 1842.[123] It was Owen's final attempt at a combined college and utopian community (see Plate 23).

Banks also provided new work. Rare outside London until the late eighteenth-century, City banks were always high status buildings.[124] They were not part of a co-ordinated movement, but industrial expansion demanded this new service industry and they were built on an *ad hoc* basis

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[116] Girouard, *ibid.*, p. 153; Hansom's former partner, Edward Welch, built the Assembly Rooms in Birkenhead, 1846; Nicklaus Pevsner and Edward Hubbard, *Buildings of England, Cheshire*, p. 14.

[117] Girouard, *English Town*, p. 196; see also Fawcett 'Self-Improvement Societies: the early Lit and Phils: Life in the Georgian Town' (Georgian Society symposium, 1985, pub 1986), pp. 15-25.

[118] Girouard, *English Town*, p. 196; see also see also *Social Studies of Science*, 7 (1977), Steven Shapin and Barry Barnes, 'Science, Nature and Control: Interpreting Mechanics' Institutes', pp. 31-74.

[119] Girouard, *English Town*, p. 222; Briggs, *Victorian Cities*, p. 47.

[120] Harris, *Architectural Achievement*, p. 60.

[121] https:/radicalmanchester.wordpress/com/2011/11/the-manchester-mechanics-institute accessed 24 December 2015.

[122] Royle, *Robert Owen*, pp. 104-105 (41): *New Moral World*, 20 May 1843; p. 112 (84): *NMW*, 21, 28 March 1840, *Northern Star*, 13 January 1840. The planned cost of £3,000 rose to £6,000.

[123] Frank Podmore, *Robert Owen*, 542-3, 588; Royle, *Robert Owen*, pp. 88, 94 (114): *NMW*, 4 July 1840, Minute, 21 February, 27 March 1840, 149 (2): *NMW*, 11 September 1841.

[124] Girouard, *English Town*, p. 110; Soane was architect and surveyor to the Bank of England between 1788 and 1833, building an extension between 1818 and 1827; see Dorothy Stroud, *Sir John Soane, Architect* (London, 1984), p. 151 and Eva Schumann-Bacia, *John Soane and the Bank of England* (London, 1991).

nationwide. Joshua Scholefield, who along with Attwood, was one of the first two Members of Parliament for Birmingham, was a founder director of the London Joint Stock Bank.[125] Bank organisation underwent considerable upheaval following the *Country Bankers Act* of 1826.[126] Previously most banks had been private, usually run from domestic premises and with a maximum of only six partners permitted. The Act allowed the formation of joint-stock banks which were dependent upon individuals with substantial capital, provided they were more than sixty-five miles from the City of London.[127] This change caused ructions. There was a class element inasmuch as the former private banks resented the incursion of 'men in trade'.[128] Many provincial banks were small and either lasted only a short time or were subject to takeovers or mergers.[129] As with shops, and particularly insurance buildings, architecture served as an advertisement for each individual business, the more ornate the façade the better to attract attention, whilst also being an 'ornament' to the town, a popular expression at the time.[130]

The two banks which Hansom built were comparatively minor though typical of the spate of smaller provincial banks which followed the new legislation. That in Hinckley resulted from his fallout from Birmingham and also provided him with a temporary home.[131] Hansom firstly built for the Leicester and Warwickshire Banking Company (1834), owned by Dempster Hemming and Joseph Needham. He then moved to Caldecote, Warwickshire where, like the father of his former partner, he acted as estate manager of Hemming's home, Caldecote Hall, together with a 1,200 acre estate. Within four months of the Hinckley bank changing to joint-stock, it got into difficulty and after an abortive attempt to sell it to the Coventry Union Banking Company, Hemming was bankrupted.[132] The second, more successful bank, in Atherstone, was close to Caldecote and built at the same time as the Dominican Priory (1837-39), also at Atherstone.[133] In both cases, therefore, work was directly attributable to personal contacts: Hinckley via Birmingham, and Atherstone via Dominican contacts formed in Hinckley.[134]

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[125] http://www.gla.ac.uk/media/media_414005_en.pdf, accessed 25 February 2017.

[126] Country Bankers Act, 7 Geo 4 c.46, 1826.

[127] http://www.banking-history.co.uk/history.html, accessed 27 December 2015.

[128] Girouard, *English Town*, p. 232.

[129] The Yorkshire and Agricultural Bank, which was founded in 1836 and built 1839, overspent and failed in 1843; Girouard, *English Town*, p. 235.

[130] Girouard, *ibid.,* p. 232; Cunningham, *Town Halls*, p. 176.

[131] As a prominent banker, monetary reform was a significant feature of Attwood's campaign leading up to the Great Reform Bill; *Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, 11 April 1894, p. 196.

[132] Archives, HSBC Holdings plc, AB003.

[133] N. Alcock and M. Hughes, *Atherstone* (Chichester, 2008), p. 65.

[134] John Welch, brother of Edward, contributed to current trends by building the Flint Town Hall and the Savings Bank at Holywell, both in 1838.

Workhouses

Enigmatically the Act which precipitated an informal self-driven movement providing work for élite architects, with town halls displaying wealth, ostentation and magnitude of scale, was preceded just one year before by an Act to manage and contain the poorest members of the community.[135] The *Act for the Amendment and better Administration of the Laws relating to the Poor in England and Wales* was the government's attempt to remedy conditions of the poor, but by curtailing out-relief it frequently added to hardship rather than alleviating it.[136] Pugin satirised the situation in his *Contrasts* (see Plate 25). Edwin Chadwick, Secretary to the Poor Law Commission set up to investigate out-dated existing legislation, believed that too many people were exploiting the existing relief system rather than working, and the threat of a workhouse would act as a deterrent.[137] The new law was unpopular and targeted by the press, who considered it to be an extension of middle-class control, triggered by the *Reform Act* of 1832.[138] Earlier workhouses had been more of an all purpose parish institution, but the Act completely changed their nature and purpose. Parishes across the country were now grouped into regions known as Poor Law Unions, each of which was required to find a site, raise money and either provide a workhouse or improve upon existing buildings.[139] As with Commissioners' Churches, minimum cost was a priority, as was speed and quantity.[140] Each Union was administered by a Board of Guardians, who had to gain approval from the London-based Poor Law Commissioners for their choice of design and report to them regularly once the workhouse was in operation. Some Guardians designed their own workhouses, for example Weymouth in 1836.[141] Unlike Town Councillors, who were typically property-owners but not gentry, workhouse Guardians were elected by ratepayers.[142] By the middle of the century,15,000 parishes in England and Wales been built.[143] This 'new source of patronage' provided much work for architects in a short, sharp period of time in the wake of the Act, when 350

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[135] Many workhouses had already been built at the beginning of the decade, such as the Ongar Hundred workhouse in Essex, at a cost of £3,181; Dickens, 'Architect and Workhouse', p. 346.

[136] 4 & 5 Will. 4 c.76; for background to Act, see Woodward, *Age of Reform*, pp. 430-437; Anthony Brundage, *The Making of the New Poor Law* (New Brunswick, 1978); Anthony Brundage, *The English Poor Laws 1700-1930* (Basingstoke, 2002).

[137] The existing law dated back to 1601 and was superceded by the ineffective Gilbert's Act of 1782.

[138] The Commission was set up as an experiment for five years, but extended twice and by 1847 powers of the Commissioners were transferred to Poor Law Boards; Richards and Hunt, *Modern Britain*, p. 128; Woodward, *Age of Reform*, p. 437.

[139] Fraser, *Power and Authority*, p. 152; Richards and Hunt, *Modern Britain*, p. 128.

[140] Anna Dickens, 'Architect and Workhouse', p. 345; HM Poor Law Commissioners, First Annual Report of Poor Law Commissioners for England and Wales, 1835, p. 415; Dickens, 'Architect and Union Workhouse', p. 2.

[141] Dickens, *ibid.,* p. 348; Woodward, *Age of Reform*, p. 432.

[142] Morrison, 'Scott and Moffatt' (1977), p. 185.

[143] Jenkins, *Architect and Patron*, p. 180.

workhouses were built in five years.[144] This was tempered by the need to keep costs down and provide living conditions lower than those of the average labourer, not on a par with almshouses.[145] However, the spur to design workhouses developed into a cut-throat and highly corrupt campaign, an even more exaggerated version of the rush to build Commissioners' Churches, especially as it was only part-controlled by Government and many decisions were made at local level.[146] It was also symptomatic of the growing power of the middle-classes in urban areas.

Sir Francis Bond Head, one of the original Assistant Poor Law Commissioners, provided the first model design, known as the 'Rural' or 'Courtyard' workhouse, but it was not sufficiently versatile, with no dayroom, chapel or special area for the sick.[147] Each room, fifteen foot by ten foot, accommodated eight people, with a maximum ceiling height of seven foot on the ground floor and six foot above.[148] This plan was used twelve times in Head's home county, Kent. The first workhouse to adopt his plan accommodated 500 people and cost £4,300.[149] Also building in their home counties were Donthorne in Norfolk and Wilkinson in Oxfordshire.[150] Wilkinson was a prolific designer of English workhouses, until he moved to Dublin in 1839, where he became architect to the Poor Law Commissioners for Ireland and was responsible for 130 workhouses in two years.[151]

The next set of model designs was produced by Sampson Kempthorne, one of the first eighty-two founder-members of the Institute of British Architects. He was just starting out on his career and able to benefit from his father's friendship with the chief Poor Law Commissioner Thomas Frankland Lewis.[152] Kempthorne produced three different Classical designs, the cruciform or 'square' design, the hexagonal or 'Y'-plan and the '200-pauper' plan which had no hub and was used in more rural areas where numbers were low.[153] Initially it was intended to build separate workhouses for each class: men, women, children, elderly and infirm, but Chadwick did not support

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[144] *Ibid.,* p. 180; Dickens, 'Architect and Workhouse', p. 346.
[145] First Report, p. 415; Woodward, *Age of Reform*, pp. 432, 435.
[146] Dickens, 'Architect and Workhouse', p. 345.
[147] *Ibid.*, p. 346; http://www.workhouse.org.uk/buildings.
[148] Dickens, 'Architect and Workhouse', p. 347.
[149] Morrison, 'New-Poor-Law', p. 185, n. 5.
[150] Norman Longmate, *The Workhouse* (London, 1974), p. 287.
[151] Dickens, 'Architect and Workhouse', p. 349; Curl, *Oxford Dictionary of Architecture and Landscape Architecture* (Oxford, 2nd edn. 2006), p. 858; Longmate, *Workhouse,* p. 287.
[152] The reputation Kempthorne achieved as the 'Commissioners' architect' enabled him to advance his career as a designer of schools for the Committee of the Council of Education, and also to design a number of Commissioners Churches, Port, *600 churches*, p. 338.
[153] Dickens, 'Architect and Workhouse', p. 347; Kempthorne built ten square workhouses, sixteen Y-plan and twelve '200-pauper' workhouses, see http://www.workhouses.org.uk/buildings/Kempthorne, last accessed 7 March 2013.

this idea and it was not practicable in small or poor parishes.[154]   Designs were basic and prison-like, typified by high perimeter walls with additional internal walls which reinforced the segregation between men, women, boys and girls, as demanded by the Commissioners.[155]   Radial in shape rather than circular, they were based on a similar principle to panopticon prisons, with a central hub from which the Master could overlook the exercise yards of inmates at all times.[156]   Like early churches of the Catholic Gothic Revival, workhouses were located on the outskirts of towns so as not to upset local residents.   A recurrent feature was the striking distinction between the cramped living conditions of the inmates and the generous accommodation provided for the Master.   Apart from Kempthorne, who was in a privileged position, by far the most prolific of workhouse architects were George Gilbert Scott and his partner William Bonython Moffatt.[157]   Their concerted and aggressive tactics ensured that they consistently out-bid most other contenders.   Initially Scott was taken on by Henry Roberts, to assist with preparing plans for Fishmongers Hall in London, which he won in 1832.   Experience gained here, together with a legacy from his father, enabled Scott to set up his own practice.   Before this, he had worked briefly for his friend Kempthorne.[158]   Scott described Kempthorne's designs as 'the meanest possible character ... even more mean than that of my [his] pupilage'.[159]   Head was criticised for meanness and Kempthorne for misappropriation of prison plans.[160]   At the beginning, Boards of Guardians were under pressure to use Kempthorne's plans.[161]   Influential friends of Scott's late father led to the building of four workhouses in Northamptonshire, and his wife's contacts may have been of benefit when he built the Boston Union workhouse in her home town in Lincolnshire.[162]   Indignant at having lost contracts at Thrapston and Devizes, which they considered an affront to their professional ability, Scott and Moffatt decided to combine forces and make a concerted effort to win in future.[163]   The scheme which Scott devised was that he and Moffatt would ride all over the country, often travelling

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[154] Dickens, 'Architect and Workhouse', p. 350; Woodward, *Age of Reform*, p. 435.

[155] Dickens, 'Architects and the Poor Law Union', p. 5.

[156] This aspect, together with the fact that Chadwick was influenced by Jeremy Bentham, has led to a falsehood in that the panopticon was directly responsible for workhouse design; Dickens, 'Architect and Workhouse', p. 348.

[157] See David Cole, *The Work of Sir Gilbert Scott* (London, 1980.)

[158] Scott had already established an office in Regent Street, adjacent to that of Kempthorne; Morrison, 'Scott and Moffatt', p. 184; Curl, *Roberts,* p. 15.

[159] Stamp, *Recollections*, p. 77; Morrison, 'Scott and Moffatt', pp. 184,185.

[160] Longmate, *Workhouse*, p. 289.

[161] Stamp, *Recollections,* pp. 76-77; Dickens, 'Architect and Workhouse', (19): *Builde*r, 1868, p. 827; Pugin described the Poor Law as outrageous and published his graphic illustration of the workhouse past and present in his second *Contrasts* of 1841, see Plate 25; Dickens, 'Architect and Workhouse, p. 350. He believed that the poor had only ever been treated properly in Medieval times; his illustration correlating architecture and ideology was initially entitled 'Enforcing Discipline', but this was changed to 'Contrasted Residences for the Poor'; Stanton, *Pugin,* p. 89.

[162] Dickens*, ibid*., p. 113; locations were Buckingham, Brackley, Towcester and Oundle; Morrison, 'Scott and Moffatt', pp. 187, 192.

[163] It was Donthorne's use of the Tudor style at Thrapston which led Scott to change to this style; Morrison, 'Scott and Moffatt', p. 188.

through the night, gathering first-hand information from workhouse committees, thus gaining a considerable advantage over other competitors, a system which Dickens described as 'Union-hunting', or 'the thrill of the chase'.[164] Their methodology was very similar to that employed by Goodwin with the Commissioners' Churches, though not so devious. Detailed information, carefully adapted to meet the individual needs of each committee, would then be worked on and passed to their clerks while the architects set off on further missions.[165] This way of working did, of course, prevent a level playing field, as only architects with a large staff were able to work in this manner. Of the sixty competitions they entered, they won forty-four contracts.[166]

Scott and Moffatt did not create a market, but they exploited it to the full and saw the workhouse phase as making a significant contribution to the growth of the profession.[167] Workhouse architects in general had a more humane approach to the design of workhouses than the Commissioners, and used their influence to reconcile the dichotomy between punishing the work-shy and providing a refuge for the needy.[168] However, Scott and Moffatt used the designing of workhouses for their own ends, more as a hobby than a commercial enterprise in the short term, using it to show-case their work for larger, more meaningful contracts in the future. Competitions may have 'improved designs and shamed local boards of guardians into spending more', but Scott was always pushing his clients and increasingly allowed his estimates to creep upwards.[169] He refused to accept the lower-than-low level of design advocated by Kempthorne, which would have reduced his profession to a 'mere means of getting a living'.[170] From the outset he offered Guardians more than they asked for and deliberately raised the standard of workhouse design to such a level that his reputation enabled him to progress into the building of churches, for which he became best-known. His increasingly elaborate designs became such that his Macclesfield workhouse was described as 'almost baronial', but he carried things too far at Chesterfield, where he was asked to reduce his estimate.[171] The original design for Chesterfield was described by one of the Poor Law inspectors as 'the greatest building of its kind' that he had ever seen.[172]

[164] Dickens, 'Architects and the Union Workhouse', p. 114.

[165] They spread their trips geographically, with Scott covering those areas where he had personal contacts and Moffatt the South-West.

[166] Morrison, 'Scott and Moffatt', p. 202.

[167] Hitchcock, *Early Victorian Architecture*, p. 113; Dickens, 'Architects and the Union Workhouse', p. 4.

[168] Morrison, 'Scott and Moffatt', p. 190; improvements were particularly noticeable after the devolvement to Poor Law Boards in 1847, Woodward, *Age of Reform*, p. 437.

[169] Dickens, 'Architects and the Union Workhouse', p. 8; Kaye, *Development of the Profession*, p. 120.

[170] *Architectural Magazine*, II, 1835, p. 511 cited by Dickens, 'Architects and Workhouse', p. 351.

[171] Morrison, 'Scott and Moffatt', pp. 198, 199.

[172] J. M. Bestall, *History of Chesterfield* (Chesterfield, 1978), p. 64.

Of the Attached Architects, Soane built three workhouses under the first government grant and Nash built two. Smirke was the most prolific with ten to his name, not all in London. Barry also built three, but the most active provincial architect was Thomas Taylor, who built seven in his home county of the West Riding of Yorkshire.[173] William Dunthorne, a founder-Fellow of the IBA who also built country houses, prepared an improved plan for the sick and infirm, and Scott retaliated by designing a separate infirmary.[174] Vulliamy and Kendall were only prepared to travel great distances if there was a possibility that a workhouse might lead to other commissions.[175] The Hansom and Welch contribution comprised two workhouses, Hinckley Union Workhouse built by Hansom in 1838, and St Asaph Union Workhouse by John Welch in 1838-9, (see Plates 7 and 26).[176] Additionally, Welch, who was simultaneously working on the Isle of Man, built the House of Refuge in Douglas for the hundreds of inhabitants described as 'wretchedly distressed paupers'.[177] Hinckley Union Workhouse was won with some difficulty due to irregularities of the competition system, as discussed in depth in the next Chapter. In September 1838 land was purchased, an application for £4,000 was made to the Poor Law Commissioners and an advertisement placed locally.[178] In October Hansom's plans, submitted under the motto 'Veritas', were accepted, his estimate being £3,600. However, on 5 November the decision was rescinded and a further advertisement was placed. Hansom requested a meeting with the Board of Guardians, and persuaded them to re-appoint him. He was awarded three and a half per cent commission. By February the following year tenders had been accepted and a builder appointed, with Hansom to act as Clerk of Works for a fee of 2 guineas a week. The final cost of the workhouse amounted to £4,450 and accommodated 300 people.

Pre-empting the town-hall philosophy, whereby the frontage was more decorative than the basic internal arrangements, Hansom created an E-shaped design with an Elizabethan façade, mullion windows, a clock tower and iron railings instead of a front wall.[179] This level of detail emulated

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[173] Port, *600 churches,* Appendix I, pp. 326-330.
[174] Dickens, 'Architects and the Union Workhouse', pp. 140, 141.
[175] *Ibid*., p. 143.
[176] Francis, *History of Hinckley*, p. 126; see Articles of Agreement between Maurice Roberts, plumber, glazier and painter, and The Guardians of the Poor of St Asaph, G/C.32/4, *Flintshire Record Office*.
[177] *House of Industry Centenary booklet*, p. 4.
[178] Record Office for Leicestershire, Leicester and Rutland, Wigston, DE9521, vol. 1.
[179] It was two years before neo-Elizabethan or Tudor became the preferred style of Scott; Dickens, 'Architects and the union workhouse', p. 128; Aidan Welan 'George Gilbert Scott: A Pioneer of Constructional Polychromy?', *AH*, vol. 57, 2014, p. 220.

civic buildings but was unusual among early workhouses. It flattered his patrons whilst complying with the Commissioner' requirements, which Scott and Moffatt subsequently chose to ignore. The St Asaph workhouse in Flintshire (1838), was built by John Welch to a standard cruciform design, with an infirmary at the back. It cost £5,499 but only accommodated 200 people.[180] Nevertheless, he incorporated a central tower and pinnacles in Douglas.[181]

Conclusion

This chapter has shown how architects were beginning to exploit social change to their financial advantage. Improved mobility, status-seeking, rivalry between towns and social control all played their part, as indeed did rivalry between architects. There was an inter-dependency between all these changes and the architectural profession. Without this the profession would have stagnated and the changes would have been less effective. However, whilst architecture acted as a facilitator, individual architects were not given due credit. Dickens described workhouse budgets as 'impossibly low' and the rules 'unfair'. This will be analysed in the next chapter, which also shows that architects abused the widespread competition 'system', which was not unique to workhouses and civic buildings.[182] The mis-management of competitions proved to be an insoluble problem for many years and the resultant setting up of a professional association provided no immediate solution.[183]

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[180] http://workhouses.org.uk...St Asaph, last accessed 25 January 2008.

[181] http://www.isle-of-man/manxnotebook/towns/douglas/hoi.htm accessed 29 January 2012; workhouse towers of later workhouses, became known as 'spikes', a crude parallel with church spires which could be seen from a distance.

[182] Dickens, 'Architect and Workhouse', p. 352; *Builder,* 1868; at Chesterton they were only given seven days to submit; *Architectural Magazine*, 3, 1836, p. 329.

[183] *Builder*, 11, p. 128; problems encountered or deficiencies perceived by architects continue in the twenty-first century, for example the 2002 World Trade Centre, when only selected parts of the winning design were used; in 2010 the Danish architect Kristian Kreiner proposed a 'dialogued-based architectural competition' as a solution, Kreiner, *Paradoxes*, p. 441.

Plate 20

Bulkeley Arms Hotel
author's photograph 2012

Plate 21
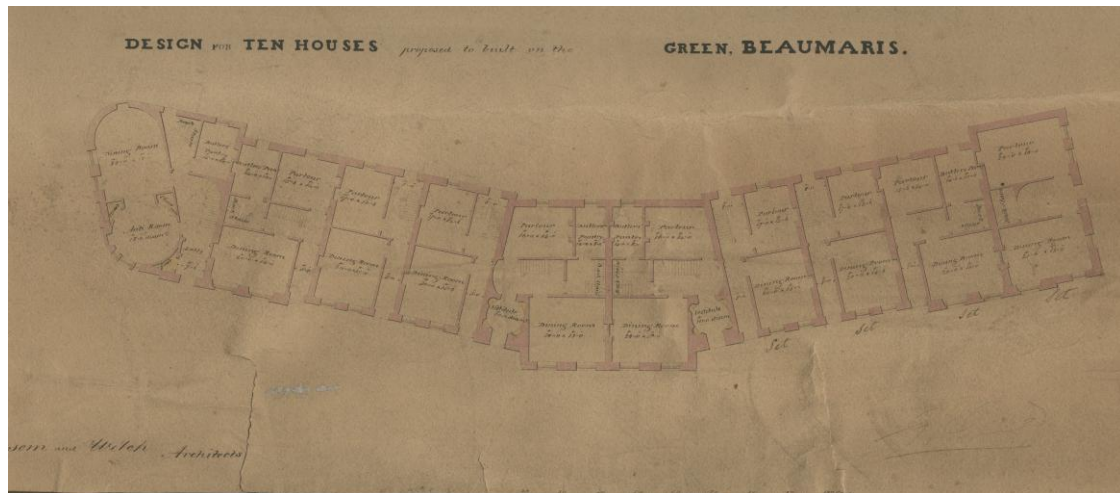
Victoria Terrace - Hansom and Welch plan 1833
Bangor University Archives

Victoria Terrace
author's photograph 2017

Plate 22

Original Bodelwyddan Hall
sketch by Sarah Hay-Williams

Bodelwyddan Hall, c. 1966
Evinson MA thesis

Plate 23
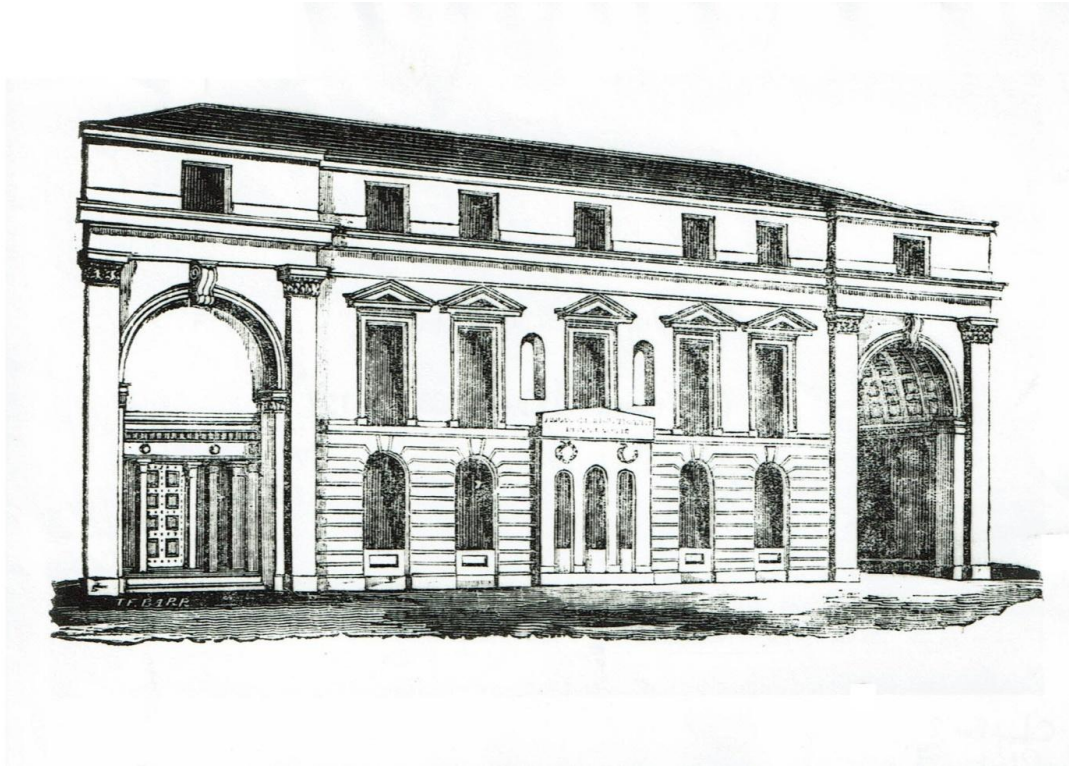
Operative Builder's Lodge
Pioneer, December 1833
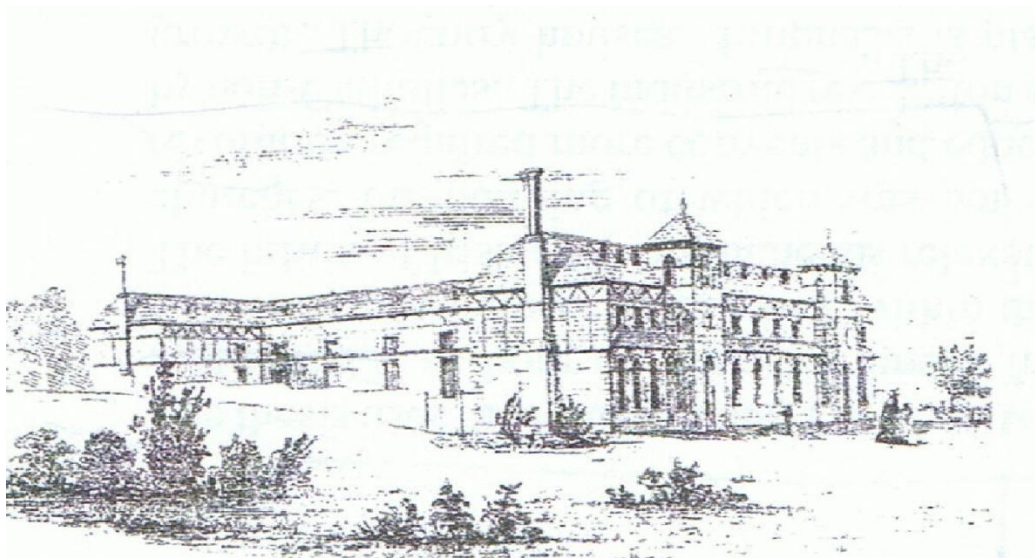
Queenwood College, Tytherley
New Moral World, 11 September 1841

of Lutterworth Town Hall and Market-house.   571
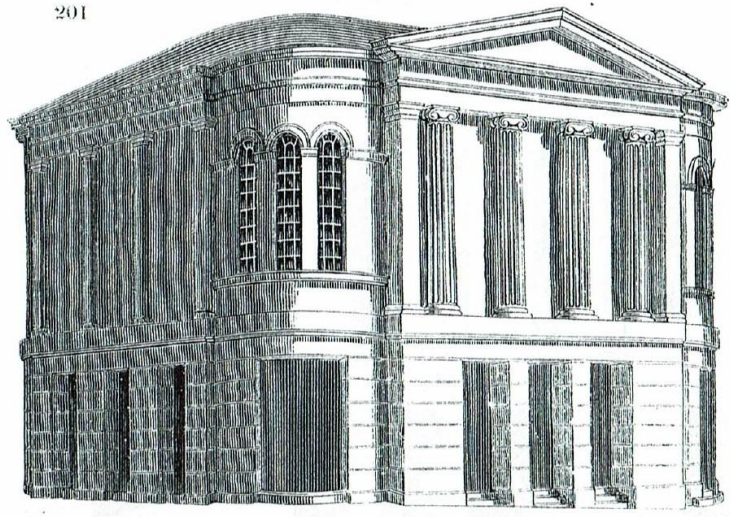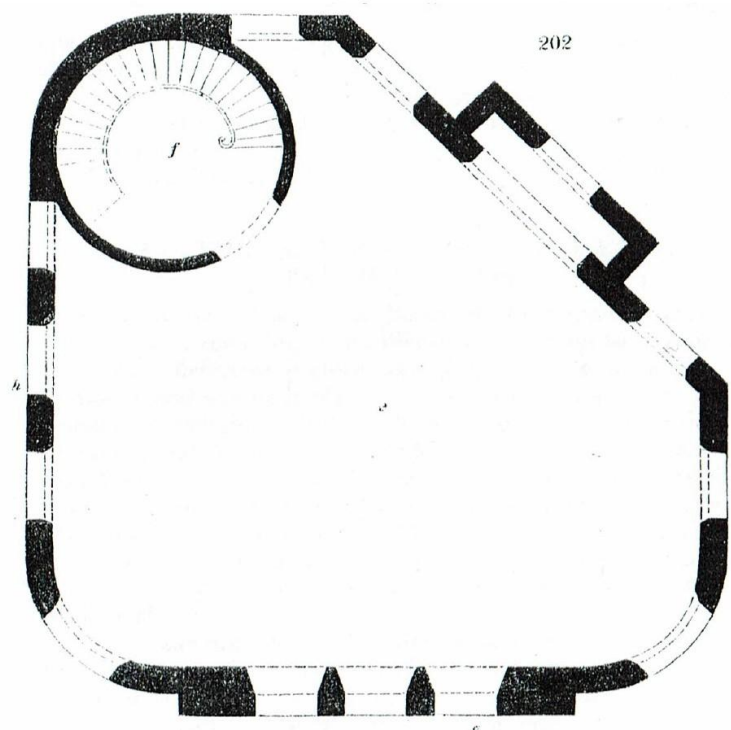
Lutterworth Town Hall and Market Place 1836
Architectural Magazine

Plate 25

Fig. 2 | 'Contrasted Residences for the Poor', from *Contrasts*, by A. W. N. Pugin, second edition, 1841

Plate 26
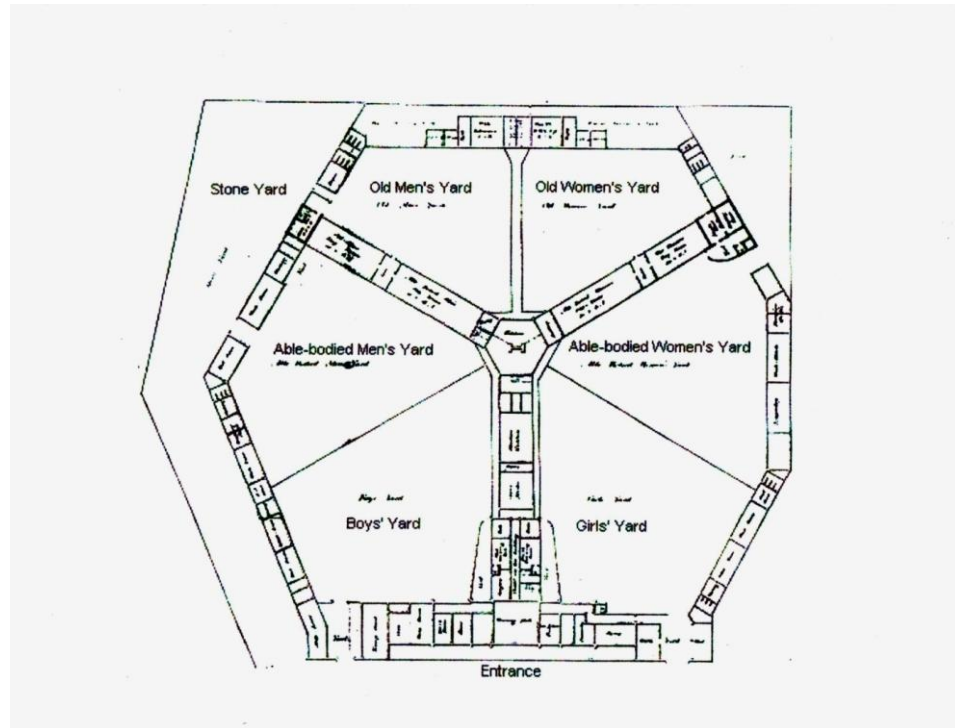
A typical Y-plan design
Leicester Workhouse, 1836

St Asaph Union Workhouse
Peter Higginbotham

CHAPTER IV
THE 1830s part 2: COMPETITIONS AND PROFSSIONALISATION

This chapter develops the theme of the competition system, already exemplified by the building of churches for the Church Commissioners, Hansom's experience with the Birmingham Street Commissioners and the exploitation of workhouses by Scott and Moffat. The first section investigates the extent to which competitions, the primary aim of which was to 'solve a problem', dominated architecture in terms of style and cost as much as choice of architect.[1] Aggressive tactics on the part of architects were matched by unscrupulous manoeuvres on the part of competition organisers. Both perspectives are explored, and illustrated with examples such as the highly irregular new Houses of Parliament.[2] The second part of this chapter shows how the difficulties caused by the one-sided competition system compelled architects to protect their profession through self regulation. Their objective was to improve their status and minimise architectural hypocrisy by establishing a code of ethics, guidelines for competition organisers and formalised training for architects. To achieve this, the Institute of British Architects was founded in 1834.

Historiography

Focussing on a selection of controversial competitions, Bassin shows how competitions were the driving force, and not simply an ancillary factor, in the determination of style and the development of the profession. She also draws attention to the importance of the political element, an aspect that is the subject of Rorabaugh's revealing article on the Houses of Parliament. Harper's study of competitions is compiled from articles in *The Builder,* which, along with other journals, gives invaluable insight from the architects' point of view.[3] One particularly contentious factor was the amount of time wasted on preparing submissions, as shown by Porter.[4] With regard to the profession, Kaye gives a sociological analysis of its development, specifically avoiding an overview of the history of the profession or individual architects.[5] This is left to Colvin, Larson and Purser, with Gotch providing a history of the RIBA.[6]

[1] Joan Bassin, Architectural Competitions in Nineteenth-Century England (Michigan, 1975), p. 1.
[2] Bassin, *ibid*, pp.19-36; W. J. Rorabaugh, 'Politics and the Architectural Competition for the Houses of Parliament, 1834-37', *Victorian Studies*, 1 December 1973, 17, 2, Periodicals Archive Online pp. 155-175.
[3] Roger Harper, *Victorian Architectural Competitions: An Index to British and Irish Architectural Competitions in "The Builder", 1843-1900* (London, 1983).
[4] Thomas Porter, 'Architectural Competitions', *Transactions of the RIBA* (London, 1880), pp. 65, 69, 73, 81, 84.
[5] Barrington Laurence Burnett Kaye, *The Development of the Architectural Profession in Britain. A Sociological Study* (London, 1960).
[6] Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary*; Magali Sarfatti Larson, 'Emblem and Exception: The Historical Definition of the Architect's Professional Role', *Professionals and urban form* (ed.), Judith R. Blau, Mark la Gory, John S. Pipkin (New

Competitions

Frequently described as 'evil', the competition system which dominated the Victorian architectural scene in the nineteenth century was thought to have dated back 2500 years.[7] Notable competitions in the early nineteenth century were, for example, William Wilkins' Downing College, Cambridge (1807-22); and Barry's Royal Manchester Institution (1824) and the Travellers Club in London (1828). On the continent competitions were only held when necessitated by a special occasion. In England they became so fashionable and pervasive, that they were used in all contexts, even for the smallest of projects, such as the design of drinking fountains, sometimes with no premium at all, suggesting that architects were desperate for work and reducing the concept to a complete farce.[8] Competitions were significant in that they were seen as a means of breaking the monopoly of Government's Office of Works originally set up in 1663 to look after royal palaces, and more latterly to service all major public buildings.[9] But the alternative competitive 'system', as it became known, led to much abuse, and many aborted attempts were made before a professional architectural association was able to enforce its recommended codes.[10]

In tandem with the transition from individual patrons (such as Nash for the Prince Regent) to collective clients (such as the Birmingham Street Commissioners), competitions were also symptomatic of social change. Pressure on government to contain increasing discontent in the difficult economic, political and social climate thrust the question of building, and by default architecture, into the public domain. Churches and workhouses were fundamental to the heart of local communities, yet major projects of national importance, such as the Houses of Parliament and the building erected to house the Great Exhibition in 1851, were highly contentious, with negative aspects creating as much adverse publicity as acclaim.[11] Competitions were instrumental in

York, 1983); Adam Purser, *A short history of the architectural profession* (1976); John Alfred Gotch, *The growth and work of the Royal Institute of British Architects, 1834-1934* (London, 1934).
[7] Bassin, *Architectural Competitions*, p. 87, (41): *Builder*, 'Architectural Competition and Its Evils', 16 (1858), pp. 297-98; Thomas Porter, 'Architectural Competitions', *RIBA Transactions* (1880), pp. 65, 67, 74; H. V. Lanchester, 'The Evolution of the Architectural Competition', *RIBAJ*, 22, no. 15, 12 June 1915, pp. 377, 388; Kreiner, 'Paradoxes', p, 442; outstanding examples of ancient competitions are the Acropolis in Athens, the dome of Florence Cathedral in the fifteenth century, the Spanish Steps in Rome (1723-25), the Louvre extension commissioned by Louis XIV and the monument to Louis XV in 1748; Lanchester, 'Evolution of the Competition', p. 379.
[8] 'On Competition amongst Architects', *Ecclesiologist,* 5 March 1842, p. 70; Bassin, *Architectural Competitions*, p. 203.
[9] The appointed architects in the 1830s were John Nash, John Soane and Robert Smirke; they were given an annual retainer of £500, plus three percent commission on all work carried out; Bassin, *Architectural Competitions* p. 209.
[10] This was still only partially achieved in 1872, by which time competitions were ceasing to have the same level of relevance; Bassin, *Architectural Competitions*, p. 6.
[11] Concern was also raised at the number of foreign entries for these quintessential English works; of the eighteen shortlisted for the Great Exhibition, twelve were French and only three from the British Isles; Bassin, *Architectural*

increasing public awareness of architecture and creating a market for provincial architects, but the use of influential contacts within the context of competitions discredited the 'system' to such an extent that it was widely condemned as being corrupt.[12] Bassin considered competitions to be stacked against architects who would always lose, and at best, Barry, an avid competitor, called them a lottery.[13] Organisers were unclear as to their requirements and ill-equipped to make informed decisions. Bias and spurious favouritism blurred the outcome, and, on their part, architects contrived to circumvent guidelines. Bassin attributed the root cause of disfunction to the fact that commercial and professional interests were unreconcilable, whilst Kreiner believed that 'creativity, efficiency and fairness' were in conflict.[14]

When George IV died, Nash's controversial career came to an abrupt end. His exploitation of the king's insatiable passion for expensive and elaborate buildings led to Nash's dismissal for 'inexcusable irregularities'.[15] His activities on the Regent Street project, and again for Buckingham Palace, were exposed as fraudulent. Full details did not come to light until after his death, but the rise from the estimate for the Palace of £252,690 to a cost of £613,269 for work which was still incomplete unavoidably impacted upon the reputation of all architects. The former Buckingham House was ridiculed as a 'white elephant'.[16] However, as noble or aristocratic patronage declined, the new 'open market' left architects without the protection upon which they had hitherto relied.[17] The increase in work brought by structural changes to the former social order and the rising wealth of the industrial middle classes were advantageous, but they also posed a threat. As press coverage increased, work was widely advertised and far more available through the 'system', an opportunity which could not be ignored but which by default welcomed 'all-comers', or a 'flood of anybodies', calling themselves architects and in so-doing lowered standards.[18] Dickens' example, taken from Colvin, 'William Thorold, a workhouse-designer from Norwich, farmer, millwright, engineer and surveyor' is slightly misleading.[19] He was the son of a farmer, but he was also a member of the Institution of Civil Engineers and practised as an architect. He designed six workhouses, including

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Competitions, p. 64 (44): *Builder*, 8 (1850), p. 265.

[12] Paxton was never part of the original competition process, but connived to gain the contract by making use of influential friends, see Chapter VII; Jenkins, *Architect and Patron*, p. 190; Bassin, *Architectural Competitions*, pp. 70-1.

[13] Bassin, p. 94 (3): General Conference of Architects, 'Discussion on Architectural Competitions', *RIBAT*, 30 (1881), pp. 270-271.

[14] Bassin: *ibid*; p. 94, n.3: 'Discussion', *RIBAT*, 270-271; Kristian Kreiner, 'Designing architectural competitions: Balancing multiple matters of concern', *http://www.conditionsmagzine.com/archives/1767*, last accessed 3 April 2013.

[15] Rorabaugh, 'Houses of Parliament', p. 158.

[16] *Ibid.*

[17] Crook, '*Pre-Victorian*', p. 66 (33): John Summerson, *Heavenly Mansions* (1948), pp. 197-198.

[18] Crook, '*Pre-Victorian*', p. 67; Geoff Brandwood, 'Many and varied: Victorian provincial architects in England and Wales', *Powerhouses of Provincial architects* (London, 2009), p. 3.

[19] Dickens, 'Architect and Workhouse', p. 50 (28): Colvin, *Dictionary*, p. 827.

Thetford, which Scott and Moffatt lost.[20] In 1839 Dodson and Harvey, two Guardians, designed their own workhouse at Weymouth; and Peter Thompson, who described himself as a carpenter, entered the competition for the re-building of the Houses of Parliament.[21] Such instances were far from unusual. On the one hand, therefore, there were ill- or uneducated architects, and on the other committees, or patrons, who neither knew what they wanted from an architect, nor how to discriminate good from bad. Poor workmanship inevitably followed. Architects were well aware of these problems, and cries for the need for better training, or a regulatory association to take charge, were routinely discussed but largely ineffectual. Samuel Pepys Cockerell raised different issues, more closely related to social conditions. He blamed what he termed the 'introduction of mechanical art' and two aspects of the economic state of the country: the withdrawal of foreign travel as a means of education and the scarcity of financial support for expensive secondary arts, such as architecture.[22]

A further contributory factor potentially lowering standards was that of the choice of contractor. This was an issue at Kensal Green Cemetery (1832), where Soane was asked to provide a builder's reference before the competition was under way.[23] The use of a 'Mr Compo ... a mere builder fresh from a neighbouring meeting-house', was widespread, particularly where cost was paramount.[24] This frustrated the more experienced architects as it meant that design was separated from execution - a problematic issue when linked to professional image. If the professional (the architect) was disassociated from trade (the builder), he had no control over poor workmanship or the use of cheap, inferior materials yet he would be held responsible if anything went wrong.[25] Nevertheless, all-encompassing competitive tendering was favoured by competition organisers.[26] The practice of a single builder to quote for the whole work at a pre-determined price was initially introduced as a means of curbing over-expenditure by architects and slowing down excessive government expenditure after the French wars.[27] Whilst it was financially advantageous to promoters, it handicapped architects when they had no personal knowledge of the builder with

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[20] 'Memoirs of Deceased Members', Minutes of Proceedings of the Institution of Civil Engineers, 55 (1879), pp. 321–322, *doi:10.1680/imotp.1879.22399*.

[21] Dickens, 'Architect and Workhouse', p. 349; Bassin, *Architectural Competitions*, p. 23.

[22] Crook, 'Pre-Victorian', p. 73(82): 'Report from the Select Committee on Art and Manufacturer', Parliamentary Papers (1835), v. 479 et seq.

[23] James Stevens Curl, *The Origins and Development of the General Cemetery of All Souls*, Kensal Green, London, 1824-2001 (Chichester, 2001), p. 44.

[24] *Ecclesiologist*, 'On Competition', 70; J. Mordaunt Crook, 'John Carter and the Mind of the Gothic Revival', vol. 17 of occasional papers from The Society of Antiquaries of London, 1995, p. 40.

[25] This was the problem Hansom had encountered with his Commissioners Church at Myton.

[26] M. H. Port, 'The Office of Works and Building Contracts in Early Nineteenth-Century England', *Economic History Review,* 20 (1967), 94.

[27] Port, *ibid*.

whom they were expected to work.[28] The use of a single contractor also severely curtailed the use of specialist craftsmen, again lowering standards, a restriction which was heavily criticised by the Operative Builders Trades Union.[29] Nash, who was also a speculative architect, pre-empted Owenite principles (though not for the same reasons), in that he cut out middlemen by negotiating for his own supplies.[30] Hansom, with Birmingham Town Hall, made bricks on site and personally negotiated for timber, but his 'Statement of Facts' suggests that these were to hasten the work and not for any personal gain.[31]

Competitions were run in two different ways. They could be 'open' theoretically to all-comers, or they could be 'restricted' to a few specially selected competitors. However, on either count, the result was invariably determined by cost and personal influence, a friend or family connection. Even the most carefully prepared set of instructions rarely determined the outcome and the benefits achieved by cultivating personal contacts were so great that by 1858 Penfold said that it was almost impossible even to be considered without a friend on the committee.[32] This implied a measure of collusion on both sides. Not only were panels rarely impartial, but entries for larger competitions were often not anonymous, as they should have been.[33] This was a fundamental anomaly in the 'system', as it could not apply to restricted competitions, where entries were by invitation.

In 1854 *The Builder* claimed that competitions were an 'excellent thing ... if not abused', but they were, frequently (see Plate 27).[34] The strategies of Goodwin with his Commissioner's Churches in the previous decade, and those of Scott and Moffatt with their chasing of commissions for workhouses in the 1830s, became obsessional, with Scott more intent upon the winning of competitions than the erection of buildings.[35] Goodwin broke all the rules and created financial difficulties for himself - Scott and Moffatt pushed the rules to their limits, exploiting their large practice in a way which greatly disadvantaged many of their less privileged peers. On one occasion Moffatt practised outright deceit when he tried to increase his percentage at Penzance by telling the

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[28] Hansom used his builders Thomas and Kendall for Toxteth, Angelsey and Birmingham Town Hall, and Weatherley for his Yorkshire work. He was also loyal to his Clerks of Works. Pugin depended heavily on his builder, George Meyers, Patricia Spencer-Silver, *George Meyers : Pugins builder* (Leominster, 2010).
[29] Raymond W. Postgate, *The Builders' History*, pp. 72-3.
[30] Port, 'Building Contracts', 96.
[31] Hansom, 'Statement', p. 8.
[32] Bassin, *Architectural Competitions*, p. 95.
[33] The means of maintaining anonymity was that plans should be submitted with only an emblem or monogram to identify them, these were submitted in sealed envelopes which would be opened after the winning design had been chosen.
[34] Bassin, *Architectural Competitions*, p. 8(32): *Builder*, W.Y., 'Competition Premiums and Architects' Practice', 12 (1854), 236.
[35] Bassin, 87(42): Kenneth Clark, *The Gothic Revival, An Essay in the History of Taste* (Baltimore, 1950), p. 174.

Guardians that Liskeard was giving him five percent when in fact they were only giving three and a half.[36] Laxity of regulation and urgency of need on the part of organisers and architects led to exploitation on the part of the former and unorthodox strategies on the part of the latter. Both were to blame for failings, with each side manipulating the other where commerce outweighed ethics and aesthetics. The acts of organisers were described by *The Builder* as 'wholesale plunder'.[37] Architects were not paid for their time or costs in preparing submissions, the scale of which promoters had little understanding, and competitions were a way of acquiring a large number of plans with virtually no outlay on their part.[38] This impacted on the profession in other ways, for if committees did not pay for designs there was no incentive for private patrons to do so.[39]

In theory, the first prize should have been given to the winner, though even if he was appointed, the prize was frequently in the form of the first instalment once the contract had begun, thus the so-called prize was the contract itself and the figure stipulated in the advertisement was meaningless.[40] The best outcome was to be placed second, a small sum of money, plus some prestige and publicity, without the hassle of building.[41] Moreover, the award of premiums and the award of contracts bore little relationship. On one occasion, the winning contestant was given two and a half per cent by way of compensation, whilst the contract was given to the chairman's nephew.[42] Architects seemed to assume that if they won their design would be used. This was far from the case, and, as with contractors' estimates, it was invariably stipulated that the winning design and the lowest figure would not necessarily be used.[43]

Furthermore, architects were required to meet deadlines, whilst committees, who often had conflicting opinions, were very slow in their deliberations. Instructions were vague and changed mid-way through, expectations were beyond the sum allocated, and premiums frequently based on perspectives alone as committees were unable to understand technical aspects.[44] One aggrieved architect drew attention to the lack of financial compensation in a letter to *The Builder*, whereby he

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[36] Scott terminated the partnership after Moffatt's personal extravagance became unacceptable and he began to upset his employers; Morrison, *ibid*, p. 198(55): Stamp, *Recollections,* Appendix I, p. 446.
[37] *Builder*, 4, 26 September 1846, p. 464.
[38] Harper, Architectural Competitions, p. xiii.
[39] *Builder*, 9, 14 June 1851, p. 374.
[40] Bassin, p. 94(3): E. M. Barry, *Lectures on Architecture* (London, 1881), p. 135; J. M. Richards, 'Competitions', *Architectural Review*, July 1959, 6.
[41] Richards, *ibid*.
[42] Porter, 'Architectural Competitions', p. 72.
[43] Rickman won the Scott Memorial in Edinburgh but the job was given to Kemp, Colvin, *Dictionary,* p. 689; Fowler, one-time vice president of the IBA, won the competition for London Bridge but it was given to Rennie, Curl, *Roberts*, p. 13.
[44] Harper, 'Architectural Competitions', p. xiii; Porter, 'Architectural Competitions', p. 74; *Builder*, October 1858, 698.

pointed out that the surveying part of his business was far less trouble and far more profitable.[45] As a surveyor his opinion was accepted as an expert in his field, but architectural competitions were generally 'a fight', bringing 'harass, spoiling of designs and intermeddling of ideas'. He had given up entering.[46] Architects were placed in a humiliating position when they were subjected to judgement by panels of ignorant laymen, and the gap between the expectations of organisers and competitors grew ever wider.[47] They questioned why they were bound to such a process when other professionals such as lawyers and physicians were not.[48] However, architecture was unique and these were not true comparisons.

Elated at the prospect of working on an 'Old Building' in Oxford, even Pugin with his multiple contacts, was unable to induce traditionalists at the university to employ him for the repair and alterations of Balliol College.[49] Not a competition in any formal sense, Pugin was nevertheless 'in competition' with others. Basevi's plans had been rejected and Pugin took it upon himself to prepare alternatives. However, due to his Catholic associations and his public condemnation of the Martyr's Memorial which Scott had just built adjacent to Balliol, he was controversially invited to submit plans without divulging his identity.[50] He was also forbidden to superintend the work. The Master, who was making a substantial financial contribution, together with several Fellows, had been acting as a selection committee, but the uproar which ensued was publicised in the *Oxford Chronicle* and their insoluble internal disputes led to both committee and project being abandoned.[51] This was not a case of commercial pressure, but one of lack of professionalism on the part of all concerned, and above all intense personal differences. It was not so much Pugin's Catholicism as his unprofessional personal attack on Scott which lost him work on Balliol College.[52] He started to re-use this design for Ratcliffe College at Ratcliffe-on-the-Wreake in Leicestershire (from 1849). It was mainly paid for by the Earl of Shrewsbury's friend Ambrose

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[45] *Builder*, 4, 26 September 1846, p. 464.

[46] William Butterfield never entered competitions and Hansom gave up after his Catholic patrons began to generate sufficient work; Smirke never entered any competition with a value less than ten thousand pounds, Briggs, *Architect in History*, p. 339.

[47] For one competition, the assessors comprised 'a young vicar fresh from college with little knowledge; a grocer; a butcher; a chemist; a rich undertaker and a doctor … the doctor persuaded the committee to appoint the plan entitled 'nil', which turned out to be his nephew!', perhaps the same sample as given above, see Plate 27; Crook, 'pre-Victorian' p. 66; Kaye, *Development of the Profession*, p. 15.

[48] Bassin, *Architectural Competitions*, pp. 9, 16.

[49] See also Leon B. Litvack, *SAH*, 'The Balliol that Might Have Been: Pugin's Crushing Oxford Defeat', 45, no. 4 (December 1986), 358-373.

[50] Litvack, 'Pugin's Defeat', p. 363; Hill, *God's Architect*, p. 284.

[51] Hill, *God's Architect*, pp. 283-6; *Oxford Chronicle and Reading Gazette*, 18 March 1843.

[52] Litvack, 'Pugin's Defeat', p. 359(4): Pugin, 'A letter on the Proposed Protestant Memorial to Cranmer, Ridley, and Latymer, addressed to the Subscribers and Promoters of tha Undewrtaking' (1839), XXN.8.4(7), Worcester College Archives, Oxford.

Phillpps de Lisle, with a contribution of £1,000 from the new convert William Lockhart.[53] However the building was subsequently completed by the partnership of Joseph and Charles Hansom, with Charles adding a collonade and further wing (see Plate 28).[54]

The difficulties identified during the 'sordid jobs [competitions] which were to be a way of life in the workhouse era', were never resolved.[55] In his address to the RIBA in 1880, Porter urged all Fellows to refrain from entering, as constantly advocated throughout the 1830s, and again in *The Builder*.[56] Having previously consulted his peers on the matter, the strength of their feelings was described as follows: 'degrading, unbecoming rivalry, demoralising, gambling of the worst sort, undignified, unworthy of any profession, organised jobbery, pernicious system, vicious, disgraceful'.[57]

Only a small number of architects favoured competitions, and one London architect who did so also stated that the fault lay not with the principle, but with the way competitions were managed. Some of Porter's proposed solutions were that no competition should be held for any work under £10,000, that all sites should be visited, and contestants should be paid a premium.[58] Above all, organisers must comply with the regulations. Hansom's solution was to 'name and shame'. He used *The Builder* to publicise transgressions on the part of promoters and to publish winning designs so they could not be changed. He used three consecutive issues to publicise the case of the Spalding Almshouses, where a builder was employed to 'copy, trace and cull' the best parts of each entry and not one of the competitors was employed.[59] Yet, as Jenkins pointed out, sometimes changes were made which were in accordance with the architect's preference, as with St George's Hall, when two separate competitions, the concert hall and assize courts, resulted in a single building.[60] The solution of Robert Kerr, founder member of the Architectural Association and staunch supporter of the RIBA, was that architects be paid for entering; and Lanchester's that a professional should be

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[53] Hill, *God's Architect,* p. 288.
[54] Claude Richard Harbord Leetham, *Ratcliffe College* (Leicester, 1950); *The Ratcliffian,* September 1931.
[55] David Brock, 'The Competition for the Design of Sleaford Sessions House, 1828', p. 351, *AH*, 27, Design and Practice in British Architecture: Studies in Architectural History presented to Howard Colvin (1984).
[56] *Builder*, 9, 14 June 1851, p. 374.
[57] Porter, 'Architectural competitions', pp. 69-71.
[58] Porter, *ibid*, p. 75; far from being paid, some committees charged for copies of instructions and site plans, Basin, *Architectural Competitions*, p. 79.
[59] Evinson, 'Hansom', pp. 152-154.
[60] Bassin, *Architectural Competitions*, p. 49.

consulted in advance of competitions to avoid so much misunderstanding, in other words consultation, not confrontation.[61]

One way to alleviate some of the difficulties might have been the use of a two-level competition known as the 'esquisse' system, whereby the first round comprised preliminary sketches.[62] Hansom and Welch attempted this with Sleaford Sessions House (1828), when they submitted only plan and elevation on the premise that this would save both them and the committee time as alterations would probably be necessary anyway.[63] The advertisement for Sleaford stated that 'every necessary information' would be given on application.[64] Elmes, a would-be contender, enquired as to the premium, whether or not the successful winner would be awarded the contract, and whether or not the outcome would be based on the best design and free from personal influence.[65] The response is not known, but Elmes did not enter the competition. Competitors were advised that the site must be inspected due to its awkward shape and location, yet designs should be plain and substantial.[66] This deterred several architects from entering. The individual designs of Hansom and Welch were rejected because they were in Classical style. This had only been determined after assessors sifted through entries, and caused two other architects to waste time by submitting two versions, Gothic and Classical.[67] Vulliamy's entry was short-listed, but not favoured because he made himself unpopular by over-emphasising the number of local contacts he hoped would support him, and subsequently incurred further disfavour when he complained that the panel had miscalculated his floor space.[68] In consequence, his ten pound premium was withheld.[69] The winner, Henry Edward Kendall, went on to carry out other work in the Sleaford area, but at Kensal Green in London, where he won and was premiated for his design for the cemetery, he was side-lined by the cemetery surveyor, who gradually took over and completed the work.[70]

The cemetery at Kensal Green had been required due to the increased population in central London.

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[61] Bassin, *ibid,* p. 96, Lanchester, 'Evolution of the Competition', p. 382; Porter, 'Architectural Competitions', p. 102.

[62] Kreiner, 'Paradoxes', citing B. Bergdoll, 'Competing in the Academy and the Marketplace: European Architectural Competitions 1401-1927', in H. Lipstadt (ed.), *The Experimental Tradition: Essays on Competitions in Architecture*, (New York, 1989); Richards, 'Competitions', p. 7; the British purloined the word esquisse from the French, which, in turn was a derivation of the Italian schizzo (sketch).

[63] Brock, *AH*, 349(43): *Lincolnshire Archives Office*, Kesteven Quarter Session, 'tenders', Hansom's justification for shortened version; The two-level concept was not formally implemented until the competition for Liverpool Cathedral in 1856, not acknowledged until 1872, and still being recommended by the RIBA in 1954.

[64] *Times*, 5 May 1828; *Lincoln Rutland and Stamford Mercury*, 9 May 1828.

[65] Brock, 'Sleaford Sessions House', pp. 345, 346(17): LAO KQS, 'proceedings and correspondence', 5 May 1828.

[66] *Ibid*, p. 346(18): 11 May 1828.

[67] *Ibid*, p. 348(40): LAO KQS, 'tenders'.

[68] *Ibid*, pp. 348, (46): 'proceedings and correspondence', assumed 19 July 1828.

[69] *Ibid*, p. 349: 22 July 1828, 24 July 1828.

[70] Curl, *Kensal Green*, pp. 70-76.

Estimates from well-known architects were too high, therefore a competition was launched. Kendall's Gothic entry was selected from forty-seven others even though the Chairman preferred Classical. Work did not commence straight away as subscriptions were lower than expected, leading to arguments between Committee members. Kendal (the winner), Welch (Hansom's partner), and Paul (a banker and Committee member), were questioned, as if a short-list of three had been drawn up, even though a decision had already been made. Whilst wrangling continued, Griffith, the cemetery surveyor, commenced work to his own Neo-Classical designs. Instructions had not been clear, deadlines had been ignored and none of the official entries was used. A similar farce, described as 'unsatisfactory in the highest degree', was that of the competition for the Nelson Memorial in Trafalgar Square (1838-39).[71] Instructions had not stated that only a column would be accepted, so many entries, including Hansom's Naval Hall, were automatically rejected. William Railton was declared winner, but again sufficient funding was not forthcoming and many arguments ensued alongside adverse publicity. To satisfy complaints, a second competition was held, but without any further discussion Railton was again declared winner. Due to lack of finance, the height was reduced and steps (included in the design), were omitted, as were his lion statues.[72] The architect's views were subverted by other considerations and consequently Railton refused to attend the unveiling ceremony.

The ultimate, or certainly the most publicised mismanagement, was that of the competition for the new Houses of Parliament, a competition which Bassin described as 'no contest at all'.[73] At a time when Government still preferred to use its own Attached Architects and held other architects in low esteem, public opinion insisted upon an open competition. Government maintained that 'no architect in the country could be found capable of carrying a great work into effect', implying that no *British* architect was good enough.[74] The remit was limited to a design in either Elizabethan or Gothic style, which above all was to be cheap, an extraordinary stipulation with regard to a building of such national importance, but one which highlights Government's paranoia as to Nash's overspend. When other cities were becoming increasingly intent upon raising their profiles by building ever larger and grander town halls, Parliament was focussing primarily on cost and secondly upon functionality. There is nothing to indicate any suggestion of using the opportunity to create a national, if not international symbol. The specification as to style complied with established codes, yet architects complained that it restricted their imagination. The architects and

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[71] *Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal, Scientific and Railway Gazette*, 2 (1839), pp. 280-281.
[72] Work was only completed due to a £12,000 subsidy from parliament; the lions were added later.
[73] Bassin, *Architectural Competitions*, p. 35.
[74] Gotch, *RIBA*, p. 12.

competition organisers of the competition were incompatible - they were never going to agree. More than that, limits on style and cost, together with a six-month deadline, meant that the competition was never truly open. The restricted style was a ploy to exclude Classical architects, in particular Smirke, and the time scale was such that only those with the support of a large office would be able to participate.[75] The unrealistic cost expectation was one which backfired as the final over-run was considerable. However, Parliament steadfastly refused to pay the architect anything over and above the original contract price.[76]

Hill claims that the contract was given to Barry as a result of his personal connection with Sir Edward Cust, one of the assessors, a situation which she described as 'jobbery'.[77] Rorabaugh puts the background into a wider context, describing the building as the final conclusion to the Reform Bill, a reinforcement of the Act translated into bricks and mortar.[78] However, it was more of a continuation, with the building being a political football between Radicals and Tories, amidst numerous changes in Prime Minister, each with differing views. The Radical Member of Parliament Joseph Hume asked that the current buildings be reordered internally to allow for minority groups. Peel, who was Tory chief at the time, considered the idea to be 'discredible'. At this stage Cust proposed an open competition on the grounds that recourse to the Attached Architects led to 'poverty of taste' and blocked potential new talent.[79] Rorabaugh saw this as a direct attempt on the part of the IBA, of which Cust was an influential member, to replace Smirke, Peel's favourite, with Barry, Cust's 'pet architect'. The Whig-Radical coalition was subject to internal dispute. The Whigs objected to Radical proposals for semicircular seating and arguments ensued as to whether or not the new Houses of Parliament should be built on the old site, or whether a completely new and larger site be sought. Melbourne feared the scope of a larger site, which might comprise 'large galleries filled with the multitude' and have an adverse effect upon the laws of the land. The Lords Select Committee would not agree to the use of Smirke's plans, the Commons capitulated, and

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[75] Before his bankruptcy Hansom had a substantial office in Birmingham, which included his brother, his partner's brother and John Gibson, who worked with Barry on the Houses of Parliament before setting up his own practice. By the time the London competition was announced, Hansom had neither the staff nor the capital to consider entering. Winning Birmingham should have placed him well for the Houses of Parliament, but in fact it lost him the opportunity to enter.

[76] Bassin, *Architectural Competitions*, p. 32; see also Michael Port (ed.), The *Houses of Parliament* (London, 1976); and Caroline Shenton, *Mr Barry's War: Rebuilding the Houses of Parliament after the Great Fire of 1834,* The Victorian Book Review (Oxford, 2016).

[77] Hill, *God's Architect*, p. 152; the competition was held in 1835, the winner announced in 1836, the foundation stone laid in 1840 and the building opened in 1852.

[78] Rorabaugh, 'Houses of Parliament', p. 156.

[79] Rorabaugh, *ibid.*, p. 162; Bassin, *Architectural Competitions*, p. 20.

finally Cust's proposal for a competition was agreed.[80] Discussion on style then ensued. The Whigs were looking to the future, but at the same time wanting continuity in the British way of life, and the Tories associated traditionalism with authority, therefore both favoured either Gothic or Elizabethan style. On the other hand, the Radicals favoured neo-classical despite associations with Nash.[81]

When the competition eventually got under way, it was well organised, with a panel of five assessors to award four prizes of £500 each, but with Parliament to decide the final winner. The assessors comprised Cust, who had an army background and had previously employed Barry on his London house; Charles Hanbury-Tracy, a Member of Parliament and amateur architect who favoured Gothic; Thomas Liddell, related to Nash's assistant at Kensal Green; George Vivian, author on monuments, and Samuel Rogers, a poet and socialite who subsequently resigned.[82] From the ninety-seven entries received, Barry's was chosen as being 'grand, beautiful ... and above all cheap'.[83] This did not bring former wrangling to an end. As soon as the winner was announced Joseph Hume, a Radical Member of Parliament, led a protest in the press, complaining that Barry had been chosen because of his friendship with Cust. Barry had cultivated influential Whig liberals since the days of his 'continental tour'. His reputation was well established; he was experienced at both entering and winning competitions, and above all was notable for his willingness to please. Several architects had considered from the outset that the outcome was a foregone conclusion and refrained from entering.

There were other irregularities. Cockrell submitted an Italian design, although this style was excluded in the instructions; Pugin, who was working in Barry's office at the time, 'ghosted' for his Scottish friend, James Gillsepie Graham, and even Barry enhanced his plans between the announcement of his success and its being sanctioned by Parliament.[84] Anxious to minimise escalating costs, the contract was awarded on the basis that the architect would be overseen throughout, an insulting measure against a respected professional. It was also decreed that he would be paid 'as little as possible, as infrequently as possible', and 'with as much fuss as

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[80] Rorabaugh claims that Cust also had a political motive, that of keeping Melbourne in power by splitting the Tories and Radicals; Rorabaugh, 'Houses of Parliament', pp. 164,165.

[81] Rorabaugh: *ibid*., p. 156.

[82] Bassin, *Architectural Competitions*, p. 22; members were all of high status, representing the landed class and apart from Cust, who had been a Member of Parliament at the time of the Reform Bill, the others had all been to Oxford.

[83] Bassin, *Architectural Competitions*, p. 22.

[84] Bassin: *ibid.*, p. 23, p. 29(51): Phoebe Stanton, 'The Sources of Pugin's Contrasts'; John Summerson (ed.), *Concerning Architecture* (London, 1968), p. 120; Kaye, *Development of the Profession*, p. 46.

possible'.[85] Peel suggested using stone in preference to brick, but this caused problems as Parliament refused to pay for a geologist to examine it before carving.[86] When tactics such as these were used by promoters it was not surprising that architects occasionally felt the need to bend the rules, but even someone as experienced as Barry had not learnt from Hansom's experience in Birmingham. The buildings were far from complete when opened in 1852, seventeen years after the competition. The estimate for the work had been £800,000 with a fixed payment of £25,000 but, again like Hansom, Barry had been so keen to obtain the job, and with it the prestige, that he had not thought to protect his financial arrangements. When he requested additional funding to cover the cost of extra work, this was refused.[87] In 1856, still arguing his case, the RIBA attempted to assist, saying that he should have received five per cent, instead of just over three, and that if the Government paid such low rates it would set a precedent causing hardship to other architects. The response was that the Institute had no authority to interfere between Government and private individuals, a poor reflection on the effectiveness of the RIBA to support its members or regularise competitions.[88]

With regard to the overall management of competitions, Hansom's point of not wasting the time of either architects or judges was an irritation which re-occurred repeatedly.[89] His irregular attempt at Sleaford might have seemed like a short-cut and may have been held against him, but nevertheless waste was a serious and costly issue, losing the profession vast sums of money.[90] The ratio of attempts to the number of contracts could be as high as two hundred drawings to one.[91] In later years, Porter calculated that 267,000 wasted drawings had been prepared for major competitions between 1857 and 1880, the cost of which was over half a million pounds.[92]

Assessors' lack of clarity as to their own intentions co-related to waste of time, for example Will Horwood was appointed on the grounds that he was a freemason even though this was not stated in the specification and he was not the preferred competitor.[93] The most extreme situation was when

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[85] Bassin, *Architectural Competitions*, p. 32(65): Maurice Hastings, *Parliament House* (London, 1947), p. 178.
[86] See Shenton, *Mr Barry's War*.
[87] Bassin, *Architectural Competitions*, p. 32; the extra work was largely due to Pugin's internal decoration.
[88] Jenkins, *Architect and Patron*, p. 213(2): letter dated 9 July 1856 given in Alfred Barry, *The Life and Works of Sir Charles Barry* (1867), pp. 222-223.
[89] Kreiner, 'Designing architectural conditions'.
[90] Porter, 'Architectural Competitions', p. 65; *Builder*, 16 October 1858, 698.
[91] Richards, *ibid.,* p. 7.
[92] Porter, *ibid.*, 'Architectural Competitions', pp. 73, 84.
[93] 'On Competition amongst architects', *Ecclesiologist*, March 1842, p. 70.

the remit was for unspecified suggestions, such as with the competition for the Great Exhibition.[94] Rather than providing a solution, the disparate array of entries caused maximum confusion. Conversely, the excessive stipulations advertised by the Leeds Town Clerk for a new prison (see below), more than justified implementation of the 'esquisse' system:

> Designs are required comprising a complete set of plans, sections, elevations, and explanatory drawings, accompanied by a general specification of the manner of executing the works, sufficient for the contracting of the same, and an estimate of the cost in detail. A premium of £150 will be given for the best set of plans, and £75 for the second best. All the plans for which a premium is awarded, will be held as the property of the Council, but the Council will not bind themselves to employ the person whose plans obtain either the first or second prize.[95]

In addition, architects were asked to base their designs on Pentonville, which they were expected to inspect personally. When Hansom attempted to do so, he was refused permission by the Home Office.[96] Initial requirements such as these placed an unreasonable financial burden upon architects.

Another attempt at improvement was the suggested use of pre-competition discussion to avoid errors and confusion.[97] Lanchester, a successful architect at the turn of the century, re-iterated this idea in his address to the RIBA in 1915.[98] He said that discussion prior to competition was essential and it was unreasonable to think that assessors should know everything before a competition started. To a certain extent this was, of course, what Scott and Moffatt had been doing when they approached Boards of Guardians. The difficulty here was one of fairness: how to obtain a balance between acquiring privileged information and currying favour, which could not possibly be equal to all competitors. Lanchester pointed out that an open-minded panel could learn much from architects and it was not until plans were received that they found out what they really wanted.[99] As things stood in the 1830s, those who kept strictly to the rules might well lose out, leaving those who had not adhered to the instructions as potential winners.[100] Rigid codes could be counterproductive, yet without them it was near-impossible to incorporate a measure of flexibility without lapsing into the previous shambolic state, hence the insolubility and complexity of the competition system.

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[94] Bassin, *Architectural Competitions*, p. 62(33): Summerson, 'Sources', p. 117; see Chapter VII.
[95] Evinson, 'Hansom', pp. 154-155 quoting *Builder*, no. 14.
[96] Evinson, *ibid*., p. 156.
[97] Porter, 'Architectural Competitions', p. 74; *Builder*, 16 October 1858, p. 698.
[98] Lanchester, 'Evolution of the Competition', p. 385; this form of two-way discussion would have been customary under the old architect-patron system of the eighteenth-century.
[99] Lanchester, 'Evolution of the Competition', p. 385; Porter, 'Architectural Competitions', p. 74.
[100] Lanchester, *ibid.*, p. 382.

Addiction to competitions led to what Bassin described as a new breed of 'competition architect'.[101] It was so great that Barry's son, Edward Middleton, referred to it as having become 'almost a religion'.[102] A technique was developed such that the entering of competitions became a discipline in its own right, a combination of eliciting information from committees with painting talents, a methodology which Clark called 'an exacting art'.[103] The need for perspective drawings was in part a repercussion from the change of patron from an educated aristocrat, who understood at least the rudiments of architectural design and had no need of drawings, to panels of uneducated laymen who required a drawing by way of explanation.[104] This was exploited to the full when a number of what Jenkins described as 'pictorial devices', such as tricks with scale and texture, were employed by architects in order to bring attention to their entries.[105] Diminutive figures in the foreground made buildings look larger than they were and the clever use of shadows made walls look thicker.[106] A detailed and attractive setting, or 'glamorous production', was used to flatter simple and plain buildings, again deceiving the panel, and preference was inevitably given to architects on the false assumption that he who 'paints best ... promises most'.[107] This was particularly dishonest when such 'pretty drawings' were related to understated cost, sometimes by as much as half or two-thirds of what it turned out to be.[108]

Perspectives were not always compatible with working drawings, but panels were not sufficiently expert to compare the two. Neither did they have the knowledge or skills to set a realistic budget, and decisions were often based on personal preference or the lowest cost rather than the best or most appropriate design.[109] Panels were then let down when the final result was not what they were expecting.[110] It was not unusual for estimates to be changed after plans had been agreed, or for plans to be changed after estimates had been agreed. Furthermore, in order to bring attention to their entries, architects would deliberately ignore instructions sending in perspectives which were tinted or framed and glassed, or submit models when asked not to do so.[111] This lost the very

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[101] Bassin, *Architectural Competitions*, p. 19.
[102] Bassin, *ibid.*, 59(18): E. M. Barry, *Lectures on Architecture* (London, 1881), p. 135.
[103] Bassin, *Architectural Competitions*, 87(3): Clark, *Gothic Revival*, p. 174.
[104] Jenkins, *Architect and Patron*, pp. 209-210.
[105] Jenkins, *ibid.*, p. 208.
[106] *Ibid.*
[107] *Ibid.*, p. 207; *Builder*, 16 October 1858, p. 697.
[108] Jenkins, *Architect and Patron*, p. 206(4): *Architectural Magazine*, I (1834), 16; *Builder*, 16 October 1858, 698.
[109] *Ecclesiologist*, 'Competition amongst architects', March 1842, p. 69.
[110] Jenkins, *Architect and Patron*, p. 208.
[111] Bassin, *Architectural Competitions*, p. 39.

experienced Cockerell the opportunity to build the Royal Exchange in 1840.[112]

Apart from the need to quash the power of the Office of Works, *The Builder* described the architects' persistence in entering competitions as a 'necessity of compulsion', however, despite the scramble to compete, benefit to architects was more likely to be in kind than financial.[113] Some of the more successful architects, such as Barry, Scott and Roberts received support from other means, mainly money inherited from their families, thus enabling them to withstand unexpected overheads and late payment from promoters.[114] But even Barry, the architect who 'played to win', said that entering competitions was 'thankless and sometimes hopeless work'.[115] Competitions were demoralising and a waste of time for experienced architects, but they knew that promoters could always find an alternative to suit their whims, therefore they were more-or-less obliged to be complicit.[116] Professionals should be above trying to compete in an open market, like commercial businesses. Advertising was frowned upon by those who termed themselves 'professional', however the display of competition entries was an unofficial way of advertising as all, or most entries, whether premiated or not, benefited from a show-case.[117] Doctors and lawyers did not advertise, but again in the architectural profession there were exceptions because Scott wrote to all his father's contacts when he was starting out, as did Hansom's eldest son, as late as 1861.[118] The unusual situation arose with architectural competitions as it was the laymen who were paying for the professional services, and were, therefore, entitled to dictate their requirements. In all other professions, the professional was paid to give advice which was not questioned or dictated by laymen.

