The Landmark Trust

OXENFORD GATEHOUSE
History Album

Written and researched by

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BASIC DETAILS

Built:	**1843-4**
Architect:	**A W N Pugin**
Patron:	**George Alan Brodrick, 5th Viscount Midleton of Peper Harow**
Listed:	**Grade II***
Tenure:	**Management agreement**
Opened as a Landmark:	**January 2010**

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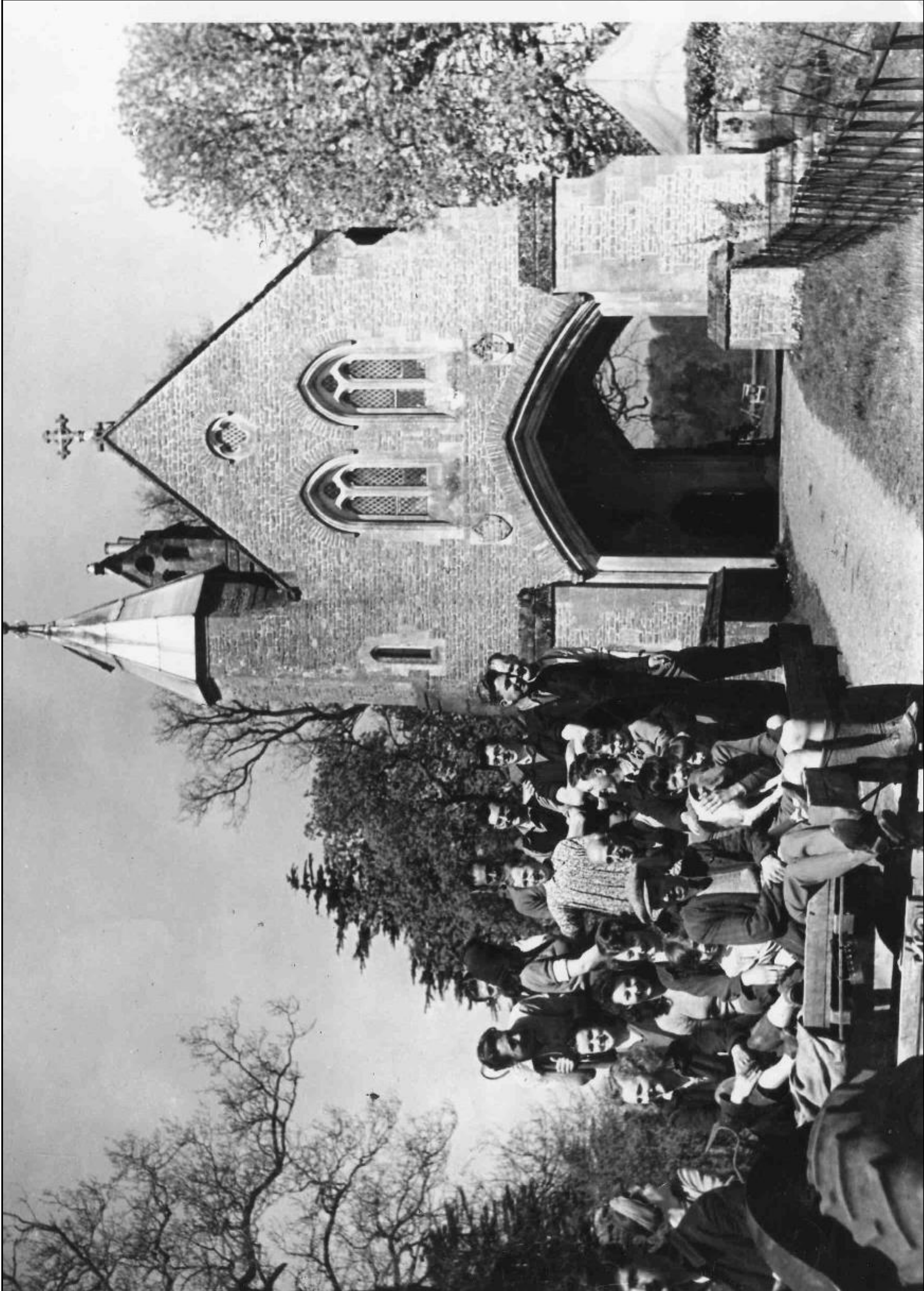

A jaunt for esate workers sets out from Oxenford Gatehouse in the 1960s.