Early associations also held exhibitions of drawings, but these were largely in London and confined to members only, disadvantaging provincial architects and non-subscribers. Thus, there were valid reasons for the younger or newer members of the profession to enter competitions. Architects and promoters both agreed that they were 'essential for the vitality of the profession', replenishing it with new men and new ideas.[119] This can be equated to Bowler's concept of Liberal thinking, *viz.*

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[112] Bassin, *ibid.*, p. 45, (30): R. P. Cockerell, 'The Life of Charles Robert Cockerell', *Architectural Review,* 12 (1902), 133.
[113] *Builder*, 9 September 1851, 565.
[114] Curl, *Roberts*, p. 37.
[115] Jenkins, *Architect and Patron*, p. 217; Basin, *Architectural Competitions*, p. 24.
[116] Briggs, *Architect in History*, p. 339; Kaye, *Development of the Profession,* p. 87.
[117] D. J. Hickson and M. W. Thomas, *Sociology*, 3.1, (January 1969), 48, 37-53, 'Professionlization in Britain: A Preliminary Measurement'.
[118] Bassin, *Architectural Competitions*, 86(36): Scott, *Recollections*, p. 78; private records.
[119] Bassin, *ibid.*, p.39(4): J. Wornham Penfold, 'On Speculation and Competition: Their Effects on the Buildings of the

that without the stimulus of competition, stagnation would occur and progress be halted.[120] Competitions also contributed to the Victorian social levelling process, an opportunity for the young and unknown to compete alongside older, well-established architects.[121] However young architects were looked upon with suspicion. Routinely they had to provide referees, and though individual careers could be launched through the winning of a competition, this was not guaranteed and often came at a price, as with Hansom at Birmingham. Nevertheless, the expression 'win a competition and you're made' rang true for many - ensuing publicity usually assured future commissions.[122] Two examples are Henry Roberts with Fishmongers Hall, London and John Gibson with the National Bank of Scotland in Glasgow.[123]

The need to resolve the multiple issues surrounding competitions, implement training, and above all raise the credibility of the profession, could only be accomplished by the formation of a single professional body to replace the hitherto informal, semi-social groups which tended to be elitist and lacked official authority. Membership of a professional association would have the benefit of implying a minimum level of competence in the eyes of the public, at the same time achieving parity with the medical and legal professions. Steps required to achieve this proved as protracted, complex and unsatisfactory as the competition 'system'.

Professionalisation

Modern interpretation of professionalism implies some form of seniority or an upper- middle-class monopoly: a calling or vocation, a man of trust honouring a certain ideology, with unique specialist knowledge following prolonged training. One criterion for a professional body was that it was a 'particular kind of occupational group', which architects claimed to be, but this did not have exclusivity as they shared some of their characteristics or skills with other groups. Furthermore, whilst they claimed that architecture was their main source of income, much was derived from providing the subsidiary function of pupillage, with others gaining income from measuring or contracting, and a few resorting to 'ghosting' for others.[124]

Present Day', *Builder,* 16 (1858), p. 176; Bassin *ibid.*, H. S. Goodhart-Rendel, 'Architectural Draughtsmanship of the Past', *RIBAJ*, 58, 3rd ser. (1950-51), p. 134; p. 35(75): G. Godwin, 'Architecture as a Fine Art: Its State and Prospects in England', *Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal*, 4 (1841), p. 399; *Builder*, 19, 14 June 1851, p. 74; Kieler, 'Paradoxes', p. 443; *Builder,* 9, 14 June 1851, p. 374.

[120] Peter J. Bowler, *The Invention of Progress: The Victorians and the Past* (Oxford, 1989), p. 194.

[121] Hansom beat Foster and Haycock in Beaumaris and Barry and Rickman in Birmingham; he was twenty-seven years old when he won Birmingham; Elmes was only twenty-five when he won St George's Hall in Liverpool.

[122] John Armstrong Lane, *RIBAJ*, 'Win a competition and you're made', December 1865; Curl, *Roberts*, p. 19.

[123] For Roberts see Curl, *Roberts*; for Gibson see *Scottish Dictionary of Architects*.

[124] Crook, 'Pre-Victorian', p. 60; Kaye, *Development of the Profession*, p. 46; J. A. Jackson, *Professions and*

Despite the fact that change was thrust upon them by social and economic trends, by unavoidable changes in forms of patronage and by the fear of being side-lined by surveyors, engineers or general contractors, architects continued to put forward obstacles to stymie their own progress. They were beset with strong personalities venting their artistic temperament, and unable to agree amongst themselves as to what they were trying to achieve.[125] They wanted some sort of monopoly, but at the same time wanted to retain individual freedom. For this reason, many architects continued to practise independently of the Institute long after it was inaugurated. Even so, complete freedom was not an unconditional option. Architects were dominated by fashion and restricted by cost-cutting measures, especially parliament's policy of 'plain, cheap and quick'. In order to obtain employment, they had little choice but to limit their artistic principles, so much so that Soane complained that promoters had 'the power to control the architect'.[126]

Soane was a key player in the inauguration of an Institute. Like Nash, his architectural career bridged the old and the new regimes, but in a far broader sense in that he participated more fully in the wider architectural community. He also held strong views and, as will be seen, these nearly scuppered the master plan. Soane's early training was firstly within the office and household of George Dance the younger, and then with Henry Holland.[127] The connection with Dance, a founder member of the Royal Academy, led to Soane's own membership. Through his acquaintance with William Chambers, a founder member, he won a three-year travelling scholarship set up by George III. Soane spent his time mainly in Italy, where he met many future patrons including Thomas Pitt (cousin of William Pitt the younger), Frederick Hervey (bishop of Derry, later the earl of Bristol), and Philip Yorke (later the third earl of Hardwicke). It was through Pitt that Soane obtained his most valuable post, that of architect to the Bank of England. By 1833 he had doubled the size of the Bank to cover an area of three and a half acres.[128] The post provided financial security, at the same time leading to many further contacts and much private work beyond his official position. The Royal Academy was contemptuous of the Architectural Society founded in 1806, and did not give architects the support they felt they deserved. At one stage, Soane attempted to enforce exclusivity

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Professionalization (Cambridge, 1970), p. 3; for ghosting see Jenkins, *Architect and Patron*, p. 220; Kaye, *Development of the Profession*, p. 46; E. S.Prior, 'The 'profession' and its ghosts', p. 110 in Richard Norman Shaw and T. G. Jackson (eds), *Architecture: a profession or an art?: Thirteen short essays* (London, 1892).

[125] Gotch, *RIBA*, p. 4.

[126] Kaye, *Development of the Profession*, p. 118.

[127] Soane, *ODNB,* accessed 7 February 2013; Dance and Holland were two of the four originators of the Architects Club.

[128] Due to social and economic need, Pitt needed the extra space to raise funds for the Napoleonic wars.

of the Academy by suppressing the number of members who were architects.[129] On the other hand, Chambers believed in the superiority of French architecture and saw the Academy as a means of raising British architecture to an equivalent standard.[130] Dance jnr., the second Professor of Architecture to the Royal Academy Schools, was in post for seven years but never gave a single lecture.[131] Soane planned to give twelve, but was suspended after the fourth for criticizing living architects, a professional embargo.[132]

It was Soane's strong belief that architects should not be associated with any subsidiary commercial enterprise. This was problematic as Holland had interests in a brick company and timber merchants, and Wyatt [Wyattville] was partner of a large building firm, as were many other architects.[133] Soane's definition of an architect's role, used by both the Architectural Club in 1791 and the Institute of British Architects in 1834, was that the architect should make designs and estimates, direct work, measure and value the different parts.[134] Architects were responsible for the quality of the workforce and should monitor their bills.[135] However it was Soane's stance on measuring which caused many rifts and nearly caused the collapse of the proposed Institute before it had even been formed. He believed that measuring was a vital part of income, whereas a faction within the Institute felt so strongly that they tried to implement an exclusion clause against any member found to be measuring, with disqualification for so-doing.[136] After many ructions, a compromise was reached whereby measuring in accordance with the architects' directions for their own work was allowed, but measuring for a separate enterprise, namely builders, was not. As per Soane, members would be expelled if they received *ex gratia* payments from builders or traders, or had any commercial interest in the supply of materials.[137] The practice of attempting to pressurise builders into paying architects commission, by threatening dismissal if they refused, was strictly forbidden.[138] Such activity was deemed unprofessional. However, these were lucrative components of many practices which architects were not prepared to forego, a further reason why

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[129] Crook, 'Pre-Victorian', p. 75, (26): Bolton, *Portrait*, p. 463.

[130] Soane, *ODNB*.

[131] Briggs, *Architect in History*, p. 333; *RIBA J*, 25 September 1924, p. 631.

[132] Jenkins, *Architect and Patron*, pp. 105-106; Hickson and Thomas, 'Professionalization in Britain', 48, Table 2, p. 41.

[133] Carr-Saunders and Wilson, *Professions*, p. 177; Colvin, *Dictionary*, p. 41, n.72: *Gentleman's Magazine*, xiii (1840), 546.

[134] Colvin, *Dictionary*, p. 40.

[135] Carr-Saunders and Wilson, *Professions*, p. 178.

[136] Kaye, *Development of the Profession*, pp. 77,78.

[137] Carr-Saunders and Wilson, *Professions*, p. 178; Jenkins, p. 118 (1): *RIBAT*, I, p. xii; Colvin, *Dictionary*, p. 41.

[138] Jenkins, *Architect and Patron*, p. 211; *Architectural Magazine*, I (1834), 16.

large numbers chose not join the Institute.[139]   A blanket ruling covering any other conduct considered to be unprofessional could also incur expulsion.[140]   These clauses were not enforceable outside the Institute.   On the positive side, the Institute paved the way for those who were previously barred due to lack of wealth or personal connections; and for those who did join, the premise was that any financial loss would be countered by enhanced personal standing with the attendant rank of gentleman.[141]

The ultimate attainment, the Royal Institute of British Architects, passed through many preliminary phases before reaching its final status.   Early associations resembled elitist gentlemen's 'dining clubs' and were London-based.   The first attempt was the exclusive Architects Club.   It lasted for thirty years and though it was created to 'define the profession and qualifications of an architect', it became known colloquially as 'Soane's Dining Club'.[142]   It was set up by four architects in 1791 and membership soon included eleven further architects and four honorary members who resided outside London.[143] Both entry fee and annual subscription amounted to five guineas and new members needed a proposer and agreement by ballot before they were admitted.   Membership was tightly restricted with entry criteria intentionally set so as to preclude the vast majority of day-to-day architects.[144]

Overlapping with the Club was the London Architectural Society, formed in 1806, with a specific aim to separate architects from builders, which they claimed would 'improve architecture in no uncertain manner'.[145] It aimed at self-improvement between architects, but offered no actual student training.[146] Membership was more open, but in practice its rigid rules deterred many.   Members were obliged to attend fortnightly meetings and to submit an annual design and essay which then became the property of the Association.   Failure to comply resulted in financial penalties.   The Club and the Society were followed by another Architectural Society in 1831, which aimed to incorporate a British School of Architecture.   It was open to those who had worked in the office of an architect for five years and the subscription was three guineas, but despite the patronage of the

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[139] Jenkins, *Architect and Patron*, p. 118; Dickens, 'Workhouse Architects', p. 42.

[140] Jenkins, *ibid*, (1): *RIBAT*, I, p. xii.

[141] Colvin, *Dictionary*, p. 41.

[142] Jenkins, *Architect and Patron*, 14; Kaye, *Development of the Profession*, p. 59 (16): Bolton, *The Portrait of Sir John Soane, set forth in his Letters from his Friends (1775-1837)*, p. 67.

[143] Gotch, *RIBA*, p. 2.

[144] Potential members had to be Academicians or Associates of the Royal Academy, hold the Academy's gold medal or be a member of various specified academies in Europe, Jenkins, *Architect and Patron*, pp. 112,113.

[145] Jenkins, *ibid.,* p. 116.

[146] Carr-Saunders and Wilson, *Professions*, p. 192.

Duke of Sussex it did not raise the profile of the profession and the society was short-lived.[147]

In 1834 a Society for the study of Architecture and Architectural Topography was mooted, one of the objectives of which was 'the formation of an Institution to uphold the character and improve the attainments of Architects'.[148] It was at this point that disagreement over the question of measuring became particularly heated, as did the question as to whether or not they should combine with the Surveyors and Architects Society. The IBA was finally constituted and proved to be the forerunner of the RIBA.[149] It comprised seven Fellows and eight Associates. Honorary Members, noblemen or gentlemen not associated with the building trade, were also welcomed, for a one-off fee of twenty-five pounds.[150] Sir Charles Barry, who became Vice President, was one of the original members. Soane was invited to become their first president, but was ineligible due to being a Royal Academician.[151] He did, however, donate £750, which led to the awarding of the Soane Medallion.[152] The following year, by which time Soane had died, the influential Thomas de Grey, 2nd Earl Grey, was elected President.[153] He was very supportive of the Institute and his presence, together with that of the new Queen, gave it a high profile.[154]

Gotch claimed that 'nearly all the leading architects of the time' were members of the Institute, though, as mentioned, Butterfield, Bodley and Hansom were amongst many who did not join.[155] Hansom would not have agreed with the separation between theory and practice, that is to say design and construction, which the Institute advocated, though Kaye conceded that architects must have some technical expertise alongside their artistic talents.[156] However, Lord Chesterfield cautioned against too much knowledge as this took the profession too close to trade, creating a fine dividing line.[157] When Hansom set up his journal, he strongly defended his choice of title: *The*

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[147] RIBA,*ODNB*, accessed 30 November 2012.
[148] Gotch, *RIBA*, p. 5.
[149] Referred to as the Royal Institute, the IBA was granted a royal charter in 1837, but this was not formally bestowed until 1866.
[150] Kaye, *Development of the Profession*, p. 80.
[151] Jenkins, *Architect and Patron*, p. 117; the Royal Academy was founded in 1768 by George III; Academicians were not permitted to join any other society of artists; as an Academician Barry was able to add one percent to his contract for the Houses of Parliament for materials, though quite how he was able to break the rules is not entirely clear, as he had somehow managed to gain admission to the Institute in 1842, Carr-Saunders and Wilson, *Professions*, p. 189; Crook, 'Pre-Victorian', p. 76, n. 46.
[152] Gotch, *RIBA*, pp. 10, 11.
[153] A non-professional with an avid interest in architecture, Earl de Grey was a Fellow of the Royal Society of Antiquarians and older brother of Prime Minister Lord Goderich; Kaye, *Development of the Profession*, p. 82.
[154] *Ibid*., p. 11.
[155] Crook, 'Pre-Victorian', p. 71.
[156] Kaye, *Development of the Profession*, pp. 22, 26.
[157] Bassin, *Architectural Competitions*, p. 5.

Builder, an illustrated weekly magazine for the Drawing-Room, The Studio, The Office, The Workshop and The Cottage.[158] Staunchly adhering to his belief in the all-encompassing skills required by his profession, he stated that it was the 'best description of all classes and crafts concerned in the art of building itself and the arts with which it is allied'.[159] The Catholic architect, Joseph John Scoles, was one of the Institute's original Fellows, Honorary Secretary from 1846 to 1856 and Vice President from 1857 to 1858.[160] Rickman, the Liverpool and Birmingham architect of Commissioners Churches, was also an active member, as was George Godwin, Hansom's successor as the second editor of *The Builder*.[161]

Nationwide the very small uptake of membership reflected scepticism of the benefits of the Institute. Nevertheless by 1835, when it had risen to fifty, they considered themselves to be sufficiently representative of the profession. Taking figures from the 1841 census, of the 1675 architects identified only 153 were members.[162] To combat the shortage of training and to strengthen their position, discussion commenced regarding the joining of forces between the Architectural Society and the Institute. It took four years for the merger to be completed, at which time it was decreed that the break with measurers, builders, contractors, draughtsmen and surveyors 'must be absolute'.[163]

Even this was not the end of the controversy, for in 1847 yet another, totally different society, the Architectural Association was formed by two breakaway architects, Kerr and Charles Gray, a pupil of eighteen years standing and friend of the *Builder's* new editor.[164] Sharing Hansom's disenchantment with the limited formal education on offer, and particularly with the costly system of government-backed article pupilage, the Architectural Association aimed to provide a self-driven independent arrangement. It combined forces with the Association of Architectural Draughtsmen and held weekly meetings alternating between members' papers and guest speakers.[165] A summary of the various Associations is given in Appendix V.

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[158] *Builder,* 11, 18 February 1843, p. 19; *The Builder* was ten years in gestation and strongly influenced by Hansom's association with Robert Owen; it was also a bid to compete with *Illustrated London News*.
[159] *Builde*r, 1, 18 February 1843, p. 19.
[160] Colvin, *Dictionary*, p. 723.
[161] Godwin had previously been closely involved with both the AA and the IBA and reported fully on their activities; it was he who proposed Hansom's youngest son, Joseph Stanislaus, as a Fellow of the RIBA later in life.
[162] Jenkins, *Architect and Patron*, p. 211; membership continued to increase very slowly, for in 1881, the year before Hansom died, only eleven per cent of architects were members of the RIBA; Kaye, *Development of the Profession*, Table III, 'RIBA Membership as a Percentage of the total Architectural Population', p. 175.
[163] Crook, 'Pre-Victorian', p. 68.
[164] Jenkins, *Architect and Patron*, p. 169; Kaye, *Development of the Profession*, p. 97.
[165] The school was not formalised until 1890, but the association survived and still offers courses accepted by the RIBA.

The vital importance of training to the profession had been highlighted at each stage of the Institute's development, and that of its predecessors. Museums and libraries were set up, with *ad hoc* lectures and informal discussion, but never any tuition. That which was offered was described as 'disorganised and unsystematic'.[166] Hitchcock considered architectural education to be 'amateur', Blyth as 'rambling and discouraging' and Carr-Saunders and Wilson in a state of 'utter confusion'.[167] Access to Loudon's *Architectural Magazine* (1834-38), the *Transactions of the Royal Institute of British Architects* (from 1835), the *Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal* (from 1837), and then Hansom's *Builder,* were invaluable to keep abreast of developments in the architectural world at home and abroad, though *The Builder* was banned from the Royal Academy's lecture rooms.[168] *The Complete Book of Trades or the Parents' Guide and Youth's Instructor* was published as a career handbook for potential students in 1842.[169] It advocated a period of foreign travel after apprenticeship and stressed that without capital it might not be possible to progress beyond the rank of a clerk.[170] Hansom objected to the Government School of Design, set up in 1837, and considered that the training offered was limited in scope and denied artisans the full means of becoming artists.[171] Scott agreed that it left 'much to be desired'.[172] It permitted architectural students to attend lectures but did not claim to teach architecture *per se* as this might encroach upon the rights of private individuals, in other words those architects who were benefitting financially from taking on pupils.[173] Nevertheles, the School, which had eight branches across the country and one in Glasgow, was heavily over-subscribed. At around this time Kerr also lodged objections against the Association of Architectural Draughtsmen on the grounds that they were 'doing too much copying'.[174]

When firstly Soane, and then Hansom, attempted to establish a training college for architects, the syllabus each provided was so wide as to be unmanageable, yet these were the skills they considered necessary for a good architect. Soane ran a home-based school made possible due to a

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[166] Corfield, *Power and the Professions,* p. 183; the Northcote/Trevelyan report which introduced exams for the Civil Service in 1855 raised the profile of examinations, but they were not compulsory for architects until 1938.

[167] Crook, 'Pre-Victorian', pp. 72(80): H.-R. Hitchcock, *Architecture: 19th and 20th centuries* (1963 ed.), p. 173; Crook, 'Pre-Victorian', p. 63,(6): *The Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal*, I (1837-38), p. 158; Carr-Saunders and Wilson, *The Professions*, p. 191.

[168] Crook, 'Pre-Victorian', p. 70 (69): quoting Kaye, *Development of the Profession*, p. 94.

[169] Jenkins, *Architect and Patron*, p. 160.

[170] Jenkins, *ibid.*, p. 165; Briggs, *Architect in History*, p. 334.

[171] *The Builder*, 7 June 1845, p. 270.

[172] See Rosemary Hill, 'Introduction: Architecture and the 1840s', p. 16 in 'The 1840s', *The Victorian Society*, vol. 1, (London, 2008).

[173] Kaye, *Development of the Profession*, p. 96; *Builder* 1845, III, p. 270; *Builder* 1846, IV, p. 465.

[174] Kaye, *ibid*, p. 95.

legacy received by his wife, wherein he trained fifty-five assistants in various capacities, thirty being official pupils.[175] They worked a twelve-hour day for around five years.[176] Soane was not easy to work for. Dependent upon personal compatibility, Wightwick thought him tyrannical, and Smirke, who complained that he was employed 'only on trifling matters', took extra tutorials with George Dance.[177] Barry was also considered difficult to work with, as emphasised by Shenton.[178] The quality of other establishments was variable, if not dubious, for Crook and Jenkins were amongst many who likened them to that of Dicken's 'Pecksniff' in *Martin Chuzzlewick*.[179]

Hansom's college was based in the former home of Charles Barry, when the latter moved to be closer to the Houses of Parliament whilst working there (see Plate 8).[180] His Builders College was thorough. He described it as a 'school, office and workshop'. Putting old methods into a new format, he emphasised the need for craft skills alongside academic and theoretical, and subjects included mathematical sciences, draughtsmanship, mechanics, philosophy, art of design, chemistry, history, general literature and book-keeping; he also advocated proficiency in French, German and Italian, for trips abroad.[181] Candidates would be articled in the normal way and should be at least fourteen years old. They would have the benefit of a residential establishment with 'college discipline and systematic tuition under proficient masters', with lectures, examinations, a good supply of books and the inspection of buildings. This would continue until they were 'competent to practice a liberal and lucrative profession'. Had the College been successful, there would still have come a time when it needed the accreditation of an official body to give it a legal status. Hansom made two further attempts to set up colleges, one in Preston, and again ten years later in Scotland.[182] All three failed due to lack of capital.

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[175] 'The Days of the Giants', *RIBAJ,* xxi, 20 September 1924, 631.

[176] Crook, 'Pre-Victorian', p. 64(17): Arthur T. Bolton, *Life and Work a Century Ago* (1922), Bolton, *Architectural Education a Century Ago* (1923).

[177] Crook, 'Pre-Victorian', p. 65(18,19): Arthur T. Bolton, *Portrait of Sir John Soane*, (1927), p. 409; Soane Correspondence, Division II, Cupboard I, 8 September 1796.

[178] See Shenton, *Mr Barry's War,* p. 28.

[179] Crook, 'Pre-Victorian', 64, taken from 'Architectural Training in the Past', *RIBAJ*, 'The Praise of our Fathers', 21, 20 September 1924, 632; Jenkins, *Architect and Patron*, p. 161.

[180] *Tablet,* 13 November 1841.

[181] Crook, 'Pre-Victorian', 64-65; *Builder*, precursor issue 31 December 1842, 6; the syllabus proposed by the Royal Academy in 1856 was equally elaborate, Jenkins, *Architect and Patron*, p. 171.

[182] *Tablet* 4 December 1852, 769; Gillow, *Dictionary*, 3 (1887), 119; it would appear that Hansom's religious art school in Edinburgh as a joint venture with Bishop Gillis operated for around two years, but the Bishop's promises of funding failed to materialise and the school was forced to close.

Pugin's father, Augustus Charles, also ran a home-based drawing school, though it did not offer much practical experience.[183] It was strictly managed by Mrs Pugin, but apart from their son, it produced few future architects.[184] When Soane died in 1837, and then Hansom's college collapsed, there was nothing on a par to follow on. Elmes, who objected to a mix of 'artist and artizan', is reported to have made two attempts to set up a school in 1810 and again in 1819, but there is no record of either having taken place.[185] In 1840 part-time courses were established at Kings College London, with further courses in Glasgow and at University College London, but again these only provided general background to supplement practical experience in an office.[186]

Apart from the lack of formal training, architects were still faced with the dilemma of reconciling aesthetics with commercialism, and the vocational association with the building trade. Involvement with trade put the architect at risk of becoming a contractor or financial speculator, a practice partly resultant from the competition system.[187] The need to separate builder, surveyor, engineer and architect was symptomatic of wider changes within the social structure of the 1830s, yet at this time in its development architecture had ceased to be a trade but was not yet a profession.[188] As long as the two continued to co-relate they could not be considered true professionals, for in everyday usage terminology and functionality were one and the same, as indeed was the origin of the word 'architect'.[189] Telford's multi-faceted career led him to be described variously as stone mason, civil engineer, architect and agent for Ellesmere Canal. The first post for which Hansom applied was that of Surveyor of Works in York, and when reporting on his bankruptcy in Birmingham, *The Times* described him as a builder.[190] The phrase 'architectural profession' was a generic expression which dated back to the sixteenth century but had no official standing.[191] Inigo Jones (1573-1652), began his career as an 'artist' and was promoted to 'Surveyor of Kings Work', yet due to his supervisory role he was considered to be 'the first 'professional English architect'.[192] This was an inadequate and inaccurate definition as it implied superiority, but gave no reference to competence

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[183] Briggs, *Architect in History*, p. 353.
[184] Hill, *God's Architect*, pp. 52, 106, 158; Stanton, *Pugin*, p. 13; Jenkins, *Architect and Patron*, p. 162; Benjamin Ferrey, *Recollections of A. Welby Pugin and his father Augustus Pugin*, 1861, pp. 26-28.
[185] Crook, 'Pre-Victorian', pp. 67(38): letter to Thomas Hope, *The Pamphleteer*, iii (1814), pp. 330-343; Jenkins, *Architect and Patron*, p. 117; Michael Port, 'Founders of the Royal Institute of British Architects', *ODNB article*, accessed 30 November 2012.
[186] Kaye, *Development of the Profession*, pp. 93-94; Jenkins, *Architect and Patron*, p. 168.
[187] Crook, 'Pre-Victorian', pp. 67(36): *Lectures on Architecture by Sir John Soane*, ed. Bolton (1929), pp. 24, 180.
[188] Crook, *ibid*, p. 62.
[189] Etymologically the word architect is derived from the Latin architectus, made up from the Greek arkhi, meaning chief, and tekton, meaning builder.
[190] *Yorkshire Gazette*, 24 March 1827; *The Times*, 26 April 1834.
[191] Kaye, *Development of the Profession*, p. 21.
[192] Carr-Saunders and Wilson, *Professions*, pp. 35, 36, 176; Colvin, *Dictionary*, p. 28; 'Giants', *RIBAJ*, p. 630.

or talent.

In 1782, when the Office of Works was re-organised, a new joint post of Comptroller and Surveyor was created, whose credentials should be that of either a professional architect or a builder.[193] Interchangeability between the terms surveyor and architect was particularly commonplace, and as most builders had at least a reasonable knowledge of the principles of architecture, concerns for the preservation of the architectural profession were entirely justified. Hansom quoted *The Encyclopaedia Britannica's* definition in that 'architecture was the parent of many separate professions'.[194] The better organised and more commercially astute surveyors and engineers succeeded in forming professional bodies without the attendant turmoil and personal sensitivities which disrupted the architectural profession. The Surveyors' Club, which admitted architects into its membership, was formed in 1792, though their Institute was delayed until 1868.[195] The Society of Civil Engineers was formed even earlier in 1771 and followed by the Institution of Engineers in 1818. The profile of civil engineers was boosted by industrialisation and commercial trade, when the need for better communication increased, necessitating more roads, bridges, canals and harbours, thus ensuring a guaranteed work-load. In order to survive, traditional architectural territory had to be re-shaped and regularised. The only way forward was under the auspices of a professional body, the essence of which was one of image: reliability and respectability. This in itself posed a further insoluble dilemma. If architects were aiming to become an upper-middle-class monopoly, firstly not all the middle classes were professionals, and secondly the expertise of architects unsettled those who claimed status solely on grounds of wealth and commercialism.[196] Furthermore, the intrusion of business or commercial activities disrupted professional integrity.[197]

Acutely aware of the problems facing them, the attempts made by architects to implement change were clumsy, inept and above all slow, hampered by a reluctance to forego former custom and practice. The founding of the Institute of British Architects in 1834 was a step in the right direction, though not a complete process. Theoretically, a professional body would reinforce their presence and provide protection for its members, as well as setting a benchmark of standards to protect the public. The move advanced their cause but was also a form of self-defence. Complacency had seen their former roles being absorbed by others to such an extent that they were

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[193] Jenkins, *Architect and Patron*, p. 111: Colvin, *Dictionary*, pp. 757-8.
[194] *Builder*, Precursor Issue, 1842, p. 5 quoting *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 14, p. 280.
[195] Jenkins, *Architect and Patron*, p. 108.
[196] Crook, 'Pre-Victorian', p. 68; Corfield, *Power and the Professions,* p. 246.
[197] Gutman, 'Patrons or Clients', p. 151.

in 'danger of being ground out of existence altogether' and the public was becoming sceptical as to whether there was any actual need to employ an architect at all.[198] For very large projects, such as Osborne House for Queen Victoria and Prince Albert (1845-50), surveyors and engineers were employed, which undermined the authority of the architect.[199] Another notable example was when, without consulting Barry, the scientist Dr Reid was brought in to install the heating and ventilation for the Houses of Parliament.[200] True professionalism demanded autonomy, a monopoly and occupational control over work, which architects lacked.[201] Their muddled appellation was confusing and their history of corruption created distrust. Rather than continuing to multi-task, as in the past, working practices had to change and adapt to a different social climate and technical advances.

With so much confusion as to the precise role of an architect, this impacted upon their attempts to define a professional body. Historically the standing of each architect had benefitted from the social status of their respective patrons, but this did not necessarily reflect their academic ability, and pupils simply claimed status by association with their masters. In the absence of college-training, the name of their 'master' was the equivalent to Oxbridge for clergy.[202] A period of not less than four years' apprenticeship was recommended, but this did, of course, depend on whether or not pupils could afford the premium. Sums ranged between £100 and £500, with the expectation that higher premiums would lead to a salaried position.[203] Labelled as arrogant and sitting uncomfortably somewhere between gentleman-architects and master-masons, architects were considered rather loosely as head workmen 'pretending the designing part'.[204] Their passion for elaborate perspectives led competition organisers to equate their status with that of highly skilled draughtsmen, whilst public bodies continued to regard architects as merely another tradesman involved in the construction process.[205] Soane saw the function of an architect as that of an intermediary between employer and contractor.[206] Hansom's more philosophical viewpoint was

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[198] Kaye, *Development of the Profession*, p. 46; Jenkins, *Architect and Patron*, p. 191.
[199] Andrew Saint, *The Image of the Architect* (London, 1983), p. 60.
[200] Bassin, *Architectural Competitions*, p. 32.
[201] Jackson, *Professions and Professionlization*, pp. 3, 24, 27; Gunmar Olofsson, 'The dark side of professions - the role of professional autonomy in creating 'great professional disasters', paper presented in the 8th Conference of the European Sociological Association, Glasgow, 3-6 September 2007.
[202] W. J. Reader, *Professional Men, The Rise of the Professional Classes in Nineteenth-Century England* (London, 1966), p. 118, quoting H. Byerley Thomson, *The Choice of a Profession* (London, 1857); Bassin, *Architectural Competitions,* p. 99.
[203] Reader, *ibid.*, p. 121.
[204] Kaye, *Architectural Profession*, p. 47.
[205] Port, 'RIBA', *ODNB*.
[206] Colvin, *Dictionary*, p. 40; Jenkins, *Architect and Patron*, pp. 117-118; Carr-Saunders and Wilson, *Professions*, p. 178.

that he 'preferred the success of our cause to the mere identifying of it with ourselves'. Clarity came from Daniel Asher Alexander, who described an architect as the brains, the person responsible for designs, plans and specification, and the builder as the machine which carried out the work.[207]

With no official organisational framework in place, architects were faced with two issues. Their main objective was to raise their status through professional autonomy: their stumbling-block was a lack of identity.[208] The remit of surveyors and engineers was clear cut. That of architects was not, for they overlapped with other disciplines to such an extent that they were not even sure within their own ranks whether they were an art or a science. The science element was suggestive of the technical expertise of surveyors and engineers, and this epithet occurred frequently alongside that of architects. When discussing the establishment of The London Architectural Society in 1806, the committee referred to architecture as a science which was to be improved.[209] A letter sent in 1825 by the architect George Wightwick to a prospective client emphasised his role as an artist. It stated:

> It is presumed your primary object in securing the services of an Architect involves the recognition of his pretensions as an Artist. The ordinary *Builder* may construct the edifice required; you apply to an *Architect* for the superadded graces of correct design and suitable decoration.[210]

He then went on to refer to his reluctance to 'sacrifice ... his repute as an Artist' and 'limit his decorations' in order to comply with his clients wishes and restrictive budget.[211]

The Institute of British Architects also used the term science in its mission statement:

> to facilitate the acquirement of architectural knowledge, for the promotion of the different branches of science connected with it, and for establishing an uniformity and respectability of practice in the profession.[212]

Its first Secretary, Thomas Leverton Donaldson, ran a part-time course entitled 'Architecture as a Science and Architecture as an Art'.[213] As Carr-Saunders and Wilson pointed out, 'no matter how

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[207] Colvin*, Dictionary*, p. 39, quoting *Builder* 10, p. 795.
[208] Kaye, *Development of the Profession*, p. 29.
[209] Jenkins, p. 116,(2): *Essays of the London Architectural Society*, I (1808) pp. ii-iv.
[210] Kaye, *Development of Profession*, p. 56: quoting RIBA Proceedings, New Series, 1891, 7, 161.
[211] Kaye, *ibid*: p. 56, quoting Wightwick; see also Mark Crinson and Jules Lubbock, *Architecture, Art or Profession*: *Three Hundred Years of Architectural Education in Britain* (Manchester, 1994) and 'Architecture: A Profession or an Art?', Richard Norman Shaw and T. G. Jackson (eds), in *Architecture: a profession or an art, thirteen short essays on the question of training of architects* (1892).
[212] Jenkins, *Architect and Patron*, p.117, (3): (*RIBAT*), I, (1835-6), x.
[213] Jenkins, 168 (1): *Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal*, ix (1846), 283: Donaldson also became a member of the

complex the science of building construction' an architect was 'not only a professional man but an artist'.[214] However even this term was far from ideal as the term 'art' in this context was closely related to draughtsmanship, and architecture was not a commodity.[215] Kerr combined both art and science with the profession, stating that architecture was the 'Design of Beautiful Buildings'.[216] Building was a distinct commercial enterprise, the role of an artist was not. As a professional, the architect stood precariously between the two. In an increasingly class-conscious society, these blurred attempts at classification were unrepresentative and far too vague. Furthermore, they gave no protection from amateur usurpers. Whilst lack of clarity was fundamental to their identity, it was not as crucial as the absence of standardised education, an essential requisite to professional status.[217]

Medieval architects were master craftsmen in specific disciplines, such as masons and sculptors, and their training was empirical rather than theoretical.[218] Alternatively, architects rose through the ranks, as depicted by R. Campbell:

> I scarce know of any in England who have had an Education regularly designed for the Profession. Bricklayers, carpenters, etc. all commence [ie set up] as Architects; especially in and about London, where there go but few Rules to the building of a City-House.[219]

As already identified, aspiring architects at the turn of the century had two choices: a wealthy patron who was prepared to fund a Grand Tour, monitor their work and give guidance as to appropriate style; or to work and study with an established architect, as pupil or apprentice, often not advancing beyond the level of a draughtsman.[220] Non-university professions which relied on pupillage, the most common form of training, or apprenticeship, with its 'guild-like' structure were suggestive of unions, had no standing.[221] Parliament denigrated British architects, firstly over the Houses of Parliament, and again with the Great Exhibition. Even Goodhart-Rendell was disparaging, stating that:

Institute in Paris and the Academy of Fine Arts in Parma, Gotch, *RIBA*, p. 13.

[214] A. M. Carr-Saunders and P. A. Wilson, *The Professions,* p. 184; Gutman, 'Patrons or clients?', p. 151.

[215] Jenkins, *Architect and Patron*, p. 210: 'Architecture: a Profession or an Art?', 1892, 87; Larson, 'Emblem and Exception', p. 60.

[216] *Builder*, 'Architecture: the Art, the Science and the Profession', 4, 14 November 1846, 542.

[217] Crook, 'Pre-Victorian', p. 70.

[218] Colvin, *Dictionary*, 'The Architectural Profession', p. 26.

219 Bassin, *Architectural Competitions*, (34): quoting London Tradesman 1747, in Summerson, *Georgian London*, p. 55.

[220] The previously essential foreign travel was severely curtailed by international disturbances, and not resumed until 1815, when architects travelled to Greece and beyond.

[221] Dickens, 'Workhouse Architects', pp. 43-44; J. A. Jackson, *Professions and Professionlisation* (Cambridge, 1970), p. 4; Jenkins, *Architect and Patron*, pp. 192, 211.

> The town halls, the assize courts, the corn exchanges, the markets are tradesman's work, honourable tradesman's work very often, but seldom approaching, even at their best, the artistic level of mere routine work in contemporary France.[222]

Unlike their Continental counterparts, there was no British equivalent with which they could be identified. Several schools were already in existence overseas and the French Beaux-Arts in particular offered what the British talked about but failed to achieve.[223] There were similarities with the Attached Architects in that the School relied on Royal patronage and successful candidates fed off work for the State, but above all Beaux-Arts was a training establishment which ensured a gentlemanly image, with the acclaimed status of 'architect-cum-artist'.[224]

When English architects became dependent upon merit as much as personal contact for obtaining work, and when they were under the shadow of renowned Continental architects or at risk of being superseded by general contractors, the need for better training could not be ignored, if for no other reason than that it would deter the 'anybodies'.[225] This should have been driven by the IBA, who were more concerned with ethical matters than practical.[226] With no mechanism in place to award certificates, architects turned to competitions as a substitute. Scott's advice to pupils was to 'go in for whatever offers whether you like it or not'.[227] These were not a complete solution. Builders and speculators also used competitions to their advantage, and Kerr considered the concept of a competition to be both unprofessional and tradesman-like.[228] It was worsened by rivalry and violent pamphleteering.[229] There was nothing either 'gentlemanly' or 'professional' in riding through the night chasing after commissions, as did Scott and Moffatt, nor in wooing selection committees with unrealistic 'pretty pictures', like Barry and many of his contemporaries.

Lanchester claimed that had training been better organised, competitions would have been more

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[222] Bassin, *Achitectural Competitions,* p. 9: (37): H.S. Goodhart-Rendell, 'Victorian Public Buildings', in Peter Ferriday (ed.), *Victorian Architecture* (Philadelphia and New York, 1964), p. 91.

[223] Firstly the École Polytechnique (1794), and then the École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts (1795), were founded in Paris; both were held in high regard, especially by Sir William Chambers, founder member of the Royal Academy; Cuthbert Brodrick, architect of Leeds Town Hall trained in France; there were also schools in Italy, Germany and Prussia; Jenkins, *Architect and Patron*, p. 167; Crook, 'Pre-Victorian', p. 70 quoting: *Architectural Magazine* I (1834), p. 89; *Annals of the Fine Arts*, ii (1817), 258-266, 'report from the Select Committee on Arts and Manufacturers', Parliamentary Papers, 1835, v. 379 et seq.

[224] Larson, 'Emblem and Exception', pp. 56, 63, 63.

[225] Bassin, *Architectural Competitions*, pp. 8, 9.

[226] Crook, 'Pre-Victorian', p. 68.

[227] Dickens, 'Workhouse Architects', p. 41 (1): Basil H. Jackson (ed.), *Recollections of Thomas Graham Jackson, 1635-1824* (Oxford, 1950), p. 51.

[228] Bassin, *Architectural Competitions,* p. 9; Porter, 'Architectural Competitions', p. 101.

[229] Bassin, *ibid.,* pp. 10, 23; Briggs, *Architect in History*, p. 349.

satisfactory.[230]   The two aspects were closely linked.   Increasingly pupils were made use of to prepare submissions for their employer to enter into competitions. With emphasis on attractiveness rather than structure, this became known as 'drawing-board' design, or from outside-in, where the external appearance was the primary function and reference to structural concerns was secondary.[231] There were differing views as to whether it was good or bad practice for pupils to learn in this way. Edward Barry, son of Charles, maintained that, even if unpaid, the preparation of competition drawings was good practice, however Porter believed it to be the worst possible training, due to the lack of attention to arrangement or construction.[232]

Jenkins noted that when the Institute was first formed the need for respectability was emphasized. Bassin focused more on the need for fair organisation of competitions.[233] In view of previous failed attempts to regularise the latter, the new Institute established a set of codes, the main features of which were:

> to seek out the best design for each situation
> to raise the profile of architecture and progress standards
> to seek out young talent and fresh ideas
> to advance individual careers

These seemingly simple and straightforward objectives remained largely unachievable in practice. Four years later, a Special Committee was set up to address the 'serious train of evils entailed upon the public and the profession by the facility with which the system lends itself to collusion'.[234] It was recommended that committees should take professional advice on judging techniques and that instruction should be more specific to be fairer to architects and to facilitate uniform comparison.[235] Much discussion was devoted to the work Charles Hansom had put into this through the Society of Architects which he set up in Bristol, however the result was no more effective than previous attempts.[236] Despite recommendations in 1839 for assessors to request a member of the Institute to stand on assessment panels for competitions, this rarely happened and was not enforced until

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[230] Lanchester, 'Evolution of the Competition', p. 384.
[231] Crook, 'Pre-Victorian', p. 66.
[232] Bassin, *Architectural Competitions*, p. 99; Richards, *Architectural Review*, p. 6; Porter, 'Architectural Competitions', p. 84.
[233] Jenkins, *Architect and Patron*, p. 117; Bassin, *Architectural Competitions*, p. 10.
[234] Lanchester, 'Evolution of the Competition', p. 382.
[235] Evinson, 'Hansom', p. 151.
[236] Kaye, *Development of Profession*, p. 90; when living in Clifton, Hansom lectured regularly at his brother's Bristol Institute of Architects.

1903.[237]

Conclusion

Competitions and the creation of a professiona were inseparable. They helped to break the Attached Architect monopoly for larger jobs, provided a means of training for some and enabled others to become independent from their masters. Thus, through this means, architects had achieved a great deal by the end of the decade. Through their own efforts they had approximated professionalism by defining a code of ethics. Due initially to parliamentary intervention (church-building and workhouses), together with improved transport, they had extended their profile into the provinces. They had disentangled their role from overlapping professions and set boundaries with regard to the building trade. However, difficulties associated with competitions remained and without formal training, the IBA was only half-way to professionalisation.[238] Neither was there any examination with a recognised qualification, which would have led to entitlement to use letters after their names, the ultimate recognition.[239] It remained an unequal power struggle and architects were largely reactive, not proactive. The next chapter will show how they were still grappling with their identity in the 1840s, which they hoped might be resolved if they could devise a new style by which they could be remembered. At the same time, they had to contend with an added threat resulting from social change, when their on-going difficulties were exposed and debated in the public arena by increased press coverage.

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[237] Bassin, *Architectural Competitions*, p. 102.
[238] Crook, 'Pre-Victorian', p. 68.
[239] The first voluntary examinations were held in 1862 but were not compulsory until 1882; Briggs, *Architect in History*, p. 372; Reader, *Professional Men*, p. 118.

THE STORY OF A COMPETITION.

An architect sits in his office alone :
'Tis night ; work is over, the drawings are done :—
Ground plan, elevations, and sections are there,
Ink'd in, neatly tinted, and figured with care ;
And a block plan completed with infinite pains,—
Crimson lake for the levels, and indigo drains ;
And a charming perspective, to show the good people
How the building will look when they've finish'd the
    steeple—
That is, if the public don't strongly object
To pull down half a street to produce the effect :—
In the foreground,—to add to the charm of the scene,—
Are—a curate, a dog, and a lady in green.
In short, the best judges would soon be agreed
They're a very superb set of drawings indeed.
He scans them with pride—not unmix'd with dismay,
At the time and the money they've fritter'd away,—
For, in truth, he had something far better to do,
His clients were waiting and clamorous too ;
But a church-competition demanded his skill,
So he left all the rest of his work to stand still.
'Twas the old tale,—nine architects handsomely ask'd
To allow all their pockets and brains to be task'd,
That a "local committee" might meet and select
One design, and the rest unrequited reject.
So he couldn't but feel, as he counted the cost,
Odds were heavy his money and labour were lost ;
But it's done, and too late to indulge now in sorrow,
For the plans must be sent in by midday to-morrow,
And then for a month or six weeks he must wait,
Till they write (most politely) to tell him his fate.

———————

The day has arrived, the committee have met
To look at the plans and decide on a set
Which their wisdom united pronounces the best,
And without more ado to return all the rest.
You'll imagine perhaps that of those who take part
In the judgment some few have a knowledge of art.
No such thing ; but the best for their portraits shall sit :
You will see if for such a selection they're fit.

First, the vicar ; a good man, but young—fresh from
    college—
With plenty of zeal, but a small stock of knowledge.
Next to him comes the senior churchwarden, a grocer :
He advocates "comfort without any show, sir !"
Then a butcher, who having new-fronted his stall,
Goes hard in for what he calls "taste," first of all.
Next a chemist—who gravely expresses a hope
That "whatever they do they'll steer clear of the pope.
He's been told"—here the vicar turns red—and "feels
    sure,
That remarks such as this will be deem'd premature."
"Hear, hear!" and a cough from our friend Mr.
    Boodle,
Who, though we all know he's a terrible noodle,
Contrives on all sorts of committees to sit,
But ne'er speaks—so that doesn't matter a bit.

Then—a rich undertaker—whose dictum has weight
(His knowledge of churches they say *must* be great).
A former churchwarden—as deaf as a post,—
He's ne'er miss'd a meeting, and that is his boast ;
When a point's raised and settled, discuss'd throug
    and through,
He starts it soon after as something quite new.
Last, the doctor ; he has a young nephew who, men
Of discernment say, one day will emulate Wren :
"A pupil of Scott, sir ! a clever young man !
We really should ask him to give us a plan."
So the nephew comes in, and he thinks it a pity
If his uncle can't manage to square the committee ;
He works at his drawings, and, under advice,
Takes "Nil" for his motto—it's modest and nice—
For the plans (if it answer'd 'twould really be fine)
Are anonymous, mark'd with a motto or sign,
And the names, each in separate envelopes seal'd
Till the final decision, remain unreveal'd.

Well ! it's clear that with such a committee of taste,
To spend time in looking at plans would be waste ;
So the doctor gets up, and with much tact and skill
Moves at once they select the design mark'd wit
    "Nil."
He points out its merits, pooh-poohs all the rest,
And really persuades them that "Nil's" is the best.
The good vicar winces, yet feels he's but one,
And against odds like this there is nought to be done ;
So he too gives in with the best grace he can,
And they end by all voting for "Nil" to a man.

———————

Now, whether the embryo rival of Wren
Carried out his first plan—and if so how, and when,—
Or whether they found when they wish'd to proceed,
The cost twice as high as the figure agreed,
And so let him make them a second design,
Just about half the size and not nearly so fine ;
Or whether they gave up the church altogether,
And return'd the subscriptions collected,—or whether
The gentleman's living, or dying, or dead,
This history tells not,—but if what's been said
Shows the exquisite folly of young men competing
In cases like this with the notion of meeting
Fair play, or of coming out first from the ruck,
Except by some dodging, or else by good luck :
If it make one committee-man modestly own
That he can't by the mere light of nature alone
Know what architects (less gifted men, it appears)
Only learn by the study and practice of years ;
If, in short, it shows reason why sometimes we may
Object to competing in this kind of way,
Then the point of this commonplace story is plain,
Nor has it been told altogether in vain.

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The Builder, 11 May 1872

Plate 28

Ratcliffe College, Ratcliffe-on-the-Wreake
showing Hansom work to the left and Pugin work to the right

CHAPTER V
THE 1840s part 1: THE BATTLE OF THE STYLES AND THE POWER OF THE PUBLISHED WORD

The 1840s was a decade of conflict, uncertainty and disharmony.[1] The legislative changes of the 1830s, particularly the *Catholic Act* 1829, the *Great Reform Bill* 1832, the *Poor Law Amendment Act* of 1834 and the *Municipal Corporations Act* of 1835, had yet to make full impact and architects, who continually sought to reinforce their identity, were unable to either agree amongst themselves or combat manipulative press coverage. This chapter has a literary theme whereby architects looked to writers of the immediate past in a vain hope that this would inspire future thinking. It was not successful, but absorbed much of their time. Controversial contemporary writing by architects, for example Pugin and Elmes, the 'literateur', increased publicity; and newspapers, journals and pamphlets added to the complexity.[2] They flourished in the absence of any formal training.

Two main topics are addressed in this chapter: the quest for a new style to represent the nineteenth-century, and the pressure put upon architects by critical, dictatorial, and sometimes adverse publicity. Both these undermined their autonomy. Within this setting architects also had to negotiate the severe financial constraints of the 'hungry forties', whilst simultaneously striving to meet the demands of changing public taste. Their insistence upon the need for a new style was overshadowed by their inability to devise one, and severely impeded their main priority, that of professional recognition as a collective group and enhanced social status as individuals. Whilst Hansom stood aside from this controversy, he followed his own course of experimental design, with such examples as the Sussex Memorial (see pp. 147, 157) and the Metropolitan Music Hall (see pp. 84, 158). Hansom drew attention to the national quest for a new style, as condemned by students, in his *Builder* (see p. 148).

Historiography

Bowler shows how the Victorian image of the past fitted into their ideology of progress, but the search for a new style was blocked by constant scrutiny of existing styles.[3] The concept of a 'Battle of the Styles' was not new. It had already been debated during the seventeenth-century, as depicted

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[1] Rosemary Hill, 'Introduction', to *The 1840s – The Victorian Society*, vol 1. (2008), Rosemary Hill and Michael Hall (eds.), p. 7.
[2] Other notable examples are Carpenter, Loudon, Neale and Weale; see also Nikolaus Pesvner, *Some architectural writers of the nineteenth-century* (Oxford, 1972).
[3] Bowler, *Invention of Progress* (Oxford, 1989), p. 3: A. Dwight Culler, *The Victorian Mirror of History* (London, 1985).

by Pease.[4]   However, it has become enshrined in the literature due to an article of that name by Crook, and then taken up by others, such as Kaye, Clarke and Curl.[5] Stylistically independent architects who isolated themselves from general trends were labelled 'rogue architects' by Goodhart-Rendel, an expression which was perpetuated by others.[6] Like the predicament with regard to competitions, the 'battle' was, as Hitchcock pointed out, one which was not so much resolved but forgotten, and thence transmuted into 'Victorian'.[7] Kornwolf compares different approaches given by a number of authors, such as Hitchcock and Summerson, who give a favourable view of Victorian architecture as opposed to Jordan, who has a negative view.[8]

The historiography of the second half of this chapter is greatly enhanced by primary sources, with Barry and Scott describing their father's careers and Ferrey describing that of his friend Pugin.[9] Pugin acquiesced to the value of his published work when he wrote to Hardman stating 'my writings [have achieved] much more than what I have been able to do [as an architect]'.[10] Background to newspapers and journals can be found in Ellegård's comprehensive analysis.[11] Both he and Jones refer to the *Illustrated London News,* but neither refer to the two journals key to architects*,* the *Ecclesiologist* and *The Builder.* The former is quoted extensively, especially by Clarke; and Brooks expounds the benefits of *The Builder* stating that it succeeded where the RIBA failed.[12]

The Battle of the Styles

Popularity as to choice of style wavered during the early half of the nineteenth-century under the respective influences of Pugin and Viollet-le-Duc, who demanded firstly 14th century, then 13th and finally 12th century styles of Gothic. As will be shown, it was not that simple and many other

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[4] Richard Pease, 'Battle of the styles? Classical and Gothic Architecture in Seventeenth-Century North-East England', *AH,* 55, 2012, pp. 79-110.

[5] Mordaunt H. Crook, *The Dilemma of Style: Architectural Ideas from the Picturesque of the Post-Modern* (London, 1987); Kaye, *Development of the Architectural Profession,* pp. 117-122; Clarke, *Church Builders,* pp. 30-44; Curl, *Victorian Architecture,* pp. 27-148.

[6] Goodhart-Rendel, 'Rogue Architects of the Victorian Era', read before the Royal Institute of British Architects (8 March 1949), pp. 251-259.

[7] Hitchcock, *Early Victorian*, p. 38.

[8] James D. Kornwolf, 'High Victorian Gothic; or, The Dilemma of Style in Modern Architecture', *SAH,* vol. 34, no. 1, March 1975, p. 37; Hitchcock, *Early Victorian;* John Summerson, *Victorian Architecture in England – Four Studies on Evaluation* (New York, 1971); Jordan, *Victorian Architecture,* p. 18.

[9] Reverend Alfred Barry, T*he Life and Works of Sir Charles Barry* (London, 1867, reprinted 2016); Gilbert Scott, *Personal and Professional Recollections* (1879); Benjamin Ferrey, *Recollections of A. N. Welby Pugin and his Father Augustus Pugin* (London, 1861).

[10] Letter Pugin to Hardman, 1851; Stanton, *Pugin,* p. 194; Crook, 'Dilemma', p. 68.

[11] Alvar Ellegård in *Victorian Periodicals Newsletter,* no. 13, September 1971, pp. 3-22.

[12] Christopher Brooks, 'The Builder in the 1840s: The Making of a Magazine, the Shaping of a Profession', *Victorian Periodicals* Review, 14, no. 3 (Fall, 1981), p. 90, http://www.jstor.org/stable/2008/1984, last accessed 31 December 2014), pp. 91-92.

permutations presided. Extreme views are those by Crook, who maintained that it spanned from the eleventh- to the twentieth-century, and Kaye who narrows it down to a start with the laying of the foundation stone of the Gothic Houses of Parliament in 1849, with the classical Foreign Office in 1857 as its conclusion.[13] In neither of these cases was the style favoured by the architects, Barry being a Classicist and Scott being a Goth, but both were over-ruled by their sponsors.

Having made their initial bid for professionalisation by founding the IBA, architects were now faced with the dilemma of how to progress forward. The nation as a whole was faced with a similar dilemma. An underlying but significant characteristic of this decade alludes to choices which were interwoven with and inseparable from the philosophical and social zeitgeist, the 'Condition of England' and the 'Irish Question' as much as any practical aspects of the industrial revolution.[14] To achieve this, exaggerated glorification was given to the perceived contentment of the Middle Ages, juxtaposed against the prevailing extreme poverty of those forced into unemployment by mechanisation, and exploited and oppressed by a rich ruling class, Whigs and Tories alike.[15] In Carlyle's *Past and Present* (1843), he recalled medieval history and condemned the divisions within nineteenth-century society whereby, despite abundant resources, the poor were starving and unable to find meaningful work.[16] Pugin's *Contrasts* challenged architects to use their skills to redress this balance.[17] The *Tracts for the Times,* which emanated from the Oxford Movement, held a similar view to that of the nation, seeking to recover the tradition of the Middle Ages, with increased spirituality and expression through ritual, but essentially less political interference.[18] The Cambridge Camden Society (CCS), which published the *Ecclesiologist* was on a different trajectory. Initially obsessed with antiquarian research and restoration of Gothic churches, it was their own model church, All Saints, Margaret Street, London (from 1849), which unwittingly broke with tradition. It paved the way for innovation and change, to which they had previously been strongly opposed. At around this time, Pugin also changed his views.[19]

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[13] Crook, 'Dilemma', p. 13; Kaye, *Architectural Profession*, pp. 118-119.

[14] The idea of zeitgeist, a Victorian theory that both the past and the future were conditioned by a tug-of-war between linear development and cyclical originated predominantly from the German philosopher Georg Hegel and the writings of Voltaire; Gilmour, *Victorian Period*, p. 32; the Condition of England, coined by Thomas Carlyle, focussed on the diversity of society, whereby poverty was exacerbated rather than alleviated by officialdom; Disraeli defined the Irish Question as one of a starving population with rich absentee overlords and an alien Church; 'The State of Ireland', Hansard, 16 February 1844.

[15] Herbert Schlossberg, *The Silent Revolution and the Making of Victorian England* (Ohio, 2000), p. 2.

[16] Peter Bowler, *The Invention of Progress: The Victorians and the Past* (Oxford, 1989), p. 41.

[17] A. W. N. Pugin, *Contrasts or a parallel between the noble edifices of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and similar buildings of the present day; shewing the present decay of taste' Accompanied by appropriate Text* (Salisbury, 1836); the second edition was published in 1841 by Hansom's former pupil, Charles Dolman.

[18] Dixon and Muthesius, *Victorian Architecture,* p. 193.

[19] Michael Hall, '"Our Own": Thomas Hope, A. J. Beresford Hope and the creation of the High Victorian style',

At the start of the decade many architects suffered from lack of confidence and were unable to decide whether to remain in the comfort zone of the past or to move forward and risk ridicule, as had Hansom with his proposal for the Sussex Memorial (1843), (see Plate 29).[20] It was not unusual for artists, painters and musicians to follow on from their mentors, but in their case past movements, or fashions, were used to develop not to regress. Caught by the 'mood of the times', landscape artists started to use Gothic-type ruins to create a picturesque atmosphere, an idea taken up by writers and poets, and more importantly for architects by landscape designers such as Repton and Loudon.[21] Pugin followed suit, being heavily influenced by his early career as a designer of stage scenery.[22] When the choice of either Gothic or Elizabethan was specified for the new Houses of Parliament, this too reflected the prevailing confusion and uncertainty, and led to a translation into stone of the same romantic desire to escape back to the past which permeated Scott's *Waverley Novels*.[23]

Carlyle's *French Revolution* (1837), was equally popular and portrayed the wider helplessness of mankind, as he relived events by using the present tense. Placement of English architecture within the milieu of international affairs is best described in 1896 by Sir Bannister Fletcher, architect and barrister-at law, who stated that:

> The French Revolution ... was the outcome in one country of a spirit of revolt general in all countries, which in England led to the breaking up alike of stereotyped social conventions and the continuous tradition in architecture, and this resulted, during the nineteenth century, in that revival of past styles which is the special characteristic of modern architecture.[24]

One essential part of this backward-forward introspection, as will be explained further in the following chapter on the Gothic Revival, was the perceived need to find a style which was both an historic reflection of the past and an imaginative prediction of the future, whilst at the same time

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p. 63 in *The 1840s – The Victorian Society*, vol. 1 (2008) (eds.) Rosemary Hill and Michael Hall.

[20] Gilmour, *Victorian Period*, p. 224; Evinson, 'Hansom', pp. 174-176; Hansom's design was described as a 'conglomerate of uncombinable elements, 'The Sussex Memorial Design, by Mr Hansom', *Builder*, vol. l, 38, 28 October 1843, p. 453.

[21] Sir Walter Scott's *The Antiquary* used the setting of a ruin and the threat of revolution; similar themes were used by the three Lake poets, Wordsworth, Coleridge and Southey, the personal entanglement of the former with the French Revolution being particularly poignant.

[22] Hill, *God's Architect*, pp. 79-80.

[23] Written between 1771 and 1832, Scott's Waverley novels illustrated the social mood by expressing his belief in the need for social progress without rejecting past the traditions, Gilmour, *Victorian Period*, p. 147; the sub-title 'Tis Sixty Years Since' hinted back to the French Revolution; Gilmour, *ibid*, p. 33.

[24] Banister Fletcher, *A History of Architecture on the Comparative Method, for students, Craftsmen, & Amateurs*, 10th edition (London, 1938), pp. 777, 832.

grappling with the immediate need, a style best suited for present conditions.[25] The influence of zeitgeist was one of the greatest predicaments for the architectural profession, especially with regard to church-building, and Pugin's call for both 'reality and antiquity' caused Crook to describe him as 'muddled and ambiguous'.[26] His introduction of a religious and moral dimension upset the balance of previous styles, an issue which was taken on board by the Cambridge Camden Society.

An editorial by Hansom in *The Builder* was prompted by architectural students clamouring to know how their century would be remembered.[27] He was constantly in receipt of letters from students as to the importance of a new style, and said that 'The young architects of this country are those with whom the problem rests as to which is to be THE STYLE of forth-coming centuries'.[28] Discussion as to the appropriateness of various forms of antiquity simply led to a state of chaos, of 'confusion and contradiction' from which there must be some escape. He concluded, rhetorically, "Will not a continuance under some new phase of the same principle be likely to lead to the continuance of the same results, "Classic" one day, "Gothic" next … all are defunct". He proclaimed that there would never be a new style until others were left in their entirety.[29] He was not able to offer a solution as to a new style, but urged young architects to keep searching. From an anthropological point-of-view, Bowler maintained that reluctance to relinquish the past (in this case the Gothic style), was associated with the fear of it being negated altogether by something new.[30] He believed that in time everything became exhausted, challenges could no longer be met and degeneration to simple origins occurred.[31] The challenge as to whether to use a variation of old English Gothic or the even older Greek or Classical styles, gradually lapsed into acceptability when it was designated the 'Battle of Styles'.[32]

In 1851 Ruskin was repeating the same narrative as his predecessors. He depicted the derivation of styles as having come from Greece (the shaft), through Rome (the arch), and Arabian (pointed and foliated), but gave no hint of any progression.[33] This state of impotence, the inability to create a

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[25] Rorabaugh, 'Houses of Parliament', p. 157.

[26] H. Mordaunt Crook, *The Dilemma of Style: Architectural Ideas from the Picturesque of the Post-Modern* (London, 1987), p. 52.

[27] *Builder*, 15 April 1843, p. 119.

[28] *Ibid.*

[29] On discussing his design for the Sussex Memorial (1843), Hansom proclaimed that 'clearing the road first may prove the speediest means of future travelling'; *Builder*, vol. 1, 28 October 1843, p. 453.

[30] Bowler, The *Invention of Progress*, p. 188.

[31] *Ibid*; this view was shared by Kaye and Scott's son; Kaye, *Development of Profession,* p. 123, see also Crook, *Dilemma*, p. 61.

[32] The French *École des Beaux-Arts* had produced its own 'Beaux Arts Classical Style', though this took two and a half centuries to mature.

[33] *The Ecclesiologist*, 12, 1851, p. 276, quoting John Ruskin, *Stones of Venice* (London, 1851), p. 13.

completely new style, ridiculed by Ruskin, was a major cause of vexation within the profession.[34]
Scott offered a partial explanation, complaining that too much studying of antiquarian literature led
to a mind-set which was a hindrance to progress:

> the peculiar characteristic of the present day, as compared with all former periods, is this, -
> that we are acquainted with the history of art … It is reserved to us, alone of all generaions
> of the human race, to know perfectly our own standing–point, and to look back upon a
> perfect history of what has gone before us, tracing out all the changes in the arts of the past
> as clearly as if every scene in its long drama were re-enacted before our eyes. This is
> amazingly interesting to us as a matter of amusement and erudition, but I fear is a hindrance
> rathern than a help to us as artists.[35]

The dispute even filtered through to local level, when, at Stow in 1845, the archdeacon stated his
preference for the use of stone rather than the vestry's economical choice of wood for botched
repair work.[36] Similarly, Joseph Plymley, archdeacon of Salop in Hereford advocated that careful
restoration would be cheaper than rash rebuilding or 'the false economy of neglect'.[37]

The choice of style was seldom determined by personal preference of the architect. Apart from cost
and suitability of site, it was also influenced by quasi patronage, regional or religious convention, or
prejudices of prominent personalities.[38] Ruskin objected to Classical, equating it with symbolism of
authority and privilege, but Classical was preferred in the North, particularly in Liverpool, Leeds,
Newcastle and Halifax, in resistance against the Gothic used by the High Church and Roman
Catholics in the South.[39] However, resistance to the domination of the CCS also occurred in
Brighton, where sixteen Anglican churches were built, of which only one had a fully ecclesiological
interior, four retained their pulpit and reading desk directly in front of the altar, two had a two-
decker pulpit and one had a three-decker.[40] Similarly, in Scotland, where there were few surviving
precedents of churches built in a medieval style, the anti-Catholic Presbyterians were opposed to
Gothic and chose Classical.[41] The first Catholic church to be built following the *Catholic Relief Act*

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[34] Gilmour, *Victorian Period,* p. 224.

[35] Gilmour, pp. 224-225:(38): *Sir George Gilbert Scott, Remarks on Secular and Domestic Architecture: Present and Future* (1858), pp. 259-60.

[36] Frances Knight, *The Nineteenth-Century Church and English Society* (1995, on-line version accessed July 2010), p. 172:(86) N. S. Harding (ed.), *A Stow Visitation: Being Notes on the Church in the Archdeaconry of Stow, 1845*, W. B. Stonehouse (Lincoln, 1940), p. 12.

[37] Simon Bradley, 'Roots of Ecclesiology : Late Hanoverian Attitudes to Medieval Churches', in Chris Webster and John Elliott (eds), '*A Church as it should be :The Cambridge Camden Society and its Influence* (Stamford, 2000), p. 32: (50): *Charge* (Shrewsbury, 1796), pp. 11-19.

[38] Rorabaugh, 'Houses of Parliament', pp. 158,159.

[39] Curl, *Victorian Architecture*, pp. 74,75.

[40] Nigel Yates, *Liturgical Space*, p. 121.

[41] John Sanders, 'Ecclesiology in Scotland' in Webster and Elliot, '*A Church as it should be'*, p. 301; Peter F Anson, 'Catholic Church Building in Scotland from the Reformation until the Outbreak of the First World-War, 1560-1914', *Innes Review*, vol. 5, no. 2 (August 2010), p. 127.

of 1791 was St Peter's in Aberdeen (1804), after the style of Milner's St Peter in Winchester.[42] Interest in Gothic was initiated by Sir Walter Scott when he purchased and re-ordered Abbotsford in 1812, and furthered by the Bishop of Maximianopolis when he instructed James Gillespie Graham to build St Mary's church (later cathedral) in Edinburgh (1814).[43] This established the trend for the Gothic Revival in Scotland.[44] However, one of the first most notable new churches in Scotland was that of St John in Jedburgh (1844), designed by the Exeter architect John Hayward for the Marchioness of Lothian.[45] Advice as to the style of this church was sought from the CCS, who then pronounced it to be 'ecclesiologically correct'.[46]

The multiplicity, diversity and cross-pollination of styles and sub-styles, periods and sub-periods, was such that Muthesius preferred to refer to favouritism of one style or another as movements rather than 'Revivals', which he considered imprecise terminology.[47] In his analysis of Berrisford Hope and All Saints, Hall chose to refer to 'development', which Pugin used in his *Apology*.[48] As already noted, the Church Commissioners favoured Gothic on grounds of economy and Pugin favoured Gothic on religious grounds.[49] On the other hand, John Paul Newman (later Cardinal), of the Oxford Movement, and the Jesuit Order in Lancashire, both preferred Classical, with Newman stating that Gothic was symbolic of the past and 'not the perfect expression of now'.[50] These views were so strongly held that as early as 1818-19 two churches had been built in Wigan only two hundred yards apart, St Mary's in Gothic and St John's in Classical.[51] The only point upon which architects were united was in their wish to rid themselves of domination by the Office of Works, hence their rejection of the Regency style used by Nash. Until the building of the new Houses of Parliament broke with convention ('All Grecian, Sir, Tudor details on a classical body', as Pugin

[42] Anson, *ibid.*, p. 127 citing Plate V in Milner's *History of Winchester.*

[43] Anson, *ibid.*, p. 128; as was shown with the competition for the Houses of Parliament, Graham came to rely heavily on Pugin; see also Webster and Elliott: John Sanders, 'Ecclesiology in Scotland', p. 297, quoting 'James Gillespie Graham and A. W. N. Pugin: Some Perthshire Connections', in *Architectural Heritage, the Journal of the Architectural Heritage Society of Scotland,* 8 (Edinburgh, 1997), pp. 22-36.

[44] Anson, *ibid.*, p. 130, n. 13; by 1850 eight Catholic chapels in Gothic design had been built in Glasgow, mainly to cater for the large influx of Irish.

[45] It is suggested that the commissioning of an architect from Exeter was due to the CCS stronghold in that city, see later section on George Wightwick; the Marchioness of Lothian was also Hansom's patron, when St David's in Dalkeith (1853), was built in celebration of her conversion to Catholicism; *Catholic Directory* (1855), p. 213.

[46] Sanders, 'Ecclesiology', p. 299; *Ecclesiologist*, vol. 3, p. 113.

[47] Kornwolf, 'High Victorian Gothic', pp. 43, 44, (28): Hitchcock, *High Victorian Gothic*, pp. 47-71; (29): Stefan Muthesius, *The High Victorian Movement in Architecture 1850-1870* (London, 1972), pp. xv-xvii.

[48] Hall, ''Our Own', p. 65; A. W. N. Pugin, *An apology for a work entitled 'Contrasts;' being a defence of the assertions advanced in that publication, against the various attacks lately made upon it* (Birmingham, 1837.)

[49] J. F. White, *The Cambridge movement: the ecclesiologists and the Gothic revival*, (1962), p. 23; the Jesuit order relocated to Stonyhurst after they were driven from France in the 1790s in the wake of the French Revolution; Michael Brooks, 'The Making of a Magazine', p. 90.

[50] Hall, "Our Own", p. 63, (14): J. H. Newman to Ambrose Phillips, 13 June 1848 in C.S. Dessain (ed.) *The Letters and Diaries of John Henry Newman*, vol. xii, London, 1962, p. 221.

[51] Little, *Catholic Churches*, pp. 56-57.

put it), Gothic tended to be used for churches, mainly on economic grounds; whereas Greek or Classical styles were used for museums and public buildings, as grandiose statements of the wealth and power of the towns they represented; Palazzo for banks and commercial buildings; Tudor for utilitarian buildings, such as schools and workhouses, and Romanesque for County Halls and gaols.[52]

It was precisely because Gothic was so closely associated with the Established Church, and following his Town Hall in Birmingham, that Hansom was chosen by the Particular Baptists in Leicester to build their chapel in secular Classical style (1845), a manifest symbol of their Dissent (see Plate 30).[53] Furthermore, it may not have been entirely coincidental that Gibson, Hansom's former pupil, was building the Central Baptist Chapel in Bloomsbury in Classical style for the London Baptists at exactly the same time.[54] Whilst for Baptists, their remit was simple: to protect their congregations from bad weather and to accommodate large numbers, it would be wrong to suggest that they had no interest in design - they just had different priorities.[55] They considered external simplicity the most appropriate for their services and focussed more on internal arrangement.[56] Gothic was condemned as grotesque and unnecessarily ornate and Greek criticisied for its lack of windows.[57] Another example of a break with convention was that of the pro-Cathedral in Clifton near Bristol (see Plate 31). Resembling a Roman temple externally, the nave and aisles were divided by exposed timber arcades as a cost-saving measure. The work was executed by Hansom's younger brother Charles in 1844, and constituted the completion of a partly built church which had been abandoned by its former architect in 1836 when the site suffered from severe settlement.[58] His design was neither an attempt to follow any existing style nor to create a new one.[59] It was a curiosity which developed of its own volition from an unusual set of

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[52] Paul Atterbury and Clive Wainwright (eds.), *Pugin: A Gothic Passion* (Newhaven and London, 1994), p. 221, (14): copy letter Pugin to Lord Ashley, Royal Commission for the Exhibition of 1851: Windsor Archives, on permanent loan to the Royal Commission for the Exhibition of 1851, from the Royal Archives at Windsor Castle. housed at Imperial College of Science, Technology and Medicine, vol. VI/36; Dixon & Muthesisus, *Victorian Architecture*, p. 156; Curl, *Victorian Architecture*, p. 31.

[53] Hitchcock, *Early Victorian*, pp. 134,135; Hitchcock was puzzled by the choice of a Roman Catholic architect for their church, but he overlooked three points: Hansom already had a reputation in the Leicester area, he had yet to create one as a Catholic architect, and there was a shortage of affordable architects who could design churches in Classical style.

[54] The London chapel, again secular in style, resembling a galleried meeting-house, was paid for by the railway magnate Sir Samuel Morton Peto; Hitchcock, *ibid*., p. 135; this was the first Baptist chapel to be built in a prominent situation and unusual in that it was built ahead of any congregation; *bloomsbury.org.uk/church/page/a-church-with-two-spires/* accessed 22 October 2013; RCAMS (SC) 20 August 207 accessed 30 October 2013.

[55] Christopher Stell, 'Nonconformist architecture', in Webster and Elliot, *A Church as it should be'*, p. 319.

[56] Stell, *ibid*., p. 320.

[57] Stell, *ibid*:(11): *Baptist Magazine*, 34 (1842), pp. 411-17.

[58] Pevsner's *Buildings of England Series, North Somerset and Bristol*; *Builder,* 27 July 1844, p. 376.

[59] The unconventional style, which Hitchcock stated 'put all but the finest work of Pugin to shame', demonstrated a big shift in the attitude of *The Ecclesiologist*; Henry-Russell Hitchcock, *Early Victorian Architecture in Britain*, vol. I:Text

circumstances and an exceptionally difficult site on the edge of a steep bank. The *Ecclesiologist* firstly praised it, and then condemned it, objecting to its 'ambitious showiness', which it said was too modern.[60]

The stipulation of Gothic or Elizabethan for the new Houses of Parliament was in part to blend in with the surviving Westminister Hall and conform with 'historic natural styles', but the term Gothic was virtually meaningless due to its many permutations.[61] Rickman's classification of Early, Decorated and Perpendicular was straight-forward and widely used.[62] Second Pointed was particularly popular in the 1840s, heralding the start of the High Victorian Gothic era. Its most striking feature was the use of polychromy, a characteristic largely confined to the United Kingdom.[63] As with All Saints, the Ecclesiologists were prepared to bend rules on their own terms, but not for others to do so. Initially they were opposed to the use of polychromy, but had no choice but to relax when it was encouraged by their new chairman, Berrisford Hope, for his model church in London. Restricted to the use of brick due to the cost of bringing stone into the Metropolis, and, therefore, denied the opportunity for carving, their chosen architect, William Butterfield overcame the impracticality of the other design alternative, that of external painting, by incorporating different coloured bricks to create patterns, thus putting structure to artistic effect (see Plate 32).[64] All Saints was Butterfield's attempt to transform Gothic into a 'modern style'.[65] Eastlake described it as 'a bold and magnificent endeavour to shake off the trammels of antiquarian precedent ... to create not a new style, but a development of previous styles'.[66] Whilst polychromy was a distinct linear progression (as opposed to the cyclical looking back of Pugin), it was not one which could be deemed a new style.[67] The polychromic chapel of St Anthony the Eremite, at Murthly, Perthshire, built by James Gillespie Graham in 1845 for the convert Sir William George Drummond Stewart, pre-dated All Saints, and even Butterfield had used it for some of his workhouses in the 1830s.[68]

(London, 1954), p. 93.

[60] *Ecclesiologist,* vol. 3, May 1844, p. 112.

[61] Macaulay, 'Architectural Collaboration', p. 406; Rorabaugh, 'Houses of Parliament', p. 159.

[62] Thomas Rickman, *Attempt to Discriminate Style.*

[63] Dixon and Muthesius, *Victorian Architecture*, p. 22; Hitchcock, 'Early Victorian', p. 93; polychromy had already been used by Scott for several workhouse, for example Lichfield (1837-40), Amersham (1839-39) and St Dunmow (1838-40); see also Whelan, 'George Gilbert Scott', *AH*, vol. 57 (2014), p. 217.

[64] Colour was also used internally, with glazed bricks and tiles; see Aidan Whelan, 'George Gilbert Scott: A Pioneer of Constructional Polychromy?', *AH*, vol. 57, 2014, pp. 217-238.

[65] Jordan, *Victorian Architecture*, p. 90.

[66] Eastlake, *Gothic Revival,* p. 253; Kornwolf, 'High Victorian Gothic', p. 44,(33): Henry-Russell Hitchcock, *Architecture: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries,* p. 17.

[67] The concept was devised by the ancient Greeks; Curl, *Dictionary*, p. 591.

[68] This chapel was the first Catholic place of worship to be dedicated in Scotland after the Reformation, *RCAMS* (SC) 20 August 2007, accessed 30 October 2013.

Described as ugly, the Ecclesiologists of the Camden Society, considered that their church demonstrated a 'deliberate preference of ugliness' leading to the myth known as the 'Glory of Ugliness'.[69] The word 'ugly', anything defying the laws of Gothic, or a 'willingness to shock than a desire to please', was commonly used at this time.[70] The label was not officially adopted as an identifiable style, though Burges described the practice as being of 'the Original and Ugly School'.[71] A possible reason for the use of the word was the sharp contrast of the startling multi-coloured appearance, so different from either Classical or Gothic. Ugly became synonymous with GO (the colloquial term for modern or High Victorian Gothic), an attempt to force a new style out of what remained of the exhausted Gothic Revival.[72] It also led to the term 'rogue', architects who deliberately set out to be different.

Separate from any group culture, a small number of architects practised as independent 'loners', completely ignoring the 'rule of Pugin', the dictates of the Ecclesiologists and the sway of the public as to fashion and taste. Likening this disparate group of architects to rogue-elephants, those who live apart from the main herd, it was Goodhart-Rendel who called them 'rogues'. Rogues were not trend-setters, they had no followers and were essentially identifiable by their personal non-conformity.[73] Summerson referred to this dilution of the profession as a cause of its being 'all at sea', saying that 'when everybody is all at sea roguery is greatest fun'.[74] Pugin's approach was the complete opposite. He tried to coerce others to do as he said decreeing that: 'there should be no features about a building which are not necessary for convenience, construction or propriety' and that 'all ornament should consist of enrichment of the essential construction of the building'.[75] There was, therefore, a sharp division between the attitudes of architects. The majority followed Pugin and abided by the stipulations of the Ecclesiologists, whilst the few chose to ignore them and exercise their individual artistic skills. The latter was one of the root causes which prevented the IBA from representing the profession as a whole.

The best known of Goodhart-Rendel's rogues, such as 'Victorian' Harris, Enoch Bassett Keeling,

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[69] Crook, *Dilemma*, p. 141, (57): *Ecclesiologist* (1859), pp. 184-9; Chris Brooks, 'The Stuff of a Heresiarch' in Webster and Elliott, *A Church as it should be' : The Cambridge Camden Society and its influence* (Stamford, 2000), p. 145, citing Paul Thompson, 'All Saints' Church, Margaret Street. Reconsidered' in *AH*, 8 (1965), pp. 73-94.

[70] Dixon and Muthesius, *Victorian Architecture*, p.20; Crook, *Dilemma,* p. 141; Mark Girouard, *The Victorian Country House,* (New Haven and London, 1979), p. 55.

[71] Crook, *ibid.,* p. 133; Christopher Brooks, *Signs for the Times: Symbolic realism in the mid-Victorian world* (London, 1984), p. 168.

[72] Crook, *ibid.*, p. 133; Curl, *Piety Proclaimed: an introduction to places of worship in Victorian England* (London, 2002), p. 96.

[73] Goodhart-Rendel, 'Rogue Architects', p. 251.

[74] Goodhart-Rendel, *ibid.*, comment by John Summerson, p. 259.

[75] Stanton, p. 81, quoting Pugin, *True Principles,* p. 1.

Lamb and Frederick Thomas Pilkington, feature mainly in the next decade and beyond, but there are two he considers worthy of mention in the 1840s, Shaw and Wild. An intermittent rogue, James Shaw invented the Queen Anne Style, though it was not taken up seriously until three decades later, when it was officially attributed to Norman Shaw, Webb and others.[76] By calling him intermittent, Goodhart-Rendel refers to the chapel of Shaw's Naval School, built in 1844. Not entirely original, it was sourced from Wren's church of St Benet. His re-use of this style was not followed by others and, therefore, it was not a trend-setter. Shaw's unnamed church off Chancery Lane (now demolished), was depicted as 'not ill-designed, but abnormal'.[77] Such semi-derogatory criticism was commonly applied to all rogue architects by the Ecclesiologists.

James William Wild, the other rogue of the 1840s, was 'one of the loneliest of Victorian designers'.[78] The CCS criticised his Christ Church in Streatham (1840), as being 'a poor adaptation of the Romanesque' originating from an unspecified area of Southern Europe.[79] However Wild had a varied and well-respected track record, in part inspired by his tours around Egypt under the patronage of the King of Prussia, and then his association with Bonomi and Basevi.[80] Goodhart-Rendel suggested that Wild may have been behind (or even have ghosted), the official committee design for the Exhibition Hall in 1850.[81] This hypothesis is corroborated by the fact that Wild's brother, Charles Heard Wild and his brother-in-law, Owen Jones, were on the building assessment committee.[82] Both Wild and Shaw ignored the Gothic cult when they built St Martin's School, near Long Acre, London (1843), and Wellington College (1855), respectively. St Martin's School was in red brick and horizontal in shape at a time when most buildings were plain in colour and shooting upwards. The style of Wellington College was equally far removed from Gothic, being taken from the seventeenth-century.

The later rogue, Thomas 'Victorian' Harris, acquired his nickname following his pamphlet entitled 'Victorian Architecture'.[83] His propensity for 'oddity of style' and 'queer shapes arbitrarily

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[76] Goodhart-Rendel, 'Rogue Architects', p. 252.

[77] *Ibid*., p. 253.

[78] *Ibid*.

[79] More specifically, Wild's eclectic style comprised a mix of Early Christian, Italian Romanesque, Islamic and moorish elements, with terracotta polychromy, *ODNB,* 'James William Wild', accessed 5 November 2013.

[80] Goodhart-Rendel, 'Rogue Architects', p. 253; Wild was curator of the Soane Museum for the last twenty-four years of his life.

[81] Goodhart-Rendel, *ibid*., p. 253; the final design is generally attributed to Brunel; Bassin, *Architectural Competitions*, p. 67.

[82] *ODNB*, 'Wild', accessed 5 November 2013.

[83] Goodhart-Rendel, 'Rogue Architects', p. 253; Thomas Harris, 'Victorian architecture : a few words to show that a national architecture adapted to the wants of the nineteenth century is attainable' (London,1860); much of Harris's later work was carried out for John Derby-Alcroft, the wealthy merchant whose father was a partner in the glove-making

conceived' mirror those which Evinson assigned to Hansom. The first half of Hansom's career was particularly riddled with perversity, with comments such as 'instances of his defiance of convention' and 'rebellious touches of licence' cited frequently.[84] Crook claimed that Pugin triggered the search for a new style when he sought a 'universal style combining beauty and utility, past and present', but this lacks the in-depth context given to it by Harris in his pamphlet: 'We need an indigenous style of our own ... for this age of new creations', namely the revolutionary influences of steam power and electric communications, a style which would 'realise the spirit of our own time'.[85]

Not published until 1860, the pamphlet gives a succinct and balanced view of the state of architecture at that time, advice as to how to use a variety of materials and general design principles. He opens by stating that 'a truly national nineteenth-century style of Architecture is a positive want of the age'.[86] Whilst it is repetitious of old arguments and reflects a hint of Puginism, he lays the blame for the lack of a new style at the feet of clients who had 'an aversion to adopt anything strictly original', and over-enthusiasm for 'richness and attractiveness', countered by the need for 'cheapness', which between them resulted in sham designs unworthy of the profession. He complained of the use of more than one architect for the same building, thus spoiling the original composition.[87] Above all, whilst he acknowledged the need to earn a living, he stressed that architects should not give in to public taste, for it was their duty to educate the public, not the other way round.[88] It should not be a case of the 'blind leading the blind'. Architects should think in terms of lasting heritage, not immediate pecuniary gain.[89] Until they did this, he claimed, no progress would be made. Harris' article was not widely acclaimed as it was pointed out that his designs were 'merely a mixture of known revival features', nevertheless he raises some interesting points.[90]

As the decade progressed, the plethora of new names was an unconscious attempt to hide the fact that there was still no resolution as to a completely new style. Whilst the Houses of Parliament

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firm of J. and W. Dent and Company.

[84] Evinson, Hansom, pp. 193, 214.

[85] Crook, *Dilemma*, p. 138; Thomas Harris, 'Victorian Architecture: A few words to show that a national architecture adapted to the wants of the nineteenth century is attainable' (London, 1860), p. 3.

[86] Harris, 'Victorian Architecture', p. 3.

[87] Harris, *ibid*., p. 5; this happened to Hansom at Clifford (1845-48), where Hansom designed the original church, but Goldie was brought in at a later stage to add a tower; the tower was much too large and totally out of proportion, thus detracting from an otherwise pleasing outline.

[88] Harris, *ibid*., p. 15.

[89] *Ibid*., p. 16; both Barry with the Houses of Parliament, and Scott with the Government Offices in Whitehall, acted against their own better judgement, simply so as not to lose a contract; Briggs, *Architect in History*, p. 362.

[90] Dixon & Muthesius, *Victorian Architecture*, p. 24.

indicated Gothic as the winner over Classical, it also prompted a move towards greater acceptance of the importance of ornament and decoration, particularly externally, described by Pevsner as 'Victorian superficiality'.[91] Despite the fact that Gothic was strongly supported by Pugin and the Ecclesiologists, and later by Ruskin, the artistic ethos of architects remained dominant and so much emphasis was placed on the external appearance that it took precedence over basic planning of buildings.[92] A technique rather than a style, this was an unintended case of natural progression, where the 'pretty', 'inside-out', pictures of the competition era became reality. Despite a school of thought which propounds that Pugin and Gothic monopolised the third and fourth decades of the nineteenth century, other styles did prevail, one of which was the Italian Villa, devised by Charles Parker (see Plate 33).[93] Like Soane, Parker had spent much time travelling in Italy. He published his *Villa Rustica* in monthly parts between 1832 and 1841, with a second edition in 1848. His literary success earned him the nickname of 'the Pugin of the Italian Villa mode'.[94]

Reduced private patronage meant that architects had less opportunity to perfect their own styles. Constant changes of diverse patrons or employers required them to be versatile, distracting them from the need to focus on their quest for something new. Hansom tried to maintain individuality. His career was an expression of experimentation and unorthodox quirks of design combined with social consciousness, thus his omission from the list of rogues is somewhat surprising.[95] Goodhart-Rendel's description of Lamb as 'a man of very various resource' and Crook's concept of Butterfield 'playing the eclectic' would be entirely appropriate if applied to Hansom.[96] His absence from Goodhart-Rendel's paper was a matter of proportionality. He was both a follower and an innovator - potentially a pioneer, but as no-one copied his idiosyncrasies, he could justifiably have been called a rogue. On the other hand he had been quick to follow Pugin's design for St Oswald's church at Old Swan, Liverpool (1840-42), with his own church at Spinkhill, Derbyshire (1844-46), at the same time using it as an opportunity to introduce his own features, in particular the hammerbeam roof which he repeated for St Walburge's, and again for its mini-replica at Leigh in

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[91] Bassin, *Architectural Competitions*, pp. 80, 81; Nikolaus Pevsner, 'Victorian Prolegomena' in Peter Ferriday (ed.), *Victorian Architecture* (Philadelphia and New York, 1964), p. 32.

[92] Bassin, *Architectural Competitions*, p. 81; Kaye, *Development*, p. 30; Pevsner, 'Prolegomena' in Ferriday, *Victorian Architecture,* p. 32.

[93] Hitchcock, 'Early Victorian', p. 93; villas and large grand houses were popular with the new industrialists who did not own country estates on the scale of the gentry.

[94] Hitchcock, *ibid*., p. 93; also working for Catholic patrons, Parker added Italian campaniles to their Spanish Embassy Chapel in London in 1846.

[95] He published in full the draft Metropolitan Building Act of 1845 calling for improvements in house-building, with editorial praising the content at the same time highlighting perceived inadequacies, *Builder*, no.12, 29 April 1843, p. 37.

[96] Goodhart-Rendel, 'Rogue Architects', p. 251; Crook, *Dilemma*, p. 140.

Lancashire (1855).[97]

His most remembered feature was the scale of his buildings, height of ceilings and height of steeples, already exemplified by his design for the Metropolitan Music Hall, and again in Preston, Plymouth and in France (see Plate 34).[98] The steeple at Preston, as discussed on pages 243-47, reached 309 foot 6 inches; that in Plymouth rose to 205 foot 4 inches. In France, to compensate for the narrow frontage, the nave of his church of Saint-Alphonse-Ligouri extended 135 foot back from the road, the whole building being 170 foot. It measured 77 foot to the ridge of the roof. His other French church, Saint-François-de-Sales, was 155 foot long, the same as Plymouth Cathedral, with the large tower being 82 foot high (see Plate 39). A building of similar magnitude was his extension to St Lawrence's College at Ampleforth (see page 255).

The extreme mix (or carnival) of styles so detested by Pugin was consciously pushed to its limits in his design for the Sussex Memorial rendering it too controversial for success.[99] The writer of a letter published in *The Builder* questioned why Hansom was 'perpetually hunting after novelties and experimental combinations' when there was a 'rich legacy of beauty ... and all-pervading architecture of ancient England'.[100] Hansom did not expect to win the competition, for of his design he said: 'I know what I have done must of necessity provoke many superficial and senseless criticisms'.[101] His more acceptable mix of Gothic and Elizabethan, first used for the workhouse at Hinckley, was repeated for Owen's Harmony Hall and used by Scott for his later workhouses. Rejecting the call for Gothic, he used Norman for his church at Nuneaton (1840), Elizabethan for his convent at Atherstone (1837-1841), and Rundbogenstil for his mortuary chapel for the convent at Princethorpe (1842) (see Plate 6).[102] In accord with traditional loyalties, when the Benedictine Order took over from the Domincans at Atherstone, work was not given to Joseph, but to his younger brother, Charles, who made considerable alterations and obliterated much of Joseph's previous work. Our Lady of the Rosary then became St Scholastica's Priory.

A unique design of Joseph's was that suggested for the Metropolitan Music Hall in London (1842), a building which was intended to be twice the size of Westminster Hall, catering for fifteen

[97] Evinson, *ibid.*, p. 190; St Oswald's features as one of the illustrations in Pugin's *Present State*, 1843.

[98] Dixon and Muthesius, *Victorian Architecture*, p. 192.

[99] *Builder*, vol. 1, 28 October 1843, p. 453, 11 November, p. 487.

[100] *Ibid.,* vol. 1, 28 October 1843, p. 453.

[101] *Ibid.,* 23 September 1843, p. 394, 28 October 1843, p. 453.

[102] Evinson, 'Hansom', p. 118: *Builder,* 1 April 1843, p. 89*;* Rundbogenstil was an eclectic style of mixed origin, being developed at the time in Germany, Curl, *Dictionary*, p. 668.

thousand people and housing the 'organ of the world'.[103] The estimated cost was only £30,000 due to the lightweight iron framework and suspended roof, a concept borrowed from the Vauxhall and Menai bridges.[104] The *Mechanics Magazine* published a detailed description under the heading of 'Hansom's New System of Building', and was totally supportive.[105] They could not understand why no-one had thought of it previously.[106] Nevertheless, the scheme, which also benefitted from reduced fire risk due to the use of English iron rather than imported wood, was not implemented.

The on-going but fruitless search made by many Victorian architects to create a unified style for posterity was in the main unsuccessful. When he became the first Professor of Architecture at University College in 1841, Thomas Leverton Donaldson described the architectural profession as being 'in a state of transition ... wandering in a labyrinth of experiments'.[107] Giedion's view of nineteenth-century architecture was one of an 'unhappy interlude interrupting an otherwise continuous architectural tradition'.[108] In 1849 styles were see-sawing, from Beautiful to its antipathy, Sublime, then to Picturesque and back again to Sublime, and in 1857 the quest for style was still continuing, but hampered by 'distrust and genuine inspiration of one own'.[109] As an alternative to Classical or Gothic, some architects reverted to other earlier styles such as Italian Renaissance, Wrenian Baroque or the Palladian of Lord Burlington in the seventeenth-century. Finally a fringe, but important era, that of the Arts and Crafts movement, broke the interminable Gothic versus Classical debate. It bridged the prolonged period of confusion with that of the twentieth-century Brutalism.[110] Used mainly for domestic rather than ecclesiastical architecture, even the Arts and Crafts of William Morris echoed back to Pugin. His designs, particularly those for wallpaper, were based on nature and reflected Morris' personal dislike of industrialisation and urbanisation.[111] Morris also called for a return to guilds, a case for which Hansom was still

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[103] Westminster Hall is 240 feet by 68 feet.

[104] Evinson, 'Hansom', p. 135.

[105] *Mechanics Magazine*, 24 April 1842, pp. 265, 266.

[106] Hansom incorporated engineering principles which were already being used to build suspension bridges, whereby the four corners of the building would provide the support rather than heavy walls and multiple columns; added advantages were the use of home-produced materials rather than imported timber, which was heavy, susceptible to rotting and carried a high fire risk.

[107] J. Mordaunt Cook, 'Architect and History', quoting from the inaugural speech of Thomas Leverton Donaldson, first chair of University College, London, 1835 in *AH*, vol. 27, 'Design and Practice in British Architecture: Studies in Architectural History Presented to Howard Colvin' (1984), pp. 555-556.

[108] Kornwolf, 'High Victorian Gothic', p. 42.

[109] Curl describes Sublime as vast, dark and frightening, likening it to the worst aspects of industrialisation, *Victorian Architecture, pp. 21-23;* Dixon and Muthesius, *Victorian Architecture*, p. 20; Crook, *Dilemma,* p. 142; see also Edmunde Burke, *On the Sublime and Beautiful* (1757).

[110] Kornwolf, 'High Victorian Gothic', p. 40.

[111] Kathryn E. Holliday, *Beginnings and Endings: Phoebe Stanton on Pugin's Contrasts* (2012), p. 106; see also Pevsner *Pioneers of the modern movement* and *Sources of modern architecture, from William Morris to Walter Gropius.*

pleading in his final issue as editor of *The Builder*.[112] It was not until the nineteen-eighties that architects began to accept defeat, the 'exhaustion' as depicted by Bowler, yet by the end of the century Professor Aitchison, President of the RIBA, said they were still suffering from a 'jumble of styles' and the 'chaos of copyism'.[113]

Concurrent with the search for a new style were the Gothic and Catholic Revivals, two further campaigns which followed a zeitgeist pattern and dwindled rather than resolved.[114] As a last resort contemporary architecture became known as Victorian, a meaningless blanket term which referred to an approximation of the period rather than any particular style, but one which was exploited to solve an otherwise insoluble problem.[115] Hitchcock, who pointed out that although Queen Victoria had very little to do with architecture, the period was subsequently divided into Early, High and Late Victorian.[116]

The Power of the Published Word

The increased self-awareness of the architectural profession, together with increased demand for their expertise, should have given ample opportunity for any new style to emerge. However, lacking both direction and leadership from their newly formed professional body, and without the authority of a credible training establishment, all forms of publication, from private works to semi-official journals to outspoken personal critiques, shaped the future of architecture. Advances in printing techniques permitted mass production and improved transport enabled greater and faster dissemination of information. Newspapers in particular, were an essential part of a rapidly changing society and a significant agent of change.[117] Together with improved reading ability, these gave scope for an awareness of architecture to reach a new and wider audience, far beyond the inner circle of the profession, opening up new markets and new possibilities. However, benefits were antagonised by interference from domineering and negative press coverage. Bearing in mind that architects were striving to improve their image, they needed support not condemnation. Praise, if any, was offered grudgingly and failed to provide sufficient incentive to boost public confidence.

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[112] His call for a return to the setting up of Guilds was retrograde, undoing all the efforts to raise architecture to professional status, as advocated over three decades; Brooks, 'Making of a Magazine', p. 92; Evinson, 'Hansom', p. 145.

[113] Professor of Architecture at the RA, n. 29, *Builder* vol. 1, 1886, pp. 334, 351.

[114] The Catholic and Gothic Revivals are discussed in Chapter VI.

[115] Kornwolf, 'High Victorian Gothic', p. 37 (3): Jordan considered Victorian architecture to be complex and riddled with contradiction - mainly bad, where intensity of passion was never matched by the technique employed; Jordan, *Victorian Architecture*, pp. 18, 161.

[116] Kornwolf, *ibid.*, p. 39 (11): Hitchcock, *Early Victorian Architecture,* p. vii.

[117] Aled Jones, *Powers of the Press: Newspapers, Power and the Public in Nineteenth-Century England*, (Aldershot, reprinted 1998), p. 1.

If the positive side of publicity was wiped out by the negative, the profession would be in a stalemate situation.

The journal of the Cambridge Camden Society, *The Ecclesiologist* (1841-68), was the most influential as to style through the sheer force of the rigid dogma which it imposed unmercifully upon the profession.[118] Many of the ideas put forward by the Society mirrored those of Pugin; and Pugin's ideas mirrored those of Milner and earlier works, for, as Anson pointed out, 'pioneers revive fashions of the past, with slight adaptations ... there is nothing, or nearly nothing, new under the sun'.[119]   Hansom's *Builder* (from 1843), was totally different in character from the *Ecclesiologist*. It was an invaluable source of reference, with informed articles on both antiquarian topics as well as current trends. The overwhelming success of these two journals in terms of readership, when added to the extensive coverage in the popular press, indicates a high level of interest in architecture shown by members of the public. The journals were supplemented by a succession of books, which, amongst others, effectively started in 1817 with Rickman's *Attempt to Discriminate the Styles*; a spate of writing by Pugin which followed on from his *Contrasts* to *True Principles* in 1841 and *Apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture in England* in 1844, and ended with Ruskin's *Seven Lamps of Architecture* in 1849.[120] The raft of new literature, in particular Loudon's *Architectural Magazine* (1834-38), and his *Encyclopaedia* (1833-46), quickly became standard works for practising and budding architects alike.[121] It was the absence of training in particular which gave importance to such publications and rendered them quasi-textbooks, with newspapers acting as a benchmark of public opinion, particularly with regard to style.

If architects were to turn their backs on Classical designs, then Gothic was the only alternative, especially taking into account Pugin's view that style should blend with the scenery, make use of local materials and be appropriate for the English climate. His contribution to the Gothic Revival was threefold, firstly through his writing, secondly his artistic flare for decoration, and finally his architecture.[122] It was mainly through the latter that he contributed to the Catholic Revival, and, as will be seen in the next chapter, this was only made possible by exploiting the finance and goodwill

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[118] The Society was renamed the Ecclesiological Society late Cambridge Camden Society in 1845 when it moved to London; Christopher Webster, 'Cambridge Camden Society', http/wwwoxforddnb.com/view/theme/96307, p. 1, accessed 27 November 2013.

[119] Ayla Lepine, 'The Persistence of Medievalism: Kenneth Clark and the Gothic Revival', *AH*, 57: 2014, p. 335, (48), quoting Peter Frederick Anson, 'Fashions in Church Furnishing' (1960), p. 356.

[120] Scott's *Remarks on Secular and Domestic Architecture, Past and Future* followed this trend in 1857.

[121] John Gloag, *Mr Loudon's England* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1970), p. 88; Loudon published his *Encyclopaedia of Cottage, Farm and Villa Architecture and Furniture* in 1833, with a supplement in 1842 and a second edition published posthumously by his wife in 1846.

[122] Hitchcock, *Introduction to A.W.N. Pugin,* Contrasts.

of the Earl of Shrewsbury. The impact his books made was entirely due to his forceful and frequently erratic personality, together with his outspoken use of language.

The satirical nature of his first major work, *Contrasts*, was so disrespectful that he had to self-publish as no-one else would take it on (see Plate 25).[123] In *Contrasts* Pugin shocked both the architectural world and the general public by his exaggerated comparisons between the (industrial) nineteenth-century and the Middle Ages, producing a negative reaction. The high percentage of illustrations, designed for maximum dramatic effect, were an easy target for *Punch*.[124] His own illustrations were not always true representations, being modified or even fabricated to suit his needs. This was somewhat of an anathema as Pugin was so insistent that everything should be 'real'.[125] Draper suggested that this was due to lack of training, inexperience and a measure of wishful thinking. Pugin's views on verticality were misplaced as the majority of cathedrals, in England and France, were squat in shape.[126] Apart from York Minster and Westminster Abbey, it was only the spires of English churches which reached any great height, not the actual buildings.[127] He also struggled with structure and vaulting.[128] His buildings were designed for effect; they were works of dramatic art more reminiscent of his stage-building days than architecture; and his churches were innovation rather than revival, Pugin rather than Gothic, and, therefore, frowned upon by the Ecclesiologists.[129]

His next and much longer work, *True Principles,* mirrored the views of the Ecclesiologists more closely and was similarly dictatorial as to what was and was not acceptable. Pugin's greatest test of architectural beauty was fitness of the design for the purpose for which it was intended ... it must be medieval, Gothic and functional. These two demands contradict each other: the first heralding a new age and the second looking backwards. More grounded in antiquarian skills than most architects due to the training he received from his father, he felt competent to lay down specific rules and he expected architects to abide by them:[130]

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[123] Rosemary Hill, 'Reformation to Millennium: Pugin's Contrast in the History of English Thought', *SAH,* 58, I, March 1999), p. 182; the second edition was published in 1841 by Hansom's colleague and former pupil Charles Dolman.

[124] Stanton, *Pugin,* p. 185.

[125] Hill, 'Reformation to Millennium', p. 31; Stanton, *Pugin,* pp. 20, 21; Peter Draper, 'The Bane of Consistency: Nineteenth-Century Legacies in the Study of Gothic Architecture', p. 9 in 'Gothic and the Gothic Revival: Papers from the 26th Annual Symposium of the Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain 1997, Frank Salmon (ed.), (1998).

[126] Notre Dame in Paris is only 100 foot high.

[127] Draper, 'The Bane of Consistency', pp. 21, 22.

[128] Nicola Coldstream, 'The Middle Pointed Revival: A Medievalist's View', in 'Gothic and the Gothic Revival, p. 19; Pugin, *True Principles*, p. 6.

[129] Stanton, *Pugin,* pp. 45, 60, 65; Coldstream, *ibid*., p. 17.

[130] Seán O'Reilly, 'Roman versus Romantic: Classical Roots in the Origins of a Roman Catholic Ecclesiology', *AH*, 40

- there should be no features about a building which are not necessary for convenience, construction or propriety,
- all ornament should consist of enrichment of the essential construction of the building,

and also

- design must follow structure and not the other way round,
- everything had to be 'real', made of 'natural' materials … with decoration based on plants.[131]

Pugin's theories were simple. Above all he condemned superfluous decoration to no purpose, a bizarre statement when many of his buildings are so heavily laden with decoration that hardly any bare wall is to be found. Additionally, Crook claimed that Pugin was trying to superimpose 'neo-Classical theories of design onto neo-Gothic construction'. This was flawed, for as Anson pointed out, it was not actually new - it came from the eighteenth-century if not before.[132] Sharing the wishes of the Ecclesiologists, who wanted both reality and antiquity, Pugin's attempts to clarify only 'caused confusion and controversy'.[133] He believed English Gothic was Christian and prosletysed the views of Chateaubriand.[134] Classical styles were foreign and therefore Pagan - thus for both naturalistic and religious reasons, Gothic was the one and only acceptable style. More than that, Pugin was emphatic that his 'style' was a 'principle'.

This is only one instance where Pugin's theories show a distinct lack of originality. Lang draws many direct parallels between Pugin and his near-contemporaries, Schlegel and Chateaubriand, their predecessors Laugier and Repton, even to the extent of tracing back through Repton's sources, to Milizia and Algarotti, and further back again to Lodoli, the Venetian Franciscan born in 1690.[135] Algarotti's condemnation of the use of stone as 'mock' wood has a particular resonance for Pugin, who was intolerant of anything 'mock or 'sham'; and the French Jesuit, Laugier, had long since expressed his view that ornamentation did not agree with decoration.[136] Chateaubriand may well

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(1997), p. 223.

[131] See A. W. N. Pugin, *The True Principles* of Pointed or Christian Architecture: set forth in two lectures delivered at St Marie's, Oscott (London, 1841).

[132] Crook, *Dilemma,* pp. 51-2.

[133] *Ibid*, p. 52.

[134] Chateaubriand started his career in the army, but, perturbed by the violence of the French Revolution, he moved to America, only to return in 1792. However, subsequent to serious war wounds, he ended up exiled to England. It was here that he pursued his interest in literature and also renewed his interest in Catholicism. One of his most notable works was the *Génie du christianisme,* written after his final return to France.

[135] S. Lang*,* 'The Principles of the Gothic Revival in England, *SAH,* vol. 25, no. 4 (December 1966), pp. 264-66; see also Curl, *Dictionary,* p. 448 and Crook, *Dilemma,* p. 51.

[136] Lang, *ibid,* p. 264; M. A. Laugier, *An Essay on Architecture in which its true Principles are explained and*

have been the inspiration behind *Contrasts* when he drew comparisons between a picture of 'impious tendency' and another from the 'genius of Christianity'.[137] He also referred to 'ecclesiastical propriety...appropriate and significant'.[138] The closest similarity is, however, to Milizia, Repton's supposed source. Here the likeness is bordering on plagiary+ism, *viz*: 'ogni ornamento nasca del carattere dell'edeficio ... in architettura tutta ha da nacere del necessario'.[139] Not only is the following quote a virtual translation, *onde quanto e in rappresentazione deve essere in funzione'*, but Milizia's title includes the word 'principj'.[140] In turn, Uggeri described Milizia as being the echo of his predecessors, Laugier, Frézier and Lodoli. Thus it would be difficult to claim that Pugin's theories were original, simply that his presentation was superior and he had a wider and more attentive audience.

Other than Pugin, much contemporary literature was in the form of pamphleteering. It was cheap and easy to distribute and came largely from the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, both of which formed active architectural interest groups. The Oxford Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture (OSPGA), was founded in 1839, changing its name to the Oxford Architectural Society in 1848.[141] It was more academic, or 'analytical', in nature, and less vociferous and pro-active than the Cambridge Society, which it outlived, but unlike its 'artistic' Cambridge counterpart, membership was very wide, including both Anglicans and Catholics.[142] It was involved with a variety of secular buildings as well as churches and refused to call Gothic 'the one Christian style to the exclusion of all others'.[143] It considered it their duty to 'provide for the cultivation of correct Architectural Taste'. Their stated objectives were:

> to collect Books, Prints, and Drawings; Models of the Forms of Arches, Vaults, &c.; Casts of Mouldings, and Details; and such other Architectural Specimens, as the Funds of the Society will admit,

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invariable Rule proposed (2nd edn. London, 1753), p. 17.

[137] Lang, *ibid,* p. 264*;* Chateaubriand, *Blackwood Edinburgh Magazine,* 32, August 1832, p. 222.

[138] Lang, *ibid*., p. 264, Pugin, *True Principles*, p. 45.

[139] Lang, *ibid.,* p. 265; F. Milizia, *Dizionario delle belle arti disegno* (Bassano, 1797) quoted by E. Kaufman, *Architecture in the Age of Reason* (Cambridge, Mass, 1955), p. 252; Milizia *Dell'arte di vedere* (Venice, 1781) quoted Kaufman, p. 245.

[140] Lang, *ibid,* p. 26; F. Milizia, *Principij di Architettura Civile,* I *(Bassano, 1785),* p. 31.

[141] A slightly earlier Architectural Society may have been formed at Christ Church in 1838, 'Founders of the Oxford Architectural Society (*act.* 1839-18600), *ODNB,* accessed 11 November 2013: W. A. Pantin, 'The Oxford Architectural and Historical Society and the Oxford Movement', *Oxoniensia*, 5 (1940).

[142] White, *Cambridge Movement*, p. 24; this did not, however, extend to the Quaker architect, Rickman, who was only given honorary membership despite the decision to purchase a copy of his *Styles of Architecture* at their first meeting. After his death the Society also purchased the complete collection of Rickman's drawings, *Ecclesiologist* (1844), p. 123; Geoff Brandwood, 'Mummeries of a Popish character : the Camdenians and Early Victoran Worship', in Webster and Elliott, *'A Church as it should be',* p. 74.

[143] White, *Cambridge Movement*, p. 43.

and also

> that the attention of the Society be also directed to the Sepulchral Monuments of the Middle Ages.[144]

Over time the Oxford Society benefitted from the patronage of the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of Oxford, four peers, three archdeacons and a member of parliament.[145] Ruskin attended the first meeting when an undergraduate, and Newman, who was unusual amongst the priesthood in that he 'never went into architecture', attended meetings regularly as a guest.[146] It was not directly concerned with theological issues, but was approached regularly by clergymen for advice as to 'correct style' for their new or renovated churches, and also when funds were wanting.[147] Abstracts of papers were published in their journal entitled *Proceedings*.[148] Their first two secretaries, John Henry Parker and Edward Augustus Freeman, were both writers and architectural publishers. Parker published, and partly funded, several works on their behalf, including their *Guide to the Architectural Antiquities in the Neighbourhood of Oxford* (1842-46).[149] Freeman, Parker's successor in 1845, had a particular interest in church architecture. Having visited and undertaken many sketches, his first book was a *History of Architecture*, produced in 1849. Two years later he published *An Essay on the Origin and Development of Window Tracery in England*, which proposed alternative divisions to those of Rickman, as did the architect Edmund Sharpe in his *The Seven Periods of English Architecture*.[150]

The Cambridge Camden Society (later the Ecclesiology Society), was the inspiration of two undergraduates, John Mason Neale and Benjamin Webb, initially as a way for graduates and others interested in church building, ecclesiastical architecture or antiquities to keep in touch with each other.[151] Levy suggests that the CCS may have had its origins in the Camden Society (also based in Cambridge and named after William Camden, the sixteenth-century antiquary and historian), as

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[144] Clauses II and III of Rules agreed for the management of the Oxford Society, Camden Cambridge Society pamphlets (Cambridge, 1845?).

[145] *ODNB*, 'Founders of the Oxford Architectural Society', accessed 11 November 2012.

[146] *Ibid.,* p. 3: T. Mozley, *Reminiscences, chiefly of Oriel College and the Oxford Movement*, 2nd edn. 2 vols (1882), 1.216; Crook, *Dilemma,* p. 58.

[147] Clark, *Gothic Revival*, p. 161; *ODNB,* 'Oxford Architectural Society'.

[148] *Proceedings* continued until 1900.

[149] *ODNB: ibid.*

[150] Sharpe had previously published a twelve part series of drawings between 1845 and 1847; his *Seven Periods* proved highly controversial and provoked much heated correspondence in *The Builder* until the editor brought the matter to a close; Hughes, John M, *Edmund Sharp: Man of Lancaster,* pp. 292-308, self-published 2010.

[151] Owen Chadwick, *The Victorian Church* (London, 1971, part I): Eleanor A. Towle, *John Mason Neale, A memoir*, (1906), p. 49; *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography article*, 'Cambridge Camden Society [Ecclesiological Society]', (act. 1839-1868), Christopher Webster, accessed 27 November 2013: White, *Cambridge movement*, p. 45; see also Michael Chandler, *The life and work of John Mason Neale 1818-1866* (Leominster, 1995.).

they shared a common interest in a return to the romanticism of the Middle Ages.[152] Founded in 1838, it exerted far greater influence than the Oxford Society over church design through the medium of its periodical, *The Ecclesiologist.*[153] Inspired by, or in competition with the Oxford Society, the Cambridge Ecclesiologists benefitted from the 'mood of the times', namely dissatisfaction with the standard of the Church Commissioners churches and pressure to improve morality through church-going.[154] Their activities were fuelled by a combination of interest in the medieval past, architects' agitation to achieve greater credibility for their profession and a thirst for new literature. Not without its critics, the *Ecclesiologist* quickly became a general organ of ecclesiology.[155]

Derived from ecclesialogy, 'ecclesiology' was a new word the Society devised to describe the science of church architecture, or, as Rowell puts it, 'a general idea of church-building and church arrangement … investigating, expanding and practically exhibitiing this idea'.[156] Neale, their prime founder, is quoted as having defined their objectives as not only to study church architecture, its history and antiquities, but also to focus on 'all that is beautiful in nature and art, the past, the present, the future'.[157] Beyond this, they advised modern architects to make exact copies of medieval churches. On occasion they had to soften their approach, but in general terms their remit became more one of a dictatorship. Like the Street Commissioners in Birmingham, they were self-appointed and self-elected, but they held no official position or authority to justify the way they manipulated architects nationwide. Hansom described this as 'an improper assumption of power which they do not possess'.[158] It is not clear to what extent, if any, their harsh criticism affected the careers of the objects of their derision, but at least it aroused interest and brought attention to their names. For example, architects such as Charles Robert Cockerell survived despite being *persona non grata* within their ranks. They described his church of St Bartholomew at Moor Lane as 'disgraceful to the age and city in which it is built' and claimed that it was 'designed in utter

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[152] F. J. Levy, 'The Founding of the Camden Society', pp. 296-297, *Victorian Studies* (March 1964), Periodicals Archive Online; Chris Miele, 'Re-presenting the church militant', in Brooks and Elliott, '*A Church as it should be',* p. 258.

[153] 5,000 copies were sold in the first six weeks, the same number as the reprint of the *Builder's* Precursor Number, and 13,000 during 1843; White, *Cambridge Movement*, p. 115, (4): *Report*, 1841, p. 25 and *A Statement of Particulars Connected with the Restoration of the Round Church* (Cambridge, 1845), p. 13.

[154] Chris Webster, 'Camden Society', in Webster and Elliott '*A Church as it should be',* p. 3.

[155] Chadwick, *Victorian Church*, p. 213, quoting *Ecclesiologist,* November 1841.

[156] Ecclesialogy had previously been defined by the *British Critic* as 'a science which may treat of the proper construction and operations of the Church, or Communion, or Society of Christians'; White, James F, *The Cambridge Movement: The Ecclesiologists and the Gothic Revival,* p. 49 (London, 1962); Geoffrey Rowell, *The Vision Glorious: themes and personalities of the Catholic Revivals in Anglicanism* (Oxford, 1983), p. 101.

[157] Chadwick p. (x): Towle, *Neale*, p. 49.

[158] *Builder,* vol. 2, 1844, p. 403.

defiance of any art'.[159] Cockerell, on the other hand, described the *Ecclesiologist* as 'a mischievous tissue of imbecility and fanaticism'.[160]

By 1843 the Cambridge Society had bettered that in Oxford numerically, with nearly 700 ordinary members, two archbishops, sixteen bishops, thirty peers and members of Parliament, and twenty-one archdeacons and rural deans, the participation of whom gave kudos to the profession.[161] By 1845 it had risen to nearly 900.[162] They protested against the increasingly businesses-like spirit of the modern profession, saying that all their members must be of the Church of England and architects must take a 'religious view'.[163] Butterfield was only interested in power and money inasmuch as they were essential for his vocation, building; and Ruskin also condemned building for profit.[164] Through the CCS, Neale published a number of leaflets for general readership.[165] The core six committee members who governed the Society were also the editorial board of the *Ecclesiologist*.[166] They made known that they were not just an antiquarian society but also interested in building new churches and restoring existing ones. However, the zeal and enthusiasm of the young Camdenians led them to outstretch their capabilities when they appointed the architect Anthony Salvin to restore the Round Church in Cambridge.[167] Hansom attempted to maintain impartiality in his *Builder*, yet the rhetoric of most contemporary journals was invariably of a very personal nature.[168] His views on the Round Church were such that he felt obliged to speak out in defence of his profession. Whilst commending their generosity in principle, work carried out by the Camdenians was described as a 'degradation of the style of Gothic architecture ... a tasteless squandering of money, rashly, unscientifically and extravagantly done'.[169] The state of dilapidation

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[159] White, *Cambridge Movement,* p. 122: *Ecclesiologist*, 8, 1854.

[160] Clarke, *Church Builders*, p. 100.

[161] Chadwick, 213,(1): Towle, *Neale*, p. 43; Edward Jacob Boyce, *A Memorial to the Camden Society ... and the Ecclesiological, late Camden Society, etc*. (London, 1888), p. 10.

[162] Geoff Brandwood, 'The establishment of the [Cambridge Camden] Society' in Christopher Webster and John Elliott (eds.), *'A church as it should be': the Cambridge Camden Society and its influence'* (2000, Stamford), p. 56.

[163] White, *Cambridge Movement*, p, 72.

[164] Rosemary Hill, 'A perplexing and challenging character: Butterfield the Man', p. 9 in *Butterfield Revisited,* Peter Howell and Andrew Saint, eds., *The Victorian Society: Studies in Victorian Architecture and Design,* vol. 6 (London, 2017); Dixon and Muthesius, *Victorian Architecture,* p. 74.

[165] Amongst prominent leaflets were those entitled *A Few Hints for the Practical Study of Ecclesiastical Antiquities* (1839); *A Few Words to Church Builders* (1841), including an appendix for recommended models of windows, fonts and roodscreens; *A Few Words to Church-wardens on Churches and Church Ornaments* (1841) and *Church Enlargement and Church Arrangement* (1843).

[166] White, *ibid*., p. 40.

[167] Webb was only twenty years old and Neale twenty-one when they first muted the society, Webster, 'Camden Society', p. 1; the church of St Sepulchre, only one of four round churches in England and dating back to 1130, had suffered many alterations and by 1841 part of the aisle vaulting had caved in; Salvin had previously worked for Hope, a friend of Benjamin Webb, whose church he had refurnished at Kilndown, Kent; Miele, 'Re-presenting', p. 267.

[168] *Builder*, March 1843, p. 82.

[169] *Builder*, vol. 2, 17 August 1844, p. 403.

had been badly underestimated; by the time work was complete nearly eighty per cent of the church had been replaced and the Society's funds exhausted.[170] This was the only occasion upon which the Society became involved in the practical side of building or restoration and future activities were restricted to fund-raising and supporting others. Their catastrophic error of judgement in getting involved at this level was a major contributory factor leading to their subsequent removal to London.

Before the matter of the Round Church was finally concluded, the Society suffered a second setback when Francis Close, the evangelical rector of Cheltenham who believed that pointed arches equated with popery, preached a sermon entitled *The 'Restoration of Churches' is the restoration of popery: proved and illustrated from the authenticated publications of the 'Cambridge Camden Society'* (London, 1844). Close attacked the Camdenians on two fronts: architecturally and theologically. Firstly, he quoted the Society's objectives as being the promotion of the 'study of Ecclesiastical architecture and antiquities' and the 'restoration of mutilated architectural remains', saying that if they had actually done so that might have been of great benefit to the church.[171] Secondly, despite the Society's avowed intent not to become embroiled in theological disputes, they did so by default, thus, as Webster points out, they were saying one thing and doing another.[172] Not only did they propose setting up a school of art to 'guide and rule the feelings of the Regenerated Children of the Catholic Church', incorporating their intention to 'inculcate doctrine and religious instruction', but also Neale's guidelines to builders ill-advisedly used the word 'Catholick' on nine occasions.[173] On the first page he refers to his intention to 'dwell on the Catholick... principles which ought to influence the building of a church' and concludes his leaflet with a plate 'intended to illustrate the Catholick arrangement of a church'.[174] *The Times* also picked up on this point, calling the Society's efforts 'intrusive and Romanizing'.[175] Furthermore, denial of theological principles was a falsehood as they claimed that 'only a good Churchman could appreciate the inwardness of it all, or build new churches as they should be built ... only a good churchman could

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[170] Miele, 'Re-presenting', p. 270 (60): CCS, Subcommittee for the Restoration, *Holy Sepulchre* (1842), pp. 6-7; for full details of work undertaken, see also Miele, pp. 263-274 and T. Thorp, *The Church of the Holy Sepulchre* (Cambridge, 1844).

[171] Reverend Francis Close, 'The Restoration of Churches is the Restoration of Popery: proved and illustrated from the authenticated publications of the "Cambridge Camden Society": A Sermon preached in the parish church, Cheltenham, on Tuesday, November 5th, 1844' (London, 1844), p. 12, https://achive.org/details/5568501closuoft, accessed 9 June 2016.

[172] Clarke, *Church Builders*, pp. 99, Clark, *Gothic Revival*, p. 167; Webster, 'CCS', *ODNB.*

[173] Close, 'Restoration of Churches', p. 14; John Mason Neale, *A Few Words to Church Builders* (Cambridge, 1841).

[174] This was changed in the second edition, printed a year later.

[175] *The Times,* 1 January 1845.

be an ecclesiologist'.[176]   Their strong views on internal arrangement, especially box pews, galleries and placement of the pulpit, as discussed in the next chapter, were based on the Book of Common Prayer. It was impossible to build churches without some theological input.

Following these two major upheavals, the costly Round Church and accusations of 'Popery', the Society was temporarily suspended. Several bishops withdrew their membership, having a negative impact on the profession.   A number of architects also left - they had hoped that the Society would bring them new work, but it did not.[177]   However, Alexander Beresford Hope, son-in-law of the Marquis of Salisbury, who had befriended Webb at Cambridge and assisted with the editing of the *Ecclesiologist*, instigated the move to London and a change of name.[178]   He was appointed Chairman in 1845 and quickly became the driving force. This was a distinct career move on his part. Hope used the power base of this élitist and radical society, one of the most powerful pressure groups of the Victorian age, to engineer a position for himself as unofficial spokesman of High Anglicanism in the House of Commons.[179] For a non-commercial organisation of this nature, the Society was unusual in that it used paid secretarial assistance. By 1846 eighty-four agents were used to distribute their propaganda throughout Britain.[180] As will be seen in the next chapter, their perceived sense of social superiority raised the tussles between profession and trade, and between aesthetics and commercial gain, to a completely new level.[181]   It explains how, when building the Society's model church All Saints (soon to be known as 'Mr Hope's church'), the architect, William Butterfield, was unable to uphold his professional status and considered a 'mere employee'.[182]   It also explains why the Camdenians relished the invention of their own vocabulary, such as 'rubric plans' and 'sacramentality', and had no compunction in causing offense when criticising the work of those who refused to comply with their ideals. They even went as far as publishing a list of architects of whom they either approved or condemned.[183]   Architects received no respect and simply became pawns in the game of this 'league of gentlemen'. The number of mentions of Butterfield and his work in *The Ecclesiologist* dropped noticeably after his departure from All Saints. A letter by Freeman, who wrote for both the Camdenians and the Oxford Society,

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[176] Clarke, *Church Builders*, p. 78.

[177] Webster, 'Cambridge Camden Society [Ecclesiological Society]', http:/www.oxforddnb.com/view/theme/96307, accessed 27 November 2013, p. 5.

[178] Brooks, 'Heresiarch', (22): Henry William Law and Irene Law, *The Book of the Beresford Hopes* (London, 1925); Webster, *ODNB*, p. 1.

[179] Brooks, 'Heresiarch', p. 126.

[180] Brandwood, 'The Establishment of the Society', p. 55.

[181] In addition to having married into an aristocratic family, Hope came from a rich diamond-trading background and was MP for Maidstone throughout the early days of the Society, namely between 1841 and 1852.

[182] Brooks, 'Heresiarch', p.140: (60): Paul Thompson, 'All Saints Church, Margaret Street, Reconsidered', *AH*, 8 (1965), p. 74; Brooks, *ibid.*, p. 143.

[183] Nine architects were approved, and six were condemned, one of whom was Barry; *Ecclesiologist* 3 (1844).

was published damning Butterfield's church of St Matthias, Stoke Newington (1853), which he said was 'in entire want of architectural merit'.[184]

When Butterfield first joined the CCS, he was a firm believer in 'correct' Gothic, and a leader not a follower.[185] Like Salvin, he had previously worked for Hope, but the arguments which developed between them over the design of All Saints, particularly with regard to internal decoration, caused disillusionment and bitterness. Also like Pugin, many of Hope's ideas had come from his father, especially with regard to synthesis of styles and polychromy.[186] After their disagreements, Butterfield retreated behind the reputation which grew round him as one who was 'fanatical in his pursuit of ugliness'.[187] He turned against Victorian industrialisation and reverted to the rudimentary sentiments of both Pugin and the up-coming William Morris, favouring natural building materials, guilds and traditional craftsmen.[188] Notwithstanding, he was a successful and prolific architect, mainly due to the support he received from members of the radical Coleridge family, with Justice Coleridge stating: 'Architects and contractors are an unstable lot of fellows in general, though I have been spoilt by old Butterfeld, who kept his time to an hour, never exceeded his estimates by a shilling, and whose work, some of which I have known for forty years, seems as it if would last for ages'.[189]

After the brief break in 1845, the *Ecclesiologist* resumed its onslaught on individual architects. Examples of damning criticism by the *Ecclesiologist* are that of Henry Robert's St Paul's Church for Seamen, Whitechapel (1846-7), which the *Ecclesiologist* said was 'extremely poor: a vulgar attempt at First-Pointed ... a commonplace design put together without harmony ... stale and insipid'.[190] Of Alexander Dick Gough's re-building of St Pancreas old church (1847), they said that 'in these days of architectural improvement, it would have been difficult to find any other person who could have so completely succeeded in doing badly'; and they considered that Lamb's sketch for Pennant church (1850) looked 'very ghastly'.[191] When in 1844 Scott won the competition in

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[184] Brooks, 'Heresiarch', p. 135 (53): *Ecclesiologist*, 11 (1850), pp. 208-10.
[185] Ferriday: Paul Thompson, 'William Butterfield', p. 168; see also Paul Richard Thompson, *William Butterfield* (London, 1971).
[186] Hall, "Our Own", pp. 69-70.
[187] Ferriday, 'Butterfield', p. 171.
[188] Butterfield was one of Morris' first customers; Ferriday, *ibid*., p. 168.
[189] Brooks 'Heresiarch', p. 148: (85): *Life and Correspondence of Lord Justice Coleridge*, 2, p. 381; text taken from letter written by John Duke Coleridge, nephew of the poet Samuel Taylor Coleridge, in 1894.
[190] Curl, *The Life and Work of Henry Roberts 1803-1876*, p. 33, (105): *Ecclesiologist*, 6, 1846, p. 34; see also *ILN*, 8, 1846, p. 321; *Builder* 4, 1846, p. 241; see also James Stevens Curl, 'Henry Roberts (1803-76): architect and housing reformer: Evangelical, family and other connections', pp. 15-48 in Christopher Webster, *The practice of architecture: eight architects* (Reading, 2012).
[191] Goodhart-Rendel, 'English Gothic', pp. 255, 251, quoting from the *Ecclesiologist,* 1850.

Hamburg to build the Nikolaikirche, he was accused of working for heretics.[192] A much later contribution, submitted by a member of the society, gives a detailed description of the 'Ecclesiology of Ryde and its Neighbourhood' and perpetuates the general tone of negativity.[193] Hansom's church of St Mary, built for the Countess of Clare in 1846 for the vast sum of £18,000, and mistakenly attributed by the un-named writer to Charles Hansom, is grudgingly described as having a 'very striking and religious interior', though not 'without serious faults'. A paragraph in the same article referring to the Commissioner's church of St James (1827), is considered to be 'remarkable for its badness' and built 'in the very worst style of Batty Langley Gothic'.[194]

There were, of course, instances of praise for those which met the current guidelines. Henry Woodyer's church of St Mark at Wyke, Surrey (from 1846), was highly commended, and another gave 'the greatest credit to the architect'.[195] Pearson's Holy Trinity, Vauxhall Bridge Road (1849-52), was deemed to exemplify their ideas, and St David's church at Llangorwen was described as 'one of the most complete and successful imitations of the ancient models'.[196] The unconventional style, which Hitchcock stated 'put all but the finest work of Pugin to shame', demonstrated a big shift in the attitude of *The Ecclesiologist*.[197] However, this was not universal as seen in the example given on Ryde. By 1859, with the completion of All Saints, *The Ecclesiologist* was forced by public opinion to become more accepting of polychromy and encompass what it called 'new secular Gothic', that is part French, part Italian and part English, despite the fact that it had previously accused Pugin of being too eclectic with the mix of styles he used for his home in Ramsgate.[198]

Prior to this, ecclesiological research had always been directed towards the principles which guided medieval builders, in accord with Pugin's theory that medieval architecture was not accidental.[199] They jointly decreed that every detail of a medieval building had a special meaning and little or nothing should be attributed to the builder's [architect's] idiosyncrasies.[200] Even Freeman of the Oxford Society used his tract on *Principles of Church Restoration* to insist that the 'architect shall

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[192] Jordan, *Victorian Architecture*, p. 134.

[193] *Ecclesiologist*, 11, 21 February 1860`, pp. 71-75.

[194] In the previous century reference to the *Batty-Langley-Manner* had been one of contempt as there was very little real Gothic in his books, Curl, *Dictionary*, p. 431; Clark, *Gothic Revival*, p. 53.`

[195] *Ecclesiologist*, i, (1842), p. 185.

[196] Rosamund Reid, 'George Wightwick: a Thorn in the Side of the Ecclesiologists', in Webster and Elliott, p. 250 (43): *Ecclesiologist*, 4, 1845, p. 185; *Ecclesiologist*, 2nd edn. 1, 1842, p. 43; see also Anthony Quinney, *John Loughborough Pearson* (London and New Haven, 1979) and David Lloyd, 'John Loughborough Pearson' in Jane Fawcett (ed.), *Seven Victorian Architects,* Jane Fawcett (London, 1976); Woodyer was Butterfield's first pupil, Ferriday, p. 168.

[197] Henry-Russell Hitchcock, *Early Victorian Architecture in Britain*, vol. I:Text (London, 1954), p. 93.

[198] Crook, *Dilemma,* p. 68.

[199] White, *Cambridge Movement*, p. 50.

[200] White, *ibid.,* pp. 81,165.

introduce as little of his own invention as he can' as this was likely to obliterate the original.[201] They all overlooked the fact that innovation had been a feature of Middle Pointed.[202] Novelty had not bothered medieval builders, no more than it deterred Hansom, Cockerell with his submission for the Houses of Parliament, or any of the rogue or eclectic architects. Freeman believed that the concept of restoration was misguided as churches evolved over time, a necessary part of progress, rendering the idea of original unachievable.[203] Significance should be given to each stage and the best option was to attempt to return a church to its last known alteration.[204] Furthermore he stressed the need for skilful restoration, saying that the supposed expedient use of 'ignorant pretenders' was damaging. Until the [architectural] profession could be raised to the level of Law and Medicine, architectural education should be mandatory for clerics.[205] Too much reading of architectural history may well have inhibited architects' attempts to find a new style (as Scott and others had suggested), but the inflexibility of both Pugin and the Ecclesiologists was a distinct barrier to progress.[206] Between them, they successfully stifled originality, and the newly converted Catholic Pugin inadvertently produced a rigid template for Anglican church-builders.

Equally vociferous, but lacking the clout of the Camdenians, the publisher John Weale used his Tory *Quarterly Papers on Architecture* as a vehicle to speak out against the *Ecclesiologist*.[207] George Wightwick, one of the first architectural journalists and former pupil of Soane, was a major supporter and leading contributor, whilst Weale published his own *Pattern Books* and the 1843 edition of Pugin's *Apology for the revival of Christian architecture in England*.[208] In 1844, the *Quarterly* was particularly outspoken about the Ecclesiologists. The Camdenians were described as the DIOCESAN ARCHITECTURAL SOCIETY which had 'assumed to itself the absolute right of critical dictation'; and the '*clerkes of OXENFORDE*' (the Tractarian Oxford Movement), were accused of thrusting upon a public 'hitherto ignorant of architecture *in any variety whatever ...* spurious knowledge of it *in one variety alone*', to the point of suffocation. It stated: 'Thou shalt not worship the grandeur of Egypt, nor the beauty of Greece, nor the grandeur of Rome, nor the

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[201] Edward Augustus Freeman, *Principles of Church Restoration* (London, 1846), pp. A.2, 5, from full article reproduced in 'Pamphlets, Ecclesiastical, etc., *Ecclesiological Society* (London, 1846) HCC 31, *Gladstone Library*.

[202] 'Introduction', in Frank Salmon (ed.), 'Gothic and the Gothic Revival: Papers from the 26th Annual Symposium of the Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain 1997', p. 4.

[203] Freeman, *Church Restoration*, p. 12.

[204] *Ibid*., p. 14.

[205] *Ibid*., p. 16.

[206] Gilmour, *Victorian Period*, p. 224.

[207] Weale was a publisher with special interest in architecture, but also science and engineering; the four volumes of his *Quarterly Papers* were produced in nine parts between 1843 and 1845.

[208] Shirley Paterson, Jo Power, John Power, Richard Wilcockson, Sheila Wilcockson, *The Plymouth Athenaeum 1812-2012: Celebrating 200 Years* (Plymouth, 2012), p. 74; Rorabaugh, 'Houses of Parliament, p. 157; Pugin was not loyal to any one publisher, and changed according to his whims.

romantic delicacy of Mohammedanism, nor the plastic varieties of Italy - but thou shalt worship only GOTHICISM!'.[209]

Unlike Pearson, who avoided controversial matters in order to sustain his practice, Wightwick was overtly confrontational and made use of Weale's *Quarterly Papers* to launch a personal attack on the Camdenians.[210] He argued that professional architects should be permitted 'to maintain that amount of independence which should appertain to them as professors', otherwise they were at risk of becoming architectural draughtsmen, dictated to by building societies and confined to 'bookish theorick'.[211] He complained that this was an age 'when everybody must meddle with his neighbour's business' and that 'no set of persons have suffered more, from the interference and dictation of their neighbours than architects'.[212] And again, he complained of the Society's inability to move forward and hinted at their possible cessation. In his [Wightwick's] opinion, the Society was quite unable to consider architecture in any other light than as an historical language which was relevant only to preceding ages. He advocated that, after the demise of the present Society, which he considered to be imminent, another such should be formed more relevant to contemporary needs.[213] He added that 'a slavish obedience to *past* periods has tended to extinguish the chance of that respect which we should desire *future* periods to have for *us*'. The article was taken as a serious threat, for a lengthy and scathing point-by-point response followed.[214] Wightwick's ultimate provocation came when he published drawings of what he considered to be the ideal Protestant cathedral.[215] This gave rise to much sarcasm.[216]

These, together with earlier outbursts of a similar nature, proved to be the culmination of a lesser, though parallel situation between the local political and religious hierarchy and a 'mere architect', as had happened between Butterfield and Hope. As early as 1828 Wightwick had been preaching his views through the medium of the Plymouth Athenaeum, where he came into contact with the educationalist, Sir Thomas Dyke Acland, later a prominent member of the Diocesan Church

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[209] Clark, *Gothic Revival*, p. 166: *Weale's Quarterly Papers on Architecture*, II, i July 1844.
[210] Reid: 'George Wightwick', p. 252 (51): 'Modern English Gothic Architecture', p. 12.
[211] Reid, *ibid.*, p. 255, (61): George Wightwick, 'Ecclesiastical Architecture; on the Determination of Some Principles for the Establishment of an Ecclesiastical Style of Architecture, Expressing the Reformed Church in England', December 1844, offprint RIBA Library.
[212] Hill, 'Architecture in the 1840s', p. 15.
[213] Reid, 'Wightwick', p. 253, (56): from 'Modern English Gothic Architecture (continued), in *Weale's Quarterly Papers on Architecture,* 3 (1845), p. 6.
[214] Reid, p. 253, (57): *Ecclesiologist*, 4 (1845), p. 77.
[215] Reid, p. 252, (49): *Quarterly Papers*, 'Modern English Gothic Architecture Continued', 3 (1845), pp. 1-18.
[216] *Ecclesiologist*, vol. 4, (1845), pp. 77-79.

Building Society.[217] Ten years after having built St Michael and All Angels in Bude (1834), commissioned by Acland, an extension was required. Acland declared that 'any merit the [original] design had was due to the architect having been 'drilled into it' by the patron. Wightwick was Low Church, an architect who worked for the ICBS and met the needs of his local community; whereas the wealthy Acton, Member of Parliament for North Devon (1837-57), and distant relative of his close friend Pusey, was High Church.[218] Acton was also associated with Henry Phillpotts, Bishop of Exeter, and another prominent member of the Exeter Diocesan Ecclesiological Society.[219] Wightwick was outranked and outnumbered by this select coterie. He had already suffered heavy criticism of his Plymouth churches of Holy Trinity (1842) and Christ Church (1845), particularly the latter, which was condemned as 'one of the worst we have set eyes on' despite the *Civil Engineer and Architects Journal* saying that the perspective of the interior would be 'boldly picturesque and ecclesiastical'.[220] Positive reports in the *Plymouth Journal* (possibly authored by Wightwick), were repeated in *The Builder*, whereas, many years later, Goodhart-Rendel did not approve, showing how fickle and unreliable such accounts could be, depending upon the bias of the author.[221]

Whilst Butterfield found a way to continue without the support of Hope and the Ecclesiologists, Acton effectively brought Wightwick's practice to an end. Others, such as Barry and Chantrell, were prepared to forego their personal opinions for the sake of commercial gain; Wightwick was not.[222] Rather than be dictated to, he chose early retirement.[223] He moved away from the stranglehold of the Plymouth area and settled in Bristol, from where he continued to write prolifically, for example his *Hints to Young Architects*, which was reprinted four times between 1852 and 1858, and his 'Critical Study on the Architecture and Genius of Sir Christopher Wren' for which he was awarded the RIBA Silver Medal.[224] Though his architectural works, which included houses and public buildings as well as churches, were unexceptional, and his career was cut short,

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[217] Reid, 'Wightwick', p. 254, (58): lectures to the Plymouth Athenaeum, bound edition RIBA Library; see also Paterson, Power, Power, Wilcockson, Wilcockson, *Plymouth Athenaeum.*

[218] Reid, 'Wightwick', p. 255; Acton was described by Sir Walter Scott as 'the head of the religious party in the House of Commons', *ODNB* accessed 12 June 2016; he was admitted to the Ecclesiological Society in 1846 as a Life Member, Reid, 'Wightwick, p. 245 (18): Anne Acland, *A Devon Family, The Story of the Aclands*, p. 61.

[219] Reid, *ibid*., p. 246.

[220] Reid, *ibid., p. 248: (34): Ecclesiologist* 3 (1844), p. 54; Reid, *ibid*., p. 253, (24): iii, (July 1840), p. 25.

[221] Reid*, ibid*., pp. 248, (32): *Plymouth and Devonport Weekly Journal*, 28 May 1845; (33): *Builder*, 3 (1845), p. 601; (31): Goodhart-Rendel, card index at the National Monuments Record Library.

[222] Reid, *ibid*., p. 239.

[223] *Ibid*., p. 255, (62): George Wightwick, 'The Life of an Architect', (autobiography unpublished in full), p. 612.

[224] *Ibid*., p. 254; the diversity of his writing is illustrated by his article on the use of iron in Loudon's *Architectural Magazine* (1837), Curl, *Dictionary*, p. 846.

he left an estate of £7,000.[225]

Seemingly having less impact than the sermon of Reverend Close, Wightwick's inflammatory remarks coincided with the Society's change of name and its move to London. Coincidentally or otherwise, it was at this point that changes were made from their 'obedience of the past' to the strikingly different and brightly-coloured polychromy of All Saints. Up until this point they had stuck rigidly to their own narrow path, even though this was subject to numerous changes along the way. If Pugin was 'muddled and ambiguous', as Crook has claimed, then the Ecclesiologists were inconsistent. Common to both was their insistence upon correctness, however the Ecclesiologists took this to extremes, maintaining that it was a function of the committee to rectify mistakes - on occasion they would even criticise medieval buildings for their in-correctness.[226] As far as the Ecclesiologists were concerned, correctness proved to be an arbitrary term. They frequently changed or reversed their views, and architects were expected to follow suit and comply with their most recent interpretation. Without a fixed benchmark it was impossible to apply correctness in any meaningful way. When following their own rules, so-called restorations led to the loss of some original features, such as had happened with the Round Church, thus contravening their own fundamental remit. When the British Architectural Society said that colour should only be used in stained glass windows, the Ecclesiologists dismissed this, categorically stating that in this case medieval architects were 'wrong'.[227] Nevertheless, and despite their widespread unpopularity, they succeeded in changing the appearance of most Anglican churches. When the Society ceased in 1868 Webb claimed that it had 'the satisfaction of retiring from the field as victors,' thus admitting to an awareness of the opposition he had faced.[228]

With a circulation such as that of Neale's *Few Words,* a copy of which was in virtually every parish in the country, it is difficult to estimate the influence of the *Ecclesiologist* when compared with that of the popular press and alternatives such as *The Builder.* Weale's publications were far more accessible and understandable than the alternative heavy-weight texts, one of the reasons Hansom used to justify *The Builder.*[229] Books on architecture were very expensive due to their specialist nature, and even new publications such as those by Pugin were largely antiquarian in content, reinforcing the past and not looking to the future. Furthermore, Pugin's books were propagandist in

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[225] Reid*, ibid.*, p. 256.
[226] White, *Cambridge Movement*, pp. 117-119; in Grecian times there was a recognised set of rules, but when these no longer applied architects were left floundering; Clark, *Gothic Revival*, p. 160; Gloag, *Loudon's England*, p. 93.
[227] White, *Cambridge Movement*, p. 188.
[228] Crook, *Dilemma*, p. 63; *Ecclesiologist,* 1868, 29.315-16.
[229] *Builder*, Precursor Number, 31 December 1842 (London), p. 1.

nature, targeting the general public as much as architects, and of no help as far as new styles were concerned. John Milner's *Treatise on Ecclesiastical Architecture* (1810), and Taylor and Cressey's two books, *The Architectural Antiquities of Rome* (1821-2) and *The Architecture of the Middle Ages in Italy* (1829) remained in current usage, but there were no established works other than Rickman's to satisfy the need for guidance as to Gothic styles.[230] The only points of reference for those unable to undertake a 'Grand Tour' were *An Historical Survey of Ecclesiastical Antiquities of France with a View to Illustrate the Rise and Progress of Gothic Architecture in Europe*, written in 1809 by Whittington, and the discredited book by Langley, *Gothic Architecture, Improved by Rules and Proportions in Many Grand Designs* published in 1747. Thus there was a vital need for something more up-to-date.

This gave Weale a ready market for his *Architectural Library,* his pattern books and various other pamphlets.[231] He also published Brayley's *History of the Ancient Palace and Late Houses of Parliament at Westminster* (1835) and the second edition *of Illustrations of the Public Building of London* by Pugin's father, Augustus (1838), but again these were focussing on the past. On the other hand, journals, which were cheaper and more suitable for the new non-specialist middle-class audience, started to mushroom, fuelling a typically Victorian thirst for information. Furthermore, taking advantage of the reducing cost of lithography and encouraged by early experimentation with the techniques of daguerreotypy and photography, their publications were greatly enhanced by numerous plans and elevations.[232] Unlike the dictatorial *Ecclesiologist,* the spread of knowledge through such as the *ILN* was more sophisticated and subtle in its approach. For the first time it became possible to explore different styles and draw comparisons between regions. The *ILN* provided a source of ideas for patrons and public alike, and quickly became a fashionable arbiter of taste. For architects, it also gave ideas as to style and brought them closer to the needs of their clients.

The new series of the *Gentleman's Magazine* was launched in 1834, and with its middle-class readership, it was initially the only forum of architecture and the fine arts.[233] Other notable periodicals were the Tory *Quarterly Review* (1809), *Blackwood's Magazine* (1817) and the

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[230] Milner was a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, designer of Winchester Cathedral and subsequent Vicar-Apostolic of the Midland District.
[231] Rorabaugh, 'Houses of Parliament, p. 157.
[232] Rorabaugh, *ibid*., p. 157.
[233] Jenkins, *Architect and Patron*, p. 186; Briggs, *Architect in History*, p. 371.

Spectator (1832).[234] Set up for the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, the *Penny Magazine,* which aimed at the lower end of the social scale, ran between 1832 and 1843.[235] Daily and weekly newspapers also made a useful contribution. *The Times* undertook both routine and controversial reporting on building matters, as did *The Morning Chronicle* and many local papers, particularly *Aris's Birmingham Gazette,* the *Birmingham Journal, Leicester Chronicle*, *Preston Guardian* and *Berrow's Worcester Journal,* often covering areas far beyond their own. *The Times* was particularly valuable in that it advertised all major competitions. At local level, Joseph Clinton Robertson was the editor of the *Birmingham Journal.* He was also the editor of the *Mechanics Magazine,* which printed technical drawings regarding the construction of Birmingham Town Hall.[236] As a friend of Hansom, he gave him good coverage. He was heavily critical of the design for the Birmingham Free Grammar School, the commission Hansom lost to Barry, but subsequently printed an illustration of Hansom's Operative Builders Guildhall (see Plate 23).[237] Both the *ILN* and the *Penny Magazine*, were generous with their reporting of the opening of Birmingham Town Hall, and the former also featured Hansom's New Baptist Chapel in Leicester.[238] Hansom used his own *Builder* to print an illustration and detailed description of his Sussex Memorial.[239] Whilst such reporting was of great interest at the time, it later proved to be vital from the architectural historian's point-of-view as several descriptions and illustrations provide the only extant record. Of a more general nature, the satirical *Punch*, which claimed to have a larger readership than the *ILN* due to being cheaper, was launched in 1841.[240] The style was copied by Robert Kerr in his 'New Leaf Discourses', published from 1846.[241] This focussed on the contradictions in architectural ideology and the lack of training.[242]

Also commanding influence was Charles Dolman, who abandoned his pupillage with Hansom to join the publishing side of the family, his paternal grandfather, Thomas Booker, an established

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[234] Jenkins, *ibid.*, p. 187.

[235] *Ibid.*, p. 186.

[236] *Birmingham Journal*, 19 January 1833; *Mechanics Magazine*, 36, 1842, pp. 265-266; see also *Architectural Magazine*, 2 (1835), p. 25.

[237] *Birmingham Journal*, 30 November 1833, 21 December 1833; Robertson and William Greathead Lewis, another editor of the *Birmingham Journal*, were involved in financial negotiations in London regarding the future of the horse-drawn cab which Hansom had designed, the suggestion for which originated with Lewis; *Birmingham Weekly Post*, July 1882; Harris, *Architectural Achievement.*, p. 85; Lewis had previously set up *Lewis' Coventry Recorder*, but was then imprisoned for seditious conspiracy; Treasury Solicitor, TS 11/424/1346.

[238] *ILN,* 25 October 1845, p. 268.

[239] *Builder,* September 1843, pp. 398-399.

[240] Alvar Ellegård, 'The Readership of the Periodical Press in Mid-Victorian Britain, II, Directory, *Victorian Periodicals Newsletter*, no. 13, September 1971, pp. 21-22, jstor.org/discover... accessed 25 December 2013.

[241] Jenkins, *Architect and Patron*, p. 169; Andrew Saint, *The Image of the Architect* (New Haven and London, 1983), p. 61; Kerr (later Professor), was a founder member of the Architectural Association and ardent supporter of the RIBA.

[242] Jenkins, *ibid.*, p. 169; Saint, *Image of the Architect,* p. 61.