Summary

At first glance, Oxenford Gatehouse and the group of adjacent farm buildings could well be assumed to date from the Middle Ages. The farm known today as Oxenford Grange was indeed originally part of the holdings of Waverley Abbey near Farnham, the first Cistercian monastery in the country, founded in 1128. The adjacent fishpond dates from this time, and there was originally quite a fine dwelling, remnants of which the 4th Viscount Midleton used to construct the 'ruin' beside today's farmhouse. In 1536, Waverley (whose name inspired Sir Walter Scott to write his first novels, though they are set nowhere near Surrey) met the same fate as all English monastic institutions, and was dissolved by Henry VIII. Oxenford then passed through various owners until 1676 when it was amalgamated by Denzil, Lord Holles with the adjacent estate of Peper Harow. Eventually, in 1713, the Peper Harow estate was bought by Alan Brodrick, from a family that had made a substantial fortune in Ireland.

In 1717, Brodrick was created 1st Viscount Midleton (after a town on his Cork estates) for his services as Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and so began the association of the Midleton family with Peper Harow, which was to last until the mid 20th century. In 1747, the 3rd Viscount demolished the old mansion at Peper Harow and commissioned William Chambers to build a new one. The family moved to Oxenford Grange for the duration, when not living in their London house. The new mansion was unfinished when the 3rd Viscount died in 1765, leaving his widow Albinia to complete it on behalf of their then 8-year old son, the 4th Viscount. Ten years later in 1785, the main house was finished and the 4th Viscount pulled down most of Oxenford Grange, leaving only today's farmhouse.

The 4th Viscount died in 1836 and his title passed to his only son, George Alan Brodrick, 5th Viscount Midleton. This pair had had a somewhat troubled relationship: George had been ostracised by his family for marrying Ellen Griffiths, a laundry maid, in 1833 and was never reconciled with his father. He did eventually succeed in laying claim to the Peper Harow estate and Irish holdings as well as his title, and in 1841 began to think about enhancing the Peper Harow estate. Inspired by a mention in Hunt's *Architecture* about a gate lodge 'intended to have the appearance of being raised on the Ruins of a Priory,' Lord Midleton 'then thought, that a New Lodge might be built in strict accordance with the style of the Abbey of Waverley, & that I might arrange the Entrance, so as to see the Present Ruins which are now a pretty object but are not seen from the present Entrance.' His aspirations also extended to rebuilding nearby farm buildings in the Abbey Style, whose repair he had been purposely postponing.

For the design of these buildings (gatehouse, great barn and farm buildings, and also alterations to St Nicholas Church at Peper Harow and a shrine over a holy well called Bonfield Spring) he turned to A W Pugin, then thirty years old and at the height of his powers. Pugin is one of the great designers and architects of the first half of the nineteenth century, promulgating a return to the pointed forms of architecture of the Middle Ages in a movement known as the Gothic Revival. A

convert to Catholicism, Pugin designed numerous churches, monasteries and dwellings, as well as a stream of Gothic ornamentation and everyday objects. He also worked with Charles Barry on the Palace of Westminster, being rebuilt in the Gothic style after it was destroyed by fire in 1834.

Both Pugin and Lord Midleton were volatile and temperamental men, but their collaboration at Oxenford is rightly judged among Pugin's best work. Lord Midleton was a generous client and the gatehouse and other buildings are very well built of good local Bargate stone with Portland dressings. The gatehouse at least was built by Pugin's favourite builder, George Myers, who also built The Grange in Ramsgate (Pugin's own home, which was also being built 1843-4 and is today also cared for by Landmark).

The result represents Pugin's mature style at its height, an assured combination of simple medieval form and blocking with Regency theories of the Picturesque. The grouping embodies his theory of 'natural architecture' which he expounded in his *Apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture* which he wrote and published during the Oxenford project. Pugin urged his readers to look for beauty in 'the mere essentials of construction' even in humble everyday structures like barns and sheds. These principles are exemplified by the Oxenford buildings. Oxenford Gatehouse was completed in 1843. Pugin continued to work for Lord Midleton on the other Peper Harow projects until 1845, but by then Lord Midleton was in financial difficulties and distracted by his Irish affairs as the potato blight brought on the so-called Irish Potato Famine. Pugin later claimed Lord Midleton had not written to him for three years, and the Viscount's personal life was also again in disarray. He had fallen in love with Frederica Rushbrooke, a friend of his wife's, who then left him. On All Hallow's Day 1848, Lord Midleton dined alone at Peper Harow, took a candle up to a small room where a brazier was lit to dry wallpaper, lay down on a pillow on the floor and used the resultant fumes to asphyxiate himself. Pugin himself died just four years late, driven insane by overwork and mercury poisoning.

Landmark lets Oxenford Gatehouse on behalf of the present owners, whose family have farmed at Oxenford since the 1880s. We were happy to advise on its restoration through 2009, during which the landscaping was returned to its original levels, electrical cables buried and the building rewired. Modern internal finishes were removed and corrected, glazing replaced, a modern staircase removed and underfloor heating installed on the ground floor. Drawing on our experience at The Grange, the gatehouse has been furnished with furniture in Pugin's style or, in a few instances, actually designed by him.

Waverley Abbey and Oxenford Grange

Waverley Abbey was the first Cistercian House in England, the monastic order described by William of Malmesbury as 'the surest road to heaven.'

The abbey was founded near Farnham on Nov 24th 1128 by William Giffard, Bishop of Winchester. He brought an abbot and twelve brethren from the abbey of Aumône in Normandy and Waverley became the senior house of the order in England. The order encouraged manual work and tried to simplify the liturgy, relying too on lay brothers, which made it a popular order. By 1150, there were five communities in England, including Tintern and Rievaulx and Warden Abbey, another Landmark. Waverley, even though the mother house, was relatively small and plain.

In the early twelfth century, the farmholding known as Oxenford Grange in the parish of Witley was granted to the abbey by Richerd de Aquila, a gift mentioned in the bull of Pope Eugenius III of 1147. Oxenford Grange is also included in lands confirmed to the abbey by Richard I at the end of the century. Peper Harow, by contrast, was not part of the abbey lands.

Life continued at the abbey for another three hundred years, until Henry VIII's cataclysmic reforms in the 1530s, when monasteries across the land were dissolved as part of the break with the Catholic Church in Rome, and the Church of England was established with Henry VIII as its Head. Henry's chief minister Thomas Cromwell orchestrated this policy of Dissolution, the axe falling on Waverley no less than other monasteries.

Until the 1960s, Waverley Abbey was a romantic ruin, though its scale and former grandeur are still apparent.

Set in meadows beside the River Wey, Waverley Abbey is today in the care of English Heritage and open year round during daylight hours.

The Great Barn at Wanborough was one of the abbey's tithe barns and is occasionally open to the public.

Dr Layton was Cromwell's agent in the first visitation to Waverley and his reports left a vivid character sketch of life in the abbey. His first visitation was on 26th Sept 1535. Next day he wrote to the visitor-general that Abbot William Ayling was

> *'honest but not one of the children of Solomon. Every monk is his fellow and every servant his master…. Yesterday, early in the morning, sitting in my chamber in examination, I could neither get bread nor drink, neither fire of those knaves [the servants] till I was frettished, and the abbot durst not speak to them. It shall be expedient to you to give him a lesson and tell the poor fool what he should do.'*

Nine months later, simplicity and sincerity shine through Abbot Ayling's letter to Cromwell on 9th June 1536:

> *'Pleaseth your mastership I received your letter on the viith day of this present month and have endeavoured myself to accomplish the contents of them, and have sent your mastership the true extent, value and account of our said monastery. Beseeching your good mastership, for the love of Christ's passion, to help the presentation of this poor monastery, that we your beadsmen may remain in the service of God with the meanest living that any poor men may live with in this world… In no vain hope I write this to your mastership, for as much as you put me in this boldness full gently, when I was in suit to you the last year at Winchester, saying 'Repair unto me for such business as you shall have from time to time.' Therefore instantly praying you and my poor brethren with weeping, yes! – desire you to help them; in this world no creatures more in trouble. And so we remain depending upon the comfort that shall come to us from you – serving God daily at Waverley.'*

But others were casting covetous eyes on the abbey estates. 'I am told Waverley is a pretty thing' wrote J Husee to Lord Lisle a few days earlier. The abbey was doomed, for all its antiquity and reputation. A few days later, Ayling surrendered his house and estates to Cromwell's commissioners and the monastery passed to Sir William Fitzwilliam, treasurer of the King's household. In 1542 it then passed to Sir AnthonyBrowne who died in 1592. His son by his second wife sold it to Sir George More of Loseley in 1609, who let it to John Hone in 1613.

By the eighteenth century, Waverley Abbey was relegated to a romantic ruin in the grounds of a country seat.