Roman Catholic publisher in London.[243]   Starting with journals, at the same time that Hansom founded *The Builder,* Dolman's first series of publications was *The Catholic Magazine.* This was replaced by *Dolman's Magazine and Monthly Miscellany of Criticism*, published between 1845 and 1849. They all included articles on architecture. At this time he was also the publisher of the *Dublin Review*, a very influential Catholic journal founded by Nicholas (later Cardinal) Wiseman, Michael Joseph Quinn and Daniel O'Connell. Repeated financial losses led him to publish books, the most prestigious being several written by Pugin (*viz. Present State* in 1843), and Lingard's *The History of England.*[244] However, the cost of his luxury editions only added to his financial burdens and he died in poverty in Paris in 1863.[245]

Notwithstanding their previous criticism, when Pugin died the Ecclesiologists proclaimed him to be the most eminent architectural genius of his time.[246] Uncharacteristically, they also praised him for his originality. However, as will be seen in the next chapter, architecture and style were used as a cover-up for what in effect was a power struggle between the Established Church and the Catholics.[247] Pugin, who wrote eight books on architecture, exacerbated the situation when, in his *Present State*, he quoted Neale in full regarding 'the high Catholic view in which these writers regard the material structure of the ancient churches'.[248] Neale, who had pronounced that his followers should 'dwell on Catholick principles which should influence the building of a church', was subsequently obliged to re-write his pamphlet, changing the word 'Catholick' for 'Ecclesiastical'.[249] A similar instance of the Ecclesiologists having to back down was over their church of St Paul's church, Cambridge (Ambrose Poynter, 1841), which Pugin described as being 'of no particular style or shape ... a remarkable variety of peculiarities of arrangement', and also, he complained, it did not even have a chancel.[250] Hansom, who had reviewed Pugin's *Present State* favourably in *The Builder,* defended the well-established Catholic architect Joseph John Scoles against criticism by Pugin, who, in like-style to the Ecclesiologists, had described Scoles' St John

[243] Joseph Gillow, *A literary and biographical history, or bibliographical dictionary of the English Catholics: from the breach with Rome in 1534 to the present* time (London, 5 volumes, 1885-1902), p. 87; Charles Dolman was related to John Dolman, the doctor in York who donated generously to St George's Church which was built jointly by Joseph and Charles Hansom around 1849-50 in their home town of York.
[244] Lingard's history was a key source of reference for Cobbett's *History of the Protestant Reformation.*
[245] A late attempt at a journal was *The Lamp*, a Roman Catholic journal intended for the edification of the lower classes; Mitchell, Rosemary, 'Charles Dolman',
https://doi.org/10.1093/odnb/9780192683120.013 012.7785, accessed 18 January 2009.
[246] *Ecclesiologist*, 13, p. 352.
[247] Clark, *Gothic Revival*, pp. 166, 167.
[248] White, *Cambridge Movement*, p. 115; Pugin, *Present State*, p. 56.
[249] Letter Thorp to Neale 7 December 1841; White, *Cambridge Movement*, p. 116; the similarity of views between the Catholics and the Ecclesiologists will be explored in the next chapter.
[250] A chancel was added later; White, *Cambridge Movement*, pp. 117, 118.

the Evangelist, Islington (1843), as 'the most original combination of modern deformity'.[251] Hansom accused them of being 'ill-mannered, ill-tempered, lacking in brotherly charity and vindictive [one architect] towards [one] another', the latter being something forbidden by the RIBA.[252]

John Claudius Loudon, whose five volumes of *Architectural Magazine* inspired Hansom's *Builder,* was one of his most important personal contacts in Birmingham. Unlike the rising industrialists, he was of the old school who 'never hesitated to sacrifice pecuniary considerations to what he considered his duty' and carried out the work 'merely on the payment of his expense'.[253] His magazine was featured extensively in the first edition of *The Builder*. The two men shared a similar philosophy with regard to building trades, as shown by the advertisement for the *Architectural Magazine* printed in Birmingham:

> The chief objects of the *ARCHITECTURAL MAGAZINE* are to diffuse more extensively than has hitherto been done, a knowledge of, and taste for, improved Domestic Architecture, and superiorly-designed Furniture, among general readers; and to increase the professional knowledge, and cultivate the taste of young Architects, Guilders, and Furnishers of Houses (see Plate 35).[254]

A prolific writer of almost forty years, one of his first articles was entitled 'Observations on Laying out the Public Squares of London'. He had already designed the fifteen-acre Botanical Gardens and Glasshouses in Birmingham (1832). Believing that garden and architecture shared principles in common, Loudon's passion for landscaping made a huge impact upon the design of gardens attached to large country houses for several decades.[255] He likened gardens to the fine arts, the 'elegant art, art of imagination, art of imitation, art of taste, art of design, art of beauty', terms which applied equally to architecture, landscape gardening, painting, sculpture and music. His views on landscaping may well have influenced Hansom in his design for Owen's Harmony Hall, as well as Danby Hall, Yorkshire (1855) and Lartington Hall, County Durham (1862). Using the natural landscape, he suggested that the ideal setting in which larger buildings could impress was that of a 'bold commanding rocky prominence, where it might be supposed that, in some former period a baronial hall for defence may have been placed'. Hansom must have had this in mind when he designed the Catholic theologate college of St Beuno near St Asaph in Wales for the

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[251] Evinson, 'Hansom', p. 163.
[252] *Builder,* vol. 1, issue 8, 1 April 1843, p. 99.
[253] Gloag, *Loudon's England*, pp. 63, 206; www.kosmoid, *net/planning/loudon* accessed 7 March 2007; when working on his final book he was employing seven assistants and ran up £10,000 in debts, Gloag, *ibid.*, p. 209.
[254] *Birmingham Journal*, 22 March 1834; Elizabeth Barlow Rogers, *Landscape Design: A Cultural and Architectural History* (New York and London, 2001).
[255] Elizabeth Barlow Rogers, *Landscape Design: A Cultural and Architectural History* (New York and London, 2001).

Jesuits between 1846 and 1849. Built on a steep terraced hillside, its solidity of style, with its central square tower dominating the skyline, its portcullis and arrow slits (shams of which Pugin would not have approved), are indeed reminiscent of a fortress (see Plate 36).[256] Loudon followed his *Encyclopaedia* with *The Suburban Gardener and Villa Companion,* wherein he showed a wide range of estate lodges, villas and rustic cottages.[257] His double or semi-detached villas, designed to look like a single residence, were sometimes linked by a domical conservatory. One of his objectives was to provide a commercially viable Gothic alternative for 'the middle classes of society'.[258]

So diverse was the 'disorderly variety' of Loudon's work and so magnanimous his attitude, that his books and articles provided an ideal alternative training ground for architects, a break from the Gothic versus Classical controversy.[259] That he was not bound exclusively to any one style gave ample scope for Lamb, one of Goodhart-Rendel's rogue architects, to indulge his 'copious unruly and undiscriminating imagination'.[260] Crook described his entry for the Houses of Parliament as using 'as much originality as possible'.[261] Lamb, who had authored *Etchings of Gothic Ornament* in 1830 and was articled to Cottingham, became Loudon's principal illustrator, and it was through the publicity gained by this and his subsequent work *Studies of Ancient Domestic Architecture* (1846), that he managed to obtain commissions.[262] Barry was also a contributor to Loudon's *Encyclopaedia,* and Ruskin, who started writing for the *Architectural Magazine* at the age of seventeen, provided and illustrated monthly articles on a regular basis under the pseudonym of 'Kata Phusin'. Many of his illustrations were used for the *Supplement to the Encyclopaedia* (1842).[263]

The end of Loudon's *AM* and the beginning of the *ILN* led Hansom to attempt a combination of the two through his journal *The Builder*. In an effort to allay the concerns of his publishers as to viability he claimed that when all those 'practising the Building Arts' [architects], building professionals, craftsmen and artisans, were added together, there was a potential readership of half a

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[256] Harris, *Architectural Achievements*, pp. 145-6; the stunning site inspired Gerard Manley Hopkins to re-start his poetry and led to his *Wreck of the Deutschland*; see also Paul Edwards, *Canute's Tower of St Bueno's* (Leominster, 1990).

[257] Gloag, *Loudon's England*, pp. 105,73,79.

[258] Gloag, *ibid*., pp. 93, 101.

[259] *Ibid*., p. 93.

[260] *Ibid*., p. 158; see also Goodhart-Rendel's 'English Gothic', p. 251.

[261] Crook, 'Dilemma', p. 134.

[262] Lamb also illustrated for *The Builder*.

[263] Gloag, *ibid*., p. 102.

million.[264] Having searched the 1831 census for people of twenty years and over in various trades, he came up with a total of 314,502, excluding architects and agents. The journal would be funded largely by advertising. His proposal was for a joint magazine and newspaper which had the advantages of both, thus saving the cost of purchasing separate items. It would be a vehicle of trade knowledge to be kept, and a newspaper for the wife and family to read. As with the *ILN*, it would be well illustrated, with a 'free exchange of knowledge' and 'instruction for the liberal and enlightened'.[265] Reminiscent of his time spent in Birmingham, he devoted several pages to illustrations by Loudon, with a public house designed by Wild.[266] Advertisements were dominated by publications of Loudon and Dolman, and the back page set out his prospectus.[267] The journal would be:

> devoted exclusively to the interests of Builders, by which term must be understood all that numerous and wealthy portion of persons connected directly or indirectly with Building. It will partake of the character of a Trade Journal or Magazine, and also fulfil the objects of a Weekly Newspaper, by giving a faithful and impartial abstract of the News of the Week ... not enter upon Political discussion unless affects the class whose interests they will always support and defend ... of no party.[268]

An overview of the proposed topics to be covered is then given and surprise expressed that whilst so many other professions already have 'public organs of opinion and information', this most numerous, most wealthy, most intelligent 'class' does not. He listed other professions and occupations which published journals.[269] Unlike *The Builder*, many did not survive.[270] Elsewhere, architecture was noticeable by its absence, except inasmuch as it was included in the *Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal* 1839, and the *Surveyor, Engineer and Architect* 1840. The RIBA produced transactions from 1835 to 1836, but the *RIBA Journal* was not founded until 1894. There was nothing at all for workers in the building trade.

Hansom used his Precursor, or trial edition, of the *Builder,* to defend his title by explaining that the word encompassed 'all aspects of house (or other building) for all engaged in 'Art' ... from purchase of site, design, erection, decoration/furnishing and landscaping'. Although the Precursor ran to a third impression of five thousand, Hansom was only able to sustain it financially until issue

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[264] *Builder,* Precursor, p. 1.
[265] *Builder*, *ibid*., p. 2.
[266] *Ibid*., pp. 8-9.
[267] *Ibid*., pp. 7, 8, 16.
[268] *Ibid*., p. 16.
[269] For example *Natural History* 1829, *The Law Society* (date not traceable), the *Scientific and Railway Gazette* 1837, the medical journals *Lancet* 1823 and the *British Medical Journal* 1842, the Catholic journals *Tablet* 1840 and *Rambler* 1848; see Ellegård, 'Periodical Press*'*.
[270] Bassin, *Architectural Competitions*, p. 211.

no. 21 in July 1843, when he made a loss of £27. 3s. 01/2d.[271]   Apart from lack of capital, and presumably time due to architectural projects in hand, Brooks blames his failure in part on the non-production of promised articles on building technique, which would have attracted the artisans Hansom was hoping to recruit.[272]   Artistically progressive but locked into Owenite principles, Hansom was unable to move with the times, and, as with Birmingham Town Hall, he attempted to support a large workforce rather than moving on to steam technology for his journal, as had *The Times* as early as 1814.[273]   Finally admitting defeat, he sold it to John Lewis Cox, his printer, retaining editorship until the end of the year.[274]   After two changes in editorship, *The Builder* grew and survived as the leading journal for architects during the nineteenth-century.

During his editorship Hansom endeavoured to remain largely impartial, except inasmuch as where social, moral or legislative matters were concerned. His Precursor set out his views on employer/employee relationship, 'Treatment of Work-People by their Employers', which stressed the responsibility of manufacturers to care for their general well-being and not treat them as machines. Later issues covered humanitarian issues such as social reform and living conditions, with emphasis on ameliorating poor housing, reducing smoke pollution and fire risks. Special mention was given to the Poor Law Commission report on the sanitary condition of the labouring population of Great Britain.[275]   Church building was given generous coverage, but not to the exclusion of articles on both antiquarian topics and future developments, home and abroad. He reviewed Pugin's *Contrasts* favourably, but as mentioned, he defended Scoles in opposition to Pugin.[276]   He pointed out that whilst Pugin had condemned Scoles for using the Norman style for his church, Pugin had himself used it for his church of St James in Reading.[277]

With Hansom's departure, Cox appointed the architect Alfred Bartholomew as editor.[278]   Already

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[271] Kathryn Davies, 'From the notebook to the printed page', *Building 150th Anniversary Issue*, February 1993, p. 23.
[272] Brooks, 'Making of a Magazine', p. 89; major works at this time were the completion of Harmony Hall; Saints Simon and Jude at Ulshaw, Yorkshire (1841-42); St Gregory the Great, Gravesend (1843) and the extension of a College for the Jesuits in Derbyshire (1842-1846), with a convent in Derby (1844-1846), and the commencement of St Mary's at Ryde, Isle of Wight in 1844 for the Countess of Clare.
[273] Brooks, 'Making a Magazine', p. 89; Aled Jones, *Powers of the Press: Newspapers, Power and the Public in Nineteenth-Century England* (Aldershot, reprinted 1998), p. 14.
[274] See Herbert Arthur Cox, *These Stones, The Story of "The Builder" and of other Builders* (London, 1937).
[275] Evinson, 'Hansom', p. 157; see also Samuel Edward Finer, *The Life and Times of Sir Edwin Chadwick* (London, 1952).
[276] *Builder*, vol. 1, 1 April 1843, p. 82; *ibid*., p. 99.
[277] The reason for Pugin's choice of Norman may have been its proximity to the ruins of an abbey; he later tried to disown responsibility for its short-comings, blaming 'false economies' and other 'disasters'; Stanton, *Pugin,* p. 39.
[278] Bartholomew had been articled to a former pupil of Soane; Evinson, 'Hansom', p. 142; the first six editors were all practising architects; *Building 150th Anniversary* (1993), p. 14; see also George G Pace, 'Alfred Bartholomew: A Pioneer of Functional Gothic', *Architectural Review*, 92 (October, 1942), and chapter in Nikolaus Pevsner's *Some*

an established writer on such topics as fire prevention and insurance, he shared Hansom's social idealism. One of his first major articles was an analysis of the draft *Metropolitan Building Act*, which he felt to be inadequate.[279] He was a founder member of The Freemasons of the Church, and hoped to use *The Builder* as a Protestant counterpart to the *Ecclesiologist*.[280] However, subscriptions dropped during his editorship and at one stage the journal shrank to just twelve pages.[281] Bartholomew's health failed and he retired after only one year.

The next editor, George Godwin, practised in the Kensington area.[282] He was similarly active in his attempts to ameliorate the housing conditions of the working classes and encourage social reform, with an overall mission to 'please, inform and instruct'.[283] He also made a conscious bid to promote professionalism.[284] Godwin's views were clear in that 'those who profess this noble art [of architecture] should be gentlemen – *must* be gentlemen: men of education and cultivated taste, with more acute perceptions and finer feelings than the multitude'.[285] Working from top down, rather than bottom up, as had Hansom, he promoted the use of responsible committees. Godwin persistently campaigned for the better management of competitions and urged the RIBA to publicise 'proper architectural practice'. They should award diplomas and give medals to architects at the height of their careers rather than to those under twenty-five years of age.[286] Despite his well-meaning efforts, the journal was becoming known as 'Godwin's diary' by 1883 and he was forced out of office.[287]

As general literature gradually permeated more widely into Victorian culture, the decade ended with two major works, Ruskins's polemic *Seven Lamps of Architecture* (1849), which 'encapsulated the mood of the period rather than creating new ideas', and *Stones of Venice,* his dissertation on the Gothic Revival on the Continent.[288] Both were widely acclaimed and both gained approval from the Ecclesiologists. In the next decade Viollet-le-Duc's more technical *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française du XIe au XVIe siècle* (1854-68) depicted the course of the Gothic Revival

Architectural Writers of the Nineteenth Century (Oxford, 1972).

[279] *Builder*, 1, 29 April 1843, p. 137.

[280] Brooks, 'Making a Magazine', p. 90.

[281] Davies, 'From the notebook', p. 14.

[282] Curl, *Dictionary*, p. 321.

[283] Anthony King: 'Another Blow for Life: George Godwin and the Reform of Working Class Housing', *Architectural Review,* 136 (December, 1966), pp. 448-452.

[284] Readers included Dickens, Florence Nightingale and Prince Albert; *Building 150th anniversary*, p. 14.

[285] Brooks, 'Making a Magazine', p. 91, quoting Godwin in the *Builder*, 1847.

[286] This latter advice was immediately implemented; Brooks, 'Making a Magazine', p. 91.

[287] *Building Anniversary*, p. 14.

[288] Curl, *Dictionary*, p. 668; the *Seven Lamps* were so popular that Jenkins described them as being 'suitable for Sunday reading'; Jenkins, *Architect and Patron*, p. 187.

in France and, due to its extensive use of illustrations, was frequently 'cribbed' by English architects, for whom it became a very important 'text book'.[289]

Conclusion

The 1840s was the decade when some of the greatest changes in architectural practice took place. Beginning with the youth, energy and ideas of the early 1840s, and then by filtering out amateurs and divorcing themselves from builders, or more specifically surveyors and engineers, architects generated the specialisation which was necessary to define their professional status.[290] Thus a more tangible framework evolved upon which the profession could be based. To achieve this it went through a period of rule-making followed by rule-breaking. The IBA competition codes were largely ignored, Pugin abandoned his Principles, and Hope overturned the CCS rules. Scott, whose career, metaphorically speaking, started in the workhouse, was excited 'almost to fury' on seeing illustrations of churches in *True Principles* and the *Dublin Review,* and completely changed direction.[291] Yet things had not changed enough. Hope, the chief instigator and patron of All Saints exploited the skills of his architect; and Palmerston, the politician, also over-ruled his architect with choice of design for the Houses of Parliament. The next decade opened with Pugin's Medieval Court in the Great Exhibition, which was a dramatic stage-set but not architecture; and the building in which it was housed was not a new style, but a feat of engineering.

The power of the literary theme which ran concurrently with the development of the architectural profession cannot be underestimated, yet it has not been well chronicled. The two worked in tandem and followed a similar pattern. Scott and Wordsworth were superseded in architectural circles by Pugin, then the *Ecclesiologist,* the on-going *Builder*, and finally Ruskin. The era which had once wallowed in Strawberry Hill and 'The Castle of Otranto' metamorphosed into the sophistication of Hope and Butterfield's All Saints. Within these changes, sight must not be lost of the social context within which they took place. Whilst the industrial revolution and the associated upheaval in terms of population expansion, wealth and class structure were paramount, two other major trends of equal importance were taking place, the Gothic Revival and the Catholic Revival. The next chapter will show that whilst they did not impact directly upon the profession from an organisational point-of-view, they greatly influenced the careers of individual architects.

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[289] Curl, *Dictionary*, p. 823; subsequently Benjamin Bucknall, assistant to Charles Hansom, translated this and other works by Viollet-le-Duc into English.
[290] Hill, 'Architecture in the 1840s', p. 14.
[291] Hill, *ibid*., p. 8 quoting Gavin Stamp, *Personal and Professional Recollections by Sir George Gilbert Scott* (Stamford, 1995), p. 87.

DESIGN FOR THE PROPOSED SUSSEX MEMORIAL.

PERSPECTIVE VIEW.

Sussex Memorial
The Builder, 23 September 1845

Plate 30

NEW BAPTIST CHAPEL, LEICESTER.
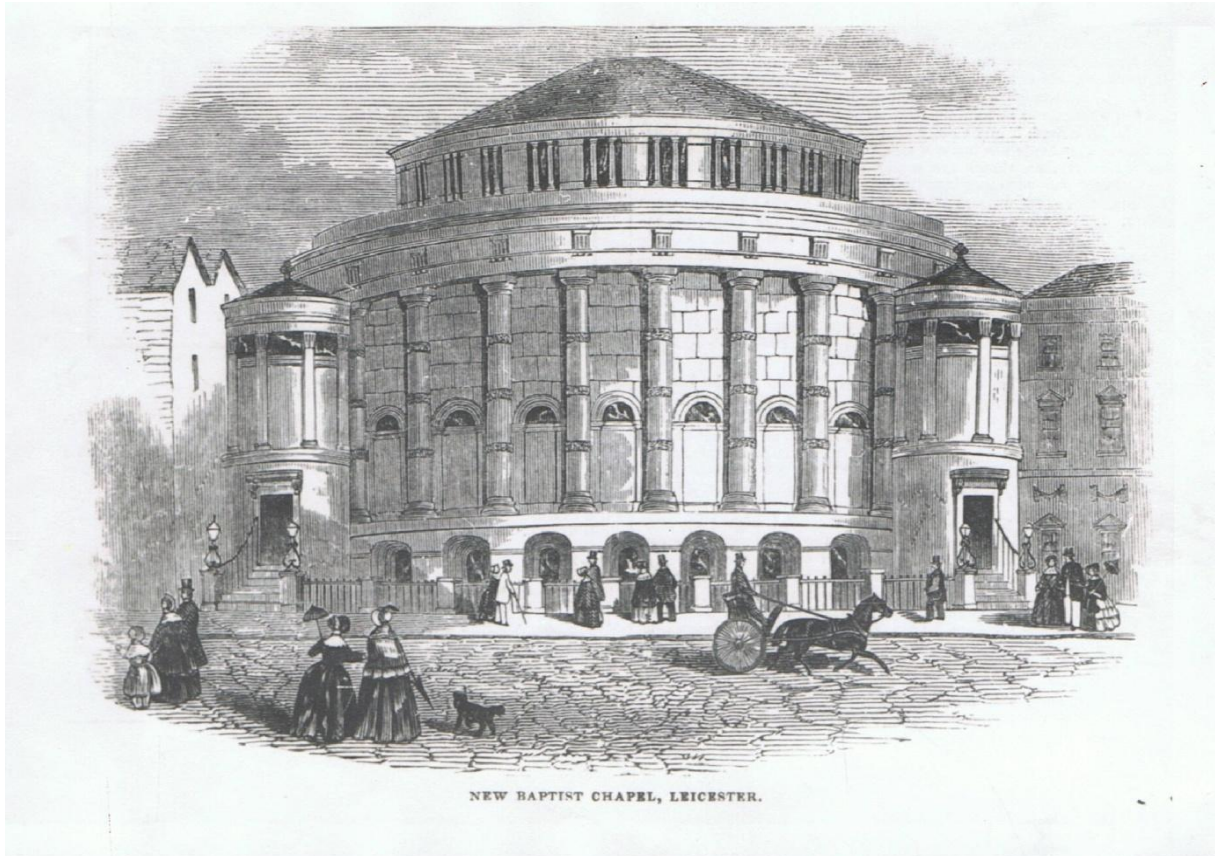
Baptist Chapel, Leicester
Illustrated London News, 25 October 1845

Plate 31

Goodrich's Pro-Cathedral as completed by Charles Hansom
author's photograph 2011

Plate 32

All Saints Church, Margaret Street, London
William Butterfield, 1846-47
Geoff Brandwood, 'Butterfield Revisited'

7 Wetherall Place, Clifton, Bristol
Joseph Hansom's intended residence, 1860
Author's photograph, September 2011

34   THE BUILDER.

DESIGN FOR A VILLA IN THE ITALIAN STYLE.

In our notice of the Supplement to Mr. Loudon's "Encyclopædia" last week we omitted the foregoing Illustration, being a design for a Villa in the Italian style, and from the prolific portfolio of Mr. Lamb.
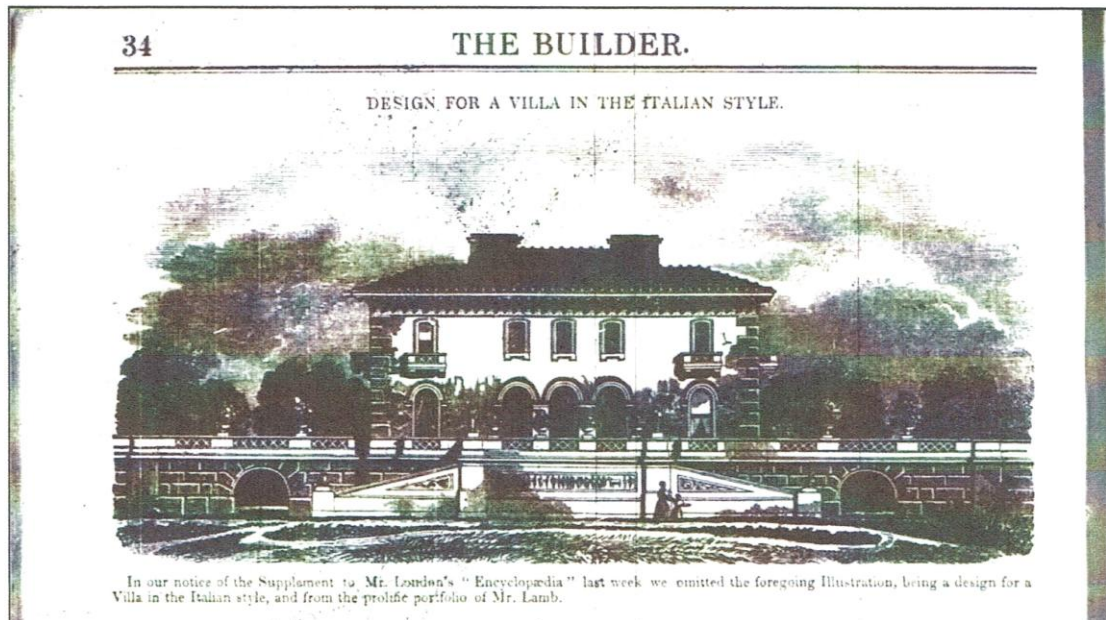
Design by Mr Lamb for Italian Villa, from Mr Loudon's "Encyclopaedia"
The Builder, vol. 1, 25 February 1843

Plate 34

**St Mary and St Boniface Cathedral Church,
Plymouth,** author's photograph, 2016

St Walburge's Church, Preston
author's photograph, 2005

THE
ARCHITECTURAL MAGAZINE,
AND
JOURNAL
OF IMPROVEMENT IN
ARCHITECTURE, BUILDING, AND FURNISHING,
AND IN THE VARIOUS ARTS AND TRADES
CONNECTED THEREWITH.

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**Front cover of Loudon's Architectural Magazine and Journal
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Plate 36

Tower, Main Entrance, St Beuno's College
author's photograph, 2008

CHAPTER VI
THE 1840s part 2: THE GOTHIC REVIVAL AND THE CATHOLIC CONTRIBUTION

Still in the 1840s, the two main sections of this chapter, the Gothic Revival and the surge in Catholicism, or the Catholic Revival, are united as a single chapter as they were so closely inter-dependent.[1]   Pugin was an important common denominator, with equal impact upon and exploitation of both.   This chapter will show how he also pioneered opportunities abroad, particularly in Ireland and Australia.[2]

The two revivals are significant in that they provided both incentives and a framework within which the profession could develop.   However, in addition to the search for a new style, architects were distracted by a number of other sub-issues which will be explored.   For example, the Pugin-driven quest to prove the English origin of Gothic was a time-consuming and fruitless exercise which served no real purpose.   Separate from the antiquarians' approach, many of the concepts promoted by the CCS were either ill-founded or manipulated to their own ends.[3]   Additionally lengthy disagreements about internal arrangements and the benefits or otherwise of copying impeded overall progression towards the formation of a cohesive profession.[4]

The second half of the chapter addresses the impact of Catholicism and the associated need for more churches to be built.   The peak of Pugin's church-building was between 1838 and 1846, and that of Hansom was between 1844 and 1854.[5]   These are explained by changes within the Catholic church related to the consecration of Wiseman as Bishop (1840), the conversion of Newman (1845) and the Restoration of the Hierarchy (1850), in tandem with political problems in Ireland and an influx of Irish following repeated potato famines.[6]   A gradual relaxation of attitude towards

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[1] Jan de Maeyer, 'Gothic Revival: Religion, Architecture and Style in Western Europe 1815-1914', Proceedings of the Leuven Colloquium 7-10 November 1997, Jan de Maeyer and Luc Verpoest (eds), p. 13; Martin S. Briggs, *Architect in History* (Oxford, 1927), p. 350.

[2] Timothy Brittain-Catlin, Jan De Maeyer, Martin Bressani (eds), *Gothic Revival Worldwide: A.W.N. Pugin's Global Influence* (Leuven, 2017); Seán O'Reilly, 'Roman versus Romantic: Classical Roots in the Origins of a Roman Catholic Ecclesiology', 40: *AH* (1997); A. O. M. Gordon, 'A sense of the Hibernian: Irish identity in the works of A. W. N. Pugin and E. W. Pugin', *True Principles,* 4:1 (2009); Hill, *God's Architect*, pp. 497, 520-21, *et al*; Stanton, *Pugin*, pp. 202, *et al*.

[3] Simon Bradley, 'The Englishness of Gothic: Theories and Interpretations from William Gilpin to J. H. Parker', *AH*, 45 (2002); Elliott and Webster, *A Church as it should be;* Nigel Yates, *Buildings, faith and worship: the liturgical arrangement of Anglican churches, 1600-1900* (Oxford, 1991), p. 2; Augustus Freeman, 'Principles of Church Restoration' in *Pamphlets, Ecclesiastical, etc.,* Ecclesiological Society (London, 1946).

[4] Odile Boucher-Rivalain, 'Attitudes to Gothic in French architectural writings of the 1840s', *SAH* 41(1998), pp. 147, 150); Pugin, *A Treatise on Chancel Screens and Rood Lofts, their Antiquity, Use and Symbolic Significance* (London, 1851); Webster and Elliott, *A Church as it should be* (Stamford, 2000); Nigel Yates, *Liturgical space: Christian worship and church buildings in Western Europe, 1500-2000* (Aldershot, 2008).

[5] Stanton, *Pugin*, p. 10.

[6] T. W. Moody and F. X. Martin, *The Course of Irish History* (Cork, 1967).

Catholicism was disrupted by on-going quasi-political and religious disputes in the Midlands where Pugin, aided by the patronage of the 16th Earl of Shrewsbury, increasingly pursued his quest for 'purity' of style, using it as a platform to promote his religious dogma.[7] Broadening out from Birmingham into Leicestershire, the next section follows a move by Hansom to Lancashire, where he reinforced his dependency upon the Jesuit Order. Thus, he was able to contribute to both revivals, stylistic and religious.

Historiography

As Salmon points out, antiquarian appraisal of 'Gothick past' did not always equate with 'Gothic present', that is to say the style of new Gothic buildings in the 1840s was heavily influenced by contemporary needs.[8] The varied discussions in his symposium on Gothic and the Gothic Revival illustrate differences in approach and demonstrate that changes over many years rendered a single template impossible. Eastlake's *History of the Gothic Revival*, being essentially factual rather than polemic, is an important point of reference. It was edited by Crook, who added an introduction wherein he noted the omission of rogue architects and Eastlake's dislike of 'architectural eccentricity'.[9] The works of both Kenneth Clark and Basil Clarke are equally significant, with the latter referring to builders rather than architects, and focusing on religious and social issues.[10] Other standard works on the Gothic Revival are those by Brooks, Charlesworth, Colvin, Hall and Lang; with an overview given by Lewis which looks at alternative continental origins.[11] Emphasis on Englishness and underlying patriotism is discussed by Bradley and Goodhart-Rendel; whilst the way in which Strawberry Hill evolved out of the Gothic writings of Scott and played a leading part at the start of the Revival are discussed by Hill.[12]

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[7] Judith Champ, 'Assimilation and Separation: The Catholic Revival in Birmingham 1650-1850, (PhD thesis, Birmingham University, 1984), p. 283; Roderick O'Donnell, *The Pugins and the Catholic Midlands* (Leominster, 2002); Denis Gwynn, *Lord Shrewsbury, Pugin and the Catholic Revival* (London, 1946).

[8] Frank Salmon (ed.) *Gothic and the Gothic Revival, 26th Symposium of The Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain* (Manchester 1998), p. 1.

[9] Charles Locke Eastlake, *A History of the Gothic Revival : an Attempt to Show How the Taste for Mediaeval Architecture, which Lingered in England during the Two Last Centuries Has since Been Encouraged and Developed* (London, 1872), edited with an introduction by Mordaunt Crook (Leicester, 1970), <147>.

[10] Kenneth Clark, *The Gothic Revival: An essay in the History of Taste* (Trowbridge and Esher, 1978); Basil F. L. Clarke, *Church Builders of the nineteenth-century – a study of the Gothic Revival in England* (Newton Abbot, 1969).

[11] Chris Brooks, *The Gothic Revival* (London, 1999); Michael Charlesworth (ed.), *The Gothic Revival 1720-1870: Literary Sources and Documents*, vol. 2, 'Living the Gothic Revival (Robertsbridge, 2002); H. M. Colvin, 'Gothic Survival and Gothick Revival, *Architectural Review* (13 March 1948); Michael Hall (ed.), *Gothic Architecture and its Meanings 1550-1830* (Reading, 2002); S. Lang, 'The Principles of the Gothic Revival in England', *AH*, (4 December 1966); February 2014; Michael J. Lewis, *Gothic Revival* (London, 2002); see also Georg Germann, *Gothic Revival in Europe and Britain: Sources, Influences and Ideas* (London, 1972).

[12] Simon Bradley, 'The Englishness of Gothic', *AH,* 45 (2002); Harry Stuart Goodhart-Rendel, 'English Gothic Architect of the nineteenth Century, read before the Royal Institute of British Architects, 31 March 1924 (printed in 31, no. 11); Rosemary Hill, 'Welcome to Strawberry Hill; Chronology and Architecture at the Service of Horace Walpole', *Times Literary Supplement,* 19 May 2010.

With regard to religious influence on architecture, an extensive analysis of the inter-relationship between doctrinal need and architectural style is given by White.[13] Limited to the use of contemporary sources within the CCS records, White's version is augmented by Webster and Elliott, who provide an updated and more comprehensive view-point.[14] Pugin's life and career are plotted by Hill and Stanton, with emphasis on his patronage given by Gwynn and a global picture by Bossy, who argued that Old Catholics impeded progress of the profession by resisting any changes away from Gothic.[15] The importance of Birmingham and the Midland area is emphasised by O'Donnell from a Catholic perspective, but he underplays the social setting, the Irish influx, urbanisation and industrialisation.[16]

Context

Neither movement, stylistic or religious, was co-ordinated or driven by any single individual, but both were heavily influenced by strong personalities who exploited social change for their own ends.[17] The success of both was numerical rather than favouritism and stemmed from negative attitudes, with Gothic used as a means to eradicate Georgian influence, and Catholicism a protest against perceived Anglican failings.[18] Apart, perhaps, from Pugin and the CCS who restored far more churches than they built, the use of Gothic was one of fashion and expediency rather than choice.

As will be seen, the combined efforts of Pugin, Shrewsbury and Phillipps are only three amongst many. Opinions as to the parameters of the Gothic Revival differ widely, with some considering that it was a continuous process and did not, therefore, justify the term 'revival'. The structure of the Catholic Revival is more precise. It pre-dated the 1840s and can be traced back to 1778 when George III, who was fundamentally opposed to Catholic emancipation and saw it as a personal threat to his position as monarch, pushed through the first Catholic Relief Act, thus enabling him to recruit Scottish highlanders into his army.[19] The subsequent *Relief Act* of 1791 abolished double

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[13] James F. White, *The Cambridge Movement: The Ecclesiologists and the Gothic Movement* (London, 1962).

[14] Webster and Elliott, *'A Church as it should be* (2000).

[15] Hill, *God's Architect* (London, 2007); Stanton, *Pugin,* (1972); Gwynn, *Lord Shrewsbury and Pugin* (19460*;* John Bossy, *The English Catholic Community 1570-1850* (London, 1975).

[16] Roderick O'Donnell, *The Pugins and the Catholic Midlands* (Leominster and Leamington Spa, 2002).

[17] See Rowell, *Vision Glorious: themes and personalities of the Catholic Revival in Anglicanism* (Oxford, 1983).

[18] Lewis, *Gothic Revival*, p. 104; Edward Norman, *Roman Catholicism in England from the Elizabethan Settlement to the Second Vatican Council* (Oxford, 1986).

[19] Papists or *Catholic Relief Act* 1778 : 18 Geo. III. c. 60.

land tax on Catholics and permitted the celebration of Catholic worship in public chapels.[20] These Acts were precursors to the more important Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829, which relieved further disabilities.[21] Credit must be given to Daniel O'Connell, who fought to gain his rightful place in parliament, but no instant transformation took place and the Catholic Revival was highlighted by discord as much as any coming together.[22] Two unforeseen external influences were the huge influx of Irish immigrants and a spate of Catholic conversions emanating from the Oxford Movement. Urbanisation and population growth continued to demand more buildings, again increasing the work-load of architects but not necessarily improving either the standard of work or the reputation of the profession.

The Gothic Revival

Like the term 'Victorian', the 'Gothic Revival', the first topic, is a convenient nomenclature for historians which was superimposed in hindsight. There is no consensus as to the periodicity of the Revival as each authority seeks to justify their individual perception. Goodhart-Rendel goes as far as saying that there was no revival at all, for if something was to be revived it must have died in the first place, which Gothic did not.[23] The style was perpetuated through local builders, who maintained the traditions of their predecessors.[24] Church steeples were typical of English countryside throughout, particularly in areas where there was a supply of local stone, and many examples showed little variance over a period of three hundred years.[25] Colvin concurs, pointing out that in rural areas such as Wiltshire and the Cotswolds several generations of mason-cum-builders erected buildings in Gothic, being the only way they knew.[26] Thus, he coined the phrase 'Gothic Survival'.[27] Lang supported Bernheimer's theory, seeing the Revival as progression from a period of Gothic Survival.[28] He stated:

> Gothic was to be taken out of the hands of the architects who had nursed it for so long ... and claimed by the theatrical designers as an operatic tool ... architects ... only interested in new and startling effects felt free to employ the style of the past for their own ends ... tear themselves from a continuity that had constrained their colleagues in the past ... and to end

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[20] *Catholic Relief Act* 1791: Geo. III. c. 32.

[21] Long Title: *An Act for the Relief of His Majesty's Roman Catholic Subjects*, 10 Geo. IV c. 7; Catholics were now allowed to become members of parliament, and hold government office, except Lord Chancellor, Lord Keeper or Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

[22] O'Connell held 'monster' protest meetings across the country, a model used by Attwood when agitating for the reform in Birmingham which culminated in the *Great Reform Act* of 1832.[22]

[23] Goodhart-Rendell, 'English Gothic Architecture', pp. 321, 339.

[24] Clark, *Gothic Revival*, pp. 19, 23, 36.

[25] Colvin, *ibid.*, p. 94.

[26] Colvin uses the families of Sumsion and Woodward as case studies; *ibid.,* pp. 91-98.

[27] Colvin, 'Gothic Survival and Gothick Revival', *Architectural Review*, March 1948, p. 49.

[28] S. Lang, 'The Principles of the Gothic Revival in England', *AH*, 4:(December 1966), p. 240.

subservience to architectural predecessors inherited from mediaeval times ... return spontaneously to what to their predecessors had been a burden ... for the new medium (theatrical design) had set them free ... Like English architects who changed from churches and college buildings to Gothic ruins in garden scenery.[29]

Based on the discovery of seventeenth and eighteenth-century stage designs, this concept is analogous to Pugin's early career.[30] It also puts into context the vogue for 'perspective' paintings, started by his father and perpetuated by many architects through competition entries. The re-awakening of interest in Gothic architecture was as much a tool of artists and writers (Scott in England, Victor Hugo in France and Goethe in Germany), as it was an intent on the part of architects. The Revival was not unique as others had gone before, for example the Classical in the ninth, eleventh and eighteenth centuries; and the Greek, which Cockerell referenced in his lecture as Professor of Architecture to the Royal Academy in 1842.[31] Furthermore, Essex, Repton and Willson all believed that Gothic was based on Classical theory; whilst Schlegel claimed that the first and principal model of Gothic was Byzantine.[32] Curl complicates matters by declaring that Byzantine was the origin of both styles, Classical and Gothic.[33] There is validity in all of these theories, but such indiscriminate use of the term takes away any sense of a revival as a bringing back from the dead, and renders it synonymous with fashion rather than chronological fact.

Hitchcock considered that the Gothic Revival flourished from the 1850s to the late 1860s, describing Gothic as 'a programme of accurate imitation of medieval models … which reached its climax in the forties … when Pugin and the Anglicans (CCS) banded together'.[34] Thus he is denying continuity with the past and equating nineteenth-century Gothic with a completely new movement of neo-Gothic. Churches of this period could not comply with Pugin's 'truth'. They were mass-produced on a vast scale, initiated originally by the Church Commissioners, and suffering from the loss of traditional craftsmen. In other words, they were the product of population increase (urbanisation), and industrialisation (mechanisation). The rôle-models to which they aspired had benefited from the specialist skills of artisans and spacious settings, none of which were available in this age of rapid change.[35]

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[29] R. Bernheimer, 'Gothic Survival and Revival in Bologna', *Art Bulletin*, 36:(1954).

[30] *Ibid*, p. 283.

[31] J. Turner (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of American Art before 1914* (New York), p. 198.

[32] Essex was confusingly described as a Gothic classicist, Lang, 'Principles of the Gothic Revival', pp. 257, 262; for Schlegel see Friedrich von Schlegel, *The Philosophy of History* (London 1835) first published as *Philosophie der Geschichte* (Vienna, 1829).

[33] Curl, *Dictionary*, pp. 136-139.

[34] Henry Russell Hitchcock, 'High Victorian Gothic', *Victorian Studies*, 1 September 1987, *Periodicals Archive Online*, p. 47.

[35] The building of Westminster Abbey began in 1245, with additional work in the sixteenth-century and west towers

A different school of thought claimed that earlier Gothicism was not credible because, unlike Greek and Classical precedents, no rules had been laid down, until Pugin attempted so to do. Freeman maintained that rules were damaging because they denied the skill, taste and judgement of the ancients.[36] The difference between the 'ancients' and modern was that with the former architecture was 'a *living* art...when architects worked as artists for the sake of art' - rules were too restrictive.[37] The issue of rules also blurs the concept of a revival because by this reasoning Gothic could only have started in the nineteenth century, as already stated. Many nineteenth-century versions were built by architects, builders or amateurs with limited understanding of the design and techniques required, thus reducing them to poor quality. This does not constitute a revival, only a resurgence in interest, and suggests a retrogressive step rather than progressive, potentially damaging to the profession.

Eastlake considered that whilst Gothic had been used prior to this, it was only during this decade, mainly due to the studying and copying of old buildings, that it began to be reproduced intelligently.[38] He defined the beginning of the Gothic Revival as 1840, with the laying of the foundation stone for the Houses of Parliament, and Curl suggests that it peaked in 1850, with Scott's Nikolaikirche in Hamburg.[39] Whilst there is some justification for this time-frame, it is essential to look firstly at the broader context to demonstrate continuity, and, therefore survival, and then to look at two specific properties, Strawberry Hill (1749-76) and Fonthill Abbey (1796-1813). Between them these buildings cast the mould for later Gothic building. Both evolved as a result of a mix of antiquarian interests, dramatic landscape settings and literary associations.[40] They were evocative of Sir Walter Scott's Abbotsford and anticipated Pugin's Alton Towers (Earl of Shrewsbury, from 1837), and Woodchester Park built by Charles Hansom (William Leigh, from 1845), (see Plate 37).[41]

Before canons were laid down, Gothic was far more varied even than the later 'eclectic style'

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added in 1745; York Minster took from 1230 to 1472 to complete and Salisbury Cathedral commenced in 1220, with the spire added in 1320 and further work by Wren in 1668.

[36] Freeman, 'Church Restoration', p. 12.

[37] *Ibid.*, pp. 5, 8.

[38] Eastlake, *Gothic Revival*, p. 209; his history was held in such high regard that no other books on the subject were published until Clark, fifty years later; for a critique of Clark's work see Lepine, 'Persistence of Medievalism', *AH,* 57:(2014).

[39] Eastlake, ibid, p. 209; Scott won the competition for the Nikolaikirche by default: the winning German design was overruled and replaced with a Gothic design by Scott, which was deemed more appropriate for the setting.

[40] The two owners, Walpole and Beckford, also contributed to the literary trend and wrote Gothic novels, *The Castle of Otranto* and *Vathek* amongst others; these properties will be explained in more detail in the next section.

[41] See later section for details of Woodchester.

discussed in the previous chapter. It encompassed Chinoiserie, Oriental and Baroque, with an outlandish form of decoration which fell outside the range of Classicism, the stranger the better.[42] Strawberry Hill and Fonthill Abbey fell into the 'sham' category but the impact they made lasted well into the nineteenth century, despite, or perhaps because of, their inauthenticity.[43] This re-opens the question as to whether Gothic was a blanket term, as was frequently the case, or whether it should be specific to any one period, as preferred by Pugin. The heightened awareness they brought, not simply as buildings, but for scenic or picturesque settings, garden landscaping and particularly for furniture and interior design, all became highly fashionable and an integral part of the Revival. The wealthy owner-patrons played a significant part in the design and execution of their properties. They were built piecemeal and featured display areas for art collections.[44] Strawberry Hill, which the antiquary Edward Willson described as a 'heap of inconsistencies', was initiated by a 'Committee of Taste' comprising the owner, Horace Walpole, together with two friends.[45] It was a mix of styles using castles, Gothic cathedrals and Batty Langley for inspiration.[46] It was also the first house not to incorporate any original medieval fabric. Walpole admitted that it was not 'real Gothic'.[47]

Unlike Strawberry Hill, a centre of much social activity and a showpiece regularly opened to the public, Fonthill Abbey was home to a solitary hermit.[48] It was surrounded by a forest and enclosed within a six-mile wall.[49] The enormous folly, designed like a painting, was built on an excessively extravagant scale, with a 300-foot tower which fell down twice, adding to the ridicule it had already provoked.[50] The house was designed to resemble a cathedral and layered in different architectural styles. William Thomas Beckford, the owner, chose the talented but unreliable James Wyatt as his architect.[51] However, Wyatt was frequently absent and Beckford supervised the vast workforce

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[42] Bassin, *Architectural Competitions*, pp. 25, 26.

[43] The two owners, Walpole and Beckford, also contributed to the literary trend and wrote Gothic novels, *The Castle of Otranto* and *Vathek* amongst others.

[44] Brooks, *The Gothic Revival* (London, 1999), pp. 85, 86, 155.

[45] Hill, *God's Architect,* p. 51; see also Michael McCarthy *The Origins of the Gothic Revival,* 1987, p. 1; Horace Walpole was son of the Prime Minister Sir Robert Walpole.

[46] Brooks, *Gothic Revival,* p. 91.

[47] White, *Cambridge Movement*, p. 8; Hill, 'Welcome to Strawberry Hill: Chronology and Architecture at the Service of Horace Walpole', *Times Literary Supplement* (9 May 2010); Colvin, 'Revival and Survival', p. 91, (9): Westminster Abbey Muniments, 24836 (Paper Book of 'Workmen's Bills to the Jerusalem Chamber' and Cloister Gates, 1769); Clark, *Gothic Revival*, p. 61; Lang, 'Principles of the Gothic Revival', p. 253; the garden was carefully designed in the natural style advocated by William Kent, the landscape gardener turned architect who became a protégé of Lord Burlington.

[48] Brooks, *Gothic Revival,* pp. 86, 155.

[49] Brooks, *ibid.,* p. 155.

[50] White, *Cambridge Movement*, p. 8; for full details of Fonthill Abbey, see Robert J. Gemmett, *Beckford's Fonthill: the rise of a romantic icon* (Norwich, 2003); Lewis, *Gothic Revival*, p. 42.

[51] Wyatt was Surveyor to Westminster Abbey and another Architect to the Office of Works, but his controversial

personally, including the landscaping. The essence of these two buildings, Strawberry Hill and Fonthill Abbey, together with widespread interest in history, combined to move the Gothic Revival of the nineteenth-century from its *laissez-faire* of the past to a new intellectual phase. The attempts by their owners to emulate Gothic were unusual in that neither were built for ecclesiastical purposes. There were no early Gothic precedents for domestic buildings and these were hardly templates, but they did open up the possibility for wider use of the idiom.[52]

The self-conscious Gothic cultural climate of the nation was an attempt to promote patriotism by masking the after-effects of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars, as well as sidelining domestic unrest. This diversionary tactic generated work and gave a sense of purpose for architects, but it provided no impetus in the wider sense for the otherwise irresolute profession.[53] Paradoxically it was Pugin, the French émigré, who set in train the question of English origin. If the profession was to move forward, it needed to be free of past arguments, from antiquarianism and discussion as to which 'type' of Gothic they should use. Instead their attention was drawn to yet another time-consuming and pointless mission, that of proving that Gothic originated in England and not on the Continent. Like the origin of the Revival, there were numerous differing views regarding Englishness.

In Milner's opinion, the first Gothic church was confirmed by the presence of pierced interlacing in St Cross Hospital church, near Winchester (1134).[54] Pevsner considered the church to be later in the century and Bentham queried the originality of some critical features.[55] Nevertheless Milner's theory was endorsed by the architects William Wilkins and Samuel Beazley, and again by Britton.[56] Carter went a stage further and suggested that some Gothic buildings abroad were of English design.[57] However Whittington challenged the argument in his historical survey of France, and used the abbot-statesman Suger's St Denis 1137-44 as his benchmark.[58]

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alterations to Salisbury Cathedral between 1789 and 1792 earned him the nickname of 'the destroyer'; he was working on Windsor Castle at the time, but Wyatt pulled his workmen off to work 24-hours on Fonthill.

[52] For background on domestic Gothic see Megan Aldrich, *Gothic Revival* (London, 1994).

[53] Tom Duggett, *Gothic Romanticism: Architecture, Politics, and Literary Form* (New York, 2010), p. 8.

[54] Simon Bradley, 'The Englishness of Gothic: Theories and Interpretations from William Gilpin to J. H. Parker', *AH*, 45 (2002), p. 327; Milner, *Winchester* II, p. 153.

[55] Pevsner and Lloyd, *The Buildings of England, Hampshire and the Isle of Wight*, 1967, p. 37; James Bentham, *The History and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Ely* (London, 1771), p. 37.

[56] Bradley, 'The Englishness of Gothic', p. 328; see also Samuel Beazley, 'An Essay on the Rise and Progress of Gothic Architecture', pp. 29, 40-43 in *Essays of the London Architectural Society* (London, 1808); John Britton, *The architectural antiquities of Great Britain* (1809).

[57] Bradley, *ibid*, p.327; J. M. Frew, 'Gothic is English: John Carter and the Revival of Gothic as England's National Style', *Art Bulletin*, 64(1982), pp. 315-319; see also *Archaeologia 43 (1871),* pp. 73-96.

[58] Bradley, *ibid*, p. 328-9; Whittington, *An historical survey of the ecclesiastical antiquities of France, with a view to illustrate the rise and progress of Gothic architecture in Europe* (London, 1809), pp. 87, 108; see also Peter Kidson,

By 1829 the *Weekly Review* and the *Gentleman's Magazine* had already entered the debate, which continued for many years. Even after the IBA was founded, members were asked to fill in a questionnaire on the subject whenever they travelled abroad.[59] Comparisons were drawn between Salisbury and Amiens, both of which had been started in 1220. The rogue architect Edward Buckton Lamb used Loudon's *Architectural Magazine* to perpetuate Milner's claim for St Cross. However the argument had abated by the time Parker raised the issue in his quasi-textbook, *Introduction to Gothic Architecture,* which claimed that St Hugh's Choir at Lincoln was the earliest 'pure and complete Gothic anywhere in the world'.[60] Brewer thought the pointed style had developed in England and France in parallel.[61] Britton admitted to the possibility that some features came from foreign sources, and finally George Gilbert Scott decided that Gothic had appeared independently in France, England and Germany.[62] Nevertheless, Fletcher completely overturns all these theories by suggesting that the pointed arch 'probably' originated in Assyria, with the use of pointed arches in BC 722 for drainage under the palace of Khorsabad.[63] His alternative theory is that put forward by Creswell, who claimed Syrian origin in AD 561-64.[64] The Northern European version required large windows, rather than the much smaller ones used previously due to climatic differences. These evolved, via the Romanesque (AD 800-1200), towards the Gothic, where new and different forms were required to satisfy the religious aspiration for tall, slender spires, and the constructional need for buttresses to support the mass.[65] Brooks states that the 'Gothic's reformulation in Britain directly influenced the whole European Gothic Revival', which took on global proportions by the early 1850s.[66] However, the re-building of Cologne was of equal significance, and claims as to provenance were not exclusive to England.[67] Belgium, France, Germany and Scotland all sought that accolade.[68]

'Panofsky, Suger and St Denis', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 50, (1987), pp. 1–17 and Conrad Rudolph, *Artistic Change at St Denis: Abbot Suger's Program and the Early Twelfth Century Controversy Over Art,* (Princeton, 1990); Wittington died before completion of his work, which was taken over by his friend and editor the fourth Earl of Aberdeen and future Prime Minister.

[59] Bradley, 'The Englishness of Gothic', p. 333; *RIBAT*, 2:(1842), pp. 74-80.

[60] Bradley, *ibid.*, p. 333; *AM,* 1:(1834), p. 345; Parker, *Introduction* (Oxford, 1849), p. 102.

[61] J. Norris Brewer, *An Introduction to ... the 'Beauties of England and Wales'* (London 1818), pp. 443-43, 476.

[62] Britton, *Architectural Antiquities,* v, p. 67; Scott, *Personal and Professional Recollections* (London, 1879), pp. 125, 146-47.

[63] Fletcher, *History of Architecture*, pp. 64, 326.

[64] *Ibid.*, pp. 256, 326.

[65] *Ibid.*, p. 326.

[66] Brooks, *Gothic Revival*, pp. 261, 288.

[67] See below for details of Cologne Cathedral; Bradley, 'The Englishness of Gothic, p. 333; J. S. Memes, *A History of Painting, Sculpture and Architecture, Constable's Miscellany* (Edinburgh, 1829), pp. 326-31; Thomas Bell, *An Essay on the Origin and Progress of Gothic Architecture* (Dublin, 1829), p. 88.

[68] Brooks, *Gothic Revival;* see below for details of Cologne Cathedral.

The French and German Gothic Revivals were very different from those in England, but two separate and unrelated events, one occurring in each country, changed the course of the English architectural profession.[69] The first was the career of Viollet-le-Duc, starting when he restored La Madeleine, Vezelay (1840-59) and Sainte-Chapelle, Paris (from 1840). The second was Scott's winning of the Hamburg competition (from 1845). Viollet-le-Duc's most important contribution was his *Dictionnaire,* a reference book widely-used in England. More a programme of restoration than a revival, the French movement was inspired by Victor Hugo, who prefaced his *Notre-Dame de Paris* by dwelling on the importance of architecture as a social historical record, and emphasised the sorry state of ruins in Paris, reminiscent of the medieval era. He believed that France had a duty to preserve its national monuments, seeing them as symbols of the people's current status and power following the restoration of their monarchy. The French architectural journal, *La Revue Générale de l'Architecture et des Travaux Public,* founded in 1840 by Daly, a French architect, claimed in its first issue that the art of construction was the nation's second most important activity, second only to agriculture.[70] Not only was patriotism important to France but also their new-found *liberté* - this needed to be expressed through their architecture in new, more eclectic ways.[71] The French attitude to past and present was more pragmatic than the English, with emphasis on the future. There was no suggestion of returning to the past, but it was hoped that learning from it would inform progression and at the same time help support the rising bourgeoisie.[72] The three key objectives of the *Revue* were to pay tribute to previous architects (expressly not copying them as 'history could not be repeated', a view totally opposed to that of the English), to safeguard the present and to prepare for the future.[73]

Initiated by Guizot, prominent politician and historian, the Revival as such was state-driven, with the appointment of a General Inspector of Historical French Monuments, formalised as the Commission for Historical Monuments in 1837.[74] The Commission led to many French churches being restored, but as the movement was driven by patriotism rather than any religious motivation,

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[69] See Nigel Yates, *Liturgical Space*, p. 113.

[70] César Daly, 'Introduction', *Revue Générale*, I (1840), p. 6; the 1851 census identified building as the second largest occupational group, with an annual turnover of millions; Himmelfarb, *Culture of Poverty*, p. 710; Brooks in Brooks and Saint, *The Victorian Church*, p. 20.

[71] Daly, 'L'architecture de l'avenir', *Revue Generale,* 8:(1849-50), cols 26-29; H. Janniard, 'Trois jours à Rouen', *Revue Générale,* 5 (1844), cols 421-31 (col. 421); Odile Boucher-Rivalain, 'Attitudes to Gothic in French architectural writings of the 1840s', *AH*, 41 (1998), pp. 148,150-151.

[72] Boucher-Rivalain, 'Attitudes', pp. 145, 147, 151.

[73] *Ibid.*, pp. 147, 150.

[74] Brooks, *Gothic* Revival, p. 269; see also Françoise Bercé, 'La creation de la Commission des Monuments Historiques' in *Le Gothique Retrouvé* [literally translated as refound, not revived] *avant Viollet-le-Duc*, being the catalogue of an exhibition held in the Hotel de Sully, Paris, 1979-1980, p. 144; Viollet-le-Duc started his career as assistant to Prosper Mérimée, the second inspector.

it was shorter in duration than its English counterpart and far fewer new churches were built.[75] Restoration was prompted by necessity due to former neglect and was not an academic exercise as in England. However a conflict of styles similar to that in England arose in France. The conflict was between the *Revue Générale* and its antiquarian counterpart the *Annales Archéologiques,* who both considered Gothic to be very much a national French art, and the *Académie Royale des Beaux Arts*, whose schooling was rigidly Classical.[76]

The French had no doubt as to the French origins of Gothic, which were:

> of the thirteenth century, born on our soil, created according to our character and with our materials, in our climate, beautiful, admirable in design and economical ... the only one that decrees to be studied in France considering first construction, secondly art and thirdly cost.[77]

Many of the arguments put forward mirrored those of Pugin. It was, however, the controversial attempt by Gau, the German-born but French-trained Architect of the City of Paris, to build the new church of Sainte-Clotilde in Gothic style which Boucher-Rivalain claimed brought a definitive end to the French Revival.[78]

The gaining of the commission for Nikolaikirche, which gave Scott an international reputation, was as controversial as any English competition.[79] Like the Houses of Parliament, the former building was ruined by fire in 1842. A collection was raised, similar to those for St Walburge's in Preston, and a competition held.[80] However the winning Classical design was not executed for two reasons.[81] Firstly it did not fit into the medieval setting, one of Pugin's most important requirements, and secondly the recent continuance of work on Cologne cathedral had generated much interest in Gothic abroad.[82] Entries were reviewed by two people who both preferred Gothic, and Scott was appointed as he was believed to have a better understanding of Gothic than his German counterparts.[83] Lewis maintains that it was Scott's work which precipitated the German

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[75] Brooks, *Gothic* Revival, p. 273; only two hundred neo-Gothic churches were built in France between 1840 and 1852; *Neoclassical and Nineteenth-Century Architecture,* pp. 356-58, French translation, *Architecture moderne,* 1750-1970, (Berger-Levrault, 1983), p. 359.

[76] *Annales Archéologiques* was founded by the stained-glass specialist, Didron, in 1844; Bouchier-Rivalain, 'Attitudes', pp. 146,147.

[77] Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, 'De la construction des édifices religieux en France depuis le commencement du christianisme jusqu'au XIXème', *Annales Archeologique,* 4 :(1846), p. 267.

[78] Building commenced in 1846 but was relinquished by Gau when he became terminally ill; Boucher-Rivalain, *Attitudes*, p. 151.

[79] Lewis, *Gothic Revival*, p. 98.

[80] Henry-Russell Hitchcock, *Architecture: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (1977), p. 152.

[81] Harry Francis Mallgrave, *Modern Architectural Theory: A Historical Survey, 1673-1968* (2005), p. 132.

[82] Boucher-Rivalain, 'Attitudes', p. 332; Lewis, *Gothic Revival*, p. 98; see also Thomas Hope, *An Historical Origin of Gothic Architecture* (London, 1835), pp. 370-378.

[83] Dixon and Muthesius, *Victorian Architecture,* p. 28; Stephen Bailey, *The Albert Memorial* (London, 1983), p. 43;

Gothic Revival.[84] As will be seen, it was only a contributory factor.

Germany based its claim for originating Gothic on spurious arguments, such as if their Gothic churches were not earlier than the French, they were finer.[85] Examples were Strasbourg, Freiburg and Oppenheim, which had the sharpest pointed arches.[86] This was a fruitless exercise as Gothic had not appeared in Germany until the thirteenth century, and Reichensberger finally admitted that the original design of Cologne had been dependent on Amiens.[87] The subject was well debated in England, with the English Classicist, Thomas Hope supporting the opinions of the German architect Moller, as did several others including Willson, (co-editor of Augustus Pugin).[88] Whewell also followed Moller's viewpoint and published *Architectural Notes on German Churches,* claiming that pointed arches first appeared in German vaults as part of the structural system.[89] A long-established myth was that the sharply pointed shapes so prolific and characteristic of First Pointed were inspired by German pine forests.[90] Like Pugin, whose literary works were important to the development of German architecture, the Catholic Schegel associated the physical with the spiritual aspects of Gothic designs.[91] Though he disputed the connection with pine forests, the vast woodlands provided a plentiful source of local building materials, and timber-framed houses kept Germany in close touch with the middle Ages.

The German Gothic Revival came in two phases. The first, which pre-dated the European wars, was prompted by a single writer and the second, triggered by those same wars, focused almost entirely on a single building. The writer was Goethe and the building Cologne Cathedral. Following a revelation in Strasbourg cathedral, when the architect appeared to Goethe in a dream giving a deeply emotional and philosophical explanation of its intricate design, Goethe wrote *von deutscher Baukwost,* from which the following quote is taken.[92] 'A German ought to thank God to be able to proclaim aloud: that is German architecture, our architecture ... the Italian can boast none of his

when completed the 483 foot spire was the tallest in the world.

[84] Lewis, *Gothic Revival,* p. 98.
[85] Bradley, 'The Englishness of Gothic', p. 340.
[86] Bradley, *ibid.*, p. 332; Georg Moller, *Denkmäler der deutschen Bukunst* (Darmstadt, 1815-21), translated as *An Essay on the Origin and Progress of Gothic Architecture, traced in and deduced from the ancient edifices of Germany* (London, 1824), pp. 68-69, 80-81.
[87] *Ibid;* Lewis, *Gothic Revival*, pp. 75.
[88] Bradley, *ibid.*, p. 332; Thomas Hope, *An Historical Essay on Architecture* (London, 1835), p. 399; A. C. Pugin and E. J. Willson, *Examples of Gothic Architecture, Selected from Various Ancient Edifices in England* (London, 1831-38), I (1831), p. xiii.
[89] William Whewell, *Architectural Notes on German Churches* (London 1830), p. 73.
[90] See James Hall, 'An Essay on the Origin and Principles of Gothic Architecture', *Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, 1797).
[91] Lewis, *Gothic Revival,* p. 64.
[92] *Ibid*, p. 61.

own, still less the Frenchman'.[93] England is noticeable by its absence. Goethe's work quickened the pace of the Revival, especially in the form of copying England's vogue for ruins and landscape gardening.[94] Lewis, who is strongly biased in favour of Germany as originator, claimed that Gothic was 'an expression of exalted creative genius', and that England was lacking in aesthetic philosophy.[95]

Napoleon's defeat in 1814 had brought a wave of patriotism and with it the search for a fitting German monument. The abandoned and incomplete cathedral in Cologne, with its ancient crane still *in situ,* provided a perfect silhouette of a Gothic ruin much admired by the English, but serving no practical purpose, (see Plate 38). Intended to be the largest cathedral in Europe, this was the obvious metaphor to demonstrate German nationalism, an icon of unification.[96] The cathedral was proclaimed by the historian Joseph von Görres to be symbolic of 'the new empire we want to build'.[97] Originally begun in 1248, work on the cathedral had ceased by 1560. When it re-commenced in 1842, it took forty years to complete during a period of rapid change, as in England, which saw the construction of the adjacent Central Station and nearby metal bridge over the Rhine, both in 1859.   Progress of the building work attracted much attention and regular reports were printed in the *Ecclesiologist* and *The Builder,* inspiring Hansom to imitate the Cologne plate tracery when designing the chancel windows for St Wilfrid's at Ripon.[98] August Reichensberger, a Catholic judge, politician and prominent member of the cathedral building society, was the unofficial overseer of the work. The Prussian King Freidrich Wilhelm paid half the cost.[99] Schinkel, the foremost German architect of this period and one-time Prussian State Architect, hoped to be appointed.[100] However, his concept of a flat roof over the partially built cathedral was rejected.[101] Work was subsequently undertaken by one of his pupils, Ernst Zwirner, using drawings which dated back to 1300.[102]

Despite increasing awareness of developments in other countries, and the common aim of

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[93] J. D. von Goethe, *On German Architecture* (1772).

[94] Lewis, *Gothic Revival*, p. 66.

[95] *Ibid*, p. 59.

[96] *Ibid.,* p. 67; Brooks, *Gothic Revival,* p. 263; at this time Germany comprised a number of states, the 'Deutscher Bund;'; it was not united until 1871, see Karen David-Sirocko, 'Anglo-German interconnexions during the Gothic Revival: a case study from the work of Georg Gottlob Ungewitter (1820-64)', *SAH* 41:(1998), pp. 153-178.

[97] Lewis, i*bid.,* p. 67.

[98] *Builder*, 17 May 1862, p. 356.

[99] Brooks, *Gothic Revival,* p. 262

[100] Lewis, *Gothic Revival*, p. 64; Schinkel designed the setting for Mozart's *Die Zauberflöt*, 1815-16.

[101] Lewis, *ibid.*, p. 70.

[102] *Ibid.*, p. 75.

patriotism, the architectural professions in France, Germany and England progressed along different lines.

The French Revival was more nationalistic, with emphasis on restoration; the German revival reflected the North/South Protestant/Catholic divisions, and the English was more parochial in nature. Unshackled by Camdenian constraints, there was a persistent failure by the Catholic Church in England to adopt a pure revived Gothic style.[103] The Catholic church had never been so closely identified with the Revival as the Church of England, and when Roman Catholics did build Gothic churches they did not always follow Pugin's preferred northern European manner with deep square chancels, solid piers, tall and vertical proportions.[104] Anglo-Catholic parish churches were ornamented in Gothic style, notwithstanding its disparity with the original style of the edifice.[105] Despite their denial of any theological interest, the Camdenians were as much involved with internal arrangements as with external appearance. Many church builders seem to have only considered aesthetic principles, overlooking practical matters such as the comfort and convenience of the worshippers and, like Pugin, they complained of ignorant restoration by ignorant churchwardens, who were more interested in artistic effect than correctness.[106]

If architects were to gain work and thrive, they were obliged to follow the dictum of the CCS, which went into considerable detail. James Neale, who was not an architect, dwelt on ecclesiastical rather than architectural principles and published his views as to how a church should be, as shown in the extract below:

> Firstly, [in line with Pugin] real materials should be used, dependent on location. ONLY TWO PARTS ESSENTIAL, CHANCEL AND NAVE.[107] If not the latter it is at best only a chapel; if not the former, it is little more than a meeting house ... A very magnificent appearance may be given to the Chancel by raising it on a flight of nine or ten steps ... stone altars [were] desirable ... the absolute inadmissibility of galleries ... reading pews and clerk's desks were the root of evil.[108]

Attached to the guidelines were appendices giving recommended models for windows, fonts and rood-screens.

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[103] O'Reilly, 'Roman versus Romantic', p. 222; Eastlake, *Gothic Revival,* pp. 344-51.

[104] O'Reilly, *ibid*, p. 224.

[105] Thureau-Dangin, *The English Catholic Revival*, II, p. 433.

[106] *The Church Builder: Church Extension in England and Wales,* quarterly periodical of the ICBS, no. 3 (London, Oxford, Cambridge 1862), pp. 131, 121.

[107] Lewis interpreted these as the worldly and the sacred; Lewis, *Gothic Revival,* p. 92.

[108] John M. Neale*, A Few Words to Church Builders,* Cambridge, 1841, pp. 5, 11, 20, 30, 22, 26; Webster, *Church Builders,* 7; Yates, p.116, n. 3, Christopher Webster (ed.), *Temples Worthy of His Presence: the Early Publications of the Cambridge Camden Society,* Reading 2003, pp. 137, 143.

Most of the recommendations for internal arrangements were contentious. Firstly they complained of the lack of a chancel in most modern churches, a prominent feature of ancient churches, and insisted that all new ones should have chancels which were not less than a third or more than half the length of the nave.[109] Chancels in medieval churches were to be imitated precisely, using length to notionally separate the altar from the congregation.[110] The altar should be a solid mass of masonry. Examples of acceptable stone pulpits were given and the French *prie-dieux* chair was recommended for seating.[111] The potential omission of rood-screens was of greatest importance to Pugin personally, altars (whether stone or wood, see below), were a theological issue and seating arrangements affected the clergy and the whole congregation.[112] The liturgical changes sought by some High Churchmen of the Church of England, such as the breaking-up of the old three- and two-decker pulpits, added to the confusion.[113] At times the Tractarians invoked so much hostility from the press and politicians, that suits were brought against the more ritualistic clergy under the *Church Discipline Act* of 1840.[114] Changes were resisted by laity and clergy lower down the hierarchy, and consequently slow to take place, except in Ireland, where attitudes differed and Pugin had greater influence.

Pugin's first use of a rood-screen was at Macclesfield, (1839-41), the concept being to divide but not to separate clergy from laity, as Knight puts it 'the essence of Picturesque in Gothic'.[115] The heated debate which gradually erupted, whether or not to insert a rood-screen, became a theological equivalent to the Battle of the Styles: those who preferred the Gothic proto-type versus those, mainly Oratorians and Jesuits, who preferred Classical or Baroque and were against them.[116] The scale of the furore caused Pugin's dismissal from the church of St Thomas at Fulham (1847-49), and escalated to such an extent that it became known as the 'Screens Controversy'.[117] His patron, Elizabeth Bowden, the convert friend of Newman, had requested an altar rail rather than a rood-

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[109] Neale, *Few Words*, pp. 5, 6; White, *Cambridge Movement*, p. 94.

[110] Neale, *ibid,* p. 19; Yates, *Liturgical Space,* p. 115.

[111] Neale, *ibid.,* pp. 11, 21, 22.

[112] See Pugin, *A Treatise on Chancel Screens and rood Lofts, their Antiquity, Use and Symbolic Significance* (London, 1851).

[113] The Church Commissioners had decreed that pulpits and reading desks should be separated on either side of the chancel, but this was frequently ignored; Webster, 'Absolutely Wretched': Camdenian Attitudes to the late Georgian Church', p. 20 in *A Church as it should be* (ed.) Webster and Elliot; Port, *600 Churches*, pp. 62-3.

[114] 3&4 Vict. c.86.

[115] Knight, *An Analytical Enquiry,* p. 174; see also Hill, *God's Architect,* p. 201.

[116] Christabel Powell, *Augustus Welby Pugin Designer of the British Houses of Parliament: the Victorian Quest for a Liturgical Architecture* (Lewiston, Lampeter, 2006), p. 282; in later years, Butterfield, Scott and Street all supported the preservation of rood-screens.

[117] Hill, *God's Architect*, p. 398.

screen, to which Pugin objected, and ignoring her request he started to build one anyway. Even with a reputation such as Pugin's, the power of the patron was supreme and he lost the job.

The debate about whether or not altars should be built of wood or stone was more straightforward, though equally strong views were held. Wood was commonly believed to be Protestant and stone Romish.[118] However, both the text and Plate I of *Few Words* referred to a stone altar, reinforcing the argument put forward by Close as to their leaning towards Catholic customs. The Cambridge Camden Society brought this problem upon themselves, as exemplified by the Round Church in Cambridge. The ensuing arguments between incumbent, churchwardens and parishioners led to a ruling by the Court of Arches that with effect from January 1845 stone altars were illegal in the Church of England. Church-builders were then warned 'lest in reproducing the graces of medieval architecture, we should lay ourselves open to the suspicion of reviving medieval superstition'.[119] The debate then became more complex, and extended further into the precise role of an altar, at the same time raising questions as to the Society's credibility and its denial of any theological input.[120]

In addition to the question of the fabric of the altar was the siting of the pulpit - invariably the pulpit, reading-desk and clerk's desk had obstructed the congregation's view.[121] The clerk's desk was dispensed with and the pulpit and reading-desk were separated, on either side of the aisle.[122] Yates refutes any perceived correlation between ecclesiology and ritualism in the middle of the century, stating that he was unable to find evidence to support the premise that 'large numbers of fully ecclesiological and quasi-ritualist churches were erected between 1840 and 1850'.[123] He cites the sixteen Anglican churches built in Brighton, of which only one had a fully ecclesiological interior, four retained their pulpit and reading desk directly in front of the altar, two had a two-decker pulpit and one had a three-decker.[124] These features all contravened the dictates of the Ecclesiologists.

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[118] White maintains this is historically incorrect as wood was to symbolise a table for the service of the Lord's supper, and stone was sacrificial, pp.138-139; Thureau-Dangin, *The English Catholic Revival*, II, p. 439; the temporary use by Hansom of a wooden altar for the chapel in the chapel at St Clare's Abbey, Darlington (1855-57), delayed consecration until it could be replaced by a stone altar.

[119] White, *Cambridge Movement,* p. 138; *A Sermon Preached at the Re-opening of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Cambridge; on Sunday, August 10, 1845* (Cambridge, 1845), p. 15.

[120] White, *Cambridge Movement*, p. 138; William Goode, *Altars Prohibited by the Church of England* (London, 1844); Jonathan Blackburne, *A Brief Historical Inquiry into the Introduction of Stone Altars into the Christian Church* (Cambridge, 1844).

[121] Webster, 'Absolutely Wretched', p. 18; Yates, *Faith and Worship*, p. 115.

[122] Webster, *ibid.*, p. 20.

[123] Yates, *Liturgical Space,* p. 120.

[124] Yates, *ibid.*, p. 121.

The design of internal arrangements also had financial implications for, as mentioned in Chapter II, pew rents were an essential part of a church's income and their removal was resisted. The perceived increasing wealth of higher clergy did not go unnoticed by government. Some clergy were benefitting from the growth of industrialisation, canons were purportedly living a life of luxury and leisure, and the wealth of cathedral chapters was escalating. This led to the *Ecclesiastical Commissioners Act* of 1840 and attempts to claim part of their revenue in order to create new parishes in industrial areas and supplement clergy in poorer areas.[125] The re-arrangement of seating caused much controversy, a topic which was covered by the Ecclesiologists in their *Few Words to Churchwardens, Suited to Country Parishes,* and its counterparts for towns and manufacturing parishes.[126] Disparity between box pews, some of which were fitted out as elaborate drawing rooms, and the basic accommodation available to the poor, was no longer socially acceptable.[127] Furthermore, box pews took up a lot of valuable space, when, in some instances, room for eight or ten people was occupied by only two or three, and then only intermittently.[128] Architects were thanked for their co-operation in helping the Society to remove 'irregular and high pews' and substitute a more 'uniform arrangement', a measure which aimed to increase church attendance.[129] The removal of galleries, which had been added to older, or even some new Commissioners' churches, was obligatory as far as both the Ecclesiologists and Pugin were concerned.[130] In the seventeenth and eighteenth-centuries galleries were identified as a feature of Classical churches, another reason for removing them from nineteenth-century Gothic churches.[131] A practical consideration was that galleries blocked natural light.[132] The question of seating was also taken up by the Oxford Society. Weare, like Neale, produced a monograph on the history of pews.[133] When Britton illustrated the Cambridge church for his *Architectural Antiquities* he deliberately omitted the pews to prevent architects from misguidedly copying them.[134]

Copying was a further contentious issue, whether it was ethical or imperative, whether parts of a

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[125] British History Online, *Victoria County History*, Wiltshire; see also Ralph B. Pugh, *A History of Devizes* (Trowbridge, 2001); 3&4 Vict. c.113.

[126] J. M. Neale, *A Few Words to Churchwardens, Suited to Country Parishes*, pp. 11-12; CCS *A Few Words to Churchwardens, Suited to Town and Manufacturing* Parishes (London, 1841), pp. 6-8.

[127] White, *Cambridge Movement*, p. 7; Rowel, *Vision Glorious,* p. 102.