The estate was conveyed by his son Bartholomew Hone and others to John Chesterton of St Giles in the Field in London in 1619, who died 1624/5 and passed it to his wife Anne for life. The holdings were then divided between John's three sisters and their heirs. The Oxenford farm passed through all these transactions as part of the wider estate, until in 1676 two thirds of the estate (including Oxenford Grange) were acquired by Denzil, Lord Holles, who had acquired Peper Harow in 1655 (this core Peper Harow estate, according to the 5th Viscount, was never part of the Waverley estates). From then on, this part of the ex-Waverley estates were included under the Peper Harow name.

When Holles died in 1680, Peper Harow passed to his son Francis. At his death in 1694, it reverted to the male heir of the elder branch of the family, John, Duke of Newcastle, who sold it in 1700 to Philip Frowde, who sold in 1713 to Alan Brodrick. In 1717, Brodrick was created 1st Viscount Midleton, named after the family seat at Midleton, County Cork. With this, the Brodricks arrived at Peper Harow, to be the longest owners of the estate after the Waverley monks.

There is an old local tradition that there is treasure buried at Oxenford, that will not be found until the rightful owner comes to claim it, perhaps a folk memory of ecclesiastical treasure buried by the evicted monks. According to Victorian historian E. W. Brayley, 'The story runs that the chest in which the treasure is inclosed must be drawn up by seven milk-white oxen – and that it was once attempted, but failed, in consequence of the oxen having the pure white colour defiled by spots.' Alternatively, seventeenth-century antiquarian John Aubrey may be responsible for the tale, recording that 'gold and silver money, not Roman but old English, and also rings' have been found in the area, 'which makes the inhabitants give *2s per acre* more than elsewhere in the hope of finding more!'

The Brodricks, Viscounts Midleton and Peper Harow House

There is evidence of the Brodrick family in Surrey from the early seventeenth century, when Sir Thomas Brodrick (1596-1641) served as embroiderer to the Crown and lived in Wandsworth. Sir Thomas's sons Sir Alan Brodrick (1623-80) and Sir St. John Brodrick (1627-1712) supported different sides in the Civil War, but both made substantial fortunes in Ireland.

Sir St. John, who was a Parliamentarian, served with the army in Ireland in 1641 and was rewarded with grants of land in County Cork in and around the town of Midleton in 1653. Sir Alan, who was a Royalist, encoded the letters of the group of royalist conspirators known as the Sealed Knot during the Interregnum and was rewarded for his loyalty after the Restoration with the posts of Provost Marshal of Munster and Surveyor General of Ireland in 1661, and made a commissioner for the Irish land settlement of 1662. It was said that of the seven commissioners, three were for the King, three for the interests of the English and 'one for himself' – i.e. Sir Alan Brodrick. A further land settlement in 1670 confirmed his brother Sir St. John's holdings and Midleton was made a borough by a royal charter in the same year.

In 1714, the year after he bought the Peper Harow estate, Sir Alan Brodrick was appointed Lord Chancellor of Ireland and served in this role until 1725. In 1715, he was created Baron Brodrick and in 1717 became the 1st Viscount Midleton, after the town that lay at the heart of the family's Cork estates. It seems that Brodrick was an absentee landlord at Peper Harow during these years, since in 1725 he 'was expected to reside shortly' at Peper Harow.

The 1st Viscount died in 1728 and his second son, also Alan Brodrick, inherited the Surrey estate and the title. The Viscount's elder brother Thomas (1654-1730) had inherited most of the Irish estates from their father Sir St John – further proof that no hard feelings were left by their differing loyalties in the Civil War.

Thomas also inherited the Wandsworth estates on his father's death and became an influential MP for Stockbridge and Guildford, chairing the committee which investigated the collapse of the South Sea Company in 1720. When Thomas died without issue in 1730, the 2nd Viscount added Thomas's Irish estates to his already substantial wealth. From now on, the Midletons would run their Irish estates largely from England through agents, as archetypal absentee landlords.

When the 2nd Viscount died in 1747, the title passed to his son George Brodrick as 3rd Viscount. At this stage, there was an old mansion at Peper Harow, first mentioned in 1563. The 3rd Viscount demolished it and started to build a new one, commissioning the design from William Chambers. Pevsner is rather dismissive of the result, describing it as 'an unprepossessing example of Sir William Chamber's careful academism.' It is interesting that the 3rd Viscount also commissioned farm buildings from Chambers and the stables are arguably his most successful work on the site. This may have set the precedent on the estate for outbuildings by a known architect, taken up eighty years later by the 5th Viscount with Pugin. The 3rd Viscount also paid Capability Brown for work on the park at Peper Harow in 1757-8.