[128] Bradley, 'The Roots of Ecclesiology', p. 38, (89): *Gentleman's* Magazine, First Series, 71:(1801), pp. 31, 117, 718; see also Mordaunt Crook, *John Carter and the Mind of the Gothic Revival* (London, 1995).

[129] *Church Builder*, *ibid.,* p. 116.

[130] Webster, 'Absolutely Wretched', p. 8; Stanton, *Pugin*, p. 62.

[131] White, *Cambridge Movement*, p. 7.

[132] Webster, *ibid.*, p. 20.

[133] Bradley, 'Roots of Ecclesiology', pp. 37, 39; T. W. Weare, *Some Remarks upon the Church of Great Haseley, Warwickshire* (Oxford 1840).

[134] Bradley, *ibid.*, p. 37; John Britton, *The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain.*

building should be copied or the whole, or whether a building should be praised or condemned for being identified with an existing precedent. Architects made notes when visiting older churches, either for record purposes or as patterns for their own future work. They were advised to copy whole churches, and not just to make sketches of details with partial measurements, as church architecture of the present day was 'strictly imitative'.[135] In the view of the Ecclesiologists, an exact copy was preferable to attempts at experimentation which might fail: 'new churches after the exact models of good ancient ones would commence a new and happy era in the history of modern church-building'.[136] This reasoning, mixing old and new, is somewhat muddled, but they considered it to be the 'safest and best course', and the only guarantee of excellence.[137] Copying was not considered a sign of weakness, but one of necessity in order to acquire a knowledge of true principles, or 'real ancient designs'.[138] Furthermore there was a cost factor: a complete copy rather than a compilation would save money. Old churches could be built for £700-800, whereas 'modern Early-English would contain no more kneelings, cost more than twice the money and look like a 'gothick factory'.[139] An exact copy of a whole church was also likely to be more beautiful than a nondescript one comprising 'bits and pieces'.[140] Nevertheless, both Pugin and Scott collected samples for others to copy.[141]

It was left for eclectics such as Hansom to follow broader architectural trends, such as the use of French rose windows (see Plate 39).[142] He also favoured flying buttresses, an aesthetic feature not generally used by English architects, especially for parish churches.[143] The Ecclesiologists frowned upon all foreign influence, describing the incorporation of foreign designs as 'calculated to obstruct the profess of that improvement in our national religious architecture'.[144] It was, however, impossible to exclude, if for no other reason than architects had traditionally travelled abroad expressly to gain ideas. Even Pugin had used a 'German-hall' for St Chads at Birmingham, and his church at Derby was a mix of English and German Gothic.[145] This use of restrictive practices inhibited the growth of the profession, when architects were seeking a new style. Nonconformists, on the other hand, were open to different ideas, and Wakeling draws attention to the number of

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[135] *Ecclesiologist,* June 1847, p. 134; Pugin, however, seldom drew a whole building.
[136] *The Ecclesiologist,* 'A Hint on Modern Church Architecture', 9 June 1842, pp. 134, 135.
[137] *Ibid.*
[138] White, *Cambridge Movement*, p. 93; *Ecclesiologist*, June 1847, p. 133.
[139] *Ecclesiologist*, 1847, p. 133.
[140] *Ibid.,* p. 134.
[141] Coldstream, 'The Middle Pointed Revival', p. 23.
[142] Dixon and Muthesius, *Victorian Architecture*, p. 192; Evinson, 'Hansom', p. 190.
[143] Brian O'Callaghan, 'English Medieval Spires: Design and Meaning', in *Gothic and the Gothic Revival, 26th Symposium*, p. 49.
[144] *Ecclesiologist,* vol. 8, 1842, p. 132.
[145] Hill, *God's Architect*, p. 201; Bradley, 'Englishness of Gothic', p. 337.

churches they built in Gothic style.[146] He cites as an example, their Buckingham Baptist Chapel, Clifton (1843-47), inspired by the thirteenth-century Gothic Sainte-Chapelle.[147] They also benefitted from the repeal of the *Test and Corportion Acts* in 1828, which allowed them a measure of religious liberty. This freedom was reflected through their choice of style and also, unlike Anglican and Catholic churches, the fact that they were not restricted to east-facing sites.[148]

The Catholic Contribution

On the basis of Goodhart-Rendel's reasoning, there was no more a Catholic 'Revival', than there was a Gothic Revival. Catholicism never died out in Great Britain; it went underground, but never out of existence, with sons and clerics sent to train on the continent.[149] Also, as seen above, the Catholic Revival did not begin with Newman's conversion any more than the Gothic Revival began with Pugin, though their names are those most closely associated with both campaigns. The whole structure of the Catholic community did, however, completely change at this time. The élitist Old Catholic gentry attempted to continue their former way of life, gradually gaining a more public profile; the new converts from the Oxford movement came from wealthy families and had different ideals, and the Irish immigrants came from simple backgrounds. None were compatible, which caused difficulties for the clergy, who were low in numbers and vastly over-worked.

At national level, the Catholic community was underrepresented, lacking in structure and viewed with hostility. To overcome this, the existing four bishoprics were increased to eight in 1840, with full restoration of the hierarchy of England and Wales to twelve in 1850.[150] Known as the rule of vicars apostolic, their domain prior to 1840 was divided into the London, Midlands, Northern and the combined West and Wales districts. London was then split into Southwark and Westminster, Lancashire into Liverpool and Salford and Yorkshire into Middlesborough and Leeds. This was the defining point for the revival, as, like the Church of England, they too required more churches. Friction arose when Cardinal Wiseman was designated the first Bishop of Westminster. It was seen as an encroachment by Rome into England's capital, when any hint of loyalty shown to the Pope

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[146] Chris Wakeling, 'Rolling in the Aisles: Non-Conformist Perspectives on the Gothic, in *Gothic and the Gothic Revival: 26th Symposium*, pp. 37-38.

[147] Restored by Viollet-le-Duc between 1840 and 1849, this church also had a profound effect on Pugin, Curl, *Dictionary*, pp. 325-6.

[148] Wakeling, 'Rolling in the Aisles', p. 37.

[149] J. Derek Holmes, 'Aspect of Nineteenth-Century Catholicism in England', in *Yorkshire Catholics,* G. T. Bradley (ed.) (Leeds, 1985), p. 29.

[150] Chadwick, *Victorian Church*, p. 275; Norman, *Roman Catholicism*), p. 67; see also *The restoration of the Roman Catholic hierarchy in England 1850: A Catholic position,* Eddi Chittaro, University of Windsor (Canada), 1958, AAT EC52462.

was considered a threat to the English establishment, a sensitivity which impacted greatly upon architectural design.[151] Amongst the lobby groups for these administrative changes were the Earl of Shrewsbury and his future chaplain Dr Daniel Rock.[152] They generated work for Pugin, particularly a cathedral in Southwark (1840-48).[153] At the same time, the Jesuits and the Benedictines, who were answerable to their own superiors, independently provided much work for Hansom, particularly in Lancashire, and for his brother in the south.[154]

Potential social disruption in Ireland was also a threat. A situation, not dissimilar to that of the English pew rents, where mainly absentee landlords emulated English gentry, and required the Irish to contribute tithes to the government towards the funding of the Irish Anglican Church.[155] Despite comprising seventy-five percent of the mainly peasant population, Irish Catholics were treated as a minority, and expected to relinquish ten per cent of their agricultural produce. They were actively encouraged by priests to withhold tithes, and the majority joined the Catholic Association.[156] Inspired by the French attitude towards *liberté* and *égalité*, the main mission of the Association was to campaign against the control held over Ireland by the English government.[157] O'Connell had used the Catholic Association when campaigning for his right to sit in Parliament. His contribution epitomises the intertwining of religion and politics, and is indicative of the on-going external influence of Rome, albeit indirectly.

O'Connell also proactively campaigned for the building of new Catholic churches across England. In 1842 he took part in a 'Grand [fund-raising] Meeting' in Liverpool attended by five thousand people, including the Lord Mayor of Dublin.[158] The meeting was chaired by the Jesuit Provincial, Father Randall Lythgoe, who spoke of the advantages to religion of the revival of the Jesuit order

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[151] Woodward, *Age of Reform,* pp. 502-3.

[152] Norman, *Roman Catholicism*, p. 67; J. A. Hilton, *Catholic Lancashire: from Reformation to Renewal 1559-1991* (Chichester, 1994), p. 82; Rock was instrumental in bringing Pugin and Shrewsbury together, Stanton, *Pugin*, pp. 27, 34.

[153] One of the main benefactors was the Honourable Edward Petre, husband of 'Sister Mary', Kelly, *Catholic Missions*, p. 366.

[154] The Jesuits provoked particular hostility; Edward Norman, *Roman Catholicism in England from the Elizabethan Settlement to the Second Vatican Council* (Oxford, 1986), p. 83.

[155] The Irish counterpart to the Queen Anne's churches was administered initially by the Board of First Fruits, and then through the Board of Ecclesiastical Commissions; between 1801 and 1821, 550 glebe houses had been built and 697 churches were either built, rebuilt or enlarged; Chris Brooks and Andrew Saint, *The Victorian Church: architecture and society* (1995); D. H. Atkinson, *The Church of Ireland: Ecclesiastical Reform and Revolution, 1800-1885* (1971, Newhaven and London), pp. 45-119.

[156] This was the first democratic mass movement in the world and set up by Daniel O'Connell.

[157] R. B. McDowell, in Moody and Martin, Chapter 15: The Protestant Nation 1775-1800, pp. 236, 245.

[158] *Freeman's Journal & Daily Commercial Advertiser*, Dublin (13 August 1842).

after their return from France.[159] O'Connell complained that Liverpool Corporation was 'remarkable for its exclusiveness and intolerance' and enthusiastically supported the proposal to build St Francis Xavier's Catholic Church.[160] He explained how much it was needed, due to the huge increase in population from Irish incomers. He was also involved in Gravesend, where Hansom built the church of St Gregory the Great in 1843. The meeting he chaired raised £100 in donations.[161] O'Connell's speeches attracted much attention and were well received. His grandson was briefly a pupil of Hansom (from 1853), after which he returned to Ireland and went into partnership with James Joseph McCarthy.[162] A founder member of the Irish Ecclesiological Society, McCarthy was also a regular contributor to the *Irish Catholic Magazine* (from 1847), with articles on Irish architecture.[163]

Pugin had a substantial practice in Ireland as well as England.[164] This resulted from a chance meeting at Shrewsbury's Alton Towers with John Hyacinth Talbot, Member of Parliament for Waterford.[165] Pugin received commissions for several works from both John Hyacinth Talbot and Lord Portarlington, but like his most famous Irish work, Killarney Cathedral, they were restricted in scope due to the famine.[166] Curtailment of funding was a frequent occurrence in this decade and meant that many churches were either left incomplete or unfurnished.[167] The foundation stone for Killarney was laid in 1842, work stopped and was restarted in 1848, but not completed until 1853, after Pugin had died. Local fund-raising committees were set up in Ireland and America, achieving £800; the final cost rose to £20,000 but the planned central tower was never built. As in England,

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[159] The Society of Jesuits had been suppressed by Pope Clement XIV in 1773 and restored by Pope Pius VII in 1814, however when they were forced to flee from France, the British Province migrated to Stonyhurst in Lancashire; George Lambert Clifford, the last pupil at Liège and the first at Stonyhurst, was father of the priest for whom Hansom built a church in Clifford, Yorkshire (1845-48) and benefactor of a church, convent and school he built in Boulogne, from 1857.

[160] The church, with seating for one thousand, was subsequently designed and built by Joseph John Scoles (1842-48), a founding member of the IBA; James Jago, 'Gothic identity and inheritance in the year of *Contrasts:* John Joseph Scoles, the Jesuits and Saint Ignatius, Preston (1833-36.)', *True Principles*, 3/5 (Autumn 2008), pp. 5, 11.

[161] The church was commissioned by the Polish Franciscan priest Father Gregory Stasievitch to serve Polish seamen; F. A. Mansfield, *The History of Gravesend in the County of Kent,* 1981, p. 114; M. K. Batstone, *A Trail of five Churches in Gravesend,* unpublished typescript, 1987, p. 7; *CAR*, p. 116; Kelly, *English Catholic Missions,* p. 191.

[162] *Dictionary of Irish Architects, http://www.dia.ie/architects/view/3761/0%27CONNELL-DANIEL*, accessed 7 June 2011; *Irish Builder*, 54, 14 September 1912, p. 532; see also Jeanne Sheehy, 'J. J. McCarthy and the Gothic Revival', *Ulster Architecture Heritage Society* (1977).

[163] http://www.dia.ie/architects/view/3759/McCarthy+James+Joseph, accessed 5 July 2016; as the only practising architect, McCarthy's membership of the Irish Ecclesiological Society gained him a high reputation and many contracts.

[164] Hill, *God's Architect*, p. 199; Stanton, *Pugin*, p. 70.

[165] Hill, *ibid.*, p. 199; Talbot, of Talbot Hall, New Ross, County Wexford was an uncle of Lady Shrewsbury, the wife of John Talbot, the 16th Earl.

[166] Hill, *ibid.,* pp. 522, 523; plans were also drawn up for extensive work amounting to £3,900 for Lord Portarlington at Milton Abbey, Dorset; they were abandoned due to lack of Irish rent money, Stanton, *Pugin,* p. 207.

[167] Roderick O'Donnell, '"An Apology for the Revival": the Architecture of the Catholic Revival in Britain and Ireland', p. 36 in Jan de Meyer and Luc Verpoest (eds) 'Gothic Revival: Religion, Architecture and Style in Western Europe, 1815-1914 (Leuven, 2000).

Catholic churches in Ireland were invariably relegated to back streets, though not so with St Paul's in Dublin (1835-37, tower added 1843.) Designed by the prominent Catholic architect Patrick Byrne, St Paul's was a large Classical building in a prominent position. Gothic was not dominant in Ireland, nevertheless, Byrne used a plan published by Pugin in the Dublin Review as a template for his St John the Baptist (1842-45).[168] It was built on land given by the second Baron Cloncurry on the outskirts of Dublin. St Malachy, designed by Jackson in 1844, was intended to be a cathedral church for seven thousand, but funds were diverted to assist with famine relief and a much smaller version was built. In Tudor style, St Malachy was described by Sir Charles Brett (first chairman of Ulster Architectural Heritage Society), as 'a superb example of Sir-Walter-Scottery at its most romantic'.[169]

The social structure in Ireland was not hampered in the way that it was in England, though in both countries Catholics were tight-knit communities.[170] More claimed that the Catholic church in England survived over a period of two hundred years by literally 'living in the houses of the laity', with hidden chapels and safe havens for priests.[171] Without their financial and practical support, Catholicism in England might not have survived. However Old Catholics were reluctant to move with the times. They were not always accepting of new converts, some of whom had only done so to get away from the Church of England, though Atholtz claimed that it was the 'good sense of the invincible Protestants' and their 'sympathy toward Catholicism' which was responsible for the Revival.[172] Old Catholics found their theorising and academic approach unnerving. It upset the *status quo*, they had no control over changes and their own supremacy was put at risk.[173] Hitherto their way of life had been intensely social, with much entertaining and much inter-marriage. The laying of foundation stones and church-openings were excuses for elaborate social gatherings, when members of the Catholic hierarchy, both priesthood and gentry, were prepared to travel long distances. Benefactors routinely paid for luncheons in local hotels, and in the case of Hansom's church at Selby, his patron, Sister Mary, personally supervised the refreshments even though she was resident in Belgium.[174] Notwithstanding the many instances when schools were built alongside

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[168] With a target audience of educated upper-class Catholics in Ireland and England, and despite its name, the *Dublin Review* was always published in London; Alvar Ellegård, *Victorian Periodicals Newsletter*, 13 (September 1971), p. 16.

[169] archiseek.com/2009/1844-saint-malachys-church-belfast, accessed 25/3/14.

[170] Paul Thureau-Dangin, *The English Catholic Revival in the Nineteenth Century*, I, (1914), rev. and re-ed. from translation by Wilfred Wilberforce, p. xxiii.

[171] Peter More, 'The Catholic Missionary Enterprise in the Re-establishment of the Catholic Church in England, with special reference to its development in the Midlands in the nineteenth-century', (unpublished, 1965).

[172] See Joseph L. Altholz, *The Liberal Catholic Movement in England* (London, 1962).

[173] Chadwick, *Victorian Church*, pp. 281, 282; Norman, *Roman Catholicism,* p. 72.

[174] Harris, 'Yorkshire Works', pp. 175-193; correspondence between Father John Rigby and Mrs Petre, 1855, Sister Mary of St Francis (Laura Petre) collection - Box 3, Sisters of Notre Dame, British Province, Liverpool.

churches, which in themselves were built by and for the use of Irish labourers, the Ultramontanes accused the Old Catholics of not being sufficiently interested in the poor.[175]

Based on the premise that the Catholic Revival provided much work for the comparatively small number of Catholic architects, it has already been shown that the scenario was highly complex. The Irish influence cannot be discounted on numerical grounds, however they had no leader or organisational structure and placed a huge burden on State and clergy alike. Their culture was different, their language with local dialects was unintelligible, and they made no attempt to integrate.[176] Historically many Irish had come to England for seasonal work, but things changed radically in the 1840s when the precarious financial situation worsened after blight brought in from America, via England, caused failure of the potato harvests of 1845, 1846 and 1847.[177] A few returned home and some moved on to America, but the majority remained, settling in the poorest and most squalid of locations, particularly where cheap labour was needed to work in docklands or to dig tunnels for railways, such as at Selby.[178] As migration increased, settlements began to develop at the end of the main routes: Ulster to Glasgow, Cork to London and Dublin to Liverpool. Some dispersed to other areas, such as York and Preston, where Hansom built churches expressly for their benefit.[179] Their appalling living conditions were dangerously unhealthy and grossly over-crowded, with work for the lowest wages and food of the poorest quality.[180] Churches and schools were required to mitigate social hardship as much as for religious instruction.

A statistical analysis illustrates the full impact of this migration upon the English nation. At the time of the Emancipation Act in 1829 the population of Ireland was five million and that of England and Wales just over nine million. It increased to eight and a half million in 1845 but by 1851 it fell

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[175] Bradley, 'Yorkshire Catholics', p. 29; this does not take into account the Catholic Poor School Committee, in which Mrs Petre's husband, Edward, son of Robert Edward, 9th Lord Petre, took an active role, nor the extent of the considerable charitable work they undertook.

[176] Sheridan Gilley, 'The Roman Catholic Church in England, 1780-1940', in Sheridan Gilley and W. J. Shiels (eds), *A History of Religion in Britain: practice and belief from pre-Reformation times to the present* (Oxford, 1994), p. 351: Hilton, *Catholic Lancashire,* p. 87.

[177] Green, 'Great Famine', pp. 271-272; Liam Kennedy, Paul S. Ell, E. M. Crawford, L. A. Clarkson, *Mapping The Great Irish Famine: A Survey of the Famine Decades,* (Dublin, 1999), p. 69; David Ross, *Ireland: History of a Nation*, (New Lanark, 2002), p. 311; see also James Donnelly, *The Great Irish Potato Famine*, (2005); Christine Kinealy, *This Great Calamity: The Irish Famine 1845-52,* (1995).

[178] Chadwick, *Victorian Church*, p. 271.

[179] Harris, *Architectural Achievements`*, pp. 141-155; Harris, 'Yorkshire Works', *YAJ,* pp. 184-5; Evinson, 'Hansom', pp. 179-215; *Builder,* 8 July 1882, pp. 43-44.

[180] Chadwick, *Victorian Church*, p. 271; Hilton, *Catholic Lancashire*, p. 87; see also J. S. Leigh, *Preston Cotton Martyrs, The Millworkers who shocked a Nation* (Lancaster 2008); K. S. Inglis, *Churches and the Working Classes in Victorian England* (London and Toronto, 1963), p. 120.

back sharply when one million emigrated and one million died.[181] The greatest migration was to London, but the influx was of such magnitude that already by the 1830s, prior to the potato famine, the Catholic church, particularly in Lancashire and northen England, was approaching a state of crisis. By 1834, seventy per cent of Catholics in Liverpool were Irish and in Manchester they amounted to eighty-three per cent.[182] This escalated further between 1841 and 1851 when the number of Irish-born in England doubled.[183] The number of Catholics in York typifies the swell in numbers nationally: in 1841 there were 781, with 2,618 in 1851 and 3,248 in 1861, by which time the number of Irish born in England had peaked at 602,000 and the situation stabilised.[184] In 1842, there were 80,000 Catholics in Liverpool alone with 108,548 Irish-born living in London. The 1851 census, the first to address specific religious issues, showed a total of 519,959 Irish-born living in England and Wales, see Appendix VI. However only 250,000 Catholics attended mass.[185] Geographically there was no specific North/South divide. As has been seen, Catholics thrived in London, largely for social reasons, and a few pockets were scattered across the South, but their greatest conclave was in the North, particularly Lancashire, Yorkshire and Northumberland, where they had remained entrenched over the centuries. When adding the Irish immigrants, the cultural spread was so diverse that it could not hope to constitute a single whole. To 'be a Catholic' at this time was entirely dependent upon who you were and where you were - the common factor only being lack of social acceptability outside your own circle.[186]

This diversity and complexity is reflected through a selection of churches built by Hansom during this decade: Our Lady of the Angels, Nuneaton, Warwickshire (1838-40), for the local poor, was built on bare earth without foundations; the Talbot Schools and St Walburge's church, Preston, Lancashire (from 1847), were initiated by the Jesuits to accommodate large numbers and largely paid for by subscriptions from Irish immigrants. These are compared with the private chapel of Saints Simon and Jude, Ulshaw Bridge, North Riding (1841-42) for Simon Scrope of Danby Hall, and the Church of the Immaculate Conception, Spinkhill, Derbyshire (1844-46), adjacent to the Jesuit Mount Saint Mary College (see Plate 40).[187] These examples illustrate social extremes, the

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[181] Green, 'Great Famine', p. 274.
[182] Hilton, *Catholic Lancashire*, p. 87.
[183] Gilley, 'Roman Catholic Church', p. 350.
[184] Harris, *YAJ,* 'Yorkshire Works', p. 184; Frances Finnegan, *Poverty and Prejudice: A Study of Irish Immigrants in York, 1840–75* (Cork, 1982), p. 1; Gilley, *History of Religion,* p. 361.
[185] Chadwick, *Victorian Church*, p. 271.
[186] More, 'Catholic Missionary Enterprise', quoting from Sullivan.
[187] Catholic gentry donated £1,000 each; *Tablet*, 13 November 1841, p. 744; Evinson 'Hansom', p. 115, 131*;* Kelly, *English Catholic Missions*, p. 299; *Catholic Directory* 1848, p. 175; *Tablet,* 25 May 1850, p. 333; *Catholic Record Society*, 13, 232; Kelly, *ibid,* p. 402; Paul D. Walker, *Church of the Immaculate Conception Spinkhill, A History and Commentary* (Sheffield, 1990), p. 36; Evinson, *ibid.*, p. 189.

first two built to manage poverty, and the others to perpetuate the grandiose expectations of the gentry. Two further churches in Preston illustrate a change in attitude towards Catholicism. Initially churches were required to be plain externally, with no idolatry or other elaborate decoration, both of which were viewed with suspicion. However, two churches in this prominent Catholic town show how, with the aid of local influence, this could change. St Wilfrid's was built in 1793 by Father Ignatius Scoles, being 'of no architectural merit externally' (in other words a discreet style), but 'very elaborate and handsome internally'.[188] Thirty years later, the nearby St Ignatius was built by his relative, Joseph John Scoles, in the centre of a spacious square of the same name, and supported an ornate spire 114 foot high, the first Catholic spire in Preston.[189]

Whilst the North was a traditional Catholic stronghold, a unique tripartite, the Earl of Shrewsbury, Ambrose de Lisle Phillipps and Pugin created another, centred on the Midlands. They were encouraged by a number of powerful prelates and augmented by John Hardman, the stained-glass maker. After Newman's conversion, he regularly visited St Mary's College, the Catholic seminary at Oscott, near Birmingham, which became the focus of the Catholic Revival, a launch-pad for Pugin and a meeting place for the Earl and a succession of Bishops.[190] When the Midland area became the Central District under Bishop Walsh, attention turned towards Birmingham as the foremost centre of the Catholic Revival, something which could only have been achieved in a thriving urban centre.[191] As a magnet for high-profile prelates in an environment of radically-minded entrepreneurs, it vied with Oxford for the greatest activity.

Despite not having met a priest at the time of his conversion, Pugin quickly acquired strong views which extended far beyond those of an architect and in so-doing became divisive.[192] He provoked conflicts where hitherto there had been none, fuelling a schism which developed between Romanticism (Pugin's exclusive dedication to medieval precedents), and Romanism (the preference for Baroque or Italian designs, as favoured by the Oratorians), thus creating his own personal 'battle of the styles'.[193] His first association with the Catholic community was at Oscott, where he met the

[188] Anthony Hewitson, *History of Preston in the County of Lancaster* (Preston, 1883), p. 503.

[189] Hewitson, *ibid.*, p. 507; Charles Hardwick, *History of the Borough of Preston and its Environs in the County of Lancaster,* (Preston, 1857), pp. 479-480; Thomas R. Flintoff (Preston, 1985), pp. 38-39.

[190] Chadwick, *Victorian* Church, pp. 276-277; Champ, *Ullathorne*, p. 163.

[191] O'Donnell, *Catholic Midlands*, p. 10; *VCH*, Warwick, 7, (56): Gill, *History of Birmingham*, p. 375; Chadwick, *Victorian Church*, p. 287; between 1830 and 1850, thirty-nine churches and chapels were built in the Archdiocese of Birmingham, Champ, 'Assimilation and Separation', pp. 283-284.

[192] Norman, *Roman Catholicism,* p. 76.

[193] Wiseman insisted upon 'full Roman ritual, including Roman architecture, vestments and art'; Sheridan Gilley, 'Industrialization, Empire, Identity', p. 358, in Sheridan Gilley and W. J. Sheils (eds.), *A History of Religion in Britain: practice and belief from pre-Roman times to the present* (Oxford, 1994); Newman preferred Italian Renaissance, White,

Earl of Shrewsbury. Initially Pugin did not call himself an architect, but a designer and furniture-maker.[194] His *True Principles* was based on his lectures at Oscott, where he self-styled his position as 'sometime Professor of Architecture and Ecclesiastical Antiquaries'.[195] He was so popular that the furnishing of the chapel was taken away from the attendant architect, Joseph Potter, and transferred to Pugin.[196] The Hardmans, who were described as 'opulent button makers and medalists', were already working there when Pugin arrived, but Pugin persuaded them to specialise in ecclesiastical metalwork.[197] He spent his Saturday afternoons training Hardman's apprentices in skills needed for Gothic design, and it was Pugin's idea that the Hardmans should diversify into stained-glass, which they did from 1845.[198] Now called 'John Hardman & Co', the business grew so much during Pugin's 'reign' that turnover increased twelve times between 1841 and 1842.[199] However, Pugin still referred to it as 'his manufactory'.[200]

The discord which accompanied the Catholic Revival was especially prevalent in Birmingham. Internal wrangling, such as over a rood-screen at Macclesfield, had already been damaging to the Catholic cause and it spread across the wider community inviting cries of 'Papal Aggression' or 'No Popery'. The two sides, Romantics and Romanisers, had originally joined forces to encourage conversions, taking advantage of the apathy and growing disenchantment with the Established Church.[201] Now they were looking inwards and turning on each other. The revival was dependent upon a significant handful of charismatic, hard-working and forceful personalities such as Milner, Newman, Wiseman and Ullathorne, but they were not always in agreement.[202] Each played a part in promoting architecture, particularly Ullathorne and his predecessor in the Midland District Bishop Walsh, 'the builder bishop'.[203] When Ullathorne took over, he inherited considerable debt, for

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Cambridge Movement, p. 23.
[194] O'Donnell, *Catholic Midlands*, p. 17.
[195] Hill, *God's Architect*, pp. 178-179; O'Donnell, *Catholic Midlands*, p. 16; Champ, 'Assimilation and Separation', p. 274; Gwyn, p. 47; Stanton, *Pugin*, p. 80.
[196] Stanton, *Pugin*, p. 34; O'Donnell, *Catholic Midlands*, p. 66.
[197] O'Donnell, *Catholic Midlands*, p. 14; (46) Gillow, *Dictionary*, III, p. 128; Greaney, *Guide to St Chad's Cathedral Church*, pp. 24-6; Michael Fisher, *Hardman of Birmingham: Goldsmith and Glasspainter* (Ashbourne, 2008), p. 17.
[198] Champ, 'Assimilation and Separation', p. 273 (39): Trappes-Lomax, *Pugin: a medieval Victorian* (1932), p. 151; O'Donnell, *Catholic Midlands*, p.14; Brian Doolan, *Pugins and Hardmans*, p. 22.
[199] Doolan, *ibid*., p. 20; members of both the Pugin and the Hansom families married into the Hardman family: Pugin's daughter Anne married Hardman's nephew, John Hardman Powell in 1850 and Winifred Hansom married Hardman's youngest son, George Edward Hardman in 1871. Winifred's older sister, Sophie married Hardman's chief designer George Maycock in 1854.
[200] Fisher, *Hardman*, p. 64, (6): Pugin to Lord Shrewsbury, 13 February 1846, House of Lords Record Office PUG/3/15.
[201] Newman claimed that 'Catholics did not make us Catholics, Oxford made us Catholics', Edward Jeremy Miller (ed.), *Conscience the Path to Holiness: Walking with Newman,* (Newcastle, 2014), p. 76 (16): Newman to Canon Edgar Edmund Estcourt, priest secretary to Ullathorne in Letters and Diaries of John Henry Newman, 19:352.
[202] Norman, *Roman Catholicism,* pp. 83-87, 97-10; see Rowell, *Vision Glorious*.
[203] Milner was Vicar Apostolic of the Midland District between 1803 and 1826; Walsh followed, becoming Vicar

Walsh overspent heavily and would have gone bankrupt without the annual sum of £1,000 given to him by Shrewsbury.[204]

Money was not always wisely spent. The vast increase in numbers due to the Irish influx put pressure on the limited priesthood and temporary churches were built. Like the Commissioners Churches, they were needed quickly and cheaply. However, those erected with tin roofs, tawdry ornaments and dingy discarded vestments offended Pugin and his co-idealists, who wished for no buildings which were not expensive.[205] The grandiose stance of Wiseman in the next decade appealed to prelates as did Pugin's extravagances to Old Catholics, however both were void of social need and irreconcilable with funds available. Furthermore new churches were not always sited in the most appropriate areas, for 'where wealthy Catholics adorn churches on a splendid scale in locations where Catholics are but few, nor likely to be', hundreds of Catholics were left 'without a building in which to assemble'.[206] These comments are specifically targeted at the combined efforts of the Earl and Pugin in the Midlands. There were only ninety communicants at Pugin's most lavish St Giles at Cheadle when this was built in 1834, and at St Wilfrid's in rural Cotton (1846), the excessive facilities again far exceeded local need.[207] Thus, Shrewsbury was pandering to Pugin's wishes rather than mitigating social inadequacies.

Appropriateness of scale was not a problem in Birmingham, but there were other complications. The new Catholic Cathedral of St Chad's saw one of the greatest and most publicly aired issues over rood-screens. Wiseman and other Romanisers condemned them as unnecessary medieval eccentricity, whereas Pugin believed them to be essential.[208] His theory was that the openwork design of medieval-type screens enabled the laity to retain a clear view, whilst still preserving the sanctity and remoteness of the sacred part of church. Arguments continued for many years, voiced through *Rambler* during 1848 and 1849 and culminating in Pugin's *Treatise* in 1851.[209] Wiseman

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Apostolic of the Central District after the four former regions were divided into eight.

[204] Chadwick, *Victorian Church*, p. 274; Gwynn, *Shrewsbury and Pugin*, Shrewsbury, p. 27; O'Donnell, *Catholic Midlands*, p.14; Ullathorne's debts were exacerbated by the collapse of the Monmouthshire and Glamorganshire Bank and he was temporarily jailed; *Living for the Church before everything else: The Hardman Family Story,* Barbara Jeffery (2010, Oldham), p. 94.

[205] Chadwick, *Victorian Church*, pp. 273-4.

[206] More, Peter, 'The Catholic Missionary Enterprisein the Re-establishment of the Catholic Church in England, with special reference to its development in the Midland in the nineteenth century' (unpublished study, 1965), p. 53, quoting Sullivan, *The Nation,* 1856.

[207] Kelly, *English Missions*, p. 122; O'Donnell, *Catholic Midlands*, p. 83.

[208] Champ, 'Assimilation and Separation, p. 278 (53): Connolly 'Catholicism in Manchester', p. 410.

[209] Champ, *ibid.,* (54): Beck, *English Catholics*, pp. 80-81; *Treatise* was Pugin's last book and made little impact; O'Donnell, introduction to facsimile version, Leominster.

wanted the screen at St Chad's removed and Pugin threatened to resign.[210] The combined force of Hardman, the manufacturer who had donated £600 towards the cost, together with Pugin's outbursts, led Wiseman to back down and on this occasion both Pugin and the screen remained.[211] Such arguments lessened, along with the Romantic phase, after the deaths of Wordsworth in 1850 and both Pugin and Shrewsbury in 1852. Gothic continued but with reduced popularity.[212]

The 'Rood-screen Affair' was only one feature of a much wider dispute which involved the local community. Many Irish were drawn to the Midland area, dubbed the 'Iron Country' or the 'Black Country', where heavy labour was much in demand.[213] No-one doubted that increased seating was urgently needed; however friction between the incomers and the established community was such that Irish Catholics worshipped at the original St Chad's church and English Catholics at St Peter's.[214] An early key player was Edward Peach, the only resident priest at the former St Chad's, who appreciated the need to change from a traditional role to one of 'builder, planner and fund raiser'.[215] Peach also had an awareness of the need to hold a new and growing community together in an urban environment.[216] The arrival of Walsh, with a proposal for centralised collections and the merger of the two churches, was strongly resisted by Thomas McDonnell at St Peter's, who feared for the future of his own church.[217] However amidst the final stages of the building of the Town Hall and the publicity which that engendered, a formal request was put forward from what became known as 'the Hardman sect', with the aim of overcoming differences between the two churches and bringing acceptability and respectability to Catholicism within the political and commercial importance which Birmingham was now claiming.[218] Churches on the scale envisaged were

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[210] Champ, *ibid.,* p. 277 (51): Pugin to Phillipps 18 December 1840, in Edmund Sheridan Purcell, *Life and Letters of Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle,* II (London, 1900), p. 213; Margaret Belcher, *The Collected Letters of A W N Pugin*, 1830-42, I (Oxford, 2001), pp. 174-6.

[211] Champ, 'Assimilation and Separation, p. 277, (51): G. A. Beck, (ed.), *English Catholics 1850-1950, Essays to Commemorate the Restoration of the Hierarchy of England and Wales,* pp. 45-53; Connolly, Catholicism in Manchester, pp.138, 146-9; Sheridan Gilley: *The Catholic Faith of the Irish Slums 1840-70,* in Dyos and Wolff, *Victorian City*, II (1973); Pugin did not always get his own way, for example at Balliol, Downside, Ratcliffe College, Salford, Woodchester, and possibly York, where *The Times* claimed that £50,000 had been raised and Pugin was the architect. This was later retracted, 23 May 1842.

[212] Champ, 'Assimilation and Separation', p. 282.

[213] Using the accepted method of multiplying the number of baptisms in 1834 by thirty, when added to the congregations of St Chad's and St Peter's, this gave a total of eleven thousand Catholics in Birmingham, *Andrew's Weekly Orthodox journal of entertaining Christian Knowledge,* IV, January-to-June 1835, p. 89.

[214] Norman, *Roman Catholicism,* p. 73; between thirty and sixty people routinely knelt in the open air due to lack of space inside the church, *Andrew's Weekly,* p. 90.

[215] Peach's first appointment had been as chaplain to Francis Fortescue of Bosworth Hall, where Hansom carried out an extension in 1840; Champ, 'Assimilation and Separation', pp. 158, 159; Harris, *Hansom,* pp. 111, 112, 117-8, 142; Leicester County Record Office, Turville Constable-Maxwell file, DG39/2026/4.

[216] Champ, 'Assimilation and Separation', p. 160.

[217] O'Donnell, *Catholic Midlands*, p. 19.

[218] Champ, 'Assimilation and Separation', p. 274, (42): Birmingham Archdiocesan Archives, B157, Memorandum to

important status symbols, the religious equivalent to civic pride. Both Rickman and Hansom were invited to prepare plans, but they were sidelined by those which Pugin promptly proffered via Hardman.[219] Lack of funding and arguments over choice of site put the project on temporary hold until Walsh received a substantial legacy in 1841 from the Blundell family of Ince Blundell in Lancashire.[220] Without recourse to any committee, Walsh succumbed to Pugin's persuasive arguments and decided unilaterally that Pugin should become the architect.[221] The German style which he used was supposedly cheap and effective, in red brick to offset the industrial environment and to distinguish it from any Protestant counterpart.[222] The site was that of the old St Chad's church, a church in Georgian Classical design, demolished at Pugin's suggestion.[223]

When complete, Shrewsbury gifted a fifteenth-century brass lectern and a carved oak pulpit from Louvain. The rich high-altar, the rood and wrought iron screen were designed and paid for by Hardman, and Pugin designed the cloth of gold vestments for which Shrewsbury paid.[224] It was at this stage that Wiseman ordered the removal of the screen. Whilst the wider 'pecuniary considerations' and lay interference by the Hardmans were no more acceptable than McDonnell's political activities, Pugin then proceeded to orchestrate an elaborate five-day opening, as he had previously with the liturgical aspects at the opening of Oscott.[225] His inappropriate assertiveness prompted Newman to complain to Ullathorne, a matter which came close to being referred to the Pope.[226] Though the state of the profession was still precarious, it was customary to drink the health of the architect at foundation-stone and opening ceremonies and the acknowledgement generally given to architects in England was far greater than that in France, where 'L'architecte

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Bishop Walsh from J. Hardman and others, November 1833.

[219] O'Donnell, *Catholic Midlands*, pp. 16, 19; see Pugin's Diary in Wedgwood, *Pugin Family,* and Belcher, *Letters of Pugin*, I, pp. 77-8; British Architectural Library, SC28/1(1-12), RIBA, London.

[220] R. H. Kiernan, *A History of the Archdiocese of Birmingham* (1947)*,* p. 32; Champ, 'Assimilation and Separation', p. 274, (44): Ushaw Collection, Walsh/Shrewsbury correspondence, WS VIII, 25 February 1839.

[221] O'Donnell, *Catholic Midlands*, p. 19 (79): William Greaney, *A Guide to St Chad's Cathedral Church, Bath Street, Birmingham: with a short account of the Catholicity of the town before and since the Reformation, and the history of St Chad's relics* (1877), p. 32, manuscript in sacristy at St Chad's Cathedral.

[222] Hill, *God's Architect',* p. 193 (22): 'The founding of a new Catholic Church on the ruins of the Convent Abbey at Reading', *Edinburgh Catholic Magazine,* 1838, 62; Champ, 'Assimilation and Separation', p. 276 (47): Beck, *English Catholics,* p. 53; Doolan, *Pugins and Hardmans*, p. 7, (5): BAA, B.465.

[223] www.stchadscathedral.org.uk/cathedral/history accessed 28/04/2014.

[224] Kelly, *English Missions*, p. 81; Champ, 'Assimilation and Separation', 276 (48): Connolly: *Catholicism in Manchester and Salford 1770-1850*, PhD thesis, Manchester 1980, vol. 1/1, pp 9,10; O'Donnell, *Catholic Midlands*, p. 14, (48): Gillow, *Dictionary,* III, pp. 128-133; Champ, 'Assimilation and Separation', p. 277, (52): G. A. Beck (ed.), *The English Catholics 1850-1950* (London, 1950), p. 80; Champ, *ibid*, p. 282.

[225] O'Donnell, *Catholic Midlands*, pp. 17-18, 21 (89): Ward, *Sequel,* II, pp. 12-15; the consecration of St Chad's achieved offerings which 'probably exceeded £650', Champ, 'Assimilation and Separation', p. 278: *Tablet*: 265 June 1841.

[226] Champ, 'Assimilation and Separation', p. 282.

n'existait pas; il se cachait avec sa jeune femme dans un coin de la nef'.[227] In his dual role as a Catholic as well as architect, Pugin carried the processional cross at the opening of St Augustine, Solihull (1839). At the opening of St Walburge's (1854), Hansom sang in the choir.[228]

Even greater than the opening of St Chad's, were those of Southwark Cathedral (1839-48) and Pugin's 'perfect' or 'real revival' St Giles at Cheadle (1840-46).[229] Along with Phillipps' Mount St Bernard's Abbey in Leicestershire, Southwark and Cheadle were the only churches for which Shrewsbury paid outright. Beyond these, his contributions around the country were typically substantially larger than those of his co-benefactors.[230] Known as 'good Earl John', he was the wealthiest of the Catholic Romantics and the leading Catholic aristocrat of his generation. Above all his name gave social respectability to the movement.[231] He consciously set himself up as an example and inspiration to the rest of the laity as to the importance of cash donations, spreading his own resources to serve as many projects as possible.[232] The success which the laity was achieving outshone that 'which the clergy had not yet dared to contemplate'.[233]

Despite the *contretemps* in Birmingham, Wiseman considered that, as the first Catholic cathedral to be built in England since the Reformation, St Chad's and the Midlands were jointly responsible for heralding a transition from chapel to church.[234] In addition to the cathedral, part of Pugin's Romantic vision was to found a medieval convent.[235] He was commissioned to design and build a house modelled on early monastic style for Juliana Hardman, sister of John Hardman junior, where she became the first superior of the Convent of Our Lady of Mercy in 1841.[236] The cost of the land, the building and 'everything necessary' was borne by her father, John Hardman senior, and amounted to £5,335, with an additional £2,000 from Shrewsbury.[237] However, Pugin's tantrums

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[227]O'Donnell, *Catholic Midlands*, p. 42; Didron, *Promenade en Angleterre,* 307, with reference to Abadie's St Martial, Angouléme; *Builder*, 21 September 1867, p. 700.

[228] O'Donnell, *ibid*, p. 113; *Preston Guardian* (29 July 1854); B. F Page, *Our Story being the history of St Walburge's parish, Preston* (Preston, 1929).

[229] *Ibid.*, p. 78: Belcher, *Letters of Pugin*, I, pp. 186, 335.

[230] O'Donnell, *Catholic Midlands*, p. 14.

[231] John Talbot, sixteenth Earl of Shrewsbury and Waterford was one of the first three English Catholic peers to sit in the Lords, the others being Lord Surrey and the Duke of Norfolk.

[232] Chadwick, *Victorian Church*, p. 268; Shrewsbury spent seven months each year abroad, claiming to save £2,000 annually for church-building, Chadwick, *Victorian Church*, p. 273; O'Donnell, *Catholic Midlands*, p. 12, (30): Purcell, *Phillipps,* p. 80.

[233] Gwynn, *Shrewsbury and Pugin*, p. x.

[234] *Dublin Review* (1839), p. 244; www.stchadscathedral.org.uk.

[235] Champ, 'Separation and Assimilation', p. 203.

[236] Champ, *ibid.,* p. 203 (229): Mother M Austin Carroll: Leaves from the Annals of the Sisters of Mercy, 4 vols 1881-3 II p.313; O'Donnell, *Catholic Midlands*, pp. 70-73; Michael Hodgetts, *Erdington Abbey 1850-200* (2000), Benedictine History Symposium 2001, p. 19.

[237] Gillow, *Dictionary of Catholic Biographies,* 'Mary Juliana Hardman', pp. 129,130. Other Convents of Mercy were

may have lost him the opportunity to build a further convent, that at Derby. The cost of £10,000 was largely borne by the Reverend Thomas Sing of St Mary's Church, Derby, the priest with whom Pugin had argued over the use of an orchestral mass rather than plain chant.[238] It was built by Hansom, 300 ft in length and one of his most intricate Gothic designs (see Plate 40).[239]

The long-term benefits of St Chad's in Birmingham were not confined to local level. Apart from raising the Catholic profile, which was further enhanced when the Bishop moved into the adjacent Bishop's House, also built by Pugin, there was considerable commercial gain: it built Pugin's reputation and created a market for Hardman's metalwork, which eventually became international. However, the success of St Chad's saw the demise of McDonnell, who retreated to the Western District where he became Canon Theologian of the Clifton pro-Cathedral which Charles Hansom completed in 1848.[240] By the time he left Birmingham, McDonnell had increased his congregation at St Peter's three-fold; he extended the buildings as far as the plot would permit, added galleries and purchased land for a burial ground, whilst also supervising three schools.[241] When he overspent, Shrewsbury reimbursed him.[242] Notwithstanding his efforts, his membership of the Birmingham Political Union in the run-up to the Great Reform bill had been heavily criticised and his outspokenness on non-religious issues such as policing brought calls for his resignation.[243] Not of Irish origin, the BPU condemned McDonnell's overt association with O'Connell and refused to pay for his visits to Birmingham despite using the Irish Catholic Association as a model for the Union.[244] The situation between the two churches became a class war and the general dynamics between religious, commercial and political interests were all over-ridden by Pugin to his own ends. His attempts to bring religion and architecture together are satirised in the short verse quoted by his friend and biographer, Benjamin Ferrey:

> 'Oh! have you see [*sic*] the work just out
> By Pugin, the great builder?
> 'Architectural Contrasts' he's made out
> Poor Protestants to bewilder.
> The Catholic Church she never knew -

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established in the Midlands, at Nottingham (1844), Leamington (1847), Derby (1844-46) and Wolverhampton (1849).

[238] Letter Secretary to Superior Provincial, Convent of Holy Child Jesus, Mayfield to Professor Stephen Welsh, 28 November 1961, copy private collection.

[239] Gillow, *Dictionary,* p. 129.

[240] Champ, 'Assimilation and Separation', p. 184; McDonnell's brother was legal adviser to Baines, Champ, *ibid.*, p. 179.

[241] Champ, *ibid.,* pp. 137, 164; *Victoria County History,* Warwick, 7, (38) Greaney, *Guide to St Chad's,* p. 23.

[242] Champ, *ibid.,* p. 40; O'Donnell, *Catholic Midlands*, p. 12, (31) *Catholic Magazine and Review* V (1834), p. 316.

[243] Champ, *ibid.,* p. 78.

[244] *Ibid.,* p.170 (96): Carl Flick: *The BPU and the Movements for Reform in Britain 1830-9* (1978), p. 102.

> Till Mr Pugin taught her,
> That orthodoxy had to do
> At all with bricks and mortar.
>   Song on Pugin's Contrasts[245]

When McDonnell finally agreed to leave, he asked for the return of the £2,700 which he had personally spent on St Peter's, but was only given £250.[246]

Heavily influenced by Pugin and Hardman, Walsh continued to build a large number of churches, most of which were Pugin-designed and aided by Shrewsbury. Pugin's association with Shrewsbury led to many commissions and extended beyond the immediate Birmingham area. One example of Shrewsbury's involvement was when he wrote to the Vicar Apostolic of the Northern District regarding Macclesfield, stating that 'in consequence of the lamentable failure of most of our modern chapels, I have come to the resolution to subscribe to no buildings which are not erected under the designs and superintendence of Mr Pugin'.[247] Heedless as to the vast amounts they were spending, Walsh and Pugin planned another cathedral, this time in Nottingham. When considering Pugin's design, the Earl wrote to Walsh saying that in some ways he was delighted, but he was also 'alarmed at the magnitude of the present plan' which he found terrifying, 'his great object was to avoid any useless expenditure whatsoever'.[248] Previously Pugin had claimed that he could design a church very cheaply, as he had for only £700 when he built St Winefred for Gentili at Shepshed, Leicestershire (1842).[249] However, when he superseded Railton at the chapel for Grace Dieu Manor, he installed the first rood-screen since the Reformation, and as his enthusiasm and confidence grew, his designs became more lavish and his reputation one of unaffordable luxury.[250] He became known to make people spend 'twice or thrice what they intend'.[251] This was borne out in London, when Shrewsbury offered to add £500 to his subscription if Pugin was appointed architect for the proposed Church of Immaculate Conception, Farm Street for the new Jesuit

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[245] Benjamin Ferrey: *Recollections of A W N Pugin*, 1861, pp. 115-6.

[246] Champ, 'Assimilation and Separation', p. 182; McDonnell was much aggrieved by his treatment in Birmingham and published a series of letters under the title of 'The Case of the Reverend T. M. McDonnell stated by himself' (1842), along the lines of Hansom's 'Statement of Facts', Champ, *ibid.*, p. 162.

[247] O'Donnell, *Catholic Midlands*, p. 13, (38): S. J. Lander, 'Roman Catholicism', in *Victoria County History of Cheshire,* II, p. 93.

[248] Chadwick, *Victorian Church*, p. 268, (22): BAA B606; when complete the cathedral was described locally as a 'stately Gothic fane'; Kelly, *English Missions*, p. 298.

[249] This was funded by a loan of £500 from Walsh and a £200 donation from Phillipps; O'Donnell, *Catholic Midlands*, p. 112.

[250] Gwynn, *Shrewsbury and Pugin,* p. xii; Little, *Catholic Churches*, p. 85; O'Donnell, *Catholic Midlands,* p. 90.

[251] Powell, *Augustus Welby Pugin*, p. 274, (917): Dessain (ed.), *Letters and Diaries*, XII, p. 71, Newman to Mrs J. W. Bowden from Rome (23 April 1847); Hill, *God's Architect*, p. 374.

Headquarters in Mayfair.[252] Lythgoe refused the offer, stating that 'Mr Pugin is too expensive and will not allow competition'.[253] Their preferred architect at the time, Joseph John Scoles, was appointed.

Pugin began to complain that his ornate plans were being sidelined or pared down.[254] At the height of his fame he had achieved instant success, followed by strength, even to the extent that he was given the sobriquet 'Archbishop Pugens'. However, his reputation then went into decline.[255] He was well aware of this when he wrote to Shrewsbury stating 'There are so many Catholic architects now that there is not a chance of any new buildings'. The way in which Pugin's price was undercut on several occasions led him to describe the younger Hansom as a 'broom stealer'.[256] Whilst he was always assured of support from the Hardmans and Shrewsbury, he let slip the commission for Salford cathedral on the grounds of 'some [unspecified] point of principle'.[257] He said that they asked stupid questions and didn't know what they wanted. The job was given to Hadfield.[258]

To add to all these complications, the national shortage of priests continued to cause difficulties. There was an increase overall, but many were not cut out for the work which lay before them. Those who had been educated on the Continent were only suited to becoming private chaplains for the gentry, or life in monasteries, and the more parochial indigenous priesthood struggled with high numbers and unhealthy conditions, often at personal cost.[259] Clergy from Ireland were no more suited to English conditions than the communities they were attempting to serve. Irish Catholics had a different understanding of Catholicism, largely based on pre-Christian folklore quashed by the Counter Reformation, such as a wake for the dead.[260]   Less than forty per cent of their congregations went to Mass every Sunday and Irish practices were more centred on family prayer or a local shrine, whereas English religion was centred on their priest. Furthermore English priests did not speak Gaelic and some English bishops were reluctant to bring in Irish-speaking priests. Many of the religious who had previously fled the Continent were unable to speak any English and

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[252] O'Donnell, *Catholic Midlands*, (42): Jesuit Archives, Farm Street, London, 'College of St Ignatius 1802-65', fol. 170, Shrewsbury to Lythgoe 1 January 1842.
[253] O'Donnell, *ibid.*, p. 13, (44): Lythgoe's refusal 10 August 1844, fol. 205.
[254] Chadwick, *Victorian Church,* p. 273.
[255] O'Donnell, *Catholic Midlands*, pp. 24, 27; Roderick McDonagh O'Donnell, 'Roman Catholic Church Architecture in Great Britain and Ireland, 1829-78', unpublished PhD thesis, Cambridge University, (1983).
[256] Hill, *God's Architect*, pp. 299, 354; Stanton, *Pugin*, p. 179; Fisher, *Hardman*, p. 53, (62):letter Pugin to Shrewsbury, 2 February 1846, House of Lords Record Office PUB/3/150.
[257] Hill, *God's Architect*, p. 299 (4): Pugin to Bloxam, n.d., c. September 1843, Bloxam Letters, p. 20; Stanton, *Pugin*, p. 201.
[258] Kelly, *English Missions*, p. 345.
[259] Harris, 'Yorkshire Works', *YAJ,* p. 184; Hilton, *Catholic Lancashire*, p. 89.
[260] Hilton, *ibid.,* p. 88; Chadwick, *Victorian Church*, p. 283; Gilley, 'Roman Catholic Church', p. 351.

recruiting from overseas proved unsatisfactory, as with the two Italians, Luigi Gentili and Dominic Barberi. Once again the Midland area is featured. Gentili left his post at Prior Park College to become chaplain to Ambrose Phillipps, (later Ambrose Charles Lisle March de Lisle Phillipps) patron and sponsor of Pugin; and Barberi left Oscott College to establish the Passionist Order in Staffordshire alongside the Earl of Shrewsbury.[261]

Underlined by the departure of Wiseman and Walsh to London, and the arrival of Ullathorne, with Charles Hansom as 'his architect', Pugin's career moved into a different phase. Shrewsbury remained loyal to Pugin and to Gothic, but they formed a tight tripartite cohort with Phillipps, consulting each other on all projects. Described by Chadwick as 'bold and reckless', the addition of Phillipps to this three-way arrangement added a new dimension. Phillipps had first met Shrewsbury in Rome and after his conversion it became his life-time wish to unite the Roman Catholic and Anglican churches, thus achieving a total conversion of England.[262] Pugin had pinned his hopes on Oxford, where the Tractarians of the Oxford Movement were supportive, but was disillusioned after the Balliol episode.[263] Phillipps set about achieving his objective by encouraging individual conversions and setting up larger groups. This led to his foundation of Mount St Bernard's Abbey in 2,130 acres of Charnwood Forest near his home in 1837.[264] Phillipps purchased the land and Pugin designed most of the buildings, for which he made no charge and the cost of the work was once again borne by Shrewsbury. Of the three, Phillipps and Pugin were the greatest Romantics, Shrewsbury being more practical in his approach and planning parish churches for struggling urban congregations.[265] The difference in their views shows up in Pugin's letter to Shrewsbury, when encouraging him to overspend on the chapel of St John the Baptist attached to Alton Hospital: 'When your lordship sees the glorious effect of the Glass in the school room you will not blame me. It is not for the urchins but for the élite who will flock to see the building ... a perfect specimen of the style'.[266] Pugin arranged the seating of the associated chapel of St John the Baptist so that it could double as school-desks for local poor children on weekdays and be adapted as church seats

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[261] Prior Park, near Bath was a mansion purchased by Bishop Baines for £22,000, then renovated and used as a seminary, but with a long-term view to its becoming the first Catholic university; a chapel was added in 1844, designed by Scoles; Chadwick, *Victorian Church*, pp. 276-277; Gwynn, *Shrewsbury and Pugin,*, pp. xvii, 109; in the case of both Gentili and Barberi there were language problems and their Italian customs, such as wearing their habits in public, did not fit in with the English, though they were successful in recruiting converts, including, notably, Newman.

[262] Phillipps had been admitted into the Catholic church by McDonnell, Chadwick, *Victorian Church*, p. 268; *ibid.*, p. 269, (25): Purcell, *Phillipps*, p. 51.

[263] Curl, *Victorian Architecture*, p. 40.

[264] It became the first permanent Cistercian establishment in England since the Reformation; Curl, *ibid.*, p. 40.

[265] Chadwick, *Victorian Church*, p. 269.

[266] O'Donnell, *Catholic Midlands,* p.47 (9): Belcher, *Letters of Pugin*, I, p. 276.

for services at other times.[267]   Like Oscott, Shrewsbury's home, Alton Towers, was a regular meeting place for prelates and gentry. Pugin was a frequent house-guest and used it to build a network of contacts. In true Gothic style, the house was on a rocky precipice and suited Pugin well. Shrewsbury wanted to use his castle as a home for priests, but Pugin over-ruled him, being 'vehemently against the idea'.[268] Phillipps convinced Shrewsbury to construct a monastery, and the idea developed into the hospital which Shrewsbury felt would be more beneficial for the local community.[269]

The backing of Shrewsbury and Phillipps gave Pugin notoriety in the Midlands, but it did not give him a monopoly over Catholic work, nor did it give him a monopoly over the support of Bishop Walsh and Phillipps. When Pugin arrived at Oscott in 1837 Hansom was already established through his connection with the Dominican Mission in Hinckley. The Dominicans, whose priests regularly walked the fourteen miles between Hinckley and Leicester, also served Nuneaton and provided work in both places.[270]   At Atherstone, on the Leicestershire/Warwickshire border, Hansom built the Dominican Convent of the Rosary (1837-39). The foundation stones for both Atherstone and the Nuneaton church were laid by Phillipps.[271] Nuneaton, only 41 foot long by 27 foot 6 inches wide, was only embellished by a small organ donated by Hardman.[272] Hansom then took over preliminary work at Princethorpe (the Priory of St Mary, 1837-50), from a Coventry builder whose workforce amounted to five hundred, an extraordinary phenomena at this time in the middle of Warwickshire countryside. The foundation stone had already been laid by Walsh.[273] In 1842, Hansom added a mortuary chapel in Rundbogenstil style, and in 1843 he extended the sanctuary to allow for the insertion of a marble altar designed by Scoles.[274] Pugin was critical of Hansom's efforts, describing it as a 'miserable specimen ... not even a ghost of an ancient monastery'.[275] However, the Jesuit Lythgoe had a more favourable opinion. This may have been how Hanson first come into contact with Lythgoe, as Lythgoe was consulted with regard to the Phillipps chapel at Grace Dieu, where the altar was similar to that at Princethorpe. This link,

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[267] O'Donnell, *ibid.,* pp. 46, 47 (8): Belcher, *Letters of Pugin*, I, p. 270.

[268] *Alton Towers Heritage, the16th Earl and Castle Hill*.

[269] The term 'hospital' was used at this time to imply a 'humanitarian almshouse, or lodgings for the poor and elderly priests.

[270] Hansom added the South East chapel and Lady chapel to the church of Holy Cross, Leicester in 1848-49; Harris, *Árchitectural Achievements*, p. 136; this church was situated mid-way between his Proprietary School (1836-37) and his Baptist Chapel (1845).

[271] Sidney Barnes, *Atherstone Priory Convent 1837-1967 - Changing Scenes* (1968 unpublished), p. vii; the Dominicans loaned donated £200 toward the cost; Kelly, *English Missions*, p. 299.

[272] Kelly, *Our Lady of the Angels Church,* p. 6; *Tablet*, 13 November 1841, p. 744.

[273] Frideswide Stapleton, *The History of the Benedictines of St. Mary's Priory Princethorpe* (Hinckley, 1930), p. 103.

[274] Evinson, 'Hansom', p. 341; *Catholic Annual Directory* (1850), p. 116.

[275] O'Donnell, *Catholic Midlands*, p.105 (1): Belcher, *Letters of Pugin*, I, pp. 140-1.

between Hansom and Lythgoe, was fundamental to his future career, taking him firstly to Spinkhill in Derbyshire and thence to Preston in Lancashire, a Jesuit stronghold close to their centre at Stonyhurst, and heart of Hansom's most prolific period of church building.[276] The strength of Hansom's Jesuit connection was such that he was chosen in preference to Hadfield, who had the advantage of being nephew to Matthew Ellison, the Duke of Norfolk's powerful agent at his nearby Glossop Estate.

Hansom's time at Spinkhill gives a snapshot of the variety and versatility required of architects at this time.[277] His first task was to re-order and extend a seventeenth-century mansion, turning it into Mount St Mary's College (1842-44), a residential secondary school for Catholic boys.[278] As an architectural project, Spinkhill was significant for a number of reasons: first and foremost, it firmly established Hansom's position as the 'Jesuit architect'; it was an example of Shrewsbury's commitment to the Gothic Revival in that he attended the opening ceremony of the associated church of The Immaculate Conception, even though he was not one of the main contributors and Pugin was not the architect; it showed Hansom's awareness of Pugin's work in that he based his design for the church on Pugin's St Oswald at Liverpool, and finally it embraced both Catholic and local education.[279] Apart from the Earl of Shrewsbury, and in true Catholic style, an exceptionally high number of Catholic gentry attended the opening, which was by ticket only.[280] Amongst them was Lord Petre (Laura Petre's father-in-law), who, along with Lythgoe, was one of the ten donors, each of whom contributed £1,000.

Starting in 1842, work on the College took four years to complete, during which time Hansom also designed and built the church. The foundation stone was laid by Lythgoe in 1843 and the church opened in September 1845 (see Plate 41).[281] Hansom used this as an opportunity to experiment with a hammer-beam roof, which he repeated on a more complex scale for the Talbot Schools and St Walburge's in Preston. His brother-in-law, John Snow, designed the east window. In 1852,

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[276] From here he built three more Jesuit churches in the 1840s: Prescott (1847-48), Alston Lane (1847-48) and Clitheroe (1847-50); others followed in the next decade; see Appendix 2.

[277] The location, Spinkhill, was selected as it was an established recusant area, where nine members of the Pole family, former owners of the mansion, became Jesuits; it also had the advantage of being close to the newly built North Midland Railway and the Chesterfield Canal; plus a hill-top site, which enabled the church to be seen for many miles.

[278] Walker, *Spinkhill,* p. 14; two of Hansom's sons were amongst the first cohort at Mount St Mary's, thus bringing him into direct contact with many influential members of the Catholic gentry.

[279] Walker, *ibid.,* pp. 41, 49; Stanton, *Pugin*, p. 99, (plate 61): Pugin had published a woodcut of St Oswald's in his article in *Dublin Review* (1841) and again in *Present State* (1843).

[280] The event raised a further £60; *Derby Mercury* (30 September 1846).

[281] Letter of confirmation from Rector, Mount St Mary's College, Spinkhill (12 March 1961), (Stephen Welsh papers, RIBA, London).

Hansom returned to design and build a small school for the local children, together with a master's house.[282]

Not only has it been shown that the careers of both Pugin and Hansom stemmed from contacts in Birmingham and the Midlands, but, likewise, they were the start of Charles Hansom's career, when Ullathorne took him on as the 'Benedictine architect'.[283]   Ullathorne had spent ten years in Australia promoting Catholicism.[284] This generated considerable work for Charles, including the Catholic Church of St Francis Xavier in Adelaide, instigated by Ullathorne but funded by the Oxford convert, William Leigh.[285]   On his return he invited Charles to build St Osburge's in Coventry (1845), a design to which Ullathorne contributed and the church in which he was to be consecrated.[286]   The design and source of funding thereof were another cause of fierce arguments, this time between the Benedictine Ullathorne and the Ultramontane Wiseman. Ullathorne won.[287] After this, both the younger Hansom and Ullathorne moved to Clifton, near Bristol for the Goodridge pro-cathedral, but when Ullathorne later moved back to Birmingham to take over the Central District in 1845, Charles was invited to return briefly to build the church of Saints Thomas and Edmund of Canterbury at Erdington (1848-49). Ullathorne stated that 'Anything that Pugin can do, Mr Hansom can do better' and, therefore, regardless of any financial reasons, Pugin was not an option on grounds of talent.[288] Built in fourteenth-century style, Daniel Haigh, the son of a wealthy industrialist from Chorley, Lancashire and another Oxford convert, allocated his large fortune to the building of the church, the final cost of which was between £12,000 and £14,000.[289]   Haigh also contributed to the design.[290] As was becoming both customary and a source of vexation, Pugin's

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[282] Bulmer's *History and Directory of Derbyshire* (1895), p. 238.

[283] Brian Andrews (1989), 'The English Benedictine Connection - The Works of Charles Hansom in Australia', *Fabrications: The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians, Australia and New Zealand*, I, p. 36.

[284] See Judith Champ, *William Bernard Ullathorne: A Different Kind of Monk* (Leominster, 2006).

[285] Liz Davenport, 'William Leigh in Australia and the Wreck of the Osmanli' (Stonehouse, 2010), p. 14; Leigh converted one year before Newman; Andrews, 'Works of Charles Hansom', pp. 33-35.

[286] Kelly, *English Missions*, p. 144; Charles Hansom was City Surveyor of Coventry at the time; Hansom and Ullathorne empathised, both being Yorkshire 'born-and bred' and a close friend of the family; Andrews, 'Works of Charles Hansom', p. 36:13: Cuthbert Butler, *The Life and times of Bishop Ullathorne,1806-1899* (London, 1926), 2:242; during his reign, Ullathorne created 44 missions, and built 67 churches and 10 elementary schools; Norman, *Roman Catholicism,* p. 203.

[287] The cost, excluding decoration (Hardman) and windows (Wailes), amounted to £5,700, Little, *Catholic Churches,* p.91; a measure of his success was that Charles Hansom was the only Catholic in Coventry who kept living-in servants, Champ, p. 90; Harris, *Hansom*, pp. 106-107; Champ, p. 116: (74): see also Leo Madigan, *The Devil is a Jackass* (Leominster, 1995), p. 261.

[288] Doolan, *Pugins and Hardmans*, p. 11, (12): Hodgetts, *Erdington Abbey*, p. 6; O'Donnell, *Catholic Midlands*, p. 25; Harris, *Architectural Achievements,* pp. 165.

[289] *Builder*, 2 June 1850, p.297; Hodgetts, 'Erdington Abbey, 1850-1876-2001', Benedictine History Symposium 2001, p. 3.

[290] *The Church and Abbey of Erdington, A Record of Fifty Years*, published by the Midland Counties Herald, 1900, for the Golden Jubilee of the church; *VCH*, A History of the County of Warwickshire, vol. 7, The County of Birmingham, W. B. Stephens (ed) (1964); Dom Bede Camm, *Church and Abbey of Erdington*, p. 17.

contribution was limited to designing the church plate.[291]

Ullathorne's connection with Charles Hansom gave rise to two other churches at this time. There were irregularities over funding at his Benedictine church at Thurnham, Lancashire (1848), and with the builder at Wolverhampton (1851-57). At the former, land for a small chapel and priest's house was originally donated by Mr Dalton of Thurnham Hall and the founding priest Father Foster, who contributed his own money and was an ardent fund-raiser.[292] Jane Daniel, Father Foster's cousin, bequeathed a thousand pounds. Foster's successor, Father Crowe, a founding member of Prior Park, continued to campaign, achieving £274 through investment in railway stock. However money was still insufficient as by now a larger church was required and funds ran out before it was completed. Elizabeth Dalton, along with several members of the local Catholic gentry, made up the shortfall. The final cost was £5,000, with seating for four hundred.[293] Much glory was given to Elizabeth Dalton, with no acknowledgement to the efforts of Father Foster, Jane Daniel or Father Crowe, the then priest-in-charge, who promptly resigned.[294] The situation at Wolverhampton was different, but again concerned finance and was equally as fraught.[295] Firstly the local builder under-estimated the cost and used inferior stone rather than that stipulated; Hansom and Ullathorne fell out when it was suggested that savings could be made by using a stone floor rather than wooden; and finally the builder was declared bankrupt after having fled to America.[296]

The combined connections between Ullathorne and the convert William Leigh, together with Hansom's involvement with the Dominicans in Hinckley, contributed to the building of Woodchester Mansion, Gloucestershire (from 1846). As Alton Towers was reminiscent of Strawberry Hill and Fonthill Abbey, Woodchester was reminiscent of Alton Towers.[297] Its setting, well off the road in a valley surrounded by parkland and woods, is distinctly picturesque and Gothic

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[291] This amounted to £1,150 and was manufactured by Hardman; Doolan, *Pugins and Hardmans*, p. 20.

[292] Bernard Shuttleworth, 'The Story of Thurnham Church', www.thurnhamchurch.net/history/html, accessed 27 August 2009.

[293] Kelly, *English Missions*, p. 392.

[294] John F. Regan, *A Church at Thurnham*, (Lancaster, 2009); Hilton, *Catholic Lancashire*, p. 86; *Freeman's Journal and Daily Commercial Advertiser* (7 September 1848).

[295] As the seat of the Midland District before it was transferred to Birmingham, Wolverhampton was one of the most important centres of Catholic life and known as "little Rome" - see also *Saints Mary and John, Wolverhampton 1855-1955* (Bromwich, 1955).

[296] 'Roman Catholicism in Wolverhampton 1828-1865', www.localhistory.scit.wlv.ac.uk/articles/catholics/jq21.htm, accessed 15 July 2007.

[297] Kelly, *Catholic Missions*, p. 444; the church cost £9,000 and was consecrated by Wiseman in 1849; the monastery cost £10,000 and was opened in 1851; Sheila Dennison and Sally Birch, revised and updated by Liz Davenport, *The Leigh Family and Woodchester Mansion, a brief history* (Stonehouse, 2010).

in tone. The fact that it was never completed typified the age in which it was built, not the careers of the four architects involved.[298] Having inherited £100,000 from his father at the age of thirteen, Leigh was determined to assign his fortune to the establishment of a Catholic mission.[299] Shortly after his conversion he moved to Gloucester and purchased Woodchester Park for £170,000.[300] In 1846 he approached Pugin with regard to restoration of the existing mansion. Pugin decided it was a hopeless case which would require constant repair, recommending demolition and rebuild for an estimated £7,118.[301] Succumbing to pressure from Bishop Ullathorne, and having just attended the opening of Charles Hansom's church at Blackmore Park which impressed him greatly, Leigh turned to the Hansoms as a cheaper alternative.[302] Jointly the brothers commenced work, which was gradually taken over by Charles and ultimately passed to Benjamin Bucknell, one of his pupils whose family lived at nearby Stroud and was also known to Leigh.[303] The Mansion, which incorporated an elaborate chapel, was largely based on Pugin's original designs, with input from Viollet-le-Duc, whose dictionary was translated by Bucknall.[304] Progress was slow due to Leigh's perfectionist attitude and the gradual depletion of funds. His death led to the final abandonment of the project. Ullathorne officiated at his funeral, when he stated that it had been Leigh's wish to 'revive the forcible architecture of a less trivial age than our own'.[305]

Conclusion

Together with factors discussed in the previous chapter, the Gothic Revival and the contribution made by the disparate strands of the Catholic community show how the 1840s was a period of transition, building on the two previous decades. The architectural profession made considerable progress, with innovative moves by rogue architects and breaks with antiquarian traditions, albeit in defiance of power struggles and differences of opinion on all fronts. Growth in the railway system not only increased their own mobility, but also widened the use of non-local materials and provided an additional source of investment for their patrons. It was also to their advantage that the glass tax

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[298] Woodchester is the only unfinished building to be listed by English Heritage; the attached chapel and the roof are complete, but floorboards and decoration of the upper floors are missing, as are many other features.

[299] Leigh inherited £100,000 plus property from his father at the age of thirteen; his conversion resulted from his interest in the Oxford Movement. It took place one year before that of Newman, who was received by Fr Barberi of the Passionists.

[300] Between approximately seven and a half and ten million pounds, as at 2005, *www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency;* following the sudden death of Barberi, Leigh invited the Hinckley Dominicans to relocate to Woodchester in their place

[301] Letter Pugin to Mrs Leigh, (in her husband's absence), January 1846; letter Pugin to Leigh February 1846.

[302] Andrews, 'Charles Hansom in Australia', p. 39; Ullathorne claimed to have 'something to say in the design of [Backmore Park]', *ibid*., p. 36: (16) Ullathorne, *From Cabin-boy to Archbishop'* (London, 1943), p. 229.

[303] Harris, *Architectural Achievement*, p. 165.

[304] Andrews, 'Charles Hansom in Australia', p. 39; Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française du XIe au XVIe siècle* (1854-68).

[305] *The Discourse delivered at the funeral of William Leigh Esq of Woodchester Park by Bishop Ullathorne* (London, 1873).

was removed in 1845 and the brick tax in 1850.[306] The restrictive practices of the CCS were overturned with their acceptance of polychromy; the 'battle of styles' and the quest for 'Englishness' were exhausted to the point of extinction; and the joint efforts of Shrewsbury, de Lisle Phillipps and Pugin contributed to the development of Catholicism and Catholic architecture Birmingham and the Midlands, at the same time opening new possibilities unique to themselves.

Clark said the Gothic Revival was a failure.[307] Notwithstanding the Houses of Parliament and the Nikolaikirche, Gothic was not the way forward for architects, if for no other reason than it was overshadowed by urbanisation and industrialisation, and diminished by the loss of craftsmen. It is evident, however, that neither revival could have occurred without the forceful influence of prelates and, above all, private donations, much of which came from legacies. The Catholic influence was boosted by the influx of the Irish, bringing opportunities on a national scale, not so much a threat as a need. However negative aspects remained, with architects still hampered by the dictates of patrons, poor sites and limited finance, a particular handicap during this decade. Having negotiated the controversies and negativity of the 1840s, the profession was poised for the expansion which the 1850s brought. This will be shown in the next chapter, which discusses developments in education, the growth in country house re-organisation and two international exhibitions.

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[306] The window tax was also repealed in 1851.
[307] Clark, *Gothic Revival*, p. 215.

Plate 37

Woodchester Mansion
author's photograph, 2011
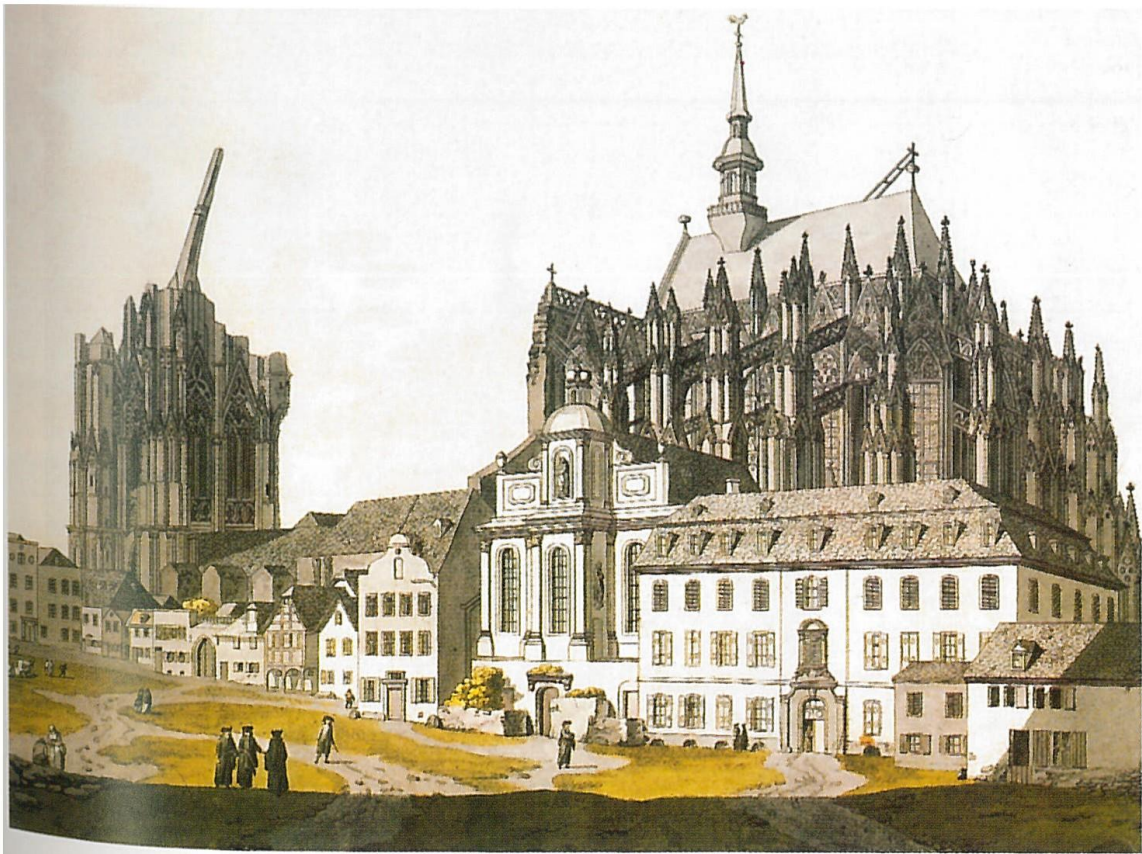
Cologne Cathedral
from Michael Lewis, *Gothic Revival,* p. 67

Plate 39
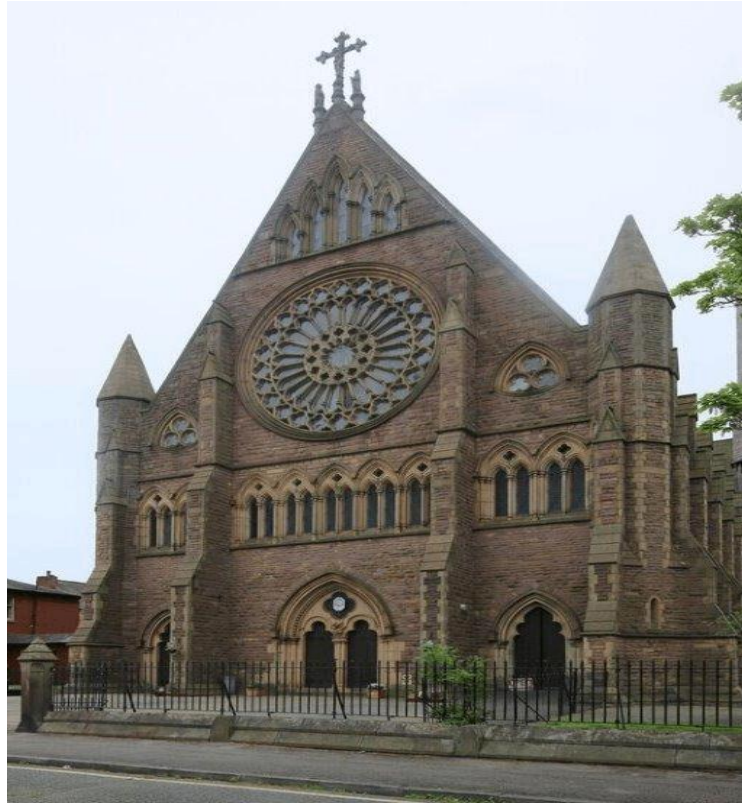
St Walburge's rose window, photograph Peter Ellis, 2017

Saint-Francois-de-Sales, Pas-de-Calais Archives, u.d.

Plate 40

HOUSE OF MERCY, DERBY.
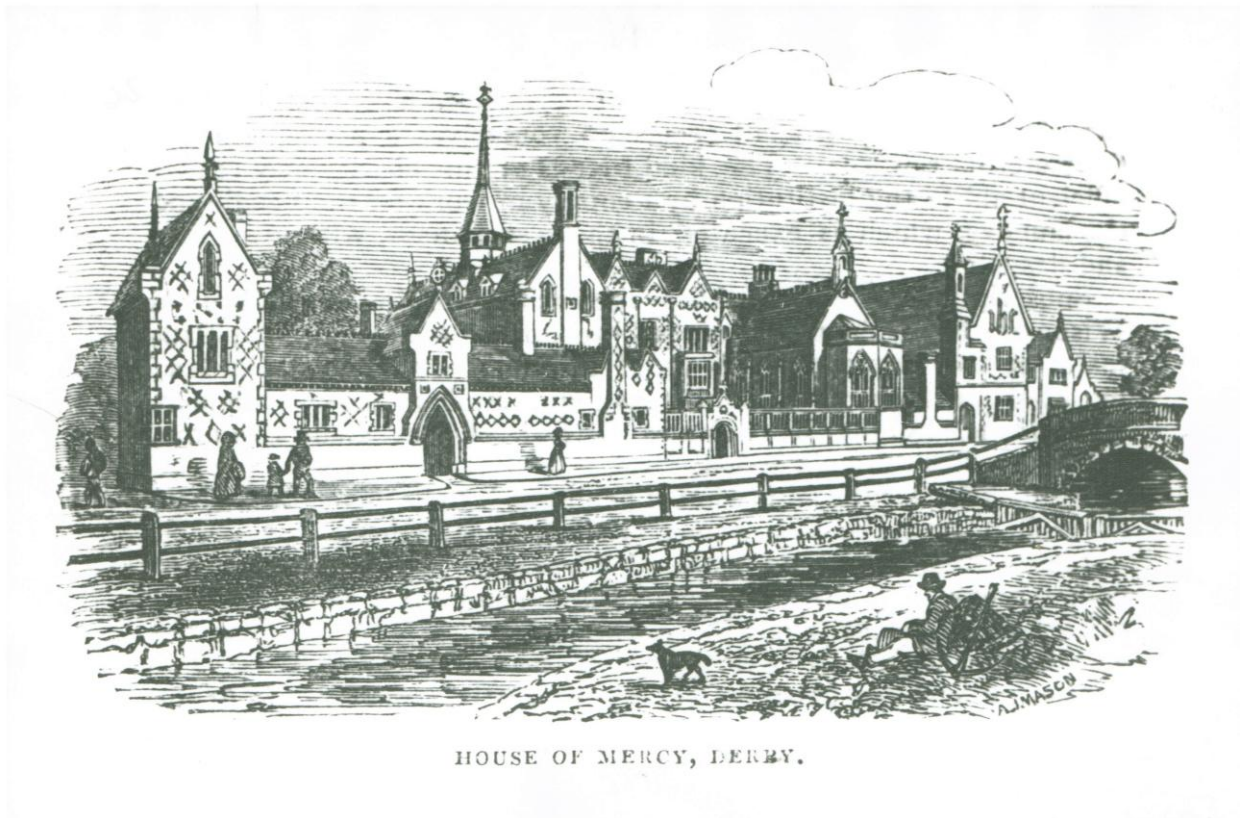
Derby Convent
Catholic Directory, 1851

Plate 41

Church of Immaculate Conception, Spinkill
author's photograph 2008

CHAPTER VII
EXPANSION AND DIVERSIFICATION – 1850s

Whilst the main focus of this chapter is on the 1850s, many of the themes are extensions of those discussed in earlier chapters, depicting seismic growth but not always fundamental change. The defining characteristics lie in the scale of the projects, the increase in opportunities and the greater flexibility in choice of design. Following on from the Gothic and Catholic revivals, Hansom's work best illustrates the benefits of gentry and female patronage, enhanced educational facilities and the addition of country-house work, all within the current social context. However, such diversity is also indicative of a lack of cohesion within the profession, with architects following their own individual paths.[1]

The first theme to be discussed shows that traditional networking and patronage were as important as they had been at the beginning of the century.[2] Female patronage was especially vital, an area which is seldom given full acknowledgment.[3] The widest range of undertakings, those associated with education, stretch from the tiny Catholic school-chapel built by Hansom on the edge of Leicester, to large convent complexes or schools for Catholic gentry. All these topics are incorporated within Hansom's simultaneous projects in Plymouth and Boulogne-sur-Mer, which are then discussed.[4] Though not involved with Catholic work, Salvin's design of the Round Church and his connection with Hope led him to education work before he expanded into the designing of country houses, for which this decade is particularly noted.[5] The chapter concludes with a brief comparison between two exhibitions, which were initiated by Prince Albert in London, 1851, where Pugin outshone non-architectural exhibitors with his Medieval Court; and its counterpart initiated by Napoléon in Paris four years later, a showcase for fifty English architects.[6] The former is

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[1] James Stevens Curl, *Victorian Architecture Diversity and Invention* (Reading, 2007); Christopher Webster, *The Practice of Architecture: eight architects, 1830-1930* (Reading, 2012); R. Macleod, *Style and Society: Architectural Ideology in Britain 1835-1914,* RIBA Publications, 1971, p. 123.
[2] For example Edward Kaufman, 'E. B. Lamb: a Case Study in Victorian Architectural Patronage', *The Art Bulletin,* vol. 70, no. 2 (June 1988); Dungeval, 'Webb'; Curl, *Roberts.*
[3] Sisters of Notre Dame Convent, Liverpool, Sister Mary of St Francis (Laura Petre) collection.
[4] Martin Dunning, *Plymouth Cathedral: The story of a people 1858-2008* (Plymouth, 2008); Frédérick Debussche, *Architecture du XIXe siècle à Boulogne-sur-Mer* (Arras, 2004).
[5] Jill Allibone, *Anthony Salvin: Pioneer of Gothic Revival Architecture, 1799-1881* (Columbia, 1987); Girouard, *The Country House.*
[6] Alexandra Wedgewood, 'The Medieval Court', in *Pugin a Gothic Passion*, Paul Atterbury and Clive Wainwright (eds), (Newhaven and London, 1994); John Davis, *The Great Exhibition* (Stroud, 1999); Jonathan Meyer, *Great Exhibitions: London, Paris, New York, Philadelphia 1851-1900: Furniture and Decorative Arts* (Antique Collectors Club, 2006) and Hermione Hobhouse, *Crystal Palace and the Great Exhibition: art, science and productive history: a history of the Royal Commission for the Exhibition of 1851* (London, 2002). For the Paris exhibition, see Frank Anderson Trapp, *The Burlington Magazine*, 107, 747, 'French Art in the late Nineteenth-century' (June 1965); Barrie M. Ratcliffe, 'Paris 1855' in John E. Findling and Kimberley D. Pelle (eds), *Encyclopaedia of World's Fairs and*

reminiscent of chapter four, with the Exhibition Hall providing an extreme example of malpractice within the competition system.[7]

Historiography

Sources for this chapter are as diverse as the topics they cover, with details of Hansom's work taken largely from primary records, especially those held by the Nuns of Notre Dame, the diary of James Firth, *The Builder* and local newspapers.[8] Monographs on either architects or buildings throw light on the patronage and working practices concerned, particularly Kaufman's case study on Lamb, Curl on Roberts and Dungeval on Webb.[9] The biography of Salvin is particularly useful in that it includes much general background, especially that related to country houses.[10] Several works by Girouard assess their development from differing angles, for which Franklin, Thompson and Stone provide the setting.[11] These are supplemented by Barnwell and Palmer, who analyse country house technology.[12] The history of St Walburge's by Page, with Hoogland discussing the church at St Minsteracres and Rackham's pamphlet giving the insight to Lartington Hall.[13] Both primary and secondary sources depict work in France, though information on Plymouth is scarce.[14] Pugin's final contributions come with his work at Maynooth College in Ireland, and his Medieval Court, which is described in depth by Wedgewood and Hill.[15] Gilmour highlights Paxton's work for the main hall as a significant feature of the 'battle of styles', but as Bassin and Kornwolf both point out, this could not be so as it was not actually architecture.[16] The most extensive discussion on Paxton's involvement with the Great Exhibition is given by Bassin.[17]

Context

Expositions (Jefferson, 2008).

[7] Bassin, *Architectural Competitions,* pp. 55-74; Robert Furneaux Jordan, 'Sir Joseph Paxton', in Ferriday, *Victorian Architecture,* p. 161.

[8] Sister Mary of St Francis (Laura Petre) collection and Exeter Diocesan Records; Archives of Poor Clares, Hereford.

[9] Kaufmam, 'Lamb'; Curl, *Roberts;* Dungeval, 'Webb'.

[10] Allibone, *Salvin.*

[11] Girouard, *The Victorian Country House;* Girouard, *Country House Companion;* Girouard, *English Town;* Jill Franklin, *Gentleman's Country House and Its Plan, 1835-1914* (London, 1981); F. M. L Thompson, *English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century*, 3rd impression (London and Toronto, 1969); Stone, *Open Elite?*

[12] Barnwell and Palmer, *English House Technology.*

[13] Page, *Our Story*; Jeroen Hoogland, *The Church of St Elizabeth: Minsteracres* (Minsteracres, 2008); Robin Rackham, *Lartington Hall, A History* (unpublished manuscript, Barnard Castle, 1998).

[14] Frédéric Debussche, *Cahiers de Vieux Boulogne: La Chapelle Notre-Dame de Saint-Sang* (Boulogne, 1996).

[15] Marian Lyons (ed.), *Pugin at Maynooth, the New Gothic Contribution of A.W.N. Pugin at Maynooth College,* (Maynooth, 2012); Wedgewood, 'The Medieval Court'; Hill, *God's Architect',* pp. 461-465.

[16] Gilmour, *Victorian Period,* p. 223; Bassin, *Architectural Competitions*, p. 64; Kornwolf, 'High Victorian Gothic', p. 38.

[17] Bassin, *ibid,* pp. 55-74.

Whilst so inward-looking and obsessed with finding their new style, architects were not taking into account that they were being steadily superseded by others, a prime example being the competition for the Great Exhibition Hall in 1851, where, from a total number of 245 entries architects were displaced by what was in effect a feat of engineering.[18] That the design was innovative and modern was not disputed, but it was still not the new style which was being sought.[19] Many architects embraced the use of new materials, such as iron, steel and terracotta, and welcomed the new work provided by urbanisation and increased population, but they did not have a monopoly and were blinkered as to the extent to which their skills were increasingly being used by their competitors and the impact this had on their own profession.[20]

They were driven by widely differing motivation, not always commercial, and often related to their personal backgrounds. Henry Roberts fell out with his benefactors on a domestic issue, and Enoch Basset Keeling overspent trying to fund his eclectic Strand Music Hall which resulted in bankruptcy.[21] The decade as a whole portrays a position of power, wealth, prestige and growth. However it was not all that it seemed. The Crossley family, which was responsible for building a large number of properties, also provided the red carpet for the 1851 Exhibition, but the railway magnate Sir Samuel Morton Peto, who donated £500,000 to the event, later went bankrupt. It was a similar position with architects. Hansom's difficulties in Birmingham would have seemed trivial to one such as Scott, whose practice was underwritten by a large inheritance, whilst Pugin invariably had to pare down his elaborate schemes, and the Grimston family, who paid for Hansom's church at Clifford, was only able to complete the work by raising a mortgage.[22]

Patronage and the Female Contribution

The first theme, that of patronage, focusses on Hansom's work for the Catholic community. His commissions for the Jesuit Order predominated, but the names of gentry families, particularly the Constable-Maxwells and the Cliffords, re-occur throughout, resulting from York, his birth place.[23] The largest group of benefactors unassociated with the Jesuits was nuns from various communities who needed convents. Following on from Princethorpe and Atherstone in the 1830s, it continued with Derby (from 1840) and then Darlington (1855-57). The largest convent which Charles

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[18] Kornwolf, 'High Victorian Gothic', p. 38; Bassin, *Architectural Competitions*, p. 64.

[19] Gilmour admits as much when he praised the 'ingenuity of technology', but his comments are misplaced under the heading of 'Architecture'; Gilmour, *Victorian Period*, p. 223.

[20] For an example using iron, see Smirke's reading-room for the British Museum (1854-57).

[21] James Stevens Curl and John Sambrook, 'E. Bassett Keeling, architect', *SAH,* vol. 16 (1973), p. 66.

[22] Lane-Fox, *Chronicles of Wharfedale Parish* (Fort Augustus, 1909), p. 29.

[23] Both Hansom's grandmother and the Ullathorne family lived close to Everingham Hall, built for William Constable Maxwell.

Hansom built was Loughborough (on-going from 1846, with extensions in 1854 and subsequent work.) Here, despite the strong local influence of Ambrose de Lisle Phillipps, Charles was chosen for Loughborough in preference to Pugin because Father Rosmini, founder of the Rosminians at Ratcliffe College, 'personally disliked Pugin's designs ... feeling that Gothic produced a [sense of] gloom and depression'.[24] Both the building and the one and a half acre site at Loughborough were paid for by Mary Barbara Amherst (Mother Mary Agnes), who donated her dowry for the purpose.[25] Other donations came from Miss Augusta Talbot, relative of the Earl of Shrewsbury.

St Clare's Abbey, built by Joseph Hansom for the Poor Clare community at Darlington, was a huge undertaking (see Plate 42). Apart from the main complex, work included a chapel, ladies' school and gatehouse.[26] The design is medieval monastic in concept, whereby the function of each part is clearly defined. The chapel is Puginian in style, however, unlike Pugin, and unusual at that time for the Poor Clares, Hansom designed the chapel in such a way that the altar was in open view. The future Abbess contributed towards fund-raising by investing in the railways, and made several private donations, as did Miss Talbot, another relative of the Earl of Shrewsbury, Miss Scrope, from Danby Hall and the Silvertops from Minsteracres.[27] Hansom's involvement was at a very personal level. He contributed financially, assisted the Abbess when seeking a site and was one of only four people who attended the 'strictly private' laying of the foundation stone.[28] He liaised regularly with the Abbess and visited on a fortnightly basis to supervise the work, at the same time relying heavily on his Clerk-of-Works, James Firth, who had considerable responsibility and kept daily records in a diary throughout the project.[29]

The diaries are detailed and meticulous. Apart from progress of work and workforce, they show that correspondence with the architects was almost on a daily basis. Reports were sent weekly. Joseph Hansom, who was in Preston, had overall control, but many of the plans were drawn up using Charles Hansom's draughtsmen in Clifton. When Joseph was in Paris on 1st November 1855,

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[24] 'Conditions of Contract', *Lougborough Convent Archives*, 12 March 1848; Sister Fynn, 'Our Lady's Convent School: A brief History' (Loughborough, 2004), p. 4.

[25] Personal communication Sister Mary Anthony, 18 August 2014.

[26] *Catholic Directory* (1857), p. 250; Evinson, 'Hansom', pp. 217, 325; see also G. Wild, *The Darlington Catholics: A History up to 1866* (Darlington,1983)*;* and Brenda Currer, 'Darlington Carmel, Catholic Participation in the National System of Education in the north East, 1833-60', *Northern Catholic History* (1966), pp. 26-27.

[27] Letter to Abbess, 28 June 1856, Archives of the Monastery of the Poor Clares, Hereford; 'Chronicles of the Poor Clare Sisters Book III: Rouen 1791-Darlington 1857', 1857, p. 89; as will be seen Hansom also worked on both Danby Hall and Minsteracres.

[28] Chronicles, 5 August 1851, 11 June 1852; James Firth, diary no. 4, Archives of the Monastery of the Poor Clares, Hereford.

[29] Recently entitled "Diary of events as to how our Church was built (& Abbey)", these are bound in two volumes, covering the period from 12 July 1855 to 14 November 1857, *Poor Clare Archives*, Hereford.

Benjamin Bucknall was left in charge.[30]   Typical entries, which also show how drainage and the weather were of concern, are given in the extracts below:

> 13 July: I took the level from excavation of footings in cellar where water was standing … 1' 6" above the level of running stream on the south side of site
> 14 July: A wet morning which continued with little interruption until noon … drainage now much improved by bringing a drain from the field … write to Architects on that and other matters
> 15 July: Receive copy of Chamber Plan from Mr Hansom Preston … send off parcel of plans to Clifton, *viz* 4 sheets of Elevation and Section of the Ground and Chamber Plans
> 16 July: Rained less or more the whole of the day nothing done by Excavation
> 19 Sept: An objection is raised by a sub-agent of The Duke of Cleveland to the Drain proposed.
> 24 Sept: Make Application of letter to Cap[n] Highgate to have the Building shewn in published Maps of the Ordnance Survey
> 27 Oct: Note from Mr Bucknall requesting me to communicate with him in case any details are wanted during the time that Messrs Hansom are from home
> 30 Oct: High wind and heavy rain which prevents even the Masons from working under the Shed … continues without intermission the whole of the day and night. 1 Blacksmith and 1 Bricklayer at work … sharp tools and pointing tiles of shed … nothing done or delivered.
> 2 Nov: Receive sketch from Mr Bucknall of Timbers to be dressed in Attic … 25 Masons 8 Bricklayers 18 Labourers 4 Horses and Carts with 8 Carpenters and 2 Sawyers. 2000 outside and 2100 com bricks delivered. 4 Loads Lime and 2 Loads Sand 62 ft. Stone (9 labourers)

Reference to the local workforce, as at Princethorpe, is in sharp contrast to the use of nuns, as depicted by Jordan.[31]   The York builder, Weatherley, was used, as was Joseph Bell, the Bristol stained-glass manufacturer.[32]   The brothers were paid on a 50:50 basis. On one occasion Hansom returned his payment in full, part of which was to pay for his eldest daughter, who was a pupil at the convent.[33]

Turning to Jesuit patronage, it has already been shown how work at Mount St Mary's, Spinkhill, Hansom's first major project for the Jesuit provincial, Father Randall Lythgoe, and the future Preston priest, Father Thomas Weston, led him to Preston, and thence to St Beuno's College in Wales. Six priests from churches built by Hansom in this decade were attendees at the opening of St Walburge's church and additional work ensued, predominantly in the Lancashire area, due to

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[30] Firth's Diary no. 10, 1 November 1855, Poor Clare archives, Hereford

[31] Kate Jordan, 'Ordered Spaces, Separate Spheres: women building English convents, 1830-1940', (unpublished PhD thesis, University College London, 2015), not consulted.

[32] See Firth diaries and Abbey General Account Book; both Weatherley and Firth worked for Hansom on a number of major projects; for Bell see Jim Cheshire, *Stained glass and the Victorian Gothic Revival* (Manchester, 2004); J Knowles, 'Glass Painters 1750-1850, *The Journal of Stained Glass*, vol XIII, no. 3 (31 January 1966), p. 525; Bell was an entrepreneurial glass-maker who promoted his business by joining professional associations and actively seeking influential patrons in the same way as did many architects; his unusual membership of the Bristol and South West Architectural Association is attributed to his acquaintance with the Hansoms; his ability was acknowledged by the *Ecclesiologist*, 10:(1849), p. 92.

[33] Abbey Accounts, December 1858: a sum of £131 9s. 5d. was given for 'Miss Winny's Pension'; this was far more than the standard annual fees of £24, prospectus (u.d.).

proximity to their headquarters at Stonyhurst.[34] Preston was Hansom's base for eight years until overwork precipitated a partnership with his brother and relocation to Clifton. What particularly drew his work to the attention of the Jesuits was his design of the Talbot Schools (from 1845). This was a single building, housing boys' school, girls' school and a central chapel. Father Cobb, Lythgoe's predecessor, was so impressed that he decided to commission a separate church on the same site.[35] Lancashire was one of the areas which absorbed the largest numbers of Irish due to the famine exodus, with Preston claiming more Catholics than any other English town.[36] The greatest increase in population was between 1838 and 1851.[37] Despite there already being four Jesuit churches in Preston, the Order aimed to enforce their presence by building even more, justifying St Walburge by claiming that one of its main functions was that of an ornament to the town, whilst simultaneously symbolising the benefits given to the town by the Society of Jesus.[38] Hansom took an active part in the public meeting which was called to gain agreement, discuss style and establish systematic collections.[39] His remit was for a large rectangular hall, without aisles and a hammerbeam roof, a simple plan which was to be 'noble and beautiful to look upon', yet 'exceedingly useful as regards functional purpose'.[40] An estimated cost of £7,000 was deemed sufficient for work to begin, with decoration to follow later.[41]

The building of St Walburge's church is exemplary in terms of loyalty of patrons, stylistic innovation and the combined personal commitment of architect, priest and local community. Without these elements, the Catholic Revival as a whole would have floundered. Hansom planned for seating for 1200 people, standing room for a further 150, plus 200-300 choristers.[42] Eight thousand people, including four thousand children, attended the ceremony of the laying of the foundation stone.[43] The elevated site for Father Cobb's new church enabled the exceptionally tall spire to be viewed from many miles around, a permanent reminder of Jesuit power in this region.

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[34] He was commissioned by a succession of provincials, not just Father Lythgoe; *Preston Guardian,* 5 August 1854.

[35] Page, *Our Story*, p. 6; *Preston Chronicle*, 19 January 1850.

[36] J. J. Bagley: *A History of Lancashire* (Beaconsfield, 1964), p. 63.

[37] Figures as related to the Talbot schools and St Walburge's church were: school opening 1847, 62,050; church foundation stone 67,600; church opening 1854, 73,600; building of tower 1857, 77,800; raising of spire 1867, 84,424, Anthony Hewitson, *History of Preston in the County of Lancaster* (Preston, 1883), p. 44.

[38] *Preston Chronicle*, 19 January 1850; *Preston Guardian,* 17 May 1851; Tom Smith, 'We will build as far as we have the means: Raising St Walburge's, 1850-1866', paper presented at meeting of North West Catholic History Society, Talbot Library, 2005, p. 3; by 1874 there were seven Catholic churches in Preston; William Pollard, *A hand book and guide to Preston* (Preston 1882), p. 157; Page, *Our Story,* p. 8.

[39] A committee of four people was formed, including the local priest and Hansom; *Preston Chronicle,* 19 January 1850.

[40] Page, *Our Story*, p. 6; Clare Hartwell and Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England, Lancashire North* (New Haven and London, 2009), p. 532; *Preston Chronicle*, 19 January 1850.

[41] John Garlington, 'St Walburge Parish History', pp. 7, 10, http://www.stwalburge.org.uk/history.htm, last accessed 15/10/2010; Page, *Our Story*, p. 10.

[42] *Preston Guardian,* 17 May 1851.

[43] *Ibid.,* 25 May 1850.

Other than that, the site was the worst possible: the Maudland area of Preston was on the edge of the town, surrounded by factories, mills, the railway and a canal, all in the midst of squalor and poverty.[44] Living conditions were so dire that in 1861 *The Builder* sent a reporter to investigate, whereupon it transpired that the heavy falls of coke-dust impregnated to such an extent that new paintwork quickly resembled stucco.[45] Nevertheless St Walburge's was even more important for the development of Hansom's career than Birmingham Town Hall. The publicity it generated, mainly due to the exceptional scale of the building, firmly established his position as the Catholic designer of Catholic churches. It was a tribute to Hansom's skills and a measure of the loyalty shown by the Jesuits that he was recalled to complete firstly the tower (1857) and then the steeple (1866). That it succeeded was due to sustained and persistent fund-raising efforts on the part of the Jesuits over a ten-year period. From the outset separate funds had been initiated to ensure its completion.[46]

Money came from many sources: the Jesuits donated £300 and local Catholic benefactors paid for major features, but the bulk was raised by means of door-to-door street collections from the poor, who were pressed to pledge an annual sum of one pound each.[47] Sidgreaves, the master mason and grandson of William Talbot, founder of the Talbot Schools, promised a weekly sum of ten shillings over a period of five years. The largest donations were received from the Misses Roper, who paid for the rose window and the east window.[48] Additionally, an un-named convert donated £700 to pay for the prestigious William Hill organ. It is suggested that the donor of the organ might have been Frederick Samuel Barff. A Master of Arts of Christ's College, Cambridge, Barff converted whilst he was curator of Holy Trinity church in Hull.[49] Through his connections with Hansom and Preston, he became a well-respected ecclesiastical designer, responsible for much work locally, and thence in Liverpool, where he established his own business.[50] As noted below, alongside Hansom, he was one of the main organising committee of three for the four-day Preston bazaar.[51] He designed the frames for Hansom's perspective paintings of St Walburge' church, as exhibited in the

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[44] Vibration from the railway damaged the presbytery to such an extent that it had to be demolished and replaced.

[45] *Builder,* 7 December 1861, p. 833; *ibid*, 14 December 1861, p. 853.

[46] Page, *Our Story*, pp. 16, 25, 28; Father Bond was largely responsible for the spire and Fathers Gosford and Walmsley for the bell; *Preston Guardian,* 17 May 1851; Page, *Our Story*, pp. 28, 29.

[47] *Preston Chronicle,* 19 January 1850*; Preston Guardian*, 3 August 1850; Page, *Our Story*, p. 14; Smith, 'Raising', p. 3; Garlington, 'St Walburge's Parish', pp. 3, 13.

[48] *Preston Chronicle,* 19 January 1850; *Preston Guardian*, 3 August 1850, 3 December 1853, 5 August 1854; Page, *Our Story*, pp. 18, 22; Hewitson, *History of Preston,* p. 512; Hardwicke, *History of Preston*, p. 418; organ reference N10715, The National Pipe Organ Register V2.10.

[49] *Leicester Chronicle, or Commercial and Agricultural Advertiser*, 3 May, 1851; *Preston Guardian,* 12 July 1851; *Blackburn Standard,* 2 May, 1855.

[50] *Dictionary of Irish Architects,* 'Frederick Settle Barff' , www.dia.ie/architects/view/227 accessed 230/12/10; Hardwicke, *History of Preston*, p. 479.

[51] *Preston Guardian*, 3 January 1852, 21 February 1852, 4 September 1952; Barff is particularly remembered for his invention of a method of rust-proofing cast iron; *DIA,*' Barf'.

Paris Exhibition, see later section. They were richly-illuminated, four foot three inches by three foot five inches, and so detailed that they were described as 'pictures of themselves'.[52]

To supplement private donations for St Walburge's, all manner of events were held, such as tea parties, balls, and lectures. The most famous was the four-day Maudland Bazaar in 1852, which was overseen by wives of local gentry and prominent Catholics.[53] Here the community came together, both to provide goods for sale and to purchase items. Mrs Hansom was on a sub-committee and one of the stall-holders; Miss [Sophie] Hansom was in charge of the infants' stall; donations of ten pounds each were received from the local Member of Parliament, Sir George Strickland, and the Countess of Newburgh; lithographs were donated by Bishop Gillis of Edinburgh.[54] Predominantly female, leading fund-raisers for the Bazaar were the Right Honourable Lady Arundell of Wardour, the Marchioness of Lothian and Ladies Anderton, Fitzgerald, Gerard and Lawson, the Right Honourable Lady and the Right Honourable Dowager Lady Stourton, the Honourable Mrs Vasavour and Mrs Weld-Blundell.[55] Lady Arundell, who along with the Stourtons and Constable-Maxwells, had been one of the ten donors for the Spinkhill church, was also a leading patron of the later Preston bazaar, when Hansom extended the church of St Ignatius built by Scoles (1858).[56] This was an opportunity to exhibit thirteen of the stained-glass windows which had already been completed by the Barnett family, alongside Hansom's paintings of St Walburge's.[57] A total of £800 was raised.[58] By the end of 1852 there were eighty regular collectors around the town and, together with events held and donations received, a sum of £6,062 was raised.[59]

No opportunity for fund-raising was missed, especially at milestones of the progress of work. Tickets for the laying of the foundation stone were one shilling each, and those for the opening ranged from two shillings and sixpence to ten shillings for special reserved seats in the tower-gallery.[60] Together with entrance money and a collection these raised £504.[61] However Preston suffered two major setbacks, reflections of social conditions, which hampered fund-raising and

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[52] *Preston Guardian*, 3 January 1852.

[53] *Preston Chronicle,* 19 January 1850; *Preston Guardian,* 4, 11 September 1852; Evinson, 'Hansom', p. 214; Page, *Our Story*, pp. 10, 14-15.

[54] Page, *ibid,* p. 15; *Preston Guardian,* 4 September 1852.

[55] Page, *ibid,* p. 15; Father Weston had previously been private chaplain to Lord Stourton, 'Our Pioneering Days, Addenda', *Mountaineer*, p. 92.

[56] Charles Hardwick, *History of the Borough of Preston and its Environs in the County of Lancaster* (Preston, 1857), p. 479; *Guardian,* 18 September 1858.

[57] *Preston Guardian,* 4 September 1852.

[58] *Ibid.,* 11 September 1852; Page, *Our Story*, p. 15.

[59] Page, *ibid*., p. 12.

[60] *Preston Guardian,* 20 May 1850, 29 July 1854.

[61] Garlington, 'St. Walburge's Parish', p. 22.

delayed completion. Firstly there was discontent over repeated cut-backs on wages in the town and then the consequential power-loom weavers' lock-out which led to mill closures between August 1853 and May 1854, putting twenty-five thousand people out of work.[62] Concerns about the economic situation led to calls for the tower and spire to be modified. A protest meeting was held and details sent to Father Joseph Etheridge, Jesuit provincial and rector of St Wilfrid's, claiming that the project was beyond the means of the local Catholic population. Father Etheridge who was at St Bueno's at the time, wrote to say that he refused to agree to any changes to the architectural plans and collectors must redouble their efforts.[63] The second problem was in part due to the plans not being ready, but more significantly due to the Civil War in America when exports of raw cotton were stopped for four years, bringing the national cotton trade to a virtual halt.[64] The scale of Hansom's original design had been reduced at the planning stage, but the tower and spire went ahead as agreed. Despite this reduction, the eventual size was such that questions were raised as to why the church was not designated a cathedral, especially in view of its double doors.[65]

Unfettered by Church Commissioners or the CCS, Hansom was given ample opportunity to develop his creativity with regard to style, so much so that Pevsner described it as 'alarmingly individual', a 'design of extremes', drawing attention to its 'excessively thin spire', its 'unecclesiastical nave' and its 'excessively steep hammerbeam roof'.[66] Little considered it to be the 'most masterly roof put on *any* Victorian church'.[67] Seemingly overlooking Darlington, Pevsner calls St Walburge's Hansom's 'most personal' building and Cuthbert Almond described Hansom's work as 'something more than a mere commercial transaction ... a labour of worship and love'.[68] Beyond his contribution to fund-raising, he paid for the stained glass window designed by Barnett and installed in St Joseph's chapel in the Talbot Schools, and also donated a four-foot six plaster image of 'Our Blessed Lady' for the bazaar for St Ignatius' church.[69] The essence of the design for St Walburge's church was one of light and space, a regular feature of Hansom's work, and in keeping with the Jesuit wish for an unimpeded view of the altar, particularly for poorer members of the congregation who were always

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[62] Hardwick, *History of Preston*, p. 419; Garlington, 'St Walburge's Parish', p. 17; Hewitson, *History of Preston*, pp. 178-9; Tom Smith, *St Walburge's: The Story of the Church* (Preston, u.d.); L. Warren, *Hard Times in Catholic Preston*, J. A. H. Hilton (ed.) *Catholic Englishmen* (Wigan, 1984).

[63] Page, *Our Story*, p. 17; Garlington, 'St Walburge's Parish', pp. 16, 17.

[64] Bagley, *History of Lancashire*, p. 58; Garlington, 'St Walburge's Parish, pp. 11, 12; Page, *Our Story*, p. 16; Hewitson, *History of Preston*, p. 45; Smith, 'Raising', p. 11; between 1861 and 1862 outdoor relief was given to forty thousand people.

[65] *Preston Chronicle*, 19 January 1850.

[66] Hartwell and Pevsner, *Lancashire: North,* pp. 42.

[67] Little, *Catholic Churches*, p. 132.

[68] Hartwell and Pevsner, *Lancashire: North*, p. 532; Cuthbert Almond, *History of Ampleforth Abbey* (1903), p. 346.

[69] *Preston Guardian,* 27 December 1851, 9 October 1858.

at the back.[70] Externally Hansom emphasised the scale and drama of the building by using dark purplish stone for the church, with light ashlar on the windows and groins, grey flag for the tower and white limestone for the spire.[71] Internally he embellished his hammerbeams with twenty-six statues of saints on the beam-ends six foot six inches tall.[72] He maximised the height of the roof by using very large windows, the largest being the rose window.[73] Most of the windows were designed by Maycock, Hansom's future son-in-law, and manufactured by the Barnett family. In 1862 Hansom was concerned that he might lose the gift from one of the donors as she was unwell. He wrote to Hardman's, where Maycock was then working, to hasten completion of their work.[74]

Based on Westminster Hall, *The Ecclesiologist* acknowledged the scale of the design, but drew a parallel with Russell's defunct Reform Bill, questioning the wisdom of the aisleless style and other conventional irregularities, and suggesting that the huge forest-like roof (perhaps a Germanic influence) seemed 'ready to crash down the entire fabric'.[75] The Ecclesiologists acknowledged that medieval precedents for aisleless churches had occurred on the continent, but their comments on St Walburge, based on a preliminary wood-cut, were generally negative.[76] At the foundation-stone dinner, Hansom admitted to apprehension regarding the size of his vast roof:

> There were, he knew, some scruples with regard to the size of the church and the method of construction proposed … The only misgiving in his mind was as to the roof … he contemplated covering in a space of 63 foot wide in one span, without what was technically called a "tie-beam", or cross-beam.[77]

He pointed out that technology had advanced since the building of Westminster Hall, a building which 'had been standing about 500 years', and drew attention to large roofs being built over railway stations, a major feature of the industrial revolution.[78] The matter arose again in 1867, when he felt obliged to defend his design by responding to criticism, publishing a letter entitled

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[70] Hartwell and Pevsner, *ibid.*, p. 532; this trait was repeated in Plymouth and Boulogne, see later section.

[71] *Builder,* 14 February 1852, p. 104; Pevsner and Hartwell, *ibid.,* p. 532; *Preston Guardian*, 5 August 1854; Hardwicke, *History of Preston*, p. 481; Page, *Our Story*, p. 20; Little, *Catholic Churches*, p. 132.

[72] *Builder,* 10 February 1852, p. 107; *Preston Guardian*, 3 December 1853; Hewitson, *History of Preston*, p. 512; Page, *Our Story*, p. 21; Hartwell and Pevsner, *Lancashire North*, p. 532; Pollard, *Handbook and guide,* p. 173.

[73] The rose window was twenty-one foot six inches across, the same size as York Minster, and the east window, which cost £800, was thirty-five foot by twenty-one, *Preston Guardian*, 17 May 1985; Page, *Our Story*, pp. 20, 39, 40; Pollard, *Handbook and guide*, p. 175.

[74] Letter Hansom to Hardman, *BCA*, 5 August 1862.

[75] *Ecclesiologist,* 13, 1852, p. 109; in keeping with Goodhart-Rendell's definition of a 'rogue architect', Hansom's concept was not copied by others, though he attempted a smaller version with St Joseph's church at Bedford-Leigh (1855-57), where the priest undertook street collections single-handedly but failed to achieve sufficient funds; John Lunn, *Leigh, The Historical past of a Lancashire Borough* (Manchester (1958?), p. 260.

[76] *Ecclesiologist*, p. 111.

[77] *Preston Guardian,* 15 May 1850.

[78] For example Turner's Lime Street Station, Liverpool.

'Single-Span Churches'.[79] The number of buttresses, did, however, have to be increased in 1874 to strengthen the structure.[80]

Hansom's next major project was St George's church in York. Despite not being resident in the city since his childhood, it made a long-lasting impression on Hansom, *viz* designs for the altar at Ryde and the rose window at Preston, both based on the Minster. When he discovered that a new Catholic church was to be built in York, Hansom fought hard to gain the commission.[81] Funding came from subscriptions which had already been raised, together with a donation of £1,000 from a Miss Sage.[82] When the roof was completed, Hansom held a rearing supper for sixty workmen.[83] As soon as St George's was completed, he started work on the Church of the Sacred Heart at Howden (1851), (see Plate 43). A common link between the two was the priest Robert Cooke from Everingham, but the Constable Maxwells were also involved as was one of Ullathorne's relatives.[84] At Clifford comments had been made that Hansom did not visit the site very often, but this was an inevitable drawback for successful architects working on a nation-wide basis.[85] As the detailed records from Darlington show, the rail and postal services at this time were very efficient; Pugin claimed that he was 'such a Locomotive being always flyin (*sic*) about'.[86]

York and Howden were quickly followed by a much simpler church, that of the Immaculate Conception at Hartlepool (1851), built to serve the mainly Irish workers on the railways and in the docks.[87] The leading patroness was the Marchioness of Londonderry, aided by Lady Seaham and the wife of the mayor.[88] Father William Knight, who had already built a small chapel in 1832, purchased the site for a new one in 1851, capable of seating 500.[89] His parents, who came from

[79] *Builder,* 21 September 1867, p. 700.
[80] Garlington, 'St Walburge's Parish', p. 9.
[81] See Chapter 1; Hansom to Right Reverend John Briggs, 13 April 1842, Hansom to Reverend Mr Newsham, 10 May 1842, Middlesbrough Diocesan Archives, St George's Parish, York, file; see also Harris, 'York', *YAJ*, pp. 182-183.
[82] Dominic Minskip, personal communication.
[83] *York Herald and General Advertiser*, 6 April 1850; workmen were well looked after, for the Abbess sent the Darlingon Clerk of Works £1 to give them a treat; at Alnwick a works dinner was given every November, Thompson, *English Landed Society*, p. 92.
[84] Mrs Maxwell donated one of the stained-glass windows, as did Barnet, the glass maker; Susan Butler and Ken Powls, *Howden and East Riding Market Town* (1994), p. 36.
[85] Lane-Fox, *Chronicles of Wharfedale,* p. 29; Allibone also refers to difficulties which Salvin had when working at some distance from a site, Allibone, *Salvin*, p. 127.
[86] Margaret Belcher, *The Collected Letters of A. W. N. Pugin*, 1830-42, vol. 1 (Oxford, 2001), p. 193.
[87] Bernard Sharratt, *The Growth of the Catholic Parishes in the Hartlepools, 1834-1964* (Glasgow, 1965), p. 6; the number of Catholics increased from 25 in 1824 to 1500 in 1851; the overall population of Hartlepool doubled between 1840 and 1850.
[88] Bazaar notification, *Courant*, 27 April 1849.
[89] Kelly, *Catholic Missions,* p. 204; *Hull Packet and East Riding Times,* 5 September 1851.

Preston, donated to the building of the church.[90] Father Knight followed the fund-raising pattern set by Preston, with systematic weekly collections.[91] He was not without influence, as donations were also received from Lord and Lady Stourton, Monseigneur Witham of Lartington, the Silvertops of Minsteracres and the Salvins of Croxdale, near Tudhoe, along with the Bishop, the Barnetts of York and Hansom.[92] The total cost, including site and presbytery, amounted to £4,000.[93] At the opening ceremony, Dr Briggs, Bishop of Beverley, said that it was particularly important for a church of this calibre to be built in a comparatively small town because it provided a visible boost to the Catholic cause, being far more noticeable than those built in larger towns.[94]

St Edward the Confessor, built at Clifford, sixteen miles from York, and mentioned in the previous chapter, has direct relevance to both female patronage and Hansom's gentry network. The design was purchased by Joseph Maxwell (of Boston, near Clifford), from Ramsay, a consumptive Scot who was living on the Maxwell estate in Traquair in Lothian.[95]   The plan was then passed to Hansom to execute. It was built primarily for workers in the local flaxmills owned by the Grimston family, who, together with Maxwell and the parish priest Father Clifford, were industrious in their fund-rising efforts and generous with personal donations. Father Edward Lambert Clifford, the priest at Clifford was a great-grandson of the third Lord Clifford and used his family influence to obtain donations from the Pope, various cardinals and members of the European nobility.[96] Mrs Grimston, the wife of the flax-mill owner, was the main fund-raiser in the general community, also touring Yorkshire and Ireland for that purpose.[97] She succeeded in persuading the priest's father, George Lambert Clifford to agree to match the total of funds raised by other means.[98] The estimated cost of the church was £4,222. 2s. 4d., with donations of £50 from the Earl of Shrewsbury, £100 from Sir Edward Vavasour and £25 from Joseph Maxwell.[99] Fund-raising continued until the consecration in 1859, the length of time it took to redeem the mortgage.[100] At this point, and having also built a school, presbytery and a number of residential properties, there was a disagreement

[90] Sharratt, *Catholic Parishes*, p. 7.
[91] *Courant*, 27 April 1849; Mr Lawrenson also paid for the bells, the first peal in the North East of England, Sharratt, *Catholic Parishes*, p. 6.
[92] Sharratt, *ibid.,* p. 7.
[93] *Ibid.*
[94] *Newcastle Courant,* 5 September 1851; the priest was nominated a Canon of Hexham in 1852, the year following the opening of his church; Kelly, *Catholic Missions*, p. 204.
[95] Ramsay had "produced a plan 'out of his own head from churches he had visited in France and Switzerland'"; Lane-Fox, *Chronicles of Wharfedale*, p. 52.
[96] Edward Lambert Clifford officiated at the opening of St George's York in the capacity of deacon; *York Herald and General Advertiser*, 13 September 1851.
[97] Lane-Fox, *Chronicles of Wharfedale,* pp. 49-50.
[98] The sum amounted to £500, which Mr Clifford duly doubled; *ibid,* p. 49.
[99] *Ibid.*, pp, 29, 27, 54.
[100] *Ibid.,* p. 58.

between the priest and his patron.[101] He over-ruled her in her choice of dedication. Work which had commenced on the tower promptly ceased, the priest was dismissed and Hansom became *persona no grata*. Several years ensued before the Grimstons, who were now devoid of funding from either the priest or Joseph Maxwell, employed the York architect George Goldie to complete the work.[102] Goldie took advantage of the situation, rejecting the original plans and building a very large tower in a style which was out of keeping with the church, dominated its outline and belittled Hansom's efforts, (see Plate 44). The Grimstons left the area, but the connection between the architect and the two gentry families continued for many years, producing work in England, Scotland and in France.[103] Peter Middleton, cousin of Joseph Maxwell, commissioned the Church of St Mary Immaculate at Sicklinghall in 1849-54, a major work by Charles Hansom which included a presbytery and monastery, (see Appendix VII for Constable Maxwell family tree).[104]

Joseph Hansom's networking is complicated, but paramount to understanding the geographic diversity of his career and brings logic to an otherwise incomprehensible jumble. It is also paramount to the understanding of how architects operated, and the significance of female input. The Marchioness of Lothian, daughter of the 2nd Earl Talbot, converted after the death of her husband in 1841. She was a benefactor and organiser of St Walburge's church in Preston, probably introduced by the brothers Henry Constable Maxwell of Traquair and Joseph Maxwell of Boston.[105] It was she who commissioned Hansom to build St David's in Dalkeith (1853-54), a church which was subsequently given over to the Jesuit Order, of which Joseph Maxwell (by then the Honourable Joseph Constable Maxwell) had become a member.[106]

Not every benefactor was easy to work for.[107] At the end of the 1850s Hansom was commissioned by the American Duchess of Leeds to build a small church in the Scottish Highlands in memory of her late husband.[108] Dornie, a small village in great need of a church and once described as the

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[101] *Ibid.,* p. 26.

[102] Lane-Fox, *Chronicles of Wharfdale,* p. 59; Mark Goldie, unpublished typescript.

[103] Work generated by the Constable-Maxwells also spread to Charles Hansom, for whom Thomas Constable commissioned Our Lady & All Saints Catholic Church at Otley (1851), in an area known as Irish Fields; his sister donated £1,000, a quarter of the cost; www.olasotley.org/history.html, accessed 1 September 2016.

[104] Kelly, *English Missions,* p. 356; A. E. Freeman, 'Mount St Mary's – A Parish of Irish Victorians', unpublished MA thesis (Leeds, 1993), p. 33; Joseph Constable-Maxwell, Thomas Constable and Peter Middleton were first cousins.

[105] Henry became owner of Scarthingwell Park, close to the family seat at Everingham Hall.

[106] The Marchioness was also one of the chief organisers of the Manchester bazaar to raise funds for the furnishing of the Jesuit Holy Name church built by Hansom in 1870; *Tablet*, 8 October 1870; *Preston Guardian*, 8 October 1870.

[107] The Street Commissioners in Birmingham had been unsympathetic, the £10,000 promised to Hansom for his design of the hansom cab never materialised, and the Bishop of Gillis in Edinburgh caused considerable difficulty when he failed to provide his half of the cost of the Leith art school.

[108] In this instance, Hansom would have been known to her both by reputation and also due to the proximity of her home, Hornby Castle, to the country houses he extended in Yorkshire; the Duchess was also Laura Petre's step-mother,

'poorest mission in Great Britain', was close to her late husband's property on the Isle of Skye (see Plate 45).[109] Problems arose when Hansom requested payment for carriage of the Bath stone by boat from the south. The Duchess refused to pay the transport costs and the captain refused to remove his large cargo boat from the tiny harbour, causing Hansom acute embarrassment. He turned to William Clifford, Bishop of Clifton, to plead his case, adding that his doctor had advised him to avoid all stress.[110] The Bishop lent Hansom £20 towards his costs, which amounted to £72.2s.0d., but the Duchess refused to pay the architect's commission. Correspondence continued for several months, with a third party brought in to calculate sums outstanding.[111] Eventually the Duchess terminated the contract and the Bishop advised Hansom that his only way to complete the building of school and presbytery was to make use of any materials remaining from the church.[112] This is not untypical of the lack of respect shown towards architects, and their commitment to their vocation, regardless of lack of support.

Pressure of work, particularly the building of Darlington convent, nearly lost Hansom a vital patron, Laura Petre (The Honourable Mrs Edward Petre, who became Sister Mary of Saint Francis with the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur in Belgium, referred to as Sister Mary), for whom he designed a substantial church in Selby, Saint Mary and Our Lady Germaine (1856), the Training School for Catholic Schoolmistresses in Liverpool (1857), and finally a convent in Plymouth (1864-65). Sister Mary had a privileged upbringing. By the age of six she could hold a conversation in French and Italian, and her mother, who was the architect of the extension to their home, Costessy Hall in Norfolk, was able to draw her daughter's attention to striking architectural features of cathedrals.[113] Like her mother, Sister Mary was a good organiser and campaigner; above all she was wealthy. However, also like the de Lisle Phillippses and the Cliffords, the Petres moved temporarily to the Continent, where the cost of living was cheaper.[114] Whilst there, Sister Mary had taken charge of her husband's ailing finances, giving her vital management and financial skills.[115] This was necessary due to her husband's overindulgence in horse-racing, buying too many properties and

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see section on Selby church, M. Clarke, *Life of the Hon. Mrs. Edward Petre (Laura Stafford-Jerningham)*, (London and Leamington, 1899), p. 92.

[109] *Catholic Directory for Scotland*, 1861; *Tablet*, 1061, 11 August 1860, p. 505; www.stevecarter.com, Torridon and Shieldag, accessed 22 December 2014.

[110] Letter Bishop Clifton to Hansom, 9 April 1861, letter Hansom to Bishop Clifton, 17 May 1861, Correspondence box, Clifford archives, Ugbooke; William Clifford, Bishop of Clifton, was a second cousin of the priest Edward Lambert, see also section on Plymouth and Boulogne.

[111] Letter Bishop of Clifton to Hansom, 2 February 1861, *Clifton Diocesan Archives*, LB2.280.

[112] *Ibid*, 18 May 1861, Clifton Diocesan Archive, LB2.402.

[113] Clarke, *Life of Mrs Petre*, p. 33; Thompson, *English Landed Society*, p. 88; Camm, ed., *Sister Mary of St Francis, S.N.D.: Hon. Laura Petre* (London, 1913), p. 48.

[114] Clarke, *ibid*, p. 93.

[115] *Ibid*, p. vii.

donations to charity he could not afford, a common failing across gentry and clerics alike at this time, causing the near-collapse of many country houses and debts in church-building with consequential delays in consecration.[116] On their return to England, her husband, a reformed character, worked closely with Sir Charles Langdale on the Catholic Poor School Committee. When he died, and after she became Sister Mary, his widow was particularly keen to continue the work which her husband had started.[117] Firstly she built the Selby complex in his memory, a church, presbytery and school; and then, using both her experience in the Belgian convent, and at the same time extending her husband's work with the CPSC, she took female education in England to a totally new level when she established a Training School for Catholic School Mistresses in Liverpool (see Plate 10).[118] Sheridan considered the organisational role of women as being as much a part of social change as the industrial revolution was commercially.[119] Rich extant records of both the Training School and Selby, together with those for Darlington, give valuable insight into the day-to-day working practices of architects, Hansom in particular.

Initially Sister Mary was frustrated by the lack of progress on her church. Her agent, the local priest, tried to placate her, advocating Pugin as an alternative.[120] Hansom travelled to Namur to explain his difficult situation, presumably his heavy schedule, and work on the church duly began. In an attempt to appease her, he advertised for contractors before plans had been finalised.[121] When twenty contractors applied, this created a dilemma for Father Rigby, who Sister Mary was paying £40 per week to act effectively as Clerk of Works.[122] On a visit to Hansom's home in Preston he discovered a staff of only 'one boy', when he expected an office of at least a dozen clerks.[123] Sister Mary hoped that the advent of the partnership with Charles would progress matters.[124] In fact it caused friction with the priest, when Charles attempted to introduce his own, non-local builder, and to use Bath stone. The priest commented that 'surely what would do for York Minster would do for

[116] Huge losses due to betting can be found with the Silvertops at Minsteracres, see Dobson, *The Life and Times of George Silvertop of Minsteracres* (Newcastle, 2004), pp. 174-175; Stone, *Open Elite*, p.173; John Pinfold, 'Horse Racing and the Upper Classes in the Nineteenth Century', *Sport in history,* vol. 28, no. 3, September 2008, pp. 414-430.

[117] See Jennifer Aston, *Female Entrepreneurship in Nineteenth-Century England: Engagement in the Urban Economy* (Basingstoke, 2016).

[118] *Catholic* Directory (1857), p. 250; see also J. P. Marmion, 'The Beginnings of the Catholic Poor Schools in England', *Recusant History*, XVII (1) (1984), p. 69; Dom Bede Camm, *Sister Mary*, p. 91; see also Dr Frederick Charles Husenbeth, *Notices of the English Colleges and Convents, after the Dissolution of Religious Houses in England,* based on notes prepared by Edward Petre (Norwich, 1849).

[119] Sheridan Gilley, 'The Roman Catholic Church in England 1780-1940', in Sheridan Gilley and W. J. Shiels, *A History of Religion in Britain: Practice and Belief from Pre-Roman Times to the present* (Oxford, 1994), p. 354.

[120] Letter Father John Rigby to the Honourable Mrs Petre, 28 January 1855, Laura Petre collection, Box 3, *SNDN*, Liverpool.

[121] *Bristol Mercury,* 10 May 1855; *Leeds Mercury*, 10 May 1855.

[122] Rigby to Petre, 9 April 1855, *SNDN.*.

[123] 28 January 1855, *ibid.*; the boy is presumed to be Hansom's eldest son, Henry.

[124] Petre to Rigby, 2 March 1855, *SNDN*.

the Selby church'.[125] A local builder was appointed and a three-hour meeting took place when Joseph Hansom:

> gave instructions and by short drawings which no person could understand without oral instruction, made Mr Barstow understand all that he would to be done... perhaps did as much in three hours as many a[nother] one would have done in three weeks.[126]

Hansom was paid seven per cent for this commission, above the normal five.[127] However, whilst money was plentiful, Sister Mary was cost-conscious and on two occasions the priest tried to spare her from paying commission to the architect, for 'he had hardly anything to do with the [purchase of] the organ'.[128]

Education

Improved schooling was an issue of national concern, a consequence of population growth, not just for Catholics. It was also an area of special interest to Jesuits and important across the whole Catholic community.[129] As 'the most important Catholic educationalist of the century', Langdale had travelled from Yorkshire to lay the foundation stone on the corner of the girls' school at the Talbot site.[130] In his after-lunch speech he stressed the importance of education, saying that it was an insult to Catholics that they were not treated in the same way as others with regard to government grants and urged his audience to increase their efforts.[131] Langdale became one of the first Catholic Members of Parliament, and when the Catholic Institute of Great Britain folded he suggested, founded and chaired the Catholic Poor School Committee (1847), to provide primary education for poor Irish children.[132] In 1839 Lord John Russell raised the annual Treasury sum of £20,000 allocated to assist with the building of schools to £30,000 and permitted grants to dissenting and Catholic schools, but only in proportion to the amount raised and conditional upon Government inspection.[133] Grants continued to be biassed towards Normal Schools, and Langdale's

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[125] *Ibid*, 9 April 1855.
[126] *Ibid*, 15 February 1855.
[127] *Ibid*, 22 January 1856.
[128] *Ibid*.
[129] Altholz, *Liberal Catholic Movement*, pp. 9, 11.
[130] Edward Norman, *The English Catholic church in the nineteenth century* (Oxford, 1984), p. 167.
[131] *Preston Guardian*, 29 May 1847; married twice, firstly into the Clifford family, and then the Constable-Maxwells, Langdale had also been a prominent campaigner for Catholic Emancipation in 1829; his home, Houghton Hall, was eight miles from Everingham.
[132] Rosemary Mitchell, 'Sir Charles Langdale', http://www.oxforddnb.com/search?q=CHARLES+LANGDALE&searchBtn=Search&isQuickSearch=true, accessed 23 December 2014; Hilton, *Catholic Lancashire,* p. 98; both Edward Petre and his wife's father, George William Stafford-Jerningham, 8th Baron Stafford, were founder members; the Honourable Edward Petre was a nephew of the 12th Duke of Norfolk.
[133] Owen Chadwick, *The Victorian Church* (3rd edn., London, 1971), p. 338.

particular mission was to overcome religious prejudice, acting as an intermediary between Catholics and the Committee of the Privy Council on Education.[134] He proposed that committees be set up to promote education in every Yorkshire town.[135] Edward Petre had been a staunch supporter and co-worker. Their intervention, through the Catholic Institute and then the Poor School Committee, paved the way for Protestant children to enter Catholic Schools.[136] However, as Kaye-Shuttleworth, the educationalist, pointed out, the building of more schools would only be effective if properly trained teachers could be found.[137] It was against this background that Sister Mary instigated her Training School. Charles Hansom was already working on St Mary's College for men at Brook Green, Hammersmith, but no formal secondary education was available to women.[138] The Liverpool school was founded on training methods used in Namur, practise-teaching rather than the English monitorial system.[139] Sister Mary paid £6,432 for the chosen premises in Mount Pleasant, Liverpool.[140] Progress was slow. After the premises had been approved by Naysmith Stokes, Her Majesty's Inspector of Schools, William Allies had to visit the Mother Superior in Namur to explain the need to comply with English regulations.[141] There was still no government funding, but the Poor School Committee gifted £100 towards furniture and equipment, and by 1856 twenty-two Belgian nuns had passed the Queen's Scholarship rendering them eligible to enter the training school. Two adjacent properties were then acquired, all of which were replaced by Hansom's H-plan design which, as with his churches, aimed to provide maximum daylight.[142] Work was completed by February 1857, for a total cost of £17,707, with a commission of five per cent.[143]

In addition to the Training School for Catholic Schoolmistresses, Hansom built three other schools in Liverpool: the Holy Cross School for the Oblates of St Mary, St Thomas school for the Established Church and St Thomas and St William church for Thomas Gillow.[144] Thomas Gillow

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[134] Mitchell, 'Langdale', *ODNB.*

[135] John Prest, letter to the editor, *Tablet*, 8 April 1848.

[136] Harris, 'Mount Pleasant', pp. 25, 26.

[137] H. S. Barnard, *A History of English education from 1760,* University Press (London 1961), p. 101.

[138] See1st-53rd Annual Reports of the Catholic Poor School Committee, 1848-1900, (1856), Lancaster University Library, 5/0397; Nico Hubner, *Female Education in 18th and 19th Century Britain* (2011).

[139] *The Catholic Fireside*, 14, no. 4, April 1892, p. 52;

[140] Clarke, *Petre,* p.180.

[141] Camm, *Sister Mary*, p. 110; *Liverpool Mercury*, 10 June 1857; Allies took over as Secretary to the Catholic Poor School Committee in 1853; Thomas William Allies, *ODNB,* accessed 28 December 2014; Catholic Encyclopaedia: www.newadvent.org/cathen/01323b.htm, accessed 30 March 2014; both Stokes and Allies perverted.

[142] Richard Pollard and Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England, Lancashire: Liverpool and the South-West* (New Haven and London, 2006), p. 377; see also Harris, 'Mount Pleasant', p. 27.

[143] Mount Pleasant Records: Land and Buildings, expenditure, Finance B, letter Hansom to Sister Mary, 5 February 1857, *SNDN.*

[144] Evinson, pp. 331, 332; *Builder,* 19 February 1853, p.117*;* Kelly, *English Missions,* p. 254; *Builder*, 2 December 1854, p. 618; *Liverpool Mercury,* 7 November 1851, 2 July 1852, 19 February 1853*; Builder*, 10 July 1852, p.456; Thomas Burke, *Catholic History of Liverpool* (Liverpool, 1910), p. 107.

was a member of a Catholic family, predominantly in Lancashire. Advertisements were placed in the local paper for contractors, and the schools opened in June 1852.[145] At the laying of the foundation stone, Gillow stressed the need to keep up with the growing population, and hoped that his school would enable the level of education of Liverpool Catholics to better all others in the area.[146] A further Gillow school was built at this time in Chorley. Characteristically unconventional, Hansom devised an unusual church which he adapted to serve a dual purpose, with extra floors and a gallery to provide school rooms for boys, girls and infants during the week, all within a single building.[147] St Mary's was known locally as 'the three-decker'.[148] The church opened on 12 June 1853 and the school between 1856 and 1857.[149] This folly only lasted a short time, when, following a change of priest and increasing need for more space, the extra floors were removed in 1859.[150] Whilst the design of the Talbot Schools was exceptional, small-scale dual-purpose schools were generally much plainer, though low budgets did lead to a wide variety of ingenious designs.[151] The Ecclesiologists expected their schools to be in Gothic design.[152]

At the other end of the scale Hansom extended two colleges and Pugin designed a new one in Ireland. Work at Ampleforth School in Yorkshire (founded in 1802), was started by Charles Hansom, who built a new chapel in 1857.[153] This was then furnished and decorated by Joseph, who built an entrance hall and guest house, together with other improvements (1857-59), finally completing the work two years later with a large extension costing £12,000.[154] Described as 'one of the most ambitious buildings by the Catholics in the whole of England', it extended 170 feet in length, being 50 feet wide at one end and 74 feet at the other, with three storeys each of about 20 feet in height.[155] The building comprised an ambulacrum with libraries and a playroom, above which was a great study hall and five classrooms. Above that were dormitories, the largest of which could hold 74 beds.[156] St Cuthbert's College, the Catholic seminary at Ushaw in County Durham, was on an even greater scale, but different in character. It was one of the most important

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[145] *Liverpool Mercury,* 5 March 1852; 2 July 1852.

[146] *Ibid.,* 2 July 1852.

[147] Evinson, 'Hansom', p. 245; Burke, *Catholic History,* p. 109.

[148] *St Mary's Messenger*, (October, 1926); 'St Mary's 150th Anniversary - a Brief History'; Jim Heyes, *A History of Chorley* (Lancashire County Books, 1994), pp. 141-142.

[149] *Preston Guardian,* June 4, 1853, 18 June 1853*; Catholic Directory*, 1854, p. 210; *The Tablet* 14 February 1857, p. 101.

[150] Heyes, *History of Chorley*, pp. 141-142; Hartwell and Pevsner, *Lancashire: North*, p. 217.

[151] See Gerard Hyland, *Chronological Gazetteer of the works of E. W. Pugin - Architect, 1834-1875),* section A(VI), 'Dual-purpose Chapels/School-rooms', p. 3 (2010).

[152] Dixon and Muthesius,*Victorian Architecture*, p. 236.

[153] Cuthbert Almond*, History of Ampleforth Abbey* (New York, 1903), p. 346.

[154] Evinson, 'Hansom', p. 239.

[155] *Builder*, 16 November 1861, pp. 789-91.

[156] Evinson, 'Hansom', p. 239.

Catholic seminaries of this period.[157] However, unlike many institutions, St. Cuthbert's was not loyal to any one particular architect. Not only did several generations of the Pugin family and the Hansoms both work there, but at one stage, unusually, they were working there simultaneously. Pugin built the original chapel between 1844 and 1847, the Hansoms (Joseph, Charles and Henry) took over mid-century, and Dunn and [Edward] Hansom replaced the Pugin church 1884.[158] Pugin was still at Ushaw in 1848, and between 1852 and 1853 his son, Edward, completed the chapel of St Joseph which his father had started for live-in domestic servants.[159] Joseph Hansom worked at Ushaw between 1849 and 1853. He built the big library, the exhibition hall, a model farm and other works. The big library was paid for by Reverend Wilkinson, future Bishop and President of the College.[160] Hansom's commission for the Exhibition Hall, which Pugin had hoped to gain, caused Pugin much anguish. He wrote to Hardman stating 'I have heard but I do not vouch for it that the exhibition Room at Ushaw is to be fitted up in the Italian style not gothic at all!! This would be worse still - but it may not be true ...'.[161]

For some time, Catholics had been agitating for university education, from which they were currently barred.[162] Pugin's efforts with Maynooth College, the national seminary for Ireland, embroiled him in the political machinations over a government grant for the College. The College had been set up by the Irish Parliament in 1795 as The Royal College of St Patrick, to provide 'for the better education of persons professing the popish or Roman Catholic religion' and to reduce the number of seminaries moving to France.[163] It was intended to provide university training for both lay and ecclesiastics and not exclusively for the training of priests.[164] However, the English, particularly the Voluntarists, strongly objected to public funding for private education, and especially the giving of aid to Catholics to 'learn Popery'.[165] In 1845, in an attempt to appease the Irish clergy, Peel then introduced a Bill to provide for three new colleges in Dublin, with a grant of £30,000 to extend and repair St Patrick's. This was opposed by Disraeli, it caused the break-up of the Young England movement, precipitated the death of O'Connell and led to Gladstone's

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[157] Ushaw was founded in 1808 to accommodate students from the English College in Douai fleeing from the French Revolution; amongst the alumni were Cardinal Wiseman, Bishop Goss of Liverpool and the architects George Goldie, Archibald Dunn and Peter Paul Pugin.

[158] The Newcastle firm of Dunn and Hansom comprised Archibald Matthias Dunn, former pupil of Charles Hansom, and Edward Hansom, Charles' only son.

[159] Belcher, 'Selected Letters', Pugin to Jane Pugin, MS V & A L.236-1965/2, p. 599.

[160] Wilkinson was the benefactor of Hansom's Church of St Thomas of Canterbury at Wolsingham (1853-54).

[161] Belcher 'Selected Letters', MS PC [HLRO 1028], p. 639; Belcher's interpretation of 'worse still' was that the work was to be given to Hansom.

[162] The *University Tests Act* of 1871 permitted Catholics to enter Oxford, Cambridge and Durham [34 Vict. Ch.26].

[163] *Maynooth College Act*, 5 June 1795, 35 Geo III, c. 21.

[164] Woodward, *Age of Reform*, p. 337, n.1.

[165] Hill, *God's Architect*, p. 339.

resignation.[166] An Anti-Maynooth Conference was held in 1845, but the Bill was passed.[167] Pugin, the preferred architect, prepared an elaborate scheme which, at £57,400 was nearly twice the budget. When asked to make a reduction he stated that 'the funds were inadequate to produce a respectable building'.[168] He resigned and a local architect was appointed, but due to the strength of support he received, together with yet another recommendation from the Earl of Shrewsbury, this time to the archbishop of Dublin, he was persuaded to change his mind and was re-appointed.[169] Arguably, this was Pugin's most important work in Ireland, certainly his largest.[170] He described the work to Shrewsbury as an 'enormous building, very plain but on a grand scale ... vast rooms, refectory 120 feet long'.[171] However, his efforts were considered monotonous and oppressive.[172] He was at the end of his life and though work was more-or-less complete by 1852, some tasks, such as heating, were still outstanding.

Universities provided work elsewhere in Britain, with Salvin being involved with Durham University; Trinity College, Cambridge; Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge and Balliol College, Oxford. As with the Round Church in Cambridge, Salvin's connection with Berrisford Hope led to seven jobs at Trinity between 1842 and 1866, initially to restore the oriel windows in the master's lodge.[173] When the Reverend William Whewell was appointed First Master, Berrisford Hope wrote to congratulate him and donated £1,000 towards the cost of new building work.[174] In 1856 Salvin rebuilt the façade between the chapel and the Great Gate and added a three-storey wing.[175] Allibone stated that she did not know of the source of Salvin's major works. He had no single patron, but there are a number of clear chains, of which this is just one. Berrisford Hope's involvement dates back to a Church Commissioners church in Ulverston (1828-32), the building of the Observatory at Durham University (1839-40), and again when Salvin was awarded the RIBA royal gold medal in 1863.[176] The presentation ceremony took place at the Tower of London, on

[166] Woodward pp. 112, 334, 335, 117; Hill, *God's Architect*, p. 339.

[167] See A. S. Thelwall (ed.), *Proceedings of the Anti-Maynooth Conference of 1845: with an historical introduction, and an appendix* (London 1845), reprint 2011.

[168] Hill, *God's Architect*, p. 350.

[169] *Ecclesiologist* 5, 1846, 10-16; (27): Frederick O'Dwyer, 'A. W. N. Pugin and St Patrick's College, Maynooth', *Irish Arts Review*, 12 (1996), p. 102-9). In 1846, with the £30,000 available, Pugin was asked at least to make a start, which he did; Hill, *God's Architect,* p. 354.

[170] Lyons, *Pugin at Maynooth,* p. 16.

[171] Belcher letters iii, p. 72: Pugin to Shrewsbury 24 May 1846.

[172] Hill, *God's Architect*, pp. 417, 418 (64): *Ecclesiologist*, 9, 289-291.

[173] Allibone, *Salvin*, p. 135.

[174] *Ibid*; see also R. Willis and J. W. Clark, *The Architectural History of the University of Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1886).

[175] Allibone, *Salvin*, p. 135.

[176] Port, *600 churches*, p. 252; John Marsh and Anne Bonney, *Dear Mr Salvin: the story of the building of a 19th century church* (Kendal, 1999); Allibone, *Salvin*, pp. 134, 148; suggested by Earl de Grey, President of RIBA, and

which he worked on nine occasions, between 1851 and 1869. He also worked at Windsor Castle ten times, between 1856 and 1867. Thus, much of his work was self-generated through repeat commissions.[177]

Plymouth and Boulogne

As Hansom's career progressed, his projects became fewer in number but, symptomatic of this decade, they were larger in scale. Two substantial undertakings were simultaneous groups of buildings in Plymouth and Boulogne. Here his network of patronage is at its most complex. Both groups comprised churches, schools and convents, with a common factor being the association between two branches of the Clifford family, Devon and Yorkshire, and a friendship between Laura Clifford, wife of Ambrose de Lisle Phillipps and her cousin Sister Mary. Plymouth was precipitated by a need for expansion following the Restoration of the Hierarchy, whereas Boulogne followed St Edward's church in Yorkshire (Father Edward Clifford), and was funded by the Northern branch. Both towns were busy sea-ports and churches were necessitated by increases in naval and military personnel, widespread poverty and lack of schooling.[178]

In Plymouth, the exiled French priest, Abbé Jean Louis Guilbert, ran into debt whilst attempting to establish a mission. It was taken over by the new Western District and passed into the hands of Trustees, one of whom was the 7th Lord Clifford.[179] This was the embryo of Plymouth Cathedral. Edmund Bastard, of the Kitley House estate, offered to donate one thousand pounds plus two hundred and fifty pounds a year to pay off outstanding debts, but he died before he could do so.[180] Bishop William Vaughan, who had been responsible for resurrecting the pro-cathedral in Bristol, took charge.[181] The Bishop, who considered the current St Mary's church inappropriate 'for a well-connected priest' (namely William Clifford), purchased a plot of land for £2,400.[182] This was largely covered by a replacement donation of three thousand pounds, given by the Misses

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endorsed by Prince Albert, gold medals were awarded to 'distinguished architects for work of high merit'.

[177] Allibone, *Salvin*, pp. 154-179.

[178] Little, *Catholic Churches*, p. 104.

[179] Publicity leaflet, Ugbrooke archives (u.d.).

[180] Martin Dunning, *Plymouth Cathedral: The story of a people 1858-2008* (Plymouth, 2008), p. 11.

[181] Dunning, *ibid.,* p. 12; William Vaughan was uncle of Cardinal Herbert Vaughan, builder of Westminster Cathedral; William Clifford, Bishop of Clifton, was William Vaughan's Vicar General, Dunning, *ibid.,* p. 12, and priest of St Mary's, Stonehouse between 1854 and 1856; the Plymouth cathedral was built in limestone from the quarry owned by the Bastard family, *Plymouth and Devon Record Office*, 1/720/488, 19 April 1858.

[182] Little, *Catholic Churches,* p. 104, n. 21 - Western Vicarate Archives, vol. 1818-37: letter Father Thomas to Bishop Baines 23 January 1830, a tender of £3,804 was agreed to cover initial work, *Plymouth and Devon Record Office*, 1923, p. 26.

Trelawney, thus enabling building to proceed.[183] However, there was a near disaster when defects which had already been identified, caused the roof to cave in.[184] It was thought that the almost complete structure was disturbed by the practising of heavy gunfire in the Pound; the Captain of the ship was Captain Jerningham, another cousin of Sister Mary.[185] There were no injuries, but work was set back by nine months, with an estimated additional cost of £640.[186] Brick arches were subsequently replaced by granite.[187] The incident provoked widespread publicity.[188] The builder blamed the architect and the architect blamed the builder.[189]

Working on a limited budget, the cathedral, which is similar in size to the Boulogne churches and St Walburge's, was designed in simple, thirteenth-century cruciform style.[190] Hansom achieved a cathedral-like appearance by use of a very high roof and tall slender windows, with the transept placed centrally to give a sense of length. Initially only part of the tower was built, sufficient to contain a bell, but a pencil-thin spire, 207 feet in height and costing £1,500, was added in 1866 at around the same time that he erected a larger version in Preston, where funding was more forthcoming. It is a distinctive feature which adds to the illusion of size.[191] Roberts, the local builder from Clifford's home town, was used, with Bell working to designs by Maycock.[192] The cathedral was the first of a series of jobs lasting over a ten-year period, all on adjacent sites.[193] It also opened up a whole new market, giving Hansom a near monopoly of Catholic work in the Plymouth Diocese during the 1860s, directly attributable to Bishop Vaughan, and earning him the reputation of having been responsible for taking the English Gothic Revival to the South-West.[194] One of his first churches was St Michael and St Joseph at Devonport, close to the harbour, to act as a military chaplaincy for the army and the navy.[195]

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[183] The Trelawney sisters were daughters of Sir Henry Trelawney, a wealthy Cornish landowner and convert friend of the Cliffords; Kelly, *English Missions,* p. 316; Dunning, *Plymouth Cathedral,* pp. 13, 141, 14; *Catholic Directory*, 1859, p. 101.