The new house was still unfinished when the 3rd Viscount died in 1765. His eight-year old son, also George Brodrick, became heir-at-law, with his widow Albinia, Dowager Viscountess as power behind the throne. The 3rd Viscount's unencumbered estate was found insufficient for the payment of his debts and legacies, so Acts of Parliament were passed in 1766 and 1771 freeing Albinia and the other trustees from the limitations of the will.

According to Brayley, Albinia enlarged the old house at Oxenford Grange and lived there while work proceeded at the main house. Her son the 4th Viscount continued to live in the Grange after her death but, says Brayley in 1850, 'the chief portion [of the house at Oxenford] was pulled down in the year 1775: only a small part, wreathed in ivy, now remains, except what has been converted into

a cottage,' presumably today's farmhouse. It is not clear whether the existing 'ruin' in the grounds of the farmhouse is part of the former Grange (as high status monastic lodging) or a romantic reconstruction using some of its fabric, to emphasise the farm's monastic origins. It has been suggested in the past that Pugin might have been responsible for its construction, but this would be completely at odds with all his declared views and respect for medieval fabric and there is no mention of the ruin in his correspondence with Lord Midleton. It seems far more likely that it is the work of either the 4th Viscount when he took down most of the old Grange in 1775, or possibly of the 5th Viscount, as part of his pursuit of 'the Abbey Style' for the grouping at Oxenford.

Chamber's Peper Harow House was initially completed in 1768, but the 4th Viscount did further work after he came of age in 1775, this time consulting James Wyatt, another distinguished and fashionable architect. The result was a rather plain, foursquare and vaguely Italianate house, built of yellow stock bricks with stone dressings.

In 1806, a son, George Alan Brodrick, was born to the 4th Viscount and his second wife, Maria Benyon. The 4th Viscount lived on the Peper Harow estate for almost 70 years, also benefiting from the family's house in Mayfair. He died in 1836 and has a fine monument in St Nicholas's Church in Peper Harow. The inscription tells of service to Surrey as Justice of the Peace and Lord Lieutenant, and of his zeal for justice and the Christian religion. This was the figure his son George had to follow, when he became 5th Viscount. It was this 5th Lord Midleton who commissioned Pugin to build the gatehouse and farm buildings at Oxenford. Before narrating this part of the story however, it is worth spending a little time to set the scene on the unconventional earlier life of this Brodrick, a tale that could have come straight from a Victorian melodrama.

Peper Harow House today. Designed by William Chambers, it now presents a rather incoherent mixture of styles after subsequent alterations and additions by both James Wyatt and C. R. Cockerell. It remained the seat of the Brodrick family, Viscounts Midleton until the death of the 9th Viscount and 1st Earl in 1942 and is now divided into apartments.

George Alan Brodick, 5th Viscount Midleton[1]

George was his father's only son and as such would have had the expectation of inheritance before him from early childhood. He was the fifth child to his father's second marriage, to Maria Benyon. Almost nothing is known about his childhood but with four siblings we may imagine a busy and sociable one. George attended Eton between 1818 and 1823 and in April 1825 was admitted to St John's College, Cambridge. He was not particularly successful academically: his college exam results declined from a 2nd in his first year to a third in his second, and by December 1826 he was only awarded a 4th. He appears to have left St John's at the end of 1827 without taking a degree, although he does have the distinction of being a founder member of the College boat club. While he was hardly an intellectual, George's later correspondence reveals him as well-educated and not unintelligent, incompetent or unfeeling. He was however undeniably given to emotional outbursts and impulsive behaviour.

George's father did little to prepare his son for the responsibility of running their large estates, something Lord Midleton would bemoan when he took up his inheritance. A later letter hints that the 4th Viscount had such reservations about his son's character or ability or both that he denied him permission to stand for Parliament. This must have rankled with the young man; years later, an old college friend wrote to him, *'when you speak of you father and the county, remember I don't blame him blindly for not letting you stand but for not communicating with you openly on the subject and giving you his good reasons, if he had them, against your doing so'.*

In 1833, when George was 26 something happened that would destroy his

[1] This section draws heavily on the work of Mike Page from the Surrey History Centre, whose generosity in sharing the fruits of his own soon to be published research from uncatalogued papers on the 5th Viscount is gratefully acknowledged. No reproduction of any material without permission from mpage@surreycc.gov.uk .

relationship with his family and lead to ostracism by society. He fell in love with and married a labourer's daughter, Ellen Griffiths, who, it seems, was living with her mother in Bayswater, close to the Brodricks' London town house in Upper Brook Street, Mayfair. Ellen was born in February 1812 in Tenterden, Kent, the daughter of Humphrey Griffiths and his wife, also called Ellen. We do not know how Lord Midleton and Ellen met, but it appears, from sly references in *The Satirist, or the Censor of the Times* that she was a laundry maid (the newspaper suggests the Brodricks' motto should be changed from 'From a spear to a coronet' to 'From a wash-tub to a coronet!').

George's mother Mary did not accept this affair of the heart passively. A sadly incomplete letter to her brother describes how she had sent a woman by the name of Mrs Kitchener to the Griffiths' cottage in an attempt to end the relationship. Kitchener warned Ellen's mother that George's '*feeling for her daughter was not given up'* and she tried to persuade Ellen therefore to leave the area. Ellen refused, saying however '*she thought she might safely remain where she was - that Mr [Brodrick] would not now think about her'* and that she '*sincerely wished to be anywhere, out of his way'*, a phrase that suggests that Ellen was not necessarily as besotted as the heir. On her way back to report to the Viscountess, Mrs Kitchener was horrified to meet George on his way to the cottage to continue to press his suit. As Lady Midleton's letter says,

> *'His appearance on the road towards Bayswater ...you may believe startled Kitchener - She saw him at a little distance - doubtful at first; he passed her, shuffled by her - then came back, looked her full in the face, they both stood, for an instance, and he went on, to Griffiths' cottage no doubt .... George's appearance was more like a watchman in his drab thick Great Coat –but even will attract notice it* is *so unusual to see one of the kind ... in the neighbourhood.'*

The family's efforts to block the match, which seem also to have involved a spy disguised as a pot man in the Duke of York public house, failed. On 14th May 1833, at St George's Hanover Square, George Alan Brodrick, heir to a Viscountcy and an income of £20,000 a year married Ellen Griffiths. Ellen's signature in the register

suggests that writing did not come easily to her; her illiterate mother signed with a cross. No other members of the Brodrick family appear to have been present.

George's father acted quickly in response to the terrible shame he believed this match brought on the family. He drew up a new will bequeathing all the estates and possessions he could legitimately deny to his son to the latter's cousin, Charles Brodrick, including all the contents of Peper Harow. George and Ellen, it seems, went to live in Hurtmore Cottage in Godalming, where George claims they were *'perfectly happy in entire seclusion in my humble home'* even though it seems they were shunned by the rest of the family. When his father lay dying in August 1836, George travelled to Peper Harow in an attempt to make his peace. His father refused to see him, despite apparently declaring that *'all was forgotten in this world and would, he hoped, be forgiven in the next'.*

George, now 5th Viscount Midleton, never lost the sense of bitterness at his rejection by his family, and indeed his ostracism by the whole of society. After inheriting, he claims that he was treated by his family, who were still *'enthroned in my house at Peper Harow'* as a *'runaway schoolboy'* and with the *'sort of superciliousness that an Eastern Bashaw would [treat] a recreant slave'.* Perhaps this rejection intensified his domineering and almost obsessive search for affection from his female companions. His father's will ensured that he *'succeeded to the bare walls of Peper Harow, had not a bed to sleep in, a chair to sit down on or saucepan to boil in till I purchased them'.* It took several years to unravel the chaos of his father's affairs, pay off his creditors and make appropriate financial provision for his mother and sisters.

He seems to have remained on reasonable terms with his cousin Charles, however, and whether through some sort of deal or legal challenge, George was able to recover possession of all the family estates although the Upper Brook Street house was sold. George would complain too that for some time his legal and financial entanglements, his various costly building projects and the lack of a

London house meant that he was not able to take up his rightful place in society. During these years (which include the building of Oxenford Gatehouse) he divided his time between Peper Harow and Tatton's Hotel on Berkeley Square in London.

Finally, in 1845 he and his wife were ready to receive and be received by genteel society. A new London house was bought whereby *'I had afforded the world an opportunity (which they might say they had not had before) of making such advances towards me, as would enable us to take our proper place in the world.'* But society seemed reluctant to engage. The world had *'not taken the trouble to do anything at all'* and *'in consequence of my having twelve years ago married a humble [?wife] the upper classes are determined to unite in excluding me from society'.* In a furious retort to those who claimed he was a solitary misanthrope (which may well have been how he appeared from the outside) he claims that nine years after succeeding to the title,