[184] *Builder,* 13 June 1857, p. 342; Evinson, *Hansom,* p. 229.

[185] *Plymouth Diocesan Records,* vol. 4, no 2, p. 27.

[186] *Builder*, 1 May 1858; Kelly, p. 316.

[187] Evinson, *Hansom*, p. 230.

[188] *Morning Post,* 5 June, 1857; *Glasgow Herald,* 8 June 1857; *Caledonian Mercury*, 10 June 1857; *Sheffield and Rotherham Independent, Supplement*, 13 June 1857*; Essex Standard and General Advertiser*, 12 June 1857*; Hull Packet and East Riding Times*, 12 June 1857; *Aberdeen Journal,* 17 June 1857.

[189] *The Plymouth Diocesan Record*, vol. 4, no 3, p. 49.

[190] Evinson, 'Hansom', pp. 227-228; Little, *Catholic Churches,* p. 105.

[191] *Building News*, 22 June 1866, p. 420; Little, *Catholic Churches*, p. 105.

[192] *Plymouth Diocesan Record,* no. 2, vol. 4 (August 1923), p. 26.

[193] These comprised the Bishop's house (1857), a boys' school (1860), girls' school (1864) and a convent for the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur (1864-65), funded by Sister Mary; Evinson, p. 338; *Builder*, 10 December 1864, p. 905, 5 August 1865, p. 557.

[194] Architectural History Practice, *Plymouth Diocese,* p. 12.

[195] *Catholic Directory,* 1862, p. 144; in 1859 Lord Panmure, Secretary of State for War allocated a grant provided work

The scenario in Boulogne was almost identical to that in England: an escalating population, the creation of a new parish, and an ambitious priest.[196] At this time Boulogne was likened to an English colony, with around five thousand English residents.[197] Funding for at least two of Hansom's three churches came from a member of the Yorkshire branch of the Clifford family.[198] They were built in the wake of the re-opening of the very prominent Basilica of Notre-Dame de Boulogne, where a conscious design feature is the dome, made to resemble St Paul's Cathedral.[199] Saint-Alphonse-de-Ligouri, built for the Redemptorists, is close by, but outside the ramparts.[200] This contrasts with the location of Hansom's church of Saint-François-de-Sales, which was built in a poor suburb, near the harbour and in the midst of the industrial quarter.[201] An initial meeting during which plans were agreed, took place between Abbé Leuillieux with M.Ransom (*sic*) and M.Lambert.[202] Sometimes known as Edward Lambert, this would indicate that Hansom's patron, Edward Lambert Clifford, from the Yorkshire church, was an early instigator. Subsequent references are to Alphonse Charles Clifford, Edward's younger brother.[203] Work comprised two large churches with associated convents, and one very small chapel. French builders were employed, but English experts Hart and Son, William Farmer and Thomas Minton were used for metalwork, sculpture and encaustic tiling respectively, with Maycock designing the stained glass.[204]

The close association between the Clifford family and Abbé Lieullieux cultivated an extreme respect by the prelate for English workmanship and he was insistent upon English experts for decoration, upon whom he felt he could rely for the highest level of work and 'an exactitude for

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was undertaken within two years; Kelly, *English Missions*, p. 154.

[196] Abbé François Leuillieux became Bishop of Carcassonne in 1873 and Archbishop of Chambéry in 1881.

[197] Henry Melville Merridew, *Merridew's Visitor's Guide to Boulogne-sur-Mer and its Environs* (London, before 1923), p. 72.

[198] L'Abbé Th. Mermet, *Guide pour la visite des églises paroissiales* (Boulogne-sur-Mer, 1926), p. 62; Armelle Dounias, 'L'Eglise Saint-Francois-de-Sales de Boulogne-Sur-Mer', Memoire d'Opale (Boulogne, 2013), p. 52; Debussche, *Cahiers de Vieux Boulogne,* p. 15; Henri Carrière, *Vie de Monseigneur Leuillieux, Curé-Fondateur de la Paroisse de Saint-François-de-Sales à Boulogne-sur-Mer, Evêque de Carcassone, Archevêque de Chambéry* (Chalons-sur-Marne, 1938), p. 13; Stephen Welsh, correspondence file, WeS, 11/1/102(ii), RIBA, London.

[199] Dating from 610, the cathedral had been rebuilt several times, with only the original crypt remaining; its prominent site was at the top of a hill, within the ramparts of the old town. It was built over a twenty-year period by Benoit Haffreingue, the local priest and self-taught architect; like Bishop Walsh in Birmingham, Heffreingue was dubbed the 'builder priest', Debussche, *Cahiers*, p. 15.

[200] Site visit 2014.

[201] As in England, there was a social problem, with low morals and lack of education; Carrière, *Vie*, p. 13; Merridew, *Visitor's Guide*, p. 69.

[202] Carrière, *Vie*, p. 13; Dounias, 'L'Eglise Saint-Francois', p. 52.

[203] The initial friendship with the priest was formed by Laura [Clifford] and Ambrose de Lisle Phillipps when they lived in Boulogne for three months; Pawley, *Faith*, p. 227, hence the intricacy of the Catholic patron-contacts. Intermittently three other members of the Clifford family also resided in Boulogne; Boulogne census records, 1846.

[204] Merridew, *Visitor's Guide*, p. 69; Dounias, 'L'Eglise Saint-Francois', pp. 54, 55; Haigneré, 'extrait semaine religieuse', 16 Juillet 1868, p. 253; *Building News*, 28 February 1862, p. 148.

detail'.[205] As appointed architects, and built during the partnership of J. and C. Hansom, the whole Hansom family was involved. Apart from Maycock, Hansom's eldest son Henry was working in Boulogne, his youngest son attended the Haffreingue College and Charles' son Edward was in training.[206] It was only by using his brother as superintendent that Hansom was able to manage such a workload.[207]

However, a number of stylistic quirks can be attributed to Hansom alone, the different sizes used for the two towers and the three windows in the façade of Saint-François-de-Sales, together with his resistance to the English vogue of copyism, where he adapted a medieval style to meet modern needs (see Plate 39).[208] His designs appealed because they were less formulaic than the local City Architect, Albert Debayser.[209] He also had the added advantage of his personal contacts via the Clifford family. Features attributed to English influence are the five in-built confessionals, 'nearly unique in France', and the design of the baptismal fonts.[210] There was a Jesuit influence in Hansom's use of high ceilings and wide open space, with maximum visibility for the congregation.[211] As at St Walburge's, there was a large rose window and no transept. This was the second of four rose windows Hansom based on York Minster. A French feature, again insisted upon by the priest, was the extensive use of polychromy. He wanted the whole of the inside of the church painted in bright colours.[212] Such an effect was being promoted at the time by the renowned eclectic, German-born French architect, Jacques-Ignace Hittorff.[213] At the consecration of the church in 1859, Haigneré described it as being truly international in character, a building which brought two nations together under one Catholic religion.[214] This was acknowledged when he invited William, Bishop of Clifton, to consecrate the altar in the very special and ornate chapel Très-Saint-Sacrement, situated in the apse of the church and enclosed by a highly decorated iron

[205] Haigneré, 'extrait', p. 254.
[206] Letters Hansom to Clifton, 14 January 1859, 6 February 1869, private collection; letter Charles Hansom to the Revd. Mother, Loughborough Convent, 2 August 1863, describing Edward's burgeoning skills in 'the French 'round' hand ... on purpose to write on plans' Loughborough Convent archives.
[207] Welsh, correspondence, WeS, 11/1/105, RIBA, London.
[208] The façade bears some resemblance to that of Pugin's St Chad in Birmingham; *Non nova sed nove*, [not new but in a new way], Haigneré, 'extrait', p. 254; the style used was that of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, in the East of France; Haigneré, *ibid.,* p. 253; Carrière, *Vie,* p. 14.
[209] Debussche, *Architecture de Boulogne-sur-Mer,* p. 34.
[210] Haigneré, 'extrait', pp. 253, 254; Debussche, *Boulogne-sur-Mer,* p. 34; Dounias, 'L'Eglise Saint-Francois', p. 55.
[211] Mermet, *Guide*, p. 65.
[212] Debussche, *Boulogne-sur-Mer,* p. 31; Haigneré, 'extrait', p. 254.
[213] Following extensive foreign travel, Hittorff came to the conclusion that colour had been widely used in Greek times; this resulted in his publication: *Restitution du Temple d'Empédocle à Sélinonte, ou Architecture polychrome chez les Grecs* (1851); see also Robin D. Middleton, 'Hittorffs polychrome campaign', *Beaux-arts and nineteenth-century French architecture* (Cambridge, Massachusetts), pp. 174-195; ahead of his time, like Hansom's scheme for the Metropolitan Music Hall, Hittorff's proposal for a vast iron and glass structure for the Paris Exhibition of 1855 was rejected as too futuristic.
[214] Haigneré, 'extrait', p. 255; Debussche, *Cahiers,* p. 16; *Builder*, 12 November 1864, p. 830.

grill.[215]

The foundation stone of the adjoining convent of St Augustines de Précieux Sang was laid on the same day as that of Saint-François.[216] In this case, a new conglomerate Congregation was inspired by the Bishop of Arras to provide medical and other benevolent facilities for the town as a whole.[217] The design, in a neo-gothic English collegiate-style, added to the rich architectural character of this otherwise ignominious part of Boulogne.[218] It was built of grey limestone and comprised a basement, two floors and an attic, with a slated roof. A private communicating door enabled the nuns to enter the church to attend the confessionals. Land was purchased in May 1856, which gave the premises a frontage of 140 feet.[219] Schools were added in 1857 and the standard of education was augmented by the addition of a conservatoire. As in England, the new mother superior gifted her personal fortune and the school began to attract girls who were able to contribute dowries.[220] A significant benefactor of both convent and church was Mme Chartron, widow of chief of the Boulogne Customs Office.[221] Abbé Leuillieux also personally donated ornaments and fittings with a total value of 1650 francs.[222]

The tiny chapel of Notre-Dame de Saint-Sang, in the proximity of the new parish church, is only 27 feet by 15 feet in size, as compared with Saint-François, 155 feet by 42 feet and the Redemptorist church, 170 feet by 54 feet. It was built by the special request of Abbé Lieullieux on an original site dating back to the third century, to contain a relic which had been previously lost and then recovered.[223] The chapel had firstly become derelict and was then completely ravaged during the French Revolution, after which it was replaced by 'a mean, unsightly [building] ... in the worst possible taste'.[224] This was demolished and replaced for a second time by one designed by Hansom and funded by the Cliffords. At a cost of 75,000 francs, this privately funded chapel in neo-gothic

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[215] When he led the grand mass the following day, the English Bishop was assisted by his Vicar-General, John Bonomi, grandson of the architect Joseph Bonomi, and brother of the two architects Ignatius and Joseph; Mermet, *Guide,* p. 65; Dounias, 'L'Eglise Saint-Francois', p. 56.

[216] *Tablet*, 5 September 185, p. 564.

[217] Article de Armelle Mille, 'La revue des Amies du Patrimoine de Saint Martin' (no page numbering).

[218] Mille, 'la revue'; apart from a pen factory employing a thousand people, there was also an abattoir, gas plant and numerous kitchen-gardeners of disrepute; an additional reason for the foundation was the settlement of four thousand troops near the harbour during the Crimean War; Merridew, *Visitors Guide*, p. 69.

[219] *Tablet*, 5 September 1857, p. 564.

[220] Mille, 'la revue'.

[221] Mille, *article;* Carrière, *Vie,* p. 13.

[222] Dounias, 'L'Eglise Saint-Francois', p. 65.

[223] In 1100 a piece of cloth with the blood of Christ had been given to the countess of Boulogne; the relic was lost, but when it was recovered and returned to her by her son Godefroy de Bouillon in Jerusalem, it was placed in safe-keeping; Carrière, *Vie,* pp. 15-16; Debussche, *Boulogne-sur-Mer,* p. 56.

[224] *Building News*, 28 February 1862; Debussche, *Cahiers*, p. 14.

design was extremely expensive.[225]   It was a showpiece of English talent, highly decorated throughout, with sculpture by Farmer and vivid floor tiles designed by Minton.[226] One of these has been identified as being from a Pugin design, and made in Stoke-on-Trent, April 1864.[227] A double tabernacle designed by Hart and Son of Cockspur Street, London was placed on the altar for the relic.[228] The site was very small, with buildings on either side, and the chapel was reduced further to allow a pathway around the outside for priests to process whilst chanting prayers. Hansom maximised the size of the stained glass windows to give a semblance of height. A row of ornate sculpted fleur-de-lys was used to support the buttresses at the base of the roof.[229] Building work on all three churches was completed by 1862, however embellishments continued.[230]

The second large church in Boulogne, Saint-Alphonse-de-Liguori, was attached to a convent which was already in situ at the rear. The church had the capacity for 1500 people.[231] The design, a mix of fourteenth-century Gothic and Roman, was plainer externally than that of Saint-François, but shared the common dominant theme of space and height.[232] Boxed in between other buildings, the exceptionally tall stained glass windows served almost as a clerestory.[233] The height to the top of the ridge of the roof was 77 feet and, as at Ryde, the vault was painted with a constellation of stars in a blue sky, as can also still be found in the chapel of Saint-Sang and Sainte-Chappelle in Paris.[234] Again polychromy was widely used and numerous sculptured heads of saints were placed around the church, including one of Pope Pius IX. Externally, on the point of the gable above the main entrance, was a statue of the patron saint, with a bell-tower on either side.[235]

Country Houses - Salvin and Hansom

In addition to ecclesiastical work, country houses were an increasingly prominent feature of this decade. They became the ultimate symbol of individual power and wealth, with as much rivalry between the owners as those seeking urban civic pride. As far as architects were concerned, they

[225] Debussche, *Cahiers*, p. 15; see also Carrière, *De Boulogne à St Omer par les Vallées de la Liane et de l'Aa* (Boulogne-sur-Mer, 1874).
[226] *Building News:* Merridew, *Visitor's Guide*, p. 71; Debussche, 'Cahiers', p. 19.
[227] As advised by the Tile Society, 10 May 2016; see Plate 46.
[228] Merridew, *Visitor's Guide,* p. 31; Hart and Son exhibited at the Paris Exhibition, see Appendix IX and Plate 52.
[229] Debussche, *Boulogne-sur-Mer,* p. 56.
[230] In 1866 Joseph Stanislaus Hansom requested a sketch for a crown for curtains to hang over the tabernacle of the Blessed Sacrament in St François; Hardman letters, Joseph Stanislaus Hansom to Maycock, BCA, 12 January 1866, 9 March 1866; and in 1875, Sir Charles Clifford, one-time Speaker of the House of Representatives in New Zealand and older brother of Edward and Alphonse, contributed to the purchase of one of three bells; Dounias, *article*, p. 53.
[231] *Tablet*, 5 September 1857, p. 564.
[232] G. Hamain (ed.), *Chronique moderne de Boulogne-sur-Mer 1837-1870* (1989), p. 145.
[233] *Tablet*, 5 September 1857, p. 564; Debussche, *Boulogne-sur-Mer,* p. 48.
[234] *Builder,* 12 November 1864, p. 830.
[235] *Guide-Brunet dans Boulogne et ses environs*, 6th edn (Boulogne, 1870), p. 41; Merridew, *Visitor's Guide*, p. 63.

fell into two distinct brackets, the building of new houses, and the re-organisation and extension of existing properties. Salvin, Burn and Blore were among the main protagonists. As a Catholic, Hansom's country house work appears less frequently in the historiography. Nevertheless, despite being comparatively few in number, they were wide in scope, and encompassed similar techniques to those employed by his peers.

Salvin's career was similar to that of Hansom in that it was shaped by his early life. Hansom was greatly influenced by York Minster and a Catholic upbringing which led him to churches; whereas Salvin's childhood was spent living with his aunt and her rector husband Reverend William Nesfield within sight of Brancepeth Castle, County Durham, leading him to a special interest in medieval architecture. His family was listed in the first edition of Burke's Directory, and his patrons were largely aristocracy or landed gentry, to which he aspired.[236] Girouard stated that at the end of his life his status as a gentleman became more important to him than that of an architect.[237] The near-derelict Brancepeth Castle was meticulously restored and rebuilt but its new owner in authentic medieval style, even housing a collection of armour. The Edinburgh architect, John Paterson, was paid an annual fee of £500 to supervise the work.[238] Salvin's father, who was abroad in the army, did not want his son to become an architect, saying that it was not a suitable profession for a gentleman, but in view of his enthusiasm permission was granted.[239] He firstly became a pupil of Paterson, and then, along with his cousin, he moved to London to study with Soane, whose office he found over-crowded with too many students, and finally to Nash.[240] Standing apart from the Gothic Revival, the majority of Salvin's output was in Tudor or Jacobean, which he imported into his country-house building, whether restoration or new build.[241] By the age of 25, he was already a member of the Society of Antiquaries.[242] *The Builder* supported his work and condemned early

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[236] Allibone, *Salvin*, p. 4, (1): John Burke and Sir John Bernard Burke, *The Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Landed Gentry* (London, 1846); (2): 'The Salvin Pedigree Salvin Manuscripts', Croxdale Hall, County Durham; Alibone, *ibid.,* p. 152.

[237] *Ibid.,* p. viii.

[238] Allibone, *Salvin*, pp. 8, 9.

[239] *Ibid.*, p. 9.

[240] *Ibid.,* pp. 11,12; both his cousin, William Andrews Nesfield, and his nephew, William Eden Nesfield, became respected architects; see J. Mordaunt Crook, *The Rise of the Nouveaux Riches: Style and Status in Victorian and Edwardian Architecture* (London, 1999).

[241] Allibone, *Salvin*, p. 3; Richard Holder, 'Anthony Salvin', *ODNB,* http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.bangor.ac.uk/view/printable24585, accessed 5 September 2016.

[242] Allibone, *Salvin*, p. 95; he was employed on three houses by Lord Lincoln, First Commissioner of Woods and Works, who was outspoken as to 'damage done to ancient buildings by misjudged reconstruction under the name of restoration and repair'; Manuscript Department, *University of Nottingham Library*, Newcastle MS 1203.

attempts of others at so-called restoration, stating that there was a duty to maintain 'other remnants of feudal times, and a program of consolidation and repair should be put in hand'.[243]

By the middle of the nineteenth-century Salvin had only built six new country-houses, but his work was always on a large scale and in total he undertook the major restoration of ten castles.[244] His most inspired work in medieval style was Peckforton Castle, between Chester and Nantwich (1844-52), built for the first Baron Tollemache and costing £68,000.[245] Married twice, with twenty-five children, Tollemache claimed a real fear of attack. Peckforton was within easy reach of Manchester, Macclesfield and Congelton, areas of rioting and looting.[246] This gave Salvin a unique opportunity to build a fortified house in medieval style, but with the advantage of modern internal arrangement. Curl described it as a 'plan of genius'.[247] Though Scott called the building of castles 'one of the greatest fallacies that could now be carried out', he nevertheless gave Salvin some credit, saying that it was

> not a sham fortress, such as those of twenty years back, whose frowning gateway is perhaps flanked on either side with a three foot clipped hedge .... but it is a real and carefully constructed mediaeval fortress capable of standing a siege from an Edwardian army .... a bulwark against the inroads of a Llewelyn or a Glendower.[248]

The ethos behind the Scottish baronial, or castle-style house which the Edinburgh-born William Burn favoured, had originated from a genuine need to combine a home with a means of fortification, whilst the follies of Fontwell and Strawberry Hill were associated with the Romantic movement.[249] In the 1850s changes in social structure meant that a completely different type of country house was now required.[250] Only a few new houses were built, as will be explained, and work largely comprised the re-ordering of existing properties. Motivation for English gentry to dedicate time and money to their country seats varied: an intellectual pursuit, a safe means of investment, social status within their own ranks and a buffer against encroachment by the *nouveaux riches*.[251] Emphasis was always on size and space, both in and around the house, the latter being an

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[243] *Builder*, 16 February 1850, p. 80.

[244] *Ibid.*, pp. 69-70.

[245] *Ibid.*, pp. 101-106; Girouard, *Victorian Country House*, pp. 154-163; Ronald Durdy, 'John Tollemache and his Castle', *Cheshire History,* 47, (2007), pp. 75-87; Salvin had previously carried out alterations for Tollemache at Helmingham Hall (Suffolk) between 1841 and 1842, see *Country Life,* 120 (1956), 282, 332, 378, 656, 712, 782, 843.

[246] Allibone, *Salvin*, p. 101; Richard Holder, 'Anthony Salvin', http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.bangor.ac.uk/view/printable24585, accessed 5 September 2016.

[247] James Stevens Curl, review of Gill Allibone, 'Salvin', *Journal of Design History*, vol. 2, no. 1 (1989), p. 56.

[248] G. G. Scott, *Remarks on Secular and Domestic Architecture* (London, Oxford, 1858), p. 14.

[249] See Michael Snodin (ed.), *Horace Walpole's Strawberry Hill* (London, 1996).

[250] Mark Girouard, *Life in the English Country House* (Harmondsworth, 1978), p. 242.

[251] Girouard, *ibid.,* pp. 230, 268; Lawrence Stone and Jeanne C. Fawtier Stone, *An Open Elite?* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 224, 229; J. Mordaunt Crook, *The Rise of the Nouveaux Riches: Style and Status in Victorian and Edwardian Architecture*

obstacle for incomers, where, since the 1700s, there was a shortage of suitable sites.[252] A country seat, as opposed to a country house, required large tracts of land and generational ownership, criteria which wealthy new industrialists were unable to fulfil.[253] The importance of retaining ownership, even when there was no immediate male heir, was frequently achieved by a change of surname, rating the property above the people living in it. For example, three sons of the former Haggerston family, with whom the Hansoms were associated, became Maxwell, Middleton and Stanley respectively, see Appendix VII.[254] Likewise, Langdale was originally from the Stourton family, but changed his name in order to inherit Houghton Hall in the East Riding.[255]

Re-ordering existing properties was a highly specialised and complicated process which invariably included the construction of additional wings or adjacent outbuildings. It also made full use of new technology in terms of lighting, heating, plumbing and gadgetry, such as the hydraulic presses at Alnwick used to hoist coal from the vaults.[256] The question of social hierarchy within each property, with a previously unknown emphasis on privacy, segregation between owners, their children, guests and servants, and between sexes, was a product of social change (see Plate 47).[257] This typically entailed additional staircases, new passages and sometimes extended to re-orienting the whole house, with attendant new drive-ways.[258] One particular requirement was to isolate smell and dirt from the main house.[259] Whilst dedicated buildings could be erected for laundry work and breweries, the logistics of transporting food from kitchen to dining room were not straight-forward. Hansom had already used a dumb waiter at Harmony Hall (built for Robert Owen in 1841-42), and at Alnwick, Salvin incorporated lifts for the same purpose.[260] Apart from accommodation, additional rooms were also built or re-arranged for recreational purposes, such as smoking rooms and the almost mandatory billiard rooms, with space needed to display valuable collections of artwork and extensive libraries.[261]

A direct parallel can be drawn between the building of large complexes, such as the examples of convents and educational establishments as mentioned, the competitive prestige-chasing of town

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(London, 1999).

[252] Stone, *Open Elite*, p. 264.

[253] Recognised criteria extended to three generations, Kaufman, 'Lamb', p. 319.

[254] Stone, *Open Elite*, p. 83.

[255] Son of the 17th Baron Stourton, Sir Charles became heir to the property of his mother's cousin, Philip Langdale.

[256] Thompson, *English Landed Society*, p. 92; Barnwell and Palmer, *Country House Technology,* pp. 3, 15.

[257] Girouard, *A Country House Companion* (London, 1987), p. 11; Franklin, *Gentleman's Country House*; Trevor Yorke, *The Victorian House Explained* (Newbury, 2005).

[258] Allibone, *Salvin*, p. 22.

[259] *Ibid.*, p. 70.

[260] Thompson, *English Landed Society*, p. 92.

[261] Stone, *Open Elite*, pp. 224-225, 266.

councils and the aggrandisement of country properties by landed gentry. The skills and motivation were very similar, only the context differed. Ushaw was, for example, effectively an estate, with numerous buildings and its own home farm. St Bueno's College was self-sufficient, with terraced grounds, kitchen garden, its own water supply and a solar heating system run through pipes from large greenhouses (see Plate 48).[262] In each case, architecture provided a way of demonstrating expansion and power, whilst providing new opportunities for architects.

In common with other architects, Hansom had no preferred style with regard to the building of extensions to country houses. Styles varied widely, being dependent upon the wishes of individual owners as much as the style of the existing buildings.[263] In extreme cases buildings were changed so many times that they ceased to have any resemblance to the original.[264] Canford Manor, Dorset, already saw many changes before Blore built the nucleus of the current building, to which Barry added a Tudor wing in 1850. Shadwell Park, Norfolk, was extended by Soane in 1789, by Blore between 1840 and 1843 and gothicised by Teulon between 1857 and 1860.[265] The 'rogue' architect Edward Buckton Lamb also ranks amongst those most prolific in their contribution to country houses during this decade, his best-known of which is the dramatic remodelling of the red-brick Hughendon Manor for Disraeli.[266] It was commissioned expressly to flaunt Disraeli's position both as a county landowner and leader of the Conservative Party. Lamb removed the previous classical Georgian features, replacing them with a baronial-type Gothic, a mix of battlements and pinnacles. He used the comparatively new form of plate glass to maximise the benefit of the view across Disraeli's land, another essential requisite for all major country houses.[267]

For the majority of eldest sons of Catholic gentry who did not pursue professional careers, occupation of their time became a mission in itself, with large-scale entertaining an essential part of their life-style.[268] It was not unusual to have between 30 and 40 house-guests.[269] Excessive generosity was seen as a gentlemanly act - it was custom and practice for whole families to make lengthy stays with their relatives and friends, so long that they became accepted as part of an

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[262] *CAR,* p. 117; Paul Edwards*, Canute's Tower St Beuno's 1848-1989* (Leominster, 1990).

[263] The Riddells removed Hansom's extension to Cheeseburn Grange because it did not match the original building, missing the point that some owners requested extensions in different styles so that their contribution could be readily identified and acknowledged; Welsh, correspondence, WeS, 12/1/136, *RIBA*; personal communication.

[264] Girouard, *Life in the Country House,* p. 268.

[265] Dixon and Methusis, *Victorian Architecture*, p. 268.

[266] Kaufman, 'Lamb', p. 314.

[267] Plate glass was increasingly popular in the 1850s, where Scott considered it gave cheerfulness to houses and was 'one of the most useful and beautiful inventions of our day', Girouard, p. 21 (33): Scott, *Remarks on Secular and Domestic Architecture Present and Future* (London, 1857), p. 35.

[268] Stone, *Open Elite*, pp. 7, 174; Girouard, *Country House Companion*, p. 11.

[269] *Ibid*.

extended family.[270] This required space. Visitors were usually accompanied by their servants and this necessitated yet more space.[271] Even when attending single functions staying overnight was unavoidable due to location - again more space was required. Geographic remoteness from London meant that those families in the north formed a sort of self-sufficient inter-dependency and apart from accommodation, rooms were built to display their valuable possessions, artwork and extensive libraries.[272] The Stones said that 'tinkering with architecture and landscaping of their seats' was of itself a pastime, with the added advantage that a halt could be drawn if personal finance ran out or a national crisis occurred, such as with the Corn Laws.[273] Houses could also serve a more formal purpose, hosting mass quasi politico-religious meetings, as had the Earl of Shrewsbury and Ambrose de Lisle Phillips at Alton Towers and Grace Dieu Manor; and later on, the Right Reverend Witham at Lartington Hall (Hansom 1862).[274]

The first country house task of the Hansom and Welch partnership had been the remodelling and extension of Collingham Vicarage in Yorkshire (1829).[275] Hansom worked independently on Bosworth Hall, Leicestershire (1840), for members of the Yorkshire Constable family.[276] Whilst no Catholic gentry family was ever totally separate from the wider network due to frequent inter-marriage, his country house phase was as much geographical as familial, and symptomatic of the emphasis which the Stones laid upon large landed Catholic families in the North. Between them, work for several closely-related families comprised some of Hansom's most important. The family crests of the Maires, Lawsons and Silvertops can all be found in windows at both Minsteracres and Lartington Hall. Minsteracres was originally owned by the Silvertop family, and Lartington by the Maires. Catherine Silvertop (née Lawson) of Minsteracres inherited Lartington and changed her name to Maire Silvertop. Her second son, Henry Thomas inherited Lartington and changed his name to Witham.[277] He was the father of Monseigneur Thomas Witham.[278] The Riddells of

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[270] Stone, *Open Elite*, p.211; L.E.O. Charlton (ed.), *The Recollections of a Northumbrian Lady, 1815-1866, being The Memoirs of Barbara Charlton (née Tasburgh) wife of William Henry Charlton of Hesleyside, Northumberland,* Jonathan Cape (London, 1949).

[271] Stone, *Open Elite*, pp. 7, 212.

[272] *Ibid.*, pp. 214, 220, 221; see also Rackham, 'Lartington Hall'.

[273] *Ibid.,* pp. 224-225.

[274] Girouard, *Country House Companion*, p. 46.

[275] Collingham file, *Borthwick Institute of Historical Research*, University of York, MGA/1828/3.

[276] Turville Constable-Maxwell file, *Leicester County Record Office,* DG39/2026/4.

[277] The Maire's, Withams and Silvertops were collectively amongst the most influential Catholic families in the North, Rackham, 'Lartington Hall'.

[278] Hansom extended an existing chapel, St Joseph and St Francis Xavier at Newbiggin, Richmond for Sir John Lawson in 1854.

Middleham, Cheeseburn Grange and Leyburn Hall were linked to the Scrope family of Danby Hall by marriage, when Edward Riddell married Simon Scrope's second daughter.[279]

The network of country-house contacts started with the Riddell family. They were based at Cheeseburn Grange in Northumberland, but owned many properties and much land, including that at Middleham, where Hansom had built a bridge for Ralph Riddell in 1829.[280] The bridge crossed the river Yore and provided an important means of access between Danby Hall (owned by the Silvertops), two miles to the south, and Thornburgh House at Leyburn, two and a half miles to the north (owned by another branch of the Riddell family).[281] Thornburgh House was built for two of Ralph's sons, Edward and then Francis Henry in 1863. When designing Thornburgh, Hansom used a different style from the original, bolting a Jacobean wing onto the existing Georgian property.[282] His work comprised largely the extension of the south entrance, a hall and dining-room, having two ranges of unequal size, with a curved, arched loggia in between.[283]

On the other side of the river, the grounds at Danby Hall were one of Hansom's most important landscaping achievements, with terracing resembling his later work at Lartington Hall.[284] Commissioned by the coal-mining Scrope family, this involved the enlargement of their country seat at Danby-on-Yore.[285] The original Elizabethan Hall had been shut by Simon Scrope IV in 1832 when, like Edward Petre, betting on horses created insurmountable financial difficulties.[286] His son inherited a property in Lincolnshire and was thus in a position to move back into the property in 1855.[287] Hansom was invited to extend and renovate it.[288] He completely rebuilt the Jacobean south front, along the lines of Hatfield House, and added domed towers at the east and west ends (see Plate 9).[289] The private oratory on the ground floor was moved upstairs and the resultant space extended to form a drawing room.[290]

[279] *Pall Mall Gazette*, June 1866; Harris, 'Yorkshire Works', pp. 175-193.

[280] T. Bulmer, *Bulmer's History and Directory of North Yorkshire* (Preston, 1890), p. 514.

[281] All three are in close proximity to Constable Burton, where several members of the Clifford family were born, see later section on Boulogne churches.

[282] Bulmer, *Directory of North Yorkshire*, p. 484.

[283] Evinson suggested this was based on Holland House at Kensington, Evinson, p. 263; see also Bulmer, *Directory,* p. 484.

[284] 'Danby Hall, Yorkshire, the Seat of Major Simon Conyers Scrope', *Country Life Illustrated* (1901).

[285] The rebuilding of their church of Saint Simon and Saint Jude at nearby Ulshaw Bridge followed some ten years later; Kelly, *Catholic Missions*, p. 402; Sally Doyle, *The Catholic Missions of Danby Hall and St Simon and St Jude* (u.d.).

[286] Doyle, *ibid.*, p. 15.

[287] It was a condition of the will that he changed the former name of the Yorkshire family from Scroop to the Lincolnshire Scrope, Doyle, *Danby Hall*, p. 20.

[288] *Ibid.*

[289] Welsh, correpondence, WeS, 12/1/106, RIBA; Evinson, 'Hansom', p. 262; Harry Speight, *Romantic Richmondshire being a Complete Account of the History, Antiquities and Scenery of the Picturesque Valleys of the Swale and York* (London, 1897), p. 345; when re-modelling Lulworth Castle in 1867-68, Hansom visited Hatfield House with Edward

Of the other familial group, the chapel at Minstereacres in County Durham, built for Henry Silvertop had a direct impact upon the rest of Hansom's career. Firstly the chapel was significant as an architectural achievement, and secondly it was this work which precipitated the partnership with his brother, and hence relocation to Clifton. As mentioned in the previous chapter, he had called upon his brother to assist with the chapel at Minsteracres due to ill-health and an urgent deadline.[291] Saints Henry and Elizabeth of Hungary at Minsteracres was a case of vicarious female patronage. It was built by Henry Charles Englefield Silvertop to celebrate his marriage to Elizabeth Stonor.[292] The architect was in the unusual position of having been given a free rein as to style and cost.[293] The Honourable Mrs Silvertop laid the foundation stone of the church dedicated to her patron saint.[294] The style is reminiscent of St Walburge's, fourteenth century, decorated Gothic, with large statues on the walls.[295] It seated 200 people, cost £11,000, and Barnett of Edinburgh was used for the stained glass.[296] The cost is more indicative of the elaborate decoration than the size of the building.[297]

Hansom's move to Clifton did not reduce his workload, which in fact increased as he continued to work in Lancashire, at the same time acquiring extra work in the south.[298] Catholic architects were still few in number and demand was fuelled by the on-going rise in population. The joint figure of major Catholic work in progress for both brothers around 1855-56 was twenty-two.[299] Overwork was a factor for several architects. It shortened Pugin's life considerably and Shrewsbury's patronage ceased when both died in 1852 and nothing was carried forward into the next generation. It affected William Wardell, who emigrated to Australia, though he recovered and embarked upon the second phase of a prestigious career. It also affected Salvin, who had a stroke in 1857 whilst working on Warwick Castle; and George Edmund Street, whose death, according to Allibone, may

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Weld, the castle owner, in order to seek ideas, letter Hansom to Firth, 24 April 1867, D-WLC/E/39/6, fol. 40, *Dorset Record Office.*

[290] Doyle, *Danby Hall*, p. 21.

[291] Letter Charles Hansom to John Hardman, 25 November 1853, *BCA.*

[292] J. Lenders, *Minsteracres* (Rochdale, 1932), pp. 41, 74; Hoogland, *Church of St Elizabeth: Minsteracres,* p. 2.

[293] Lenders, *Minsteracres,* p. 41; the final cost was £11,000; Rackham, 'Lartington Hall', p. 6.

[294] *Ibid.*, 68; *Newcastle Courant*, 8 September 1854; *Builder,* 21 October 1854, p. 549.

[295] Lenders, *Minsteracres*, p. 68; Pevsner, *County Durham,* p. 390; site visit, March 2012.

[296] *Builder* 21 October 1854, p. 549; Hoogland, p. 2.

[297] Hansom returned to extend Minsteracres Hall circa 1866, using the existing style of John Dobson, as opposed to the Gothic of the chapel; Evinson, p. 263; Margaret Jane Dobson, *Memoir of John Dobson* (1885), p. 76.

[298] When Hansom started work on the Talbot Schools in 1847, he had five major projects under way; this figure increased steadily until between 1853 and 1854 he had thirteen, with eleven in 1856 and nine in 1857, see Appendix V.

[299] *Catholic Directory,* 1857, p. 250.

have been hastened by the stress, interference and criticism surrounding the competitions of the Houses of Parliament, Whitehall and the Law Courts.[300]

Early in the next decade was the re-organisation of Lartington Hall, near Barnard Castle, cited because it is an archetypal example of country house re-ordering and Hansom's most extensive work of this type.[301] It dated back to the seventeenth-century, but, like Danby Hall, had been empty for some years before it was acquired by Henry Thomas Witham in 1836. One of his main objectives was for Ignatius Bonomi to build a large museum to accommodate his geological and mineralogical specimens.[302] Hansom was commissioned by his successor, the wealthy landowner and priest, the Right Revevend Monseigneur Thomas Witham, who had a reputation for lavish entertaining and maintained that 'if it had not been for my [his] father's extravagance, I [he] would have been the richest commoner in England'.[303] Monseigneur Witham was exceptional in his dual role, caring equally for his mission, his land and the local community.[304] Inside the Hall, Hansom built a highly decorated vestibule, raised on slender pillars, which led to a 100 ft corridor along one side of the museum.[305] He inserted a clerestory to provide natural light, together with numerous skylights and floor-to-ceiling mirrors to give an illusionary impression of increased size.[306] Some of the skylights represented family crests similar to those at Minsteracres.[307] When Reverend Witham inherited the property, it was his express wish to create a grand entrance to impress his visitors, many of whom were Catholic priests.[308] To this end, Hansom re-directed the main driveway, terraced the land in front of the Hall and erected boundary walls.[309] More importantly, he designed and built an ingenious *porte cochère* whereby guests could alight from their carriages onto a platform, enabling them to enter the Hall at floor level without stepping down, as well as giving

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[300] *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Institution of Civil Engineers*, obituary, 'William Wilkins Wardell', 1823-1899, vol. 39 (1900), pp. 369-371; Allibone, *Salvin,* p. vii; *ODNB,* 'Salvin'; Allibone, *Salvin*, p. 132.

[301] Welsh, correspondence, WeS, 12/1/136, *RIBA*.

[302] Samuel Lewis, *Topographical Directory of England,* vol. 3, 7th edition, (1849), p. 31; Henry Witham was a founder member of the National Geographical Society; Rackham, 'Lartington Hall'.

[303] Frank Dobson, *The Life and Times of George Silvertop of Minsteracres* (Newcastle, 2004), p. 174.

[304] In addition to the home farm, Witham rented out 1,600 acres; he was also a co-founder of the Darlington to Barnard Castle railway and owned his own railway station; Rackham, 'Lartington Hall', pp. 5-6.

[305] Evinson, 'Hansom', p. 264.

[306] Bulmer's *Directory of North Yorkshire,* p. 484; for detailed description see *The Teesdale Mercury*, 7 October 1863.

[307] *Teesdale* Mercury, 7 October 1863; *BCA*, five letters, Hansom to Hardman, between 7 July 1862 and 4 October 1862 refer to windows at Lartington; from these it is evident that Hansom's son-in-law, George Maycock, was also involved in the work; Maycock was such a talented stained-glass designer that Hardman employed him for fear of his becoming a commercial threat should he remain independent, Knowles, 'Glass Painters', p. 401.

[308] Letter, Hansom to Hardman, 7 July 1862.

[309] *Teesdale Mercury*, 7 October 1863.

protection from the weather (see Plate 49).[310] In line with current trends, a substantial new block was also built for use as a brewery, laundry room and servants quarters.[311]

That Hansom and Salvin were not alone in relying upon aristocratic patronage is illustrated by the career of Edward Buckton Lamb, ruling out any suggestion that work gained through this means was in decline.[312] Kaufman claimed that Lamb's main patron, Sir Robert Frankland-Russell, Baronet, Member of Parliament for Thirsk, was 'instrumental in setting up Lamb's practice', that 'his entire career was built on the patronage of landed aristocracy'. He was so dependent upon them that they 'may have created him'.[313] These were provided almost entirely by Frankland-Russell, and thence his widow, Lady Louisa, and numerous members of their extended family - nineteen individuals in total.[314] In a similar way to that whereby the Earl of Shrewsbury 'engineered' work for Pugin, the Frankland-Russell family also promoted their own architect, at times ousting others, such as when they over-ruled the outcome of a competition for the design of the town hall in Berkhamsted in Lamb's favour.[315] His relationship with the family thrived on his patrons' class-consciousness and extended to their sense of duty to the local communities. Lamb was made use of wherever it seemed expedient to enhance local prestige by enlarging the family's own homes or making improvements in the neighbourhood, such as housing or schools for their workers. However, whilst work was plentiful and the lack of interest shown in style of architecture gave Lamb a free hand to experiment at will, it did not give him the opportunity to engage with the wider development of his profession.[316] He only built three completely new houses, one of which was his own in Kent. Here he overstretched himself financially and died in London, a bankrupt.[317]

Salvin, on the other hand, was highly successful, with a legacy of £78,484.18s.5d.[318] Described as the 'Windsor of the North', his most elaborate restoration was Alnwick Castle, for the fourth Duke of Northumberland (1852-61) at a cost of £320,000.[319] The total workforce was 800.[320] This compares with 500 at Hansom's Princethorpe and 300 at Breconpeth. However, Salvin had to bow

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[310] Site visit September 2011, with thanks to Caroline Hardie of Archaeo-Environment for pointing this out.

[311] Rackham, 'Lartington Hall', p. 6.

[312] Kaufman, 'Lamb', p. 314; Jordan, *Victorian Architecture,* 1966, p. 126.

[313] Kaufman, 'Lamb', pp. 317-8, p.331.

[314] *Ibid*, p. 325.

[315] P. C. Birtchnell, *The Berkhamsted Institute: The Story of an Eventful Century 1845-1945 and Berkhamsted Town Hall and Market House, A short History written for the centenary year 1960* (Berkhamsted, u.d.).

[316] Kaufman, 'Lamb', p. 344.

[317] David Farrington, 'Lamb, Edward Buckton', *ODNB*, Oxford University Press, 2004, http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.unicat.bangor.ac.uk/view/article/15913, accessed 27 Oct 2014.

[318] Probate, 2 March 1882, *CGPLA England & Wales*.

[319] Allibone, *Salvin,* appendix.

[320] Thompson, *English Landed Society,* p. 91.

to his patron's wishes, when, after having visited Renaissance palaces in Rome, the Duke decided that internal decoration should be in Roman Palazzo style, even though the original structure of the building was designed as a feudal castle.[321]   The complications of having to manage an Italian workforce led to a temporary collapse in his health.[322]

Two Exhibitions

Two major exhibitions highlight the progress of the architectural profession. Salvin, Lamb and Hansom were amongst the fifty English architects who exhibited at the Paris Exhibition in 1855. Pugin was, however, the only architectural presence at the Great Exhibition in London, 1851. Not only were towns and cities competing for civic prowess, but also countries, particularly England and France. George III had been renowned for his over-expenditure on building work, with the specific aim of outdoing those being in built in Paris.[323] In 1849 the French held the last of eleven national exhibitions of agriculture and industry, and by the following year Henry Cole (founder of the magazine *Journal of Design* and Council member of the Society of Arts), and his artist friend Richard Redgrave, together with Prince Albert, were jointly planning the Great Exhibition in Hyde Park, which opened on 1 May 1851.[324]   This was then countered by Napoleon with a further exhibition in Paris in 1855. Both exhibitions, London 1851 and Paris 1855, were an expression of expansion and the growth of technological development, but that in Paris took things a stage further by incorporating a section on Fine Arts and acknowledging the architectural profession. They shared the common goal of encouraging internationalism, the full names of each exhibition being 'The Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of all Nations' and the 'Exposition Universelle'.[325] They also united in their call for peace and culture.[326]   Prince Albert's aim for the Royal Commission was to achieve 'an intellectual festival of peaceful industry' ... 'merchandising, science and taste'; whilst Napoléon called for the 'prestige of French culture ... within the context of science, technology and business'.[327]   England was grappling with social status and the 'Crystal Palace', as it became nicknamed by *Punch*, saw a cross-over, with railway kings and cotton merchants competing with aristocracy, and warehouses and stark cotton mills overtaking the

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[321] Allibone, *Salvin*, p. 84.
[322] *Ibid.,* p. 85.
[323] See David Watkin, *The Architect King: George III and the Culture of the Enlightenment* (London, 2004).
[324] Hill, *God's Architect*, p. 434; Cole had been particularly impressed by the skill of French craftsmen at the French exhibition and mourned the loss of aesthetics in England, subsumed by industrialisation; Bassin, *Architectural Competitions*, p. 55; Elizabeth Aslin, *The Aesthetic Movement, Prelude to Art Nouveau* (New York, 1969), p. 15.
[325] Hill, *God's Architect*, p. 435; Trapp, 'Universal Exhibition', p. 300.
[326] Trapp, *ibid.*, p. 300; M. B. de Valency, *L'Entente Cordiale: A Self-Interpreting Guide to Paris, for The Exhibition, 1855* (1855, reprinted Glasgow 2008); R. B. Mowat, *The Victorian Age* (London, 1939), p. 133.
[327] Trapp, 'Universal Exhibition', p. 300; Hill, *God's Architect*, p. 435, quoting Bonython and Burton, *The Great Exhibition*, p. 121; Jordan, *Victorian Architecture*, p. 123.

elegance of the Regency period.[328] That the Great Exhibition occurred in the middle of the nineteenth century was no coincidence - it was the peak of change.[329]

The competition for the design of the English Exhibition Hall, however, was far from peaceful. It typified controversies of the previous decade on a grand scale. Joseph Paxton's design for a glasshouse was eventually agreed, in great haste and mainly due to influence from the Duke of Devonshire and the failure of previous attempts to produce a successful outcome. When the idea was first made public, plans were submitted by Richard and Thomas Turner, engineering contractors responsible for the Palm House at Kew (designed by Decimus Burton), and the conservatory in Regent's Park (designed Decimus Burton, overseen John Nash). These were set aside and an 'open competition ... for suggestions' was announced. The selection committee comprised aristocratic builders, the Duke of Buccleuch and Lord Elsmere (*sic*); architects Barry, Cockerell and Donaldson, with Robert Stephenson, William Cubitt and Isambard Kingdom Brunel as engineers.[330] Neither prize nor guarantee to the winner was offered.[331] Despite the short notice of only one month to prepare, 254 suggestions were submitted, including many from abroad.[332] That the shortlist was predominantly from foreign competitors caused concern in view of the underlying aim to promote British technology.[333] Bassin suggests that the predominance of foreign entries was the cause of overall rejection, with the commissioners deciding to create their own design instead.[334] Brunel, who was least committed on other projects, was appointed.[335] His impractical design, more akin to railway sheds, requiring fifteen million bricks and a great deal of time to erect, was published in *Illustrated London News*.[336] The only attraction was a great dome, to 'exemplify the present state of the science of construction [not architecture] in this country'.[337] However, a chance meeting between Paxton and John Ellis, Chairman of the Midland Railway, and then Henry Cole, the prime organiser, led to the competition being re-opened.[338] Such irregularity brought outcries from some members of the architectural profession.[339] Paxton then met with his

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[328] Dixon and Muthesisus, *Victorian Architecture*, p. 102; Trapp, 'Universal Exhibition', p. 300; Jordan, *Victorian Architecture*, p. 111.
[329] Jordan, *ibid.*, p. 123.
[330] Bassin, *Architectural Competitions*, p. 63.
[331] *Ibid.*
[332] Bassin, *ibid*, p. 64.
[333] Twelve French entries received distinction, alongside only three British entries; *Builder*, 8:(1850), p, 265; French architects were more experienced in the use of glass, where no tax had been imposed; the glass tax in England had only been repealed in 1845; Hitchcock, *Architecture, Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, p. 447.
[334] Bassin, *Architectural Competitions*, p. 66.
[335] Bassin, *ibid*, p. 67.
[336] *ILN*, 22 June 1850.
[337] *Builder*, 8 (1850), p. 337.
[338] George F. Chadwick, *The Works of Sir Joseph Paxton, 1803-1865* (London, 1961), p. 105.
[339] *Builder*, 8:(1850), p. 337.

friend, Stephenson (a Committee member), made use of the Duke's staff at Chatsworth to prepare drawings, and showed his plans to Lord Granville (vice-president of the Royal Commission and nephew of the Duke of Devonshire). However, these did not comply with the specification and a second set had to be prepared.

Pre-empting both acceptance of his plans and new tenders, Paxton, who was never part of the original competition, published his design, which required minimal foundations, comprised ninety-five per cent glass and covered an area of 1848 x 408 feet.[340] The similarity between Paxton's plans and those of his predecessors did not go unnoticed, neither was it unnoticed that Paxton had called upon the influence of 'people who counted'.[341]

> The powerful family influence which was exerted in favour of the present design, the great injustice done by its acceptance to the architects and engineers who gave their time and thought to the work in reply to the commissioners' invitation, and the way in which the arrangement was entered into with the contractors for the execution of it without competitor, lead us to view the rising structure with less confidence and less pleasant feelings than we should otherwise have gladly hastened to express.[342]

The final building was well below the original estimate and had the advantage of being erected speedily and also easily dismantled for re-erection elsewhere.[343] It was largely self-funded, with the benefit of a substantial donation of £50,000 from the railway contractor, Sir Samuel Morton Peto.[344] However, that such a sequence of events occurred, for such a high-profile competition in full view of the public, has to call into question the effectiveness of the RIBA and is indicative of their failure to regularise competitions. Repeated condemnation came from *The Builder*, but that had no official standing.[345] As to style, it was neither 'trabeated' (Classical slabs resting on columns), nor 'arcuated' (Gothic arches, vaults or domes). The arches only hinted at Classical, and the flags at Gothic, for traditional styles were not transferable to a glass building. This, then, opened the question as to whether it was in fact architecture at all or a feat of engineering.[346] Schoenefeldt draws attention to the way in which Paxton had to justify how the hot and humid conditions of a glass-house could be modified to house artefacts safely and provide a comfortable environment for

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[340] *ILN*, 15 July 1850; Jordan, *Victorian Architecture*, p. 130; Dixon and Muthesius, *Victorian Architecture*, p. 101.
[341] Paxton was familiar with both the initial Turner submission and the glass structure of the French Hector Horeau, and had also worked with Burton at Chatsworth; Bassin, *Architectural Competitions*, p. 62; Chadwick, *Paxton*, pp. 106-7.
[342] *Builder*, 8, 7 September 1850, p. 421.
[343] Jordan, *Victorian Architecture*, p. 130.
[344] Dixon and Muthesius, *Victorian Architecture*, p. 101.
[345] For example *Builder* (1850), p. 337; Henry B. Garling, 'The Building in Hyde Park and the Profession', 9 (1851), p. 109 and 'T.', 'Building for Exhibition of 1851', 9 (1851), p. 358.
[346] Jordan, *Victorian Architecture*, p. 130.

visitors.[347] Though Paxton's design could not be adapted for general use, it nevertheless succeeded where traditionalists had failed by opening the possibility of bringing together the old and the new.[348] Unlike the competition, the construction of the building was a highly organised operation, with materials brought from all over the country and much pre-fabricated off site.[349] A detailed and well-illustrated account of the construction was published in the Catalogue.[350]

With such strong emphasis on machinery and technology, Pugin, the only architect to exhibit, struggled to establish a presence. His work did not fit anywhere in the Committee's system of categories.[351] Whilst his collaborators, Crace (interior decorator), Hardman (metal and glass), Minton (encaustic tiles) and Myers (builder), all produced manufactured goods, Pugin, as a 'man of ideas', had no place.[352] He finally persuaded Cole to permit a multiple display, unique amongst other exhibits, and was entered in the miscellaneous category of 'Decorative furniture and upholstery, paper hangings, papier mâché and japanned goods'.[353] Pugin blamed Barry, one of the Commissioners, for denying him the opportunity to show his full potential, but for his part, Barry was frustrated by Pugin's focus on the Exhibition and absence from work on the Houses of Parliament.[354] Pugin missed out on the commendations, which were awarded to each of his collaborators.[355] He achieved some success in that his Medieval Court enabled him to demonstrate how Medieval art could be adapted for the present day, however, the content of his display did little to enhance his position as an architect (see Plate 51).[356]

Overall the exhibition was a huge success, with nineteen thousand exhibits, seventeen thousand exhibitors and six million visitors, a third of the population.[357] It netted a profit of £186,000 which, in accordance with Prince Albert's wishes, and encouraged by Cole, was allocated to educational grants and a number of new buildings in what was to become the 'Brompton Art Quarter' of South Kensington. The first new museum, now the Victorian and Albert, housed a collection of 'Practical

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[347] Henrik Schoenefeldt, 'Adapting Glasshouses for Human Use: Environmental Experimentation in Paxton's Design for the 1851 Great Exhibition Building and the Crystal Palace, Sydenham,: *AH*, vol. 54: 2011, pp. 233-274.

[348] *Ibid.,* p. 131.

[349] Dixon and Muthesius, *Victorian Architecture*, p. 101.

[350] 'Official Catalogue 1851', pp. 49-81.

[351] Hill, *God's Architect*, p. 437: (28) quoted in Boynthon and Burton, *The Great Exhibition*, p. 130.

[352] The only mention of architecture was in the machinery section, under the heading of 'Mechanical, Civil Engineering, Architectural and Building Contrivances', 'Official Catalogue', Class VII, page 89.

[353] Hill, *God's architect*, p. 438; for a full description of Pugin's exhibits, see Hill, *God's Architect*, p. 454 and 'Official Catalogue', Class 26, p. 761.

[354] Hill, *God's Architect*, pp. 437, 461.

[355] *Ibid.*, p. 466; the majority of the artefacts were designed by Hardman, though Myers displayed the tomb destined for the late Dr Walsh in St Chad's, Birmingham; 'Official Catalogue', II, Section III, Manufacturers, p. 761.

[356] Hill, *God's Architect*, p. 465.

[357] G. M. Young, *Early Victorian England 1830-1865,* I (London, New York, Toronto, 1951), p. 220.

Art'.[358]   It was here, after the Exhibition, that Pugin's talents were acknowledged.   He was appointed to the selection panel to choose which exhibits would be purchased by the government for display in the museum.[359]

The French sequel in the Champs Élysées could only achieve five million visitors, but it had twenty thousand exhibitors, ten and a half of whom were from other countries. The main building, also metal and glass, was smaller than the Crystal Palace. General similarities of design between the English and French buildings can be seen in Plate no 50. The space required had been underestimated, but in order to demonstrate his supremacy, Napoléon commissioned a number of separate buildings and thus claimed his overall floor space to be greater.[360]   To augment the scientific aspect, a dedicated Palace of Fine Arts was erected, with architectural designs on the upper floor. The jurors of the English section were Barry and Cockerell.[361]   Henry Cole, prime organiser of the London Exhibition, was appointed General Commissioner for the British exhibits.[362] His colleague, Richard Redgrave was appointed Special Commissioner for Fine Arts.[363] Both were appointed under the auspices of The Right Honourable Lords of the Committee of Privy Council for Trade. On 8 July 1854, the Board of Trade wrote thus to the RIBA:

> Professor Cockerell, Professor Donaldson, Mr Scott, and Mr Redgrave, R.A., having been appointed as an Associate Committee, to advise this Department as to the preliminary arrangements for properly representing the Architecture of this Country in the approaching Paris Exhibition, have submitted that it is desirable for this purpose to secure the earnest co-operation of the Members of your Institute.[364]

A reminder was given by *The Builder* of the Rules of Entry for the Paris Exhibitions see below:

> Artists can contribute to the Universal Exhibition works which have been previously exhibited; but these cannot be admitted,-
> 1st. Copies, excepting such as may reproduce a work in a different manner or enamel, by drawing &c.
> 2nd. Pictures, and other objects, without frames.
> 3rd. Sculptures in unbaked clay.[365]

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[358] Jordan, *Victorian Architecture,* p. 159.

[359] Hill, *God's Architect*, p. 472; his appointment is attributed to the fact that the organisers were in accord with Pugin's aims, as put forward in his *True Principles;* Hill, *ibid.*, p. 473.

[360] Lady Charlton described the Great Exhibition as 'a pigmy compared with Paris', Barbara Charlton, *Northumbrian Lady*, p. 203.

[361] 'Exposition Universelle, 1855, Catalogue des Objets Exposés', p. 4.

[362] Cole had been one of four Assistant Keepers of the Public Record Office, set up in 1838; he had been an assistant to Rowland Hill and was key in setting up the Penny Post. He also introduced the first commercial Christmas card in 1843.

[363] *Ibid,* 'Catalogue', p. 4.

[364] *RIBA Proceedings,*1st series, vol. 7, 1855-56, pp. 51-52.

[365] *The Builder,* vol. XIII, no. 628, 17 February 1855, p. 81.

Between them, the English architects displayed 127 separate items, ranging from Barry's New Palace of Westminster; to Bunning's Billingsgate Fish-Market; Butterfield's All Saints Church; Donaldson's Royal Exchange; Hopper's Upper Court and Keep of Penrhyn Castle; Lamb's Shooting Lodge and Paxton's Crystal Palace. Amongst Edward I'Anson's exhibits were drawings to illustrate a London House 'as inhabited by the middle classes in England', with counterparts for Country Houses.[366] Not only were the Houses of Parliament represented by Charles Barry in Class XXX, Arthitecture, but also in Class XVII, General Metalwork, where his model in metal was exhibited in the Palace; and Hardman & Son's stained glass in Class XIV, Civil Engineering, was in the Palace Gallery. For a full list, along with ancillary entries in other Sections, see Appendices VIII and IX.[367]

Salvin did not habitually publicise his work in the form of lithographs, but he did visit the Paris Exhibition in 1855, where, apart from an illustration of Caius College, he also exhibited a cork model of Peckforton Castle.[368] Viollet-le-Duc's exhibit for the Tour du Trésor at Carcassone inspired Prince Albert to such an extent that Salvin had to once again change one of his designs, this time for the rebuilding of Clewer [Curfew] Tower at Warwick Castle.[369] This is a prime example of the point made in *The Builder*, that many incongruities would have been spared, had 'the architects the power of convincing their well meaning, but mistaken patrons, of the inapplicability and sometimes absurdity of their wishes'.[370]

In addition to the English exhibits, there were 93 from France, three from Austria and Holland, and one each from Bavaria and Belgium. The United States of America contributed 56 paintings to the 'Works of Art section', but none to the Architectural section.[371] All the English exhibitors were from private individuals. However the RIBA reported that, unlike the British, a high proportion of the French input came from their Public Archives.[372] These were divided into two sections, French Mediaeval buildings and classical monuments in Italy and Greece, the latter being derived from the French Academy in Rome:

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[366] Catalogue des Objects, p. 93; I'Anson was best known as a builder of commercial buildings in the City of London; in 1886 he was President of both the RIBA and the Surveyors' Institution, as well as being a fellow of the Geological Society.

[367] The appendix is valuable in that it identifies the prestigious addresses where architects were based.

[368] Finer details, such as boxwood windows were inserted into the walls of the model; 'Catalogue des Objets', p. 94; Allibone, *Salvin*, p. 105.

[369] *Ibid.*, pp. 145, 186.

[370] *The Builder*, vol. 8, 2 March 1850, p. 104.

[371] *Ibid*, vol. 13, 19 May 1855, p. 231.

[372] *RIBA Proceedings,* 1st series, vol. 9, 1855-56, pp. 243-244.

illustrated with profound study and the highest intelligence .... a standing evidence of the enlightened and judicious patronage of the French Government at every period, Republican, Imperial, and Royal, by whom the rising generation of artists is provided with the very highest education; being afforded the best means of instruction and study; and afterwards by public works ensured future encouragement ... These illustrations are noble specimens of the talents of the French draughtsmen, and prove the advanced state of the school of drawing at the several periods.[373]

Accolades were given in various sections as follows:

Grande Médaille d'Honneur to Sir Charles Barry

First-class medals to Charles Cockerell, Owen Jones and Thomas Leverton Donaldson

Second-class medals to Philip Hardwick, George Gilbert Scott and E. Faulkener

Honourable Mentions to Decimus Burton, Charles Fowler, Thomas Wyatt, T. Allom, Digby Wyatt, H. E. Kendall junior and H. Shaw.[374]

None were given to British entries in the sculpture section, however in other classes Minton and Co were awarded a Large Medal of Honour in the Glass and Ceramic Section, with Hardman being given a Second-class Medal. J. G. Crace was awarded a Second-class Medal in the Furniture and Decoration Section, with Digby Wyatt being given a First-class Medal in the section entitled Drawing and Modelling applied to industry. From this list it can be deduced that England was both well represented and well thought of. There was some criticism though, a letter in *The Builder* pointed out that the jurors (or panel of judges) consisted of nine members, six of whom were architects, two being English. The jurors, according to the letter, awarded themselves two *grandes médailles d'honneur* and four gold medals.[375] Furthermore, despite an almost complete absence of modern works by the French, eight of the eleven first-class gold medals were given to French entries, fourteen out of eighteen for second-class, and twenty-three of the thirty honourable mentions. Only one medal was awarded to Spanish, German and Turkish entries. The letter was signed 'An Architect'. Was it Hansom? In view of the high moralistic tone, and the fact that he was an exhibitor, and therefore a keen follower, it can be justifiably concluded that it was.

The Paris Exhibition was successful in that it raised the profile of architecture; however, it ran at a loss and had no legacy, such as the English building of museums. The Palace of Fine Arts

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[373] *Ibid.*
[374] *The Builder,* 1 December 1855, p. 580.
[375] *Ibid.*

remained in use until 1859 and the Théâtre du Rond-Point is all that remains of the original buildings.[376]

Conclusion

This final chapter has shown how continuity ran alongside change, enabling the architectural profession to raise its profile and take advantage of the national mood of growth and expansion. This is reflected across each of the topics explored. The common theme is characterised by power and prestige, a period of superlatives, with St Walburge's, the tallest church steeple in the country; Ampleforth, the most amibitions Catholic building; and St Bueno's emulating the Oxbridge university system. The Restoration of the Hierarchy in 1850 gave further impetus to church-building for Catholic architects, despite internal arguments over the choice between Gothic and Classical. This rigid classification relaxed more widely after the use of polychromy for All Saints, which heralded the ultimate demise of the CBC in 1856. From then onwards there was more openness as to style, giving scope for the work of 'rogue' architects and others to experiment. The rise of the middle classes saw increased wealth, translated into country house work, the 'ultimate status symbol'.[377] It also saw a noticeable extension in female involvement with greater patronage, substantial donations and the organisation of fund-raising. Beyond this they played an active part. Mrs Jerningham, mother of Sister Mary, and Elizabeth Simcoe, mother of seven sisters, were both amateur architects who advised the next generation.[378] Education expanded too, from local village schools to universities, and the Training School in Liverpool funded by Sister Mary.

Whereas foreign travel and 'Grand Tours' had habitually provided inspiration and training for a small group of privileged architects, English architects in general were now making a positive contribution overseas, such as Scott in Germany, Hansom in France and Wardell in Australia.[379] The international flavour of architecture was extended further with the two exhibitions of 1851 and 1855. However, this was slow to make an impact, bearing in mind that despite the fact that the London exhibition was driven by the German Prince Albert, overseas entries for the competition were resisted. Comparison between the two exhibitions shows a marked change in attitude towards

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[376] Trapp, 'Universal Exhibition', p. 300.

[377] Richard Wilson and Alan Mackley, ''A Pleasure <u>N</u>ot to be Envied', The Building of the English Country House', *History Today,* July 2001: 51, 7, *Art, Design & Architecture Collection*, p. 41.

[378] Francis Michael Longstreth Thompson, *English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century* (third impression, London, 1969), p. 88; Jim Cheshire, 'Elizabeth Simcoe and her daughters: amateur ecclesiastical design', in *The 1840s - The Victorian Society*, vol. 1, Rosemary Hill and Michael Hall (eds), 2008, pp. 86-95.

[379] Wardell's designs in Australia also showed French influence; Ursula de Jong, 'The Prince and the Pauper: St Patrick's Cathedral and Patronage in the Roman Catholic Church in Mid-nineteenth Century Victoria', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians, Australia and New Zealand* (1999), p. 35.

architecture, with the British exhibition barely acknowledging it and the French encouraging active participation.

Thus the 1850s saw the biggest change of the century, the culmination of evolution through the Commissioners Churches in the 1820s, the workhouses in the 1830s, and Civic Pride and the Gothic and Catholic Revivals in the 1840s and 1850s, which in themselves stemmed from increased population and industrial revolution. Not quite shaking off the trammels of the past, a new movement did nevertheless evolve, that of the Arts and Crafts Movement in the 1860s.

Plate 42

Front Entrance of Monastery of St Clare's Abbey, Darlington
archives of St Clare's Abbey

Plate 43
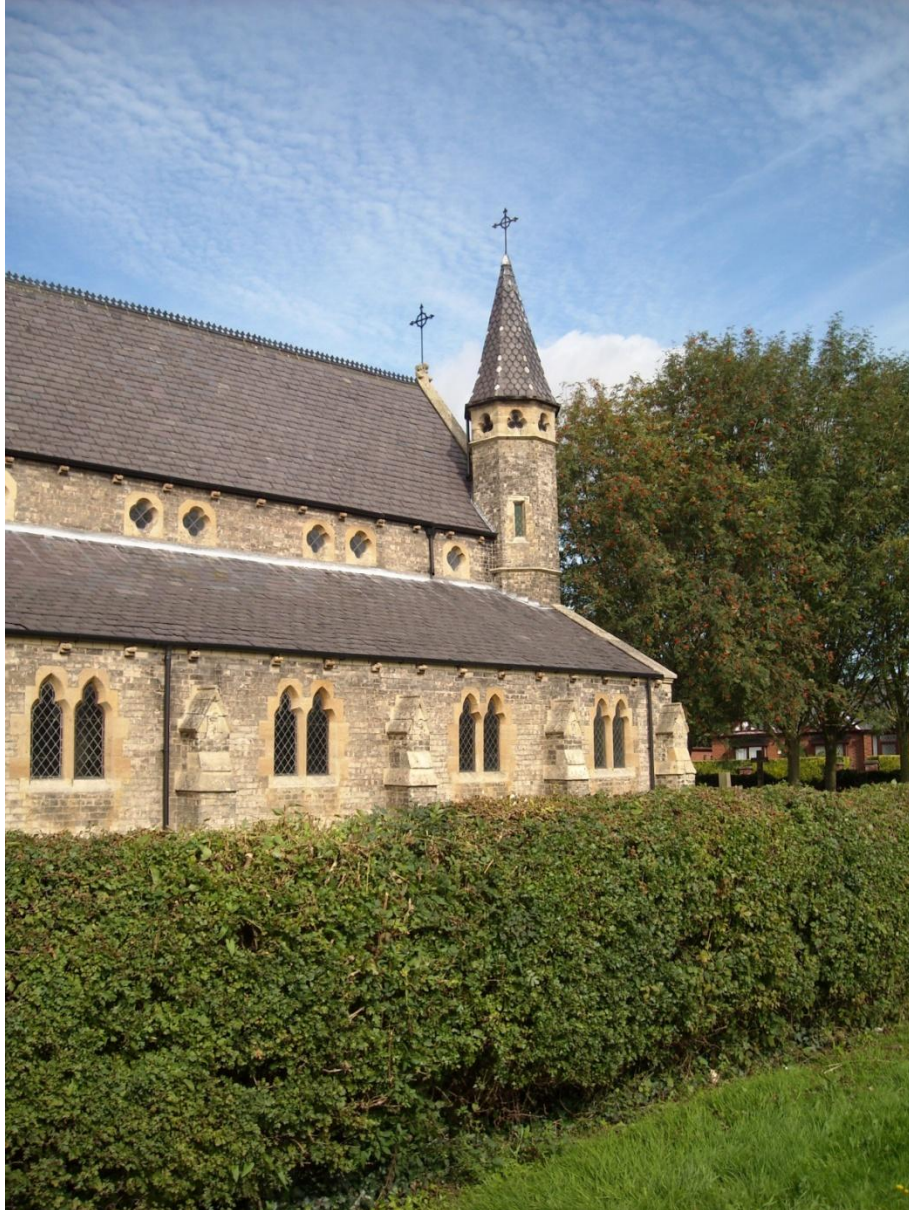
Church of the Sacred Heart, Howden
author's photograph, 2010

Plate 44

St Edward the Confessor, Clifford
author's photograph, 2010

Plate 45

St Duthac's Church, Dornie
author's photograph, 2009

Plate 46

Fleur de lys sculpture, Notre-Dame-de-Saint-Sang
author's photograph, 2014

Minton floor tiles, Notre-Dame-de-Saint-Sang
author's photograph, 2014

Plate 47
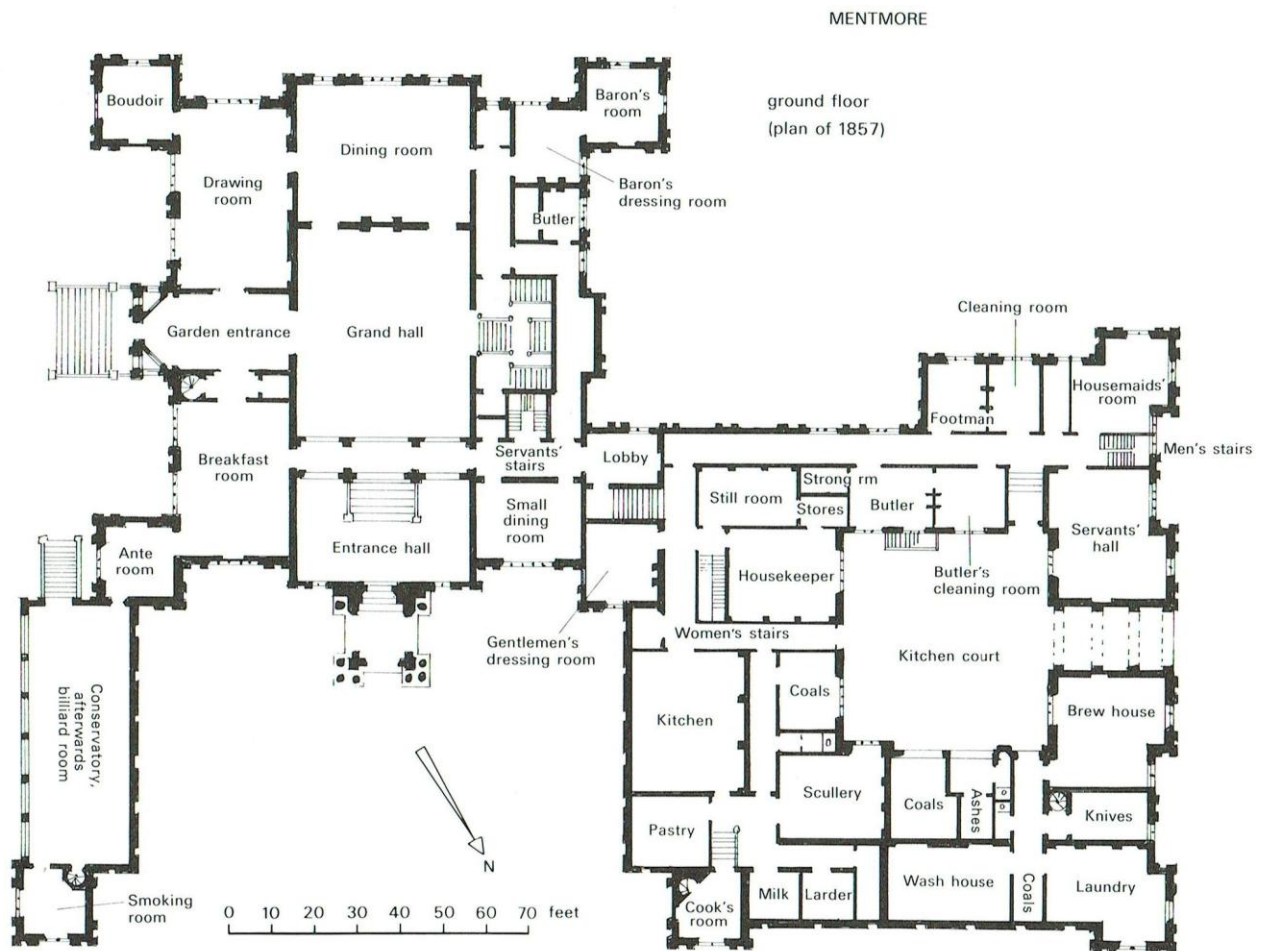
Mentmore Towers, Buckinghamshire built by Paxton and Stokes, 1850-55 for Baron Mayer Amschel de Rothschild, from Jill Franklyn, *The Gentleman's Country House and its plan 1835-1914,* p.139, Plan 7.