> *'I turned to the world ... and practically put the question to them What do you expect me to do? - Tell me, and I shall shape my future course accordingly – if you wish me to take my place in the world as a nobleman* <u>*do your part*</u> *and I will endeavor to perform mine - if however you choose to say, as You have married a humble wife, we will do nothing - I shall reply very well then, I will shape my course accordingly - only don't then ever so much as hint a reproach at me for not taking my proper place in the world'.*

This letter was written in 1845, the year after the completion of Oxenford Gatehouse. In fact, one suspects there was more to his ostracism than the simple snobbish rejection of a man who had married far beneath his social station. George, Lord Midleton was certainly a difficult man - mercurial, intolerant, suspicious, litigious and indecisive. For one who had attended Eton and Cambridge, he was strangely defensive about his own social capabilities: when he inherited the title in 1836 he wrote that he *"had everything to learn himself and to teach his wife."*

He also continued to find the burden of managing a large household and huge estate irksome. In February 1845, he wrote to the Godalming lawyer, Henry Marshall, his general agent in England, to chide him for neglecting his business: *"To a person like myself who has not been brought up to business, and who in consequence has difficulty enough to work myself up to anything like the regular dispatch of it, it is a heartless task if I have myself perpetually to undertake the office of urging things forward".* This underlying lack of confidence and self-assurance is often apparent, and Lord Midleton seems to have found it hard to delegate and accept contrary opinions. These characteristics are equally apparent in his handling of his Irish business and how he treated his servants and employees. He neither minced his words nor suffered fools gladly, and his intemperate language must have damaged his relationships. Unhappy about the way the long-suffering Henry Marshall was managing his financial affairs, he wrote:

> *'I cannot conceal from you that I am excessively disgusted at the utter futility of the namby pamby remarks upon the accounts ... Unless You are prepared to carry out [my instructions] forthwith you had better give up pretending to audit the accounts at all and return them to me, for the specimen you send me is utter rubbish.'*

(Reading such intemperate letters make it a wonder that he and Pugin, who was also given to emotional outbursts, worked together so successfully as client and architect.)

Lord Midleton was also domineering towards his wife and as a result his household was not well run. A Cambridge friend, William Frederick Beadon, suggested that the 5th Viscount's failure to achieve economies in his spending was in part *"because you are for ever changing servants, and there can be no system of control below stairs whilst that is occurring".* Lord Midleton should not bother himself with *"minute details",* but should hire a butler and housekeeper who could then hire and deal with the other servants. The housekeeper should *"take orders not from you but Lady M. and you will find things go on as in other houses of your calibre".*

Like so many others before and since, Lord Midleton turned at least in part to his extravagant building projects to distract himself from the unhappiness in the rest of his life. As yet another family member helpfully turned on him, his clergyman nephew, Arthur Thomas wrote *'I have heard it said that you were as proud as your father and fonder of bricks and mortars than mankind and that you were very glad to make you buildings an excuse for your seclusion.'* Midleton did not deny it himself:

> *'Pugin's buildings have undoubtedly received all my disposable income which others would probably have expended upon the gaieties of society - but I was not in a situation for Society when I commenced them and they afforded a means of filling up the interval and I persuade myself not unprofitably... In point of society I should have been satisfied with little if I had been in a situation to have enjoyed it in 1836 - I do not say the same now - time is everything - and I of course have risen and my terms and it would take much More to satisfy me now. I am now fastidious - and while I expect more, there is of course less likelihood of the sort of people from whom alone I would now receive it, putting themselves out of the way to place it before me.'*

Here is an expression of the loneliness and sense of alienation that would lead to Lord Midleton's demise.

Pugin was not the only architect working for Lord Midleton in the 1840s. Lord Midleton was undoubtedly interested in architecture, and thoughtful about that which he commissioned. In 1843, he joined the Cambridge Camden Society, founded to promote true Gothic architecture and ornament as the only proper style for a Christian church. This preference for medieval form put him into immediate sympathy with Pugin who forcibly expressed such views in his own books, several of which Midleton owned, including the famous *True Principles of Pointed Architecture,* published in 1841. Perhaps his so-called Abbey Style was where Lord Midleton's heart lay but he lacked Pugin's single mindedness with regard to the Gothic.

Instead, Lord Midleton chose his architects according to the project, showing an aristocratic assurance in his choice of some of the best in the land. Not for him the self made builder-turned-architect called J. T. Knowles from further east in the county at Reigate, whom the former naval captain Charles Wyndham, the 4th Earl of Egremont appointed to create a mansion at Silverton Park in Devon when he inherited his own title a year after the 5th Viscount. In Ireland, Lord Midleton would turn rather to Decimus Burton, one of the creators of Regency London with its predominately late Classical symmetry; and for the refurbishment of his house at Peper Harow, Lord Midleton appointed Charles Cockerell, a competent but eclectic architect who mixed his Styles according to need.