Plate 48
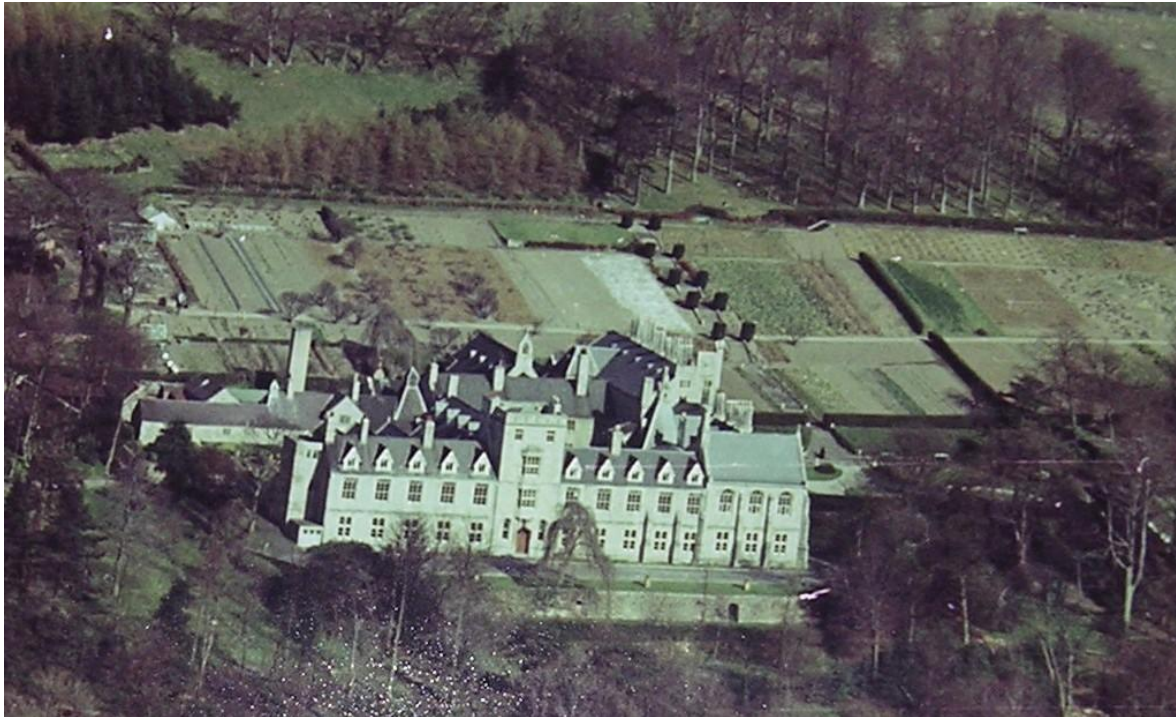
St Beuno's terracing
aerial photograph, 1962

Plate 49

Minsteracres extension
author's photograph, 2012

Church of Saints Henry and Elizabeth, Minsteracres
author's photograph, 2012

Lartington porte-cochère
author's photograph, 2011

Plate 50

Crystal Palace 1851
Dickenson's Comprehensive picture of the Great Exhibition

Paris Exhibition, 1855
http://lartnouveau.com/belle_epoque/paris_expo1855.htm

Plate 51
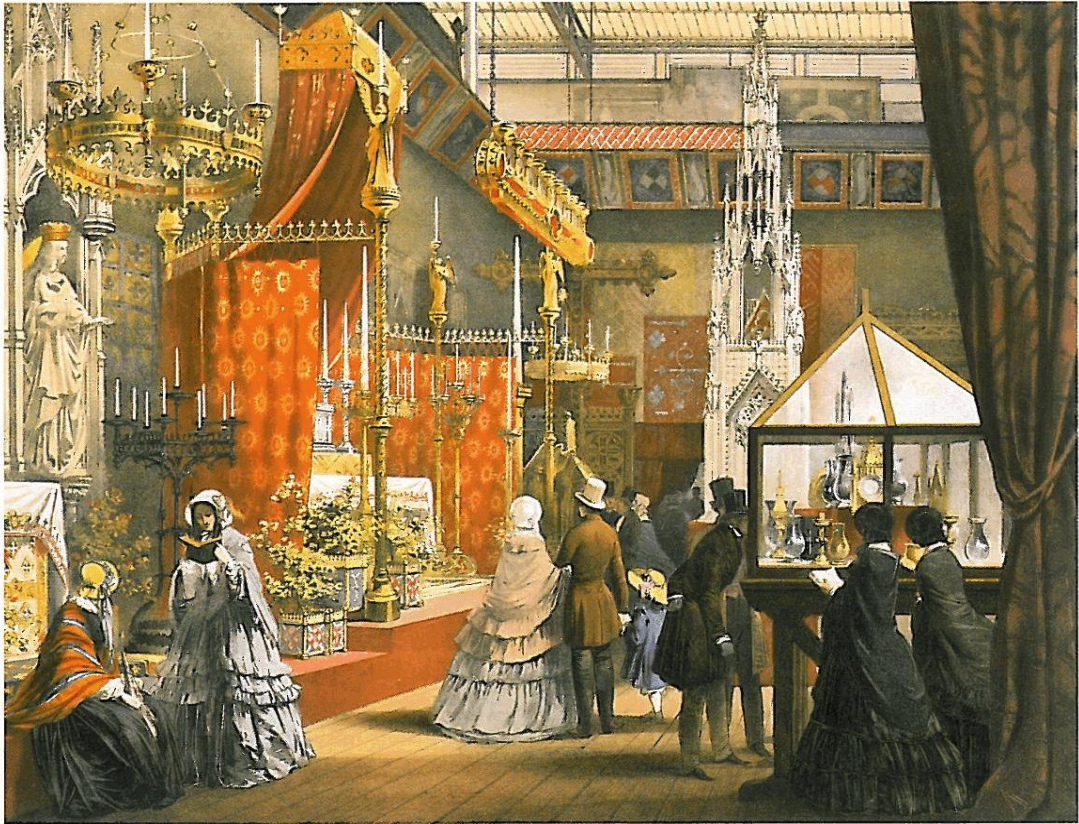
Pugin's Medieval Court, Atterbury and Wainright, p. 241

Plate 52
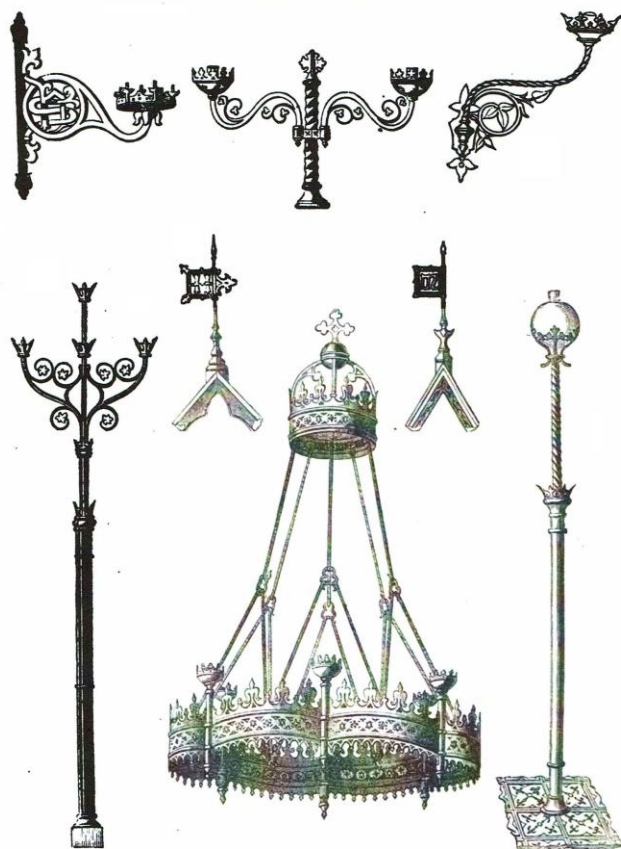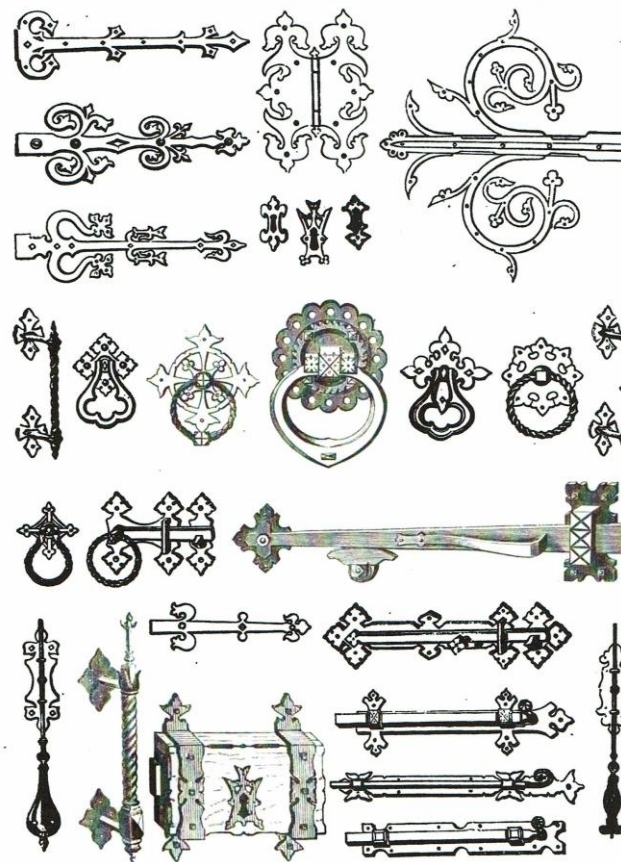
Hart & Son
advertisements in Paris Exhibition Catalogue

CHAPTER VIII
CONCLUSION

This thesis comes to a number of conclusions: that the profession in 1860 was very different from that in 1820; that it was stimulated by national social, economic, religious and political change; and that patronage was of equal value throughout, albeit augmented by networks of personal contacts.[1] It was driven by a number of forceful personalities and owed its success to the milieu in which it was made, rather than the work itself.[2] Beyond these factors a number of questions remain unanswered and issues unresolved, not-the-least of which is a definitive interpretation of the role and social status of an architect.

Architecture was of necessity multifunctional in terms of knowledge and skills, separate from builders, surveyors and engineers, with emphasis on design and supervision. The essence of a profession implies some form of co-ordinated group, trained and regulated by common standards. However, the progress and ultimate success of the so-called profession between 1820 and 1860 was defined by its lack of conformity. It was dependant upon the individuality of a number of proactive artists competing against each other, therefore, confinement to the rigidity of a professional body was resisted by many.[3] Incompatibility between professionalism and commercialism compounded the situation.[4] Architecture was an art, an indefinable technique, not a science or a product to be sold, and practitioners disapproved of ungentlemanly commercialism, with Ruskin condemning building for profit.[5] The over-riding aim of the more ambitious architects was to raise their profile from the 'flood of anybodies' and unethical fraudsters to that of a 'gentleman'.[6] Growth was invigorated by opportunities afforded by government measures in an attempt to manage the unprecedented speed of change, and facilitated by wealthy patrons and the rising middle-class. Without these extreme influences, the profession would have stagnated and been subsumed by multi-functioned building contractors, and the more pro-active surveyors and engineers.[7]

The nineteenth-century architectural arena was at its most complex during this period. It was fraught with multiple issues, some advantageous, others not, and many beyond their control.

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[1] Jordan, *Victorian Architecture*, p. 19; Jenkins, *Architect and Patron*, p. 235; Crook, 'Pre-Victorian', p. 62; Larson, 'Emblem and Exception', p. 76.
[2] Kornwolf, 'High Victorian', p. 46; C. Wright Mills, *Sociological Imagination* (Oxford, 2000), p. 158.
[3] Gilmour, *Victorian Period*, p. xiv.
[4] Kaye, *Development of the Profession*, pp. 16, 17.
[5] Crook, *Dilemma*, p. 74.
[6] Jordan, *Victorian Architecture*, p. 185.
[7] Port, 'Building Contracts', pp. 94-100; Richard Price, *Masters, Unions and Men: Work control in building and the rise of labour, 1830-1914* (Cambridge, 1980).

Architects were often in a lose-lose situation, not helped by the fact that they did not agree amongst themselves and were lacking in any unified direction, as demonstrated by several abortive attempts to form a representative association. Even the Ecclesiologists, who attempted to impose their views upon architects, kept changing their minds. The profession took far longer than others to establish, and did not so much create a profession as rid itself of the past, particularly the monopolistic Appointed Architects. Gillin considered that the profession of architecture was still under construction whilst Barry was building the Palace of Westminster; Scott that attempts to reform architecture had been mainly unsuccessful; and Webster that it was still not a coherent profession by the turn of the century.[8] Thus, artistic individuality was responsible for general, but not collective momentum.

The nineteenth century commenced with a backlash against the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars, which created a shortage of funds and restricted foreign travel for architectural training.[9] The deep-rooted negative reputation instilled by Nash's overspending and his exploitation of George IV, alongside over-charging and late delivery, was perpetuated by publicity surrounding the competitions for the House of Commons and Crystal Palace. However, public interest in architecture had already been aroused by Strawberry Hill and Fonthill Abbey, followed by the writings of Sir Walter Scott, which Eastlake claimed 'did more for the Gothic Revival than all the labours of the architects Carter and Rickman'.[10] The social unrest and increasing division between Church and State which led government to sponsor church-building on a national scale, gave rise to the first major opportunity for the architectural profession, the *Million Pound Act*. Yates claimed that ecclesiastical history [or church-building] was an integral part of England's economic and social history, whilst Norman related it to the Victorian boom in religion.[11]

For the first time funding was available on a large scale from non-private means, new work was accessible to provincial architects and an interest in style was aroused at local level. This was the trigger which sparked life into the profession. Architects were briefly united in a common cause, co-ordinated through the London-based Church Commissioners, and not only given work, but also a show-case for other projects. Furthermore, the standard of their workmanship was routinely monitored for the first time, by an external body which ensured solid construction, earning

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[8] Gillin, book review, *Mr Barry's Wars,* p. 28; Scott, *Remarks,* p. vii; Webster, *Practice of Architecture*.
[9] Clark, *Gothic Revival*, p. 95; Fletcher, *History of Architecture*, p. 853; Clarke, *Church Builders*, p. 20; Altholz, *Liberal Catholic Movement*, p.11; Allibone, *Salvin,* p. 21.
[10] Eastlake, *Gothic Revival*, p. 115.
[11] Yates, *Buildings, faith and worship*, p. 2; Norman, *Roman Catholicism*, p. 87.

reputations and lessening criticism.[12]   When the Poor Law Reform Act was passed, a further nationwide initiative offered widespread opportunities of a different nature, that of building workhouses.[13] Whilst disparaging of the lack of style and artistic integrity, this was nevertheless the means by which George Gilbert Scott managed to launch his career.   Apart from lifting the profession from the doldrums and providing work, the Church Commissioners and the Poor Law Commissioners served two other purposes.   They forced architects to work for committees and to take part in competitions.   The downside was that budgets were low and sites, especially for workhouses, were poor.   On both counts, architects were serving a social need and raising their own awareness, but not necessarily their image, as interesting features were invariably withdrawn to reduce cost.   However, a third opportunity arose with the Municipal Corporations Act, and thus new work was available in three very different settings.

The upheavals caused by social change prompted a move towards radical attitudes which broke from the past.   Excessive wealth grew alongside extreme poverty and non-conformists threatened the authority of the Established Church.[14]   New élites in towns and newly-formed bureaucratic bodies were keen to express their power through visible means, hence the requirement for town halls.[15] Opportunities were fewer, but accolades were greater.   Civic buildings gave scope for individual self-expression and reputations were made.   The common factor between these three new sources of work, Church Commissioner churches, workhouses and town halls, was that selection was by means of a competition.   Competitions became the 'order of the day', a life-line for many architects.[16]   However, as work increased and architects and architecture grew in relevance to the development of the nation, the competition 'system' did little to enhance their profession.[17]   They were regularly described in *The Builder* as 'evil'.[18]   It was the iniquitous mis-management of competitions, more than anything else, which led to the formation of the IBA, an attempt to regularise the way in which architects were organised and a major step towards professional credibility.   A code of ethics was agreed, but the professional association made negligible impact upon day-to-day working and problems continued as far as competitions were concerned, as seen

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[12] Port, *600 churches*, pp. 51, 89.
[13] 350 were built in the first years, rising to 643 by the end of twelve.
[14] See Wakeling, 'Non-Conformist Perspectives', *Gothic Revival Symposium* and Stell, 'Nonconformist Architecture' in Webster and Elliott, '*A Church as it should be*'.
[15] Hitchcock, 'Early Victorian', p. 299; Dixon and Muthesius, *Victorian Architecture,* p. 7.
[16] Port, *500 new churches*, p. 51.
[17] Jenkins, *Architect and Patron,* pp. 152-156.
[18] *Builder,* 'Architectural Competition and Its Evils', 16 (1858) and, for example, vol. VI, no. 259; 22 January 1848, vol. VIII, no. 401, 8 October 1850; see also Thomas Porter, 'Architectural Competitions', *RIBAT*, pp. 65-87.

with the Whitehall buildings in the 1860s.[19]   Furthermore, the IBA failed to provide any formal training which was much-needed and an essential component of professionalisation.

The Cambridge Camden Society was also formed around this time, in tandem with the Oxford Movement. The Protestant CCS was concerned with style and decoration of churches, and the wealthy Oxford converts to Catholicism injected considerable capital. Members of the CCS were not concerned with competitions or the profession *per se*, their remit being confined to the building and restoration of churches, essentially to meet their own criteria. The Catholic Revival fed the Gothic Revival and the CCS benefitted from both. The Society used its journal, the *Ecclesiologist*, both to set down its own rules and to condemn those who did not comply. Along with Hansom's *Builder,* it carried considerable weight, as did the popular press, the writings of Pugin, Rickman's *Attempt to Discriminate the Styles of English Architecture,* and the subsequent publication of Viollet-le-Duc's *Dictionnaire.* Conflicts began to arise between the Antiquarian Society, which focussed on the past; the CCS, which addressed the present; and architects, who were looking to the future with a new style. These different objectives delayed progress, and introduced spurious topics such as the origin of Gothic. Abortive attempts to devise a new style became embroiled with arguments as to the use of Gothic in preference to Classical. Scott drew attention to the 'absurdity' of any suggestion that 'one style was suited to churches and another to houses ... the divorce between ecclesiastic and secular'.[20] A further split occurred within the Catholic church, where the Romantics followed Pugin's Gothic route and the Romanists, followers of Cardinal Wiseman, who preferred Classical styles. Once again, the profession was deadlocked.

When Berrisford Hope broke the rules set by his Ecclesiologists and promoted the use of polychromy for All Saints, this paved the way for greater flexibility and was taken advantage of by 'rogue' architects. Hope, however, also portrays an on-going dilemma for architects. On the one hand he over-ruled his architect (Butterfield), as to design, and on the other he was influential in developing the network of contacts which did much to advance the career of Salvin, one of the great country house architects. The connection between architect and patron was paramount when designing or re-organising country houses, yet their relationship with patrons was an uneasy coalition between unequals.[21] Architects needed a close understanding of the life-style of the families living there, and the expectations placed upon them required skills well above those of building contractors, yet in terms of social status, they were still expected to dine in the

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[19] Bassin, *Competitions*, pp. 75-92.
[20] Scott, *Remarks*, p. ix.
[21] Burke, *History & Social Theory*, p. 72.

housekeeper's room.[22]   Direct personal communication was assumed and essential, but it had been one of the main difficulties with competitions. For architects to fully understand what was required, they needed to enter into discussion with the organisers, but if they attempted to do so they lost anonymity and were accused of unfairness and corruption. They could not win either way.

Despite many successes, architects as a group were still fragmented and vulnerable to exploitation. They were not autonomous, pressure of work caused illness, some were made bankrupt and others abandoned their profession, disheartened.[23]   The IBA had failed to bring them together. Many remained staunchly attached to their artistic leanings and considered the Association too restrictive. For Catholic architects, professionalisation was of secondary importance as they perceived their work to be more of a vocation.[24] A few architects, such as Barry, Scott and Woodyer, became wealthy, but they were only able to sustain problems such as late payment or other unforeseeable hazards, as encountered by Hansom, due to their pre-existing independent financial status. They were also able to run their practices on a quasi-business model, with a large staff. These were, however, in the minority and aspiring architects seldom rose beyond the position of clerk if they were unsupported by personal capital.

In line with the mid-century growth and expansion, the Great Exhibition focussed on technology and the ironmaster, a much publicised promotional event for ancillary trades, but one which did little for architects.[25] Even the 'building' housing the exhibition was designed by an engineer. It was left for the Paris Exhibition of 1855 to feature architecture, with a section devoted to the work of English architects. In 1860, the profession was still receiving adverse publicity. The tone of criticsm in *Gentleman's Magazine* was generally negative.[26] It complained of the lack of a new style, described the use of Gothic as 'a corrupt taste of the Renaissance', condemned the use of mixed styles, especially continental features, and also the mis-use of polychromy. Further, it drew attention to the way in which church architects had to bow to the power and control of their employers. Projects were rarely architect-driven. They were obliged to follow popular trends rather than their own personal preferences. The only exceptions quoted by the magazine were the 'interesting features by Butterfield', Gibson's church at St Asaph, and Scott, who they deemed to be the 'safest of our Gothic architects'.   When the CCS ceased in 1864 *The Ecclesiologist*

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[22] Jordan, *Victorian Architecture*, p. 208.
[23] Larson, 'Emblem and Exception', p. 75.
[24] Goldie, 'George Goldie', p. 3.
[25] Jordan, *Victorian Architecture*, p. 118.
[26] Anon, 'Progress of Architecture in 1860', *Gentleman's Magazine: and historical review*, July 1856-February 1861, 210.

optimistically claimed that 'architecture was deepening its hold on public attention and sound ecclesiology had made its position good in the world of church builders and restorers'.[27]

Architects of this era achieved much for posterity, but the fund-provider is more often remembered than the designer, which was, of course, the main objective. They were manipulated to fulfil a social need or enhance the reputation of others, whether public, private or political, but not the profession as an entity. Architects contributed to the growth and glory of towns, changing or creating the façades of civic buildings to resemble modern-day advertisements; and added to the mystique of numerous churches, which were either restored or newly built. Encouraged by the new and wealthy middle-classes, buildings were larger and more elaborate in design, but there never was a 'Victorian' style and sources of funding became exhausted.[28] The Gothic Revival and the Catholic Revival were followed by a brief Domestic Revival and the Arts and Crafts movement, leading to the end of the nineteenth-century and World Wars which saw the loss of many buildings, including Pugin's Southwark Cathedral and Hansom's Toxteth church in Liverpool. Once again, social conditions prevailed and the future of architecture, whether élitist or not, was side-lined by the greater demand for surveyors and engineers.[29] The large buildings of the nineteenth century became redundant. Either their usage changed, such as Strawberry Hill, now St Mary's University, or Lartington Hall now a wedding venue, or they deteriorated like the Houses of Parliament. Country houses and other monuments are the subject of campaigns by the Victorian Society and the Ancient Monument Society, whilst others are tourist attractions, owned by English Heritage or the National Trust. Very few retain their original *raison d'être.* Buildings, like the people who designed them, have to diversify in order to survive. Until membership of the RIBA was compulsory in 1938, anyone could still call themselves an 'architect'. Town planners and salaried architects working for civic bodies or large corporations are reminiscent of the 'drawing-board architecture' of clerks in Victorian times.[30] They have prestige and assured income, but not necessarily the social status which architects of the nineteenth-century actively sought.

Following on from this study, three key areas are selected for further investigation. Firstly, a well-illustrated, in-depth biography of Joseph Hansom could be written. This would not only expand upon previous attempts, but also reflect upon his original approach to support the progress of the burgenoning architectural profession within its social context, whilst at the same time providing an

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[27] *Ecclesiologist*, vol. xxv, 1864, p. 148.

[28] Kornwolf, *High Victorian,* pp. 38, 39; Jordan, *Victorian Architecture,* pp. 136, 167-168.

[29] In 2017 there were 28,000 members of the RIBA, with 91,000 Civil Engineers, 115,000 Mechanical Engineers and 120,000 Surveyors, the latter three having international membership.

[30] Crook, 'Pre-Victorian', p. 66.

opportunity to include lesser works. It would also allow for anecdotal detail, such as the machinations of the Acomb church; the implications, both financial and political, of Birminham Town Hall and the design of the hansom cab which followed, together with an analysis of how *The Builder* became the 'voice' of architects, providing both information and a platform from which to debate controversy.

A second theme could be an in-depth investigation into the impact of technology. Whilst Morris resisted technology, the part it played can not be denied altogether, and its importance extended far wider than those features discussed by Palmer and Barnwell. For example, both Hansom and Paxton were pioneers, using prefabricated sections for Birmingham Town Hall and Crystal Palace respectively (see Plate 53). Barff, who assisted with the windows of St Walburge's church, developed his knowledge of chemistry to devise a means of rust-proofing cast-iron.[31] When discussing the re-ordering of Lulworth Castle, Hansom wrote to his Clerk of Works regarding machine-made locks saying 'I find it hard to reconcile myself to these things', showing that they had already become commonplace.[32] Between them, Pugin and Hansom were also responsible for the birth of the stained-glass industry, a bi-product of the CCS.[33] Pugin launched Hardman's career in Birmingham; Hansom that of the York Barnetts, later of Newcastle and Leith; and the Hansom brothers jointly encouraged Joseph Bell, a manufacturer of considerable repute.[34] Greater understanding would allow for an appreciation of the impact of the industrial revolution on the profession and its acceptance of new techniques.

A third area for exploration is the role of a Clerk of Works, a personage with considerable building expertise who was capable of combining the duties of supervisor and business manager. The diaries of James Firth at Darlington Convent are exceptional, but they cannot be unique.[35] They demonstrate the level of responsibility and trust given him. Not only was he expected to execute instructions and plans sent by post from the architect, but he also looked after the day-to-day management of the workforce, sourced supplies, dealt with sub-contractors and local authorities, and kept financial records. Hansom could not have carried out the works he did without the assistance of his long-time Clerk of Works.[36] He stated how much he valued Mr Healey, his Clerk of Works at Birmingham, and the names of five other Clerks of Works are known, but have yet to

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[31] Barff, www.dia.ie/architects/view/227, accessed 13 December 2010.
[32] Letter Hansom to Firth, 8 January 1868, D/WLC: E39/3, f.8, DRO.
[33] Martin Harrison, *Victorian Stained Glass* (London, 1980).
[34] Bell was one of the ten largest producers of stained-glass at this time, Harrison, *ibid.*, p. 10.
[35] Valuable records kept by the builder of St Edward the Confessor at Clifford were regrettably jetissoned during a house clearance, personal communication.
[36] Firth is known to have supervised all Hansom's major works almost continuously from 1855 to 1880.

be investigated.[37] Mr Earle was the Clerk of Works for the Great Exhibition, and extant plans give details of the house built to accommodate the Duke of Sutherland's Clerk of Works whilst working at Trentham Hall.[38]

One additional area for investigation might be an analysis of the volume of work given to architects as a result of the destruction of former buildings by fire, a pattern repeated on numerous occasions which led to some high-profile work. The Houses of Parliament and the Hamburg Nikolaikirche notwithstanding, other examples are King William's College (John Welch, 1833); the Royal Exchange (Tite, 1846); Cliveden (Barry, 1849) and Kelham Hall (Scott, 1857).

By confining this thesis to the period between 1820 and 1860, it can be seen that the development of the architectural profession was as radical and dynamic as the social changes it had to negotiate. With no training and low RIBA membership, it still did not see the formalisation of a profession in any meaningful way. Nevertheless, with all its struggles, its successes and its failures, it was an important enabling period, a springboard from which modern architecture was launched. It separated architecture from the building trade, and transformed the profession from a bare necessity to an expensive luxury.[39] Elements such as 'Gothomania' and competitions lessened their hold, but patronage continued in importance, and opportunities grew in size, scope and number.[40] This is illustrated by tracking Hansom's career, with one of his greatest contributions being the founding of *The Builder*. Brooks claimed that this sprang from Hansom's Owenite connection, thus underlining the significance of Birmingham, where politics and religion were interwoven with architecture.[41] He also identified Godwin, its third editor, as being instrumental in the creation of the profession.[42] The diversity of article shows the way it was shaped by social context, a synergistic product of several dominant factors, especially increased demand due to social need, the wealth of the middle-classes, population growth and increased mobility, with no single factor solely responsible.[43] The ultimate success of architecture is attributable to the enthusiasm of architects and a passionate belief in their vocation. It was their endeavours during this period which led to the realisation of the profession as recognised in the twenty-first century.

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[37] Hansom, 'Statement', p. 9.
[38] Plans, elevation and section, 'Tracings of designs for various offices and outbuildings, Trentham Hall, Staffordshire, for the 2nd Duke of Sutherland, by Sir Charles Barry, drawn by James Murray' (1845-47), vol. 5, *BAL*, London.
[39] Kaye, *Development of the Profession*, p. 56.
[40] Charlesworth, *Gothic Revival,* p. 19.
[41] Brooks, 'Making of a Magazine', pp. 87.
[42] *Ibid.*, p. 91.
[43] Pevsner, 'Victorian Prolegomana', in Ferriday, *Victorian Architecture,* p. 22; Brooks and Saint, *Victorian Church,* pp. 82-97; Dixon and Muthesius, *Victorian Architecture,* p. 8.

Plate 53
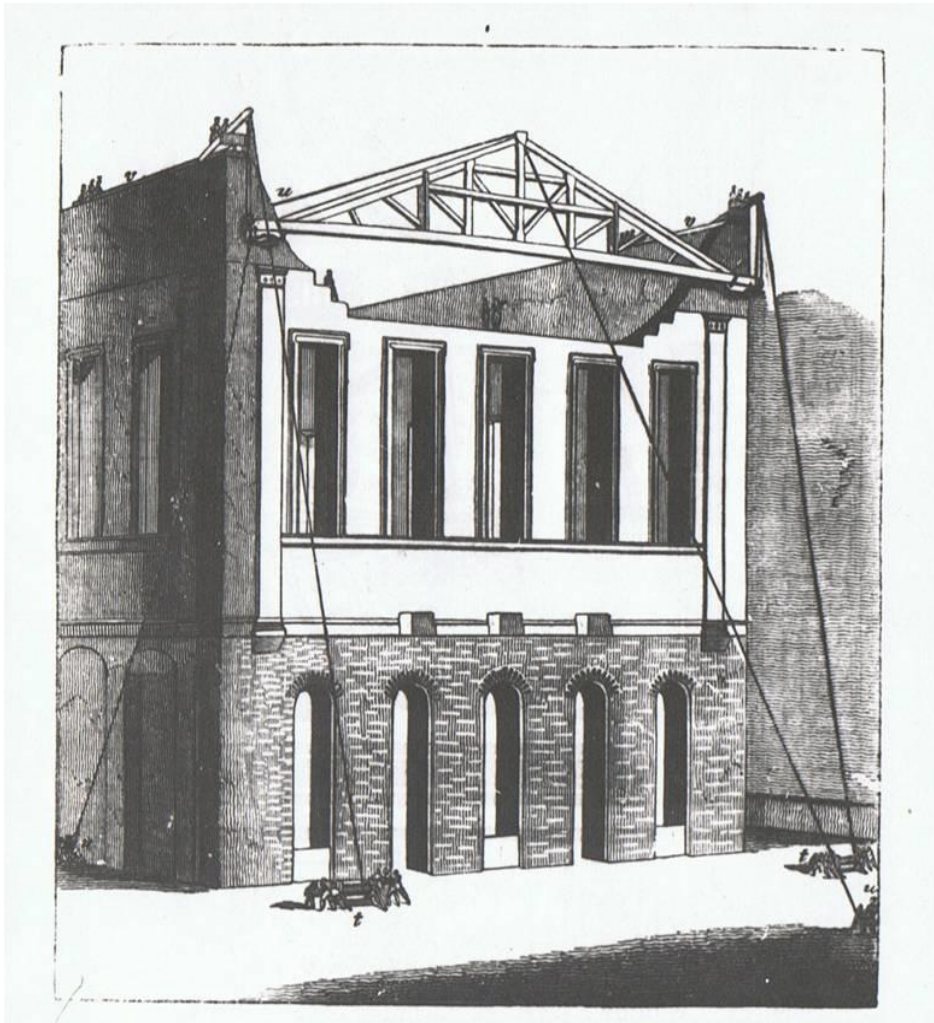
Birmingham Town Hall:
method of raising the principal rafters of the roof
*Architectural Magazine,*1835

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MAIN WORKS DESIGNED BY JOSEPH HANSOM, 1820-60
note: work on the Isle of Man omitted as unclear as to how much Hansom and how much Welch
partnerships: Edward Welch 1828-34: Charles Hansom 1855-59: Henry John Hansom 1859-61

APPENDIX I

building	date	main contractor	sub-contractor	comments
York dispensary	1827-29			Site cost £638, building not to exceed £1,000, demolished 1899
Collingham Vicarage	1828			extn. to existing property, £638
Penrhos Hall, Anglesey.	1828	William Thomas ?		extn. and alterations for Sir John Stanley
Beaumaris gaol	1828-29	William Thomas	Ironwork: Wm. Aspinall and Wm. Exley	builder's estimate £5,750, Welch estimate for total work £6,006, final cost £8,000
Suspension bridge, Middleham	1829-30			for Ralph Riddell, some changes but castellated framework remains
St James, Myton	1829-31			ICBS new build, demolished
St John Evangelist, Easingwold	1829-32	Wilson of York	stone mason: Mounter plumber & glazier: Shoesmith painter: Todd	Benedictine
St Stephen, Acomb	1829-32			ICBS new build, estimated cost £1,090
St John, Toxteth	1830-31	Wm. Thomas and Wm Kendall		ICBS new build, estimated £6,030, lost in war
Bodelwyddan Hall, Denbigh	1830-32			for Sir John Hay-Williams, extension, castellation, landscaping
Victoria Terrace, Anglesey	1830-35	independent contractors		Hansom design and overall supervision
King Williams's College, Isle of Man	1830-35			initial design Hansom & Welch, partially re-built by John Welch after fire in 1844
Bulkeley Arms, Anglesey	1831			for Sir Richard Bulkeley Williams-Bulkeley
Trainer's House, Anglesey	c. 1831			for Sir Richard Bulkeley Williams-Bulkeley
Birmingham Town Hall	1832-34	Wm. Thomas and Wm. Kendall		contract price £16,648, bankruptcy
St Paul's, Birmingham	1832-34	JW & R Matthews		ICBS gallery and extension
Leicester and Warwick Banking Co., Hinckley	1834			now Lloyds Bank
Operative Builders Guild	1833-34	relays of unemployed workmen		for Robert Owen, demolished
Lutterworth Town Hall	1835-36			for Town Council, subscriptions

St Mary, Lutterworth	1835-38			ICBS, gallery added
Leicester Proprietary School	1836-37			local committee of shareholders - under-funded sold to Corporation for £3,390 in 1848. Now frontage to Leicester Museum
Coventry Union Bank, Atherstone	1837			now HSBC
Princethorpe Nunnery - St Mary's Priory, Warwickshire	from 1837		marble altar: added Scoles 1843	for Benedictine nuns, intermittent work incl. mortuary chapel, lady chapel and sanctuary (initial donation of £20,000)
Rosary Convent, Atherstone, Warks	1837-39		bell won 1st Prize Gt. Exhibition	for Dominican nuns (later St Scholastica), site £735, est. £8,000, demolished
Hinckley Workhouse	1838			for Board of Guardians, cost £4,000, demolished
Our Lady, Nuneaton	1838-39		organ donated by Hardman	built without foundations, £200 loan from Hinckley Dominicans, superceded on same site
Bosworth Hall, Leics.	1840			various alterations for Constable Maxwell family £1,164
St Mary, Shaw, Berks	1840-42			ICBS rebuild
Queenwood College, Tytherley, Hants	1841-42			for Robert Owen, community house, school and landscaping, destroyed by fire
St Gregory, Gravesend	1842-43			for Polish seamen, Robert Owen helped raise funds
MSM College, Spinkhill	1842-46			for Jesuits, alteration and extension to 17C house
Immaculate Conception, Spinkhill	1844-46	Sheridan, Dublin	sculpture: Maples st.glass: Snow and Goodwin	for Jesuits, new church, 10 x donations of £1000
St Mary's convent, Derby	1844-46			£10,000 paid Rev. Thomas Sing, including chapel and school, donation Mrs Beaumont, demolished
Baptist church, Leics	1845	Parrot & Fern, masons	brickwork: Smith & Waterfield joiner:Thomas Mowbray ironfounder: Pegg	for Particular Baptists, estimated £5,500, now Adult Education Centre. Cheapest contractors named, but not known if appointed
St Mary, Ryde	1845-46	Thomas Dashwood, Ryde		for Countess of Clare, cost £18,000 including presbytery and school
St Edward, Clifford	1845-48	George Roberts, local builder	st.glass: designed Maycock st.glass: executed Bell	design by Ramsay, for Grimshaw family, included school, cost £4,222. Tower and steeple added by Goldie.
St Buenos, St Asaph	1846-49			Jesuit theologate, senior to Stonyhurst
Talbot schools, Preston	1847		st.glass: Barnett of York (donated by Hansom)	Jesuit, est £2,000, donation £1,750, William Talbot local hosier
St Joseph, Prescot	1847-48			Jesuit school for church built in 1857

St Michael and St John, Clitheroe	1847-50		altar carved in marble: Strawbridge of Bristol	new build for Jesuits, cost £2,500, also presbytery
Tulketh Hall, Preston	1847			re-ordering of property previously owned by Peter Hesketh, MP for Preston, demolished
Ratcliffe College, Leics	1849			completion of work designed by Pugin, brother also involved, included new wing and cloisters
Stonyhurst School, Lancs	1849			Ambulacrum
St Cuthbert's College, Ushaw, Co. Durham	1849-60		Glass (?): Hardman locks: Lingham slates: Thompson	library, belfry, exhibition hall (£1618), wash rooms, racket ball court, cemetery cloister, terracing, model farm
St George, York	1849-50	Ralph Weatherley, York	st.glass: Hardman/Barnett carving: Lane joinery: Bookles ironwork: Ashmole bells: Taylor of Loughborough	with brother, included presbytery, building + site £3,550, (bells and organ donated) school followed (funded by CPSC)
Sacred Heart, Howden	1850-51	Ralph Weatherley, York	st.glass: Barnett	Oblates of Mary Immaculate
St Walburge church tower steeple	1850-54 1855 1866	mason/builders: Cooper & Tullis of Preston spire: initially Thomas 'of Wales', (with some Welsh stone); completed Bickerstaffe of Preston	carpentry: John Walker slater: George Pye st.glass: designed Maycock st.glass: executed Francis Barnett pulpit: Sterling & Canavan, Liverpool	Jesuit, private donors, collections, cost £2,967 excl. tower and spire rose window: Misses Roper Hill's organ: anon donation, cost £700 Mears bell
St Mary, Hartlepool	1850-51	John Galley		weekly collections, cost £4,000 patroness Marchioness of Londonderry
Spinkhill, Derbyshire	1852			village school and master's residence
St Thomas School, L'pool	1852-53	Alexander Rule		non-Catholic school, est. under £1,500, demolished
St Alban, Liscard	1852-53	Hugh Yates, Liverpool	statues: Rossiter, Liverpool	with Stephen Robert Eyre (unidentified), £2,400
St Mary, Madeley	1852-53			for Smythe family
St Henry and St Elizabeth, Minsteracres	1852-54		st.glass: Barnett of Edinburgh clock: John Moore, Clerkenwell	for Henry Silvertop, latterly aided by brother to meet deadline, cost £11,000 extended Hall 1866-68
St Mary, Leith	1852-54			joint with Pugin
St Mary's convent, Derby	1853			Lady Chapel added to Pugin church
St Mary, Chorley	1853			new build for Jesuits, dual-purpose church-school, paid Gillow separate school built 1856-57
St Gregory, Gunnerside	1853			plus presbytery, closed

Church of the Assumption, Torquay	1853			presbytery and schools added 1857 aisle and Lady Chapel added 1858
St Thomas, Wolsingham	1853-54	Ralph Weatherley		bell purchased but tower never erected
Annunciation, Chesterfield	1853-54	Samuel Rollinson		new build for Jesuits chancel added 1856
Immaculate Conception, Leeds	1853-57			known as 'The Mount', for Fr Cooke of Howden, started Hansom, completed Wardell
St Thomas & St William School, Liverpool	1854-55	William Oliver		built for Thomas Gillow who donated £2,000
St Joseph, Bedford Leigh	1854-55		st.glass: Edmundson & Son of Newton-le-Willows	built for Jesuit priest, street collections cost £4,000, small-scale St Walburge
St David, Dalkeith	1854-55		altar: John Drummond tiling: John McGowan front panels: Henderson	for Marchioness of Lothian
St Clare's Abbey, Darlington	1855-57	Ralph Weatherley	st.glass: Bell tabernacle: Maycock decorator/painter: Henderson	convent, chapel and school for Poor Clare Nuns (orchestrated from Clifton, brother and Benjamin Bucknall (assistant) also involved).
Danby Hall, Middleham	1855			for Simon Scrope, extension, alteration and landscaping
St Mary, Chippenham	1855			with brother, replaced
St Augustine, Preston	1856			presbytery added to existing church
Annunciation, Chesterfield	1856			chancel added
Our Lady St Germain, Selby	1856	Barstow, local builder	Fr Rigby, local priest: Clerk of Works	for Sr Mary, also presbytery and school
St Hubert's, Great Harwood	1856-57			school only
Our Lady Immaculate and St Joseph, Prescot	1856-57		st.glass: Crown Glass Co. of St Helens	for Jesuits, cost £1,750 (donation of £1,250)
St Mary and St Boniface, Plymouth	1856-58	W. Roberts of Stonehouse (tender £3,804)	st.glass: designed Maycock st.glass: executed Bell	cathedral, plot cost £2,400 paid for by Bishop Vaughan, donation of £3,000 Misses Trelawney. followed by convent and school for Notre Dame Nuns, largely paid Sisterr Mary
Training School for Catholic Schoolmistresses, L'pool	1857	John and James Jump, Bootle		largely paid Sister Mary, site cost £6,432, total cost £17,707; now part of John Moores University
Our Lady and St Michael, Alston Lane	1857	John Todd mason, Preston	joiner: Thomas Turner	
Bishop's House, Plymouth	1857			added to Plymouth cathedral

Saint-Francois-de-Sales, Boulogne-sur-Mer	1857		tiles: Minton st. glass: designed Maycock metalwork: Hart & Son sculpture: Farmer	largely paid Clifford family also convent, paid Mother Superior
Saint-Alphonse-de-Liguori, Boulogne	1857			for Redemptorists
Ampleforth School	1857-59	Simpson and Malone, masons		decoration of chapel built by brother, and new guest house built by Joseph costing £12,000
St Ignatius, Preston	1858		st.glass: Francis Barnett, York reredos & altar: Evans, Thomason & Brown, Brirmingham	enlargement of existing by Scoles, £3,000
St Joseph, Weston-super-Mare	1858			land donated
Notre-Dame-de-Saint-Sang, Boulogne-sur-Mer	1859		tiles: Minton tabernacle: Hart & Sons sculpture: Farmer	cost: 75,000 francs
Our Lady of Mercy, Lymington	1859-60	Rickman		Jesuit for French refugees, paid in full, Joseph Weld, Lulworth Castle

CHURCH COMMISSIONER CHURCHES BUILT BY JOHN OATES, 1793-1831   **APPENDIX II**

Notes: rebuilt denotes extended or altered, with some original remaining
         * first application rejected, second application granted

DATE	LOCATION	NAME	COST	GRANT	PEWS	FREE	STYLE	STATUS
1819	Sowerby Bridge,W.Rid.	Christ Church						Gothicised 1873
1820-21	*Buckley, Denbigh.	St Matthew	4,000	4,052	322	418	Gothic	rebuilt
1822	Longwood, W.Riding	St Mark the Evangelist						
1822-24	Winksley, W.Riding							demolished 1917
1823-25	Shipley, W.Riding	St Paul	7,961	7,992	1, 156	332	Gothic	rebuilt
1823-25	Wilsden, W.Riding	St Cuthbert	8,146	8,174	1,156	332	Gothic	closed
1825	Bishop Thornton							demolished 1888
1825	*Broyston	St Mary						rebuilt
1828	Broughton, Denbigh	St Mary						restoration to 13C church
1828-29	Lindley, W.Riding	St Stephen	2,714	whole	408	459	E.English/ Gothic	
1828-29	Paddock, W.Riding	All Saints	2,706	whole	408	459	as Lindley	redundant
1828-30	Idle, W.Riding	Holy Trinity	3,115	whole	604	416	Gothic	
1828-30	Huddersfield, W.Riding	St Paul	5,700	whole	863	380	Gothic	
1830-31	Halifax, W.Riding	St James	4,196	whole	779	427	Gothic	demolished 1955
1832-33	*Shelton, Staffs.	St Mary	9,681	9,381	1,152	946	Decorated	
1832-33	Hebden Bridge, W.Rid.	St James the Great	3,047	whole	648	372	Early English	

SITES VISITED, WITH DATES WHERE RECORDED   **APPENDIX III**

2007	Aberquarry
2006	Ampleforth College, Ampleforth
2013	Arundel Cathedral, Arundel
2007	Baptist Chapel, Leicester
2012	Beaumaris Gaol, Anglesey
2007	Birmingham Town Hall
	Bodelwyddan Castle, Bodelwyddan
2017	Boiler house stack, Beaumaris
2007	Bosworth Hall, Husbands Bosworth
2012	Chauntry House, Beaumaris
2010	Church of the Sacred Heart, Howden
2008	Church of the Immaculate Conception, Spinkhill
2008	Cologne Cathedral
	Coventry Union Bank, Atherstone
2011	Danby Hall, Middleham
2009	Darlington Convent, Darlington
2011	Goodrich Pro-Cathedral, Clifton (Charles Hansom)
2017	Gwrych Castle
2017	Hamilton Square, Birkenhead (Gillespie)
2011	Lartington Hall, Barnard Castle
2010	Loughborough Convent (Charles Hansom)
2017	Lulworth Castle
2006	Lutterworth Town Hall
2011	Middleham Bridge
2012	Minsteracres Hall and Church of Saints Henry and Elizabeth
2008	Mount St Mary's College, Spinkhill
2014	Notre-Dame-de-Saint-Sang, Boulogne-sur-Mer
2006	Our Lady and All Saints, Otley (Charles Hansom)
2017	Penhros (Hall), Anglesey
2015	Plymouth Cathedral
2011	Pro-Cathedral of the Apostles, Clifton (Goodridge/Charles Hansom)
2006	Ratcliffe College, Ratcliffe-on-the-Wreake
2014	Saint-Alphonse-de-Liguori, Boulogne-sur-Mer
2014	Saint-François-de-Sales, Boulogne-sur-Mer
2011	Saints Mary and Germaine, Selby
2011	Stonyhurst College, Stonyhurst
2008	St Bueno's College, Tremeirchion
2009	St Duthac's Church, Dornie
2010	St Edward the Confessor, Clifford
2011	St George's Church, York
2011	St Joseph's Church, Bedford Leigh
2012	St Mary's Church, Broughton (Oates)
2012	St Matthew's Church, Buckley (Oates)
2007	St Patrick's School-Chapel, Leicester
2008	St Paul's Church, Birmingham
2006	St Stephen's Church, Acomb
2012	St Thomas of Canterbury, Wolsingham
2009	St Walburge's Church, Preston
2009	Talbot Schools, Preston

The Bulkeley Arms Hotel, Beaumaris
2017 The Lickey Memorial, Bromsgrove Lickey
2006 The Priory of St Mary, now Princethorpe College
2011 Ushaw College
Victoria Terrace, Anglesey
Warwickshire Banking Company, Hinckley
Wetherall Place, Clifton
2011 Woodchester Mansion, Woodchester Park (A.W.N. Pugin, Joseph Hansom, Charles Hansom, Benjamin Bucknall)

WORK EXECUTED BY JOSEPH HANSOM FOR THE JESUIT ORDER

APPENDIX IV

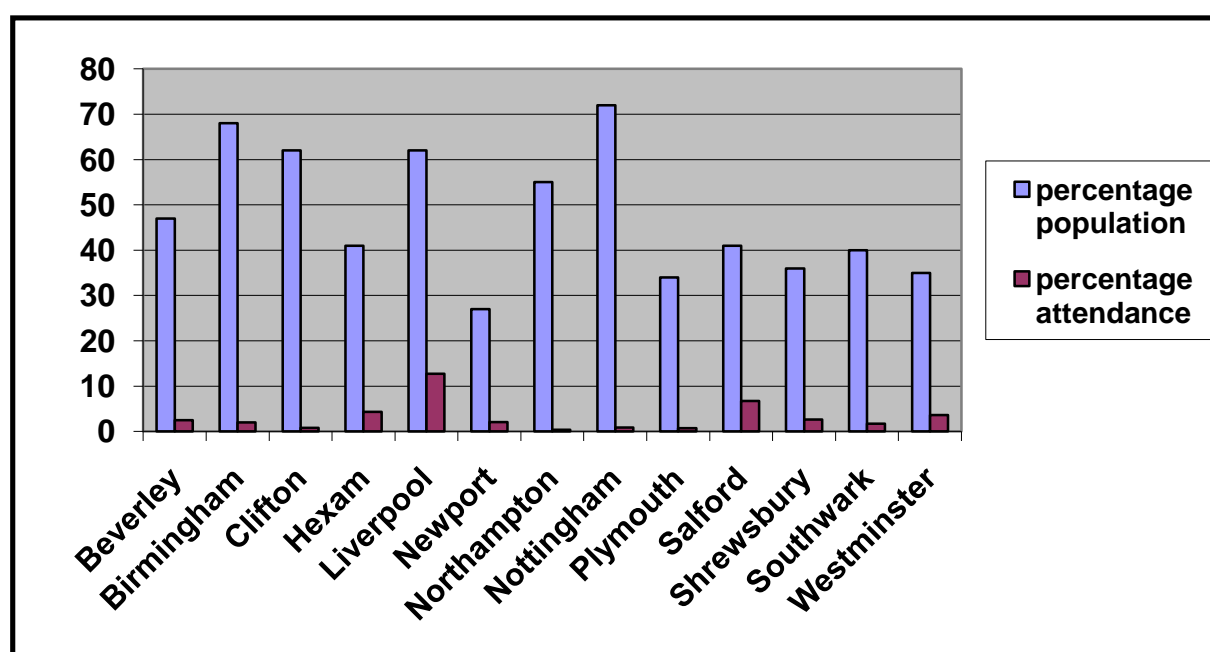note: six further works were carried out for the Jesuits, between 1869 and 1873

Date	Work	Location	Provincial	Comments
1842-46	Mount St Mary's College	Spinkhill, Derbyshire	William Cobb	Alterations and additions to a 16C building Joseph Stanislaus Hansom (youngest son) was amongst first cohort of pupils
1844-46	Immaculate Conception, church	Spinkhill, Derbyshire	William Cobb	10 x subscribers x £1k each cf Pugin design for St Oswald
1846-49	St Bueno's College	Treimerichion, Flintshire	(Randall Lythgoe)	theologate college - offshoot from Stonyhurst
1847-49	Talbot Schools, chapel and convent	Preston, Lancashire	William Cobb	William Talbot, local benefactor
1847-48	Our Lady's School	Prescot, Lancashire	William Cobb	
1847-50	Sts Michael and John the Evangelist, church	Clitheroe, Lancashire	William Cobb	
1850-54	St Walburge's Church	Preston, Lancashire	William Cobb/ John Etheridge	hammerbeam roof and rose window same size as York Minster. f.st: Joseph Maxwell, Stonyhurst
1852-53	Immaculate Conception, school	Spinkhill, Derbyshire	John Etheridge	also master's residence
1853-56	St Mary, church	Chorley, Lancashire	Joseph Johnson	
1853-54	Church of the Annunciation	Chesterfield, Derbyshire	Joseph Johnson	opening: Joseph Maxwell
1854-55	St Joseph, church	Bedford Leigh, Lancashire	Joseph Johnson	
1856	Church of the Annunciation	Chesterfield, Derbyshire	Joseph Johnson	chancel added
1856-57	St Mary's School	Chorley, Lancashire	Joseph Johnson	
1857	St Walburge's tower	Preston, Lancashire	Joseph Johnson	
1857	Our Lady Immaculate and St Joseph, church	Prescot, Lancashire	(William Cotham)	Hardman tabernacle 1864
1858	St Ignatius, church	Preston, Lancashire	Randall Lythgoe	enlargement to Scoles church
1859	Our Lady of Mercy	Lymington, Hampshire		paid Joseph Weld, Lulworth Castle

PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS   **APPENDIX V**

note: table extrapolated from Briggs (334-5, 372), Colvin (34-8), Gotch (2-11), Jenkins (113-9, 167-8), Kaye (80-83, 95, 97)

DATE	TITLE	FORMAT AND EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES
1768	Royal Academy	Dance jnr. second professor but gave no lectures, Soane dismissed for criticising other architects, p/t library.
1791-1834	The Architects Club	subscription of 5 guineas, monthly discussion group followed by dinner, known as "Soane's dinning club". exclusive, elected members largely London-based, commercial interests forbidden
1792	The Surveyors Club	mainly social, also open to architects
1806	London Architectural Society	fortnightly meetings, had to attend regularly, produce one design/one essay annually, no training given
1810	Royal Academy of Art	proposed by Elmes, presumed not to have taken place. further attempt 1819
1818	Institute of Civil Engineers	designated Royal from 1828
1819	Architects and Antiquarian Club	20 members only, occasional essays, 6 dinners p.a.
1831	Architectural Society	academic rather than professional, subscription of 3 guineas, must have worked for 5 years, patron Duke of Sussex
1834	Society for the Study of Architecture and Archaeological Topography	to uphold character and improve attainments of architects
1835 1837 1866	Institute of British Architects chartered designated Royal Institute of British Architects	to facilitate architectural knowledge, establish uniformity and respectability. no commercial activity. end of end 1st yr = 61 fellows, 21 assoc., by 1849 = 120 fellows 96 assoc. Pres. Earl de Grey, patron Prince Regent voluntary exams from 1863, compulsory for membership from 1882 by 1867, between 400 and 500 members, compulsory from 1931
1840	King College London	classes on art of construction within civil engineering and architecture, p/t
1841	University College London	lectures to supplement pupillage, Donaldson = first Professor of Architecture
1842	Association of Architectural Draughtsman	bi-monthly meetings, 'to revive the ancient spirit of architecture', embryo of Arch. Assn.
1843	Builders College of Architecture/Arch.Eng.	set up by Hansom, very wide syllabus, duration unknown
1847	Architects Association	merged with draughtsmen, founded Robert Kerr, students learnt from each other, intermittent lectures
1862	Architectural Alliance	offered an evening course
France	École Polytechnique (since 1794) École des Beaux-Arts (founded 1648)	a tradition based on structure and design independent of government 1856 (Napoleon), painting, sculpture and architecture, based on Classical arts

INCREASE IN CATHOLIC POPULATION IN LANCASHIRE as per Hilton (1989)

approximate headcount (y-axis), **approximate date of statistic** (x-axis)

Legend: Blackburn, Liverpool, Manchester, Preston, Wigan

Legend: percentage population, percentage attendance

Beverley, Birmingham, Clifton, Hexam, Liverpool, Newport, Northampton, Nottingham, Plymouth, Salford, Shrewsbury, Southwark, Westminster
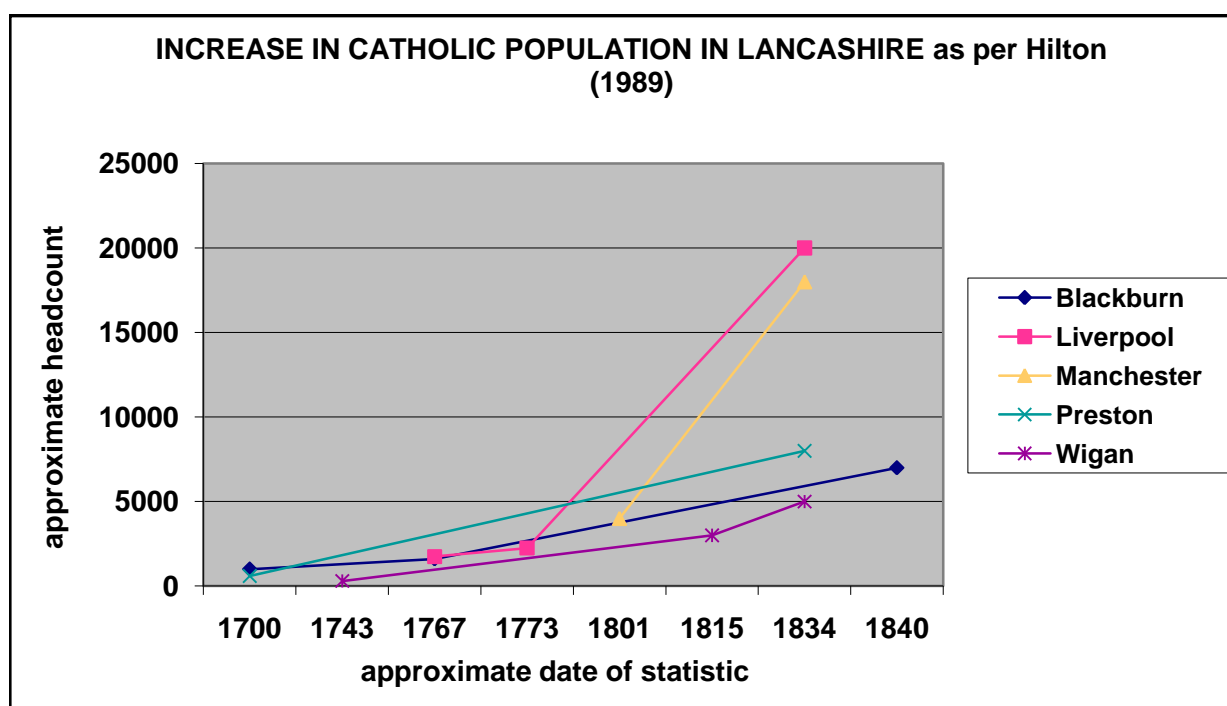
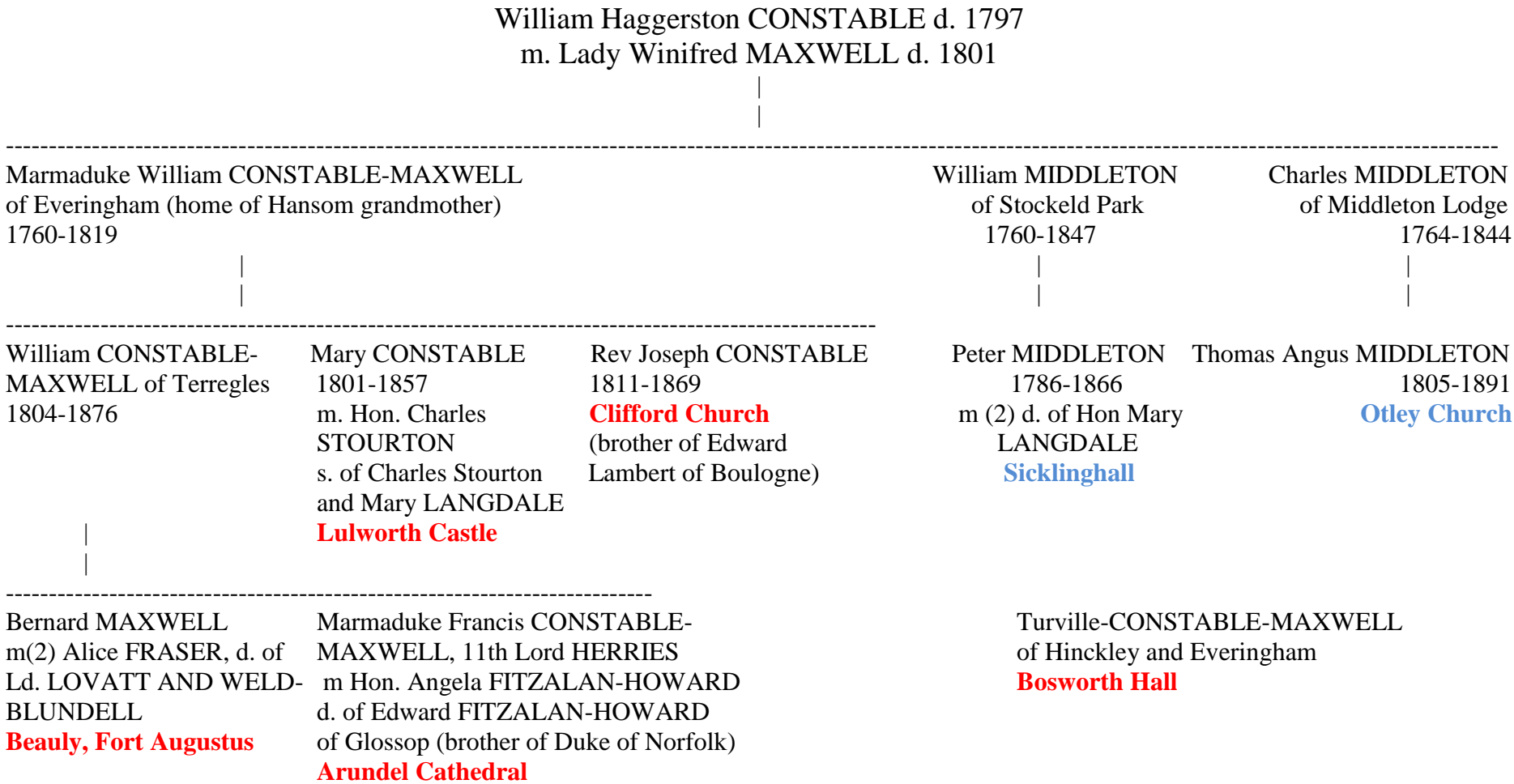**CONSTABLE-MAXWELL FAMILY TREE**   **APPENDIX VII**

key: red denotes work for Joseph Hansom, blue denotes work for Charles Hansom
Ld Herries: 1st President of Catholic Record Society founded Joseph Hansom jnr.

William Haggerston CONSTABLE d. 1797
m. Lady Winifred MAXWELL d. 1801

Marmaduke William CONSTABLE-MAXWELL of Everingham (home of Hansom grandmother) 1760-1819			William MIDDLETON of Stockeld Park 1760-1847	Charles MIDDLETON of Middleton Lodge 1764-1844

William CONSTABLE-MAXWELL of Terregles 1804-1876	Mary CONSTABLE 1801-1857 m. Hon. Charles STOURTON s. of Charles Stourton and Mary LANGDALE **Lulworth Castle**	Rev Joseph CONSTABLE 1811-1869 **Clifford Church** (brother of Edward Lambert of Boulogne)	Peter MIDDLETON 1786-1866 m (2) d. of Hon Mary LANGDALE **Sicklinghall**	Thomas Angus MIDDLETON 1805-1891 **Otley Church**

Bernard MAXWELL m(2) Alice FRASER, d. of Ld. LOVATT AND WELD-BLUNDELL **Beauly, Fort Augustus**	Marmaduke Francis CONSTABLE-MAXWELL, 11th Lord HERRIES m Hon. Angela FITZALAN-HOWARD d. of Edward FITZALAN-HOWARD of Glossop (brother of Duke of Norfolk) **Arundel Cathedral**		Turville-CONSTABLE-MAXWELL of Hinckley and Everingham **Bosworth Hall**	

PARIS EXHIBITION – 1855   **APPENDIX VIII**
CLASS XXX - ARCHITECTURE

ALLEN, C. B. and DUDGEON, W, *Architectural Museum, Common-row, Westminster*
1384   Street Architecture

ALLOM, T, *103 St Martin's-lane, Trafalgar-square*
1385   A Design for improving the Property on the Banks of the Thames
1386   A Design from another point of view

BANES, R.R. and BARR, C., jun, *27 Sackville-street, London*
1387   Bylaugh Hall, Norfolk, the residence of C. Lombe, Esq.
1388   Crystal Palace - Court for the Exhibition of Woven Fabrics
1389   Designs for the Library and Staircase Hall at Dornden, Kent, the residence of John
       Field, Esq.

BARRY, Sir CHARLES, R.A., *1 Old Palace-yard, Westminster*
1390   Bridgewater House - South elevation
1391   Bridgewater House - Plan of principal floor
1392   New Palace at Westminster - Elevation of river front
1393   New Palace at Westminster - Plan of principal floor
1394   Cliefden Villa - Front elevation
1385   Cliefden Villa - Plan of principal floor

BRANDO, R and RITCHIE, R, *11 Beaufort-buildings, Strand, London*
1386   Portswood Church, near Southampton
1397   Catholic Apostolic Church, Gordon-square
1398   Public Baths and Laundries at Greenwich

BUNNING, J.B., *Guildhall, London*
1399   The New Billingsgate Fish-Market
1400   The New Coal Exchange

BURTON, D., *6 Spring-gardens, London*
1401   Entrance to the Green Park and Hyde Park from Piccadilly
1402   Models of the above
1403   Athenaeum Club, Pall Mall - Plans, Elevations, and Sections
1404   The Colosseum, London - Plans, Sections, and Perspective View; Model of the above

BUTTERFIELD, W., *1 Adam-street, Adlephi, London*
1405   All Saints Church, Margaret-street (Exterior, Interior, and Plan)

CARPENTER, R. C., *4 Carlton-chambers, Regent-st.*
1406   Exterior View of the Cathedral proposed to be built at Inverness for the Diocese of
       Moray and Ross
1407   Abbey Church of St. Mary at Sherborne - Interior of the North Transept, as restored
1408   Abbey Church of St Mary at Sherborne - Interior of the Choir, in progress of restoration

CLUTTON, H. *26 Charles-street, St James's, London*
1409   Chapter House of Salisbury Cathedral, in progress of restoration

COCKERELL, Professor C.R., R.A., *Hampstead*
1410   Wren Testimonial
1411   Professor's Dream

DAVIES, J., *33 Great St. Helen's, London*
1412   Rectory and Campanile, St Martin's, Cannon-street
1413   Jews' Synagogue, Great St Helen's, London

DIGWEED, T. F., *4 Great Queen-street, Westminster*
1414   Study for a Chateau, in the style of the Renaissance

DONALDSON, PROFESSOR T. L., *Bolton-gardens, Russell-square, London*
1415   Hallyburton House, Cupar-Angus, N.B.; designed for Lord C. Douglas Hallyburton
1416   Plan of a Design for a Temple to Victory, according to ancient usages, with a view
        to illustrate all the edifices connected with the sacred games
1417   Perspective View of ditto
1418   Design for the Royal Exchange, London. First of the first class selected by the
        Committee in 1841

FALKENER, E., *21 Bloomsbury-square, London*
1419   Restoration of an Asiatic Greek Theatre
1420   Tomb in Lycia
1421   Pompeian Studies - The Atrium
1422   Pompeian Maritime Villa
1423   Pompeian Impluvium
1424   Pompeian Triclinium with Pergula
1425   Pompeian House, excavated by E. Falkener in 1847
1426   Pomepian House, Transverse View through Double Atrium
1427   View showing the origin of Architectural Arabesque Painting
1428   View of the Great Mosque at Adrinaople

FOWLER, CHARLES, *12 Furnival's Inn, London*
1429   Designs for a Bridge at Westminster - Elevation
1430   Centre Arch, &c.
1431   Details of ditto.
1432   Lunatic Asylum for Paupers, Devon - Plan
1433   Bird's eye View of ditto.
1434   Market at Exeter - Plan
1435   Elevation of ditto.
1436   Interior of ditto
1437   South-east View of ditto
1438   Interior of ditto, from the West End

GABRIEL, S.B., AND HIRST, J. H., *St. Nicholas'-chambers, Bristol*
1439   Design for the West of England District Bank

GIBSON, JOHN, *11 Park-street, Westminster*
1440   Bloomsbury Chapel, London
1441   The Imperial Insurance Office, London

HAMILTON, THOMAS, R.S.A., *9 Howe-street, Edinburgh*
1442   View from the Scott Monument, Prince's-street, Edinburgh, in illustration of a Design for Exhibition Galleries, approved of and recommended to the Lords of the Treasury by the Royal Scottish Academy of Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture
1443   South-east View of John Knox's Church, as proposed to be built on the Castle Hill, Edinburgh
1444   South-east View of the Royal High School, Edinburgh, and the Burns Monument

HANSOM, C., *4 Park-Place, Clifton*
Catholic church now being erected at Cheltenham

HANSOM, J. A.*, Preston, Lancashire*
1446   Exterior view of the church of St. Walburge, Preston
1447   Interior, ditto

HARDWICK, PHILIP, R.A., *21 Cavendish-sq., London*
1448   The Dining-room of the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn on the occasion of H. M. Queen Victoria visiting the Society, on opening the Hall, 30th October, 1845. Painted by J. Nash
1449   Goldsmith's Hall, London

HARDWICK, P.C., *21 Cavendish-sq., London*
1450   The Great Hall of the London Terminus of the London and North-Western Railway
1451   Gilston Park, N.W. view

HENMAN, C., *7 Milman-st., Bedford-row, London*
1452   Design for a new system of Street Architecture

HILL, W., *Leeds*
1453 Preston Town Hall

HOPPER, T., *40 Connaught-terrace, Edgeware-road*
1454   Upper Court and Keep of Penrhyn Castle, at Bangor, N. Wales

I'ANSON, E., *9 Lawrence Pountney-lane, London*
1455   Drawings illustrative of a London House, as inhabited by the middle classes in England
1456   Drawings illustrative of a Country House, as inhabited by the middle classes in England
1457   Model of the Cornhill corner of the royal Exchange Buildings
1458   Model of intended buildings at the N.W. corner of Finch-lane, City of London

JONES, OWEN*, 9 Argyll-place, Regent-street, London*
1459   Study of the "Hall of the Two Sisters", in the Alhambra
1460   Study of the "Hall of Justice", in the Alhambra

KENDALL, H.E. Jun., *33 Brunswick-sq., London*
1461   Architectural Composition
[“A vast metropolis with glistering spires,
  With theatre, basilicas, adorned
   A scene of light and glory,” ROGERS]
1462   Mansion, Carlisle, Cumberland, erected for E. N. Hodgson, Esq., M.P.

LAMB, E. BUCKTON*, 26 Charlotte-st., Portland-place*
1463   Shooting-lodge, erected for the Marquis of Bredalbane, Loch Tulla, Scotland

LOCKYER, JAS. MOUNT, *18 Southampton-street, Fitzroy-square, London*
1464   Elevation of business premises for Messrs. Heal and Son, London

PAXTON, SIR JOSEPH, *Sydenham*
1465   View of the exterior of the Crystal Palace, Sydenham. Painted by J. D. Harding
1466   Exterior view
1467   Interior view
1468   Court of Mentmore House, Buchinghamshire; erected for Baron Lionel Rothschild

PENROSE, F. C., M.A., *4 Trafalgar-square, London*
1469   Elevation of the West Front of Lincoln Minster

POTTER, R. H., *11 Henrietta-street, Brunswick-square*
1470   Church of Educational Institution at Bolton-le-Moor

PRICHARD AND SEDDON*, Llandaff, Glamorganshire*
1471   Design for a Marine Chateau near Milford Haven, for G. Kindersley, Esq.
1472   Two exterior and one interior views of a Church designed for Cardiff, Glamorganshire

PULLAN, R. P., *4 Trafalgar-Square, London*
1473   Design for a Cathedral Altar Screen

RAILTON, W., *18 Carlton-chambers, Regent-st., London*
1474   Beau Manor, the residence of W. P. Herrick, Esq.
1475   Staircase of ditto
1476   Chancel of Bromley Church, near London
1477   Two views of the Interior of the Village Church of Meanwood, Yorkshire
1478   Chapel of Ripon Palace

SALVIN, A., *30 Argyll-street, Regent-street*
1479   Dining-room and other buildings, Caius College, Cambridge
1480   Model of Peckforton Castle, Cheshire, the seat of John Tollemache, Esq., M.P.

SCOLES, J. J., *58 Pall-mall, London*
1481   Chapel of the Blessed Sacrament in the Church of the Immaculate Conception, Farm
     -street, London
1482   Façade of ditto

SCOTT, G.-G., *20 Spring-gardens*
1483   Interior of the Choir of Ely Cathedral, as recently renewed
1484   South-east view of the Church of St. Nicholas, at Hamburg, now being erected
1485   Interior of ditto
1486   Restoration of the Chapter House at Westminster Abbey
1487   Design for which the first premium has been adjudged for the new Town Hall and Senate House at Hamburg
1488   New Rere-dos of Ely Cathedral, presented by J. D. Garner, Esq.

SHARPE, E. *Lancaster*
1489   Three Drawings exhibiting the History of English Architecture
1490] Four engravings, window ornaments
1491]

SHAW, H., F.S.A., *37 Southampton Row, London*
1492   A German Beaker
1493   A Funeral Pall belonging to the Fishmongers' Company of London

SLATER, W., *12 John-street, Adelphi, London*
1494   South-east View of a Cathedral designed for South Australia

SMIRKE, S., A.R.A., *79 Grosvenor-square, London*
1495   Model of the new reading-room about to be erected at the British Museum

SMITH, W.J., *Office of Works, Whitehall, London*
1496   Kiosk erected on the Bosphorus for the Sultan

TITE, W., *17 St-Helen's-place, Bishopsgate, London*
1497   A Collection of Works designed by Inigo Jones, Architect, including the Royal Palace, Whitehall

WHITE, W., *39 Great Marlborugh-street, London*
1498   Elevation of the Exterior of All Saints Church, Kensington Park
1499   Elevation of the Interior and Exterior of one Bay of the same church

WORTHINGTON, T., *54 King-street, Manchester*
1500   Design for a Church

WYATT, T. H., *77 Great Russell-street, London*
1501   Interior of St Dewis' Church, Flint
1502   St Aidan's College, Birkenhead, Cheshire; now erecting
1503   Church of St. Nicholas and St Mary, erected at Wilton for the Right Hon. Sidney Herbert, M.P.
1504   Model by S. Salter
1505   Institution of Civil Engineers in Great George-street, London
1506   Model by S. Salter

WYATT, DIGBY, *54 Guildford-street, London*
1507 View of the Exterior of the Pompeian Court of the Crystal Palace, Sydenham
1508 View of the Upper Church of the Monastery of San Benedetto at Subisco
1509 Façades of the entire series of the Fine Arts, Courts of the Crystal Palace,
        Sydenham (Department of Christian Art)
1510 Arch of Titus at Rome
1511 Loggia of the Italian Court, Crystal Palace

PARIS EXHIBITION - 1855
SELECTED ANCILLARY EXHIBITS

CLASS XIV - CIVIL ENGINEERING

Section 1, Building Materials
ROYAL COMMISSIONERS FOR THE EXHIBITION of 1851, London
864   Building stones of Cornwall

GREAVES, J.W., Port Madoc, Carnarvonshire
867   Roofing slates

TAYLOR, J. jun, Spring-grove, Hounslow
872   Model of a brick-wall with terra-cotta facings

Section 2, Divers (*sic*) Branches of Work connected with Building

GRIBBON, E. P., Lower Gardiner-street, Dublin
875   Window fixings

Section 7, Roads and Railways

FOWLER, JOHN, 2 Queen-square-place, Westminster, London
890   Architectural Models

Section 8, Bridges

BRUNEL, I. K, C.E., 18 Duke-street, Westminster London
894   Models of Saltash Bridge and Chepstow Bridge

CLASS XV - STEEL AND ITS PRODUCTS
Section 5, Ironmongery and Nail-making

HART AND SON, 53, 54, 55 Wych-street, Strand
1067   Door locks and fastenings.

Section 6, Locksmith's work and hardware

TONKS. W., and SONS, Cheapside, Birmingham
1104   Door knockers, handles, hinges, fastenings, &c.

CLASS XVI - GENERAL METAL WORK

Section 1, Elaboration of Metals and Alloys by Casting

BARRY, SIR CH., London
1022   Model in metal of the Houses of Parliament

CLASS XVII - GOLDSMITH'S AND SILVERSMITH'S WORK, JEWELLERY, BRONZES &C.

Section 8, Bronzes

LIVERPOOL CORPORATION, Liverpool
1174   Brass chandelier of St George's Hall

CLASS XVIII - GLASS AND POTTERY

Section 10, Ceramic and Glass Manufactures, valued in an artistic point of view

HARDMAN, J., and COMPANY, Birmingham
1248   Stained glass. Portions of the great window at the end of Westminster Hall, and from the corridor leading to the House of Lords. Figures of the four Evangelists, from the parish church of Blickling, Norfolk. Groups from the life of St John the Evangelist, church of Toft, Cheshire.

CLASS XXIV - FURNITURE AND DECORATION

Section 10, Church Furniture, Ornaments, and Decorations.

PRICHARD and SEDDON, Llandaff
1721   Church reading-desk.