On a tour of the continent in 1840-1, Midleton had purchased some fine mosaic tables and a large collection of statues and alabasters, enough to fill 12 packing cases. He commissioned Cockerell to adapt Chambers' mid 18th-century mansion to form a suitable receptacle for these finds. Cockerell's works included a new parapet to the house incorporating the family crest and a new porch. The whole of the interior was lavishly redecorated and when all was complete in August 1845, the total bill for the works came to over £7000 – just as the potato blight was first appearing in Ireland.

Lord Midleton's Irish Estates: *'All I do for you in England is a delight & an honour but these Irish farm buildings are intolerable…'.*

Soon after assuming the title, the 5th Viscount determined to overhaul the management of his Irish lands (somewhat neglected by his father) to maximise his income. The Midleton estate chiefly comprised 30,000 acres in County Cork, including the prosperous towns of Midleton and Cove. It contained some of the most fertile land in the county, with good communications and markets.

Under the 4th Viscount, the estate had for years been entrusted to the management of the agent Thomas Poole, but Poole was negligent and complaisant and neither he nor his absent employer showed any desire to improve the efficiency of the returns. Much of the estate was in the hands of middlemen who, rather than working the land themselves, sublet to small tenants and allowed large numbers of cottiers to settle on the land and build wretched cabins. Many of these cottiers were dependent on the potato for their sustenance. In 1834, William Cobbett (who was born in Farnham) visited the Midleton estates in Cork and published a scathing assault on conditions in his *Rural Rides:*

> *You know that, at Pepperharrow (only about four miles from your cottage) there lives [the 4th Viscount] LORD MIDLETON. You know that he was a long while Lord-Lieutenant of our countv. Now, Marshall, HE is one of the GREAT LANDOWNERS OF IRELAND. His real name is BRODERICK* [sic]*. He is the owner of a town called Mliddleton, half as big as Guildford. He is the owner of the lands for many miles round, and, it is supposed, that he draws, yearly, from twenty-five to thirty thousand pounds from this estate!*
>
> *I came here to see things with my own eyes; and, I have, to-day, been to see this BRODERICK`S estate, which begins at about sixteen miles from this City of Cork, and the land of this sixteen miles, taking in two miles on each side of the road, the finest that you can possiblv imagine.*

The Irish Famine **(<1850) by George Frederic Watts. In his later life, in 1891, Watts moved to Compton, just south of Guidlford, to an important Arts & Crafts house he called Limnerslease. He also built a gallery nearby, still dedicated to his works.**

Ah! but, how did I find the working people upon this land of this Broderick? That is the question for you to ask, and for me to answer.

I went to a sort of hamlet near to the town of Middleton. It contained about 40 or 50 hovels. I went into several of them, and took down the names of the occupiers. They all consisted of mud-walls, with a covering of rafters and straw. None of them so good as the place where you keep your little horse. I took a particular account of the first that I went into. It was 21, feet long and 9, feet wide. The floor, the bare ground. No fire place, no chimney, the fire (made of potato-haulm) made on one side against the wall, and the smoke going out of a hole in the roof. No table, no chair: I sat to write upon a block of wood. Some stones for seats. No goods but a pot, and a shallow tub for the pig and the family both to eat out of. There was one window, 9 inches by 5, and the glass broken half

> *out. There was a mudwall about 4 feet high to separate of the end of the shed for the family to sleep, lest the hog should kill and eat the little children when the father and mother were both out, and when the hog was shut in; and it happened some time ago that a poor mother, being ill on her straw unable to move, and having her baby dead beside her, had its head eaten off by a hog before her own eyes! No bed: no mattress; some large flat stones laid on other stones, to keep the bodies from the damp ground; some dirty straw and a bundle of' rags were all the bedding. The man's name was Owen Gumbleton. Five small children; the mother, about thirty, naturally handsome, but worn into half-ugliness by hunger and filth; she had no shoes or stockings, no shift, a mere rag over her body and down to her knees.*
>
> *Lord Middleton* [sic] *may say, that HE is not the landlord of these wretched people. Ah, but his tenant, his middleman, is their landlord, and Lord Middleton gets the more rent, from him, by enabling him to let these holes in this manner.*

Note too that this account of conditions in County Cork predates the deprivations of the Irish Famine in the 1840s....

As a relatively lenient – or disinterested? – landlord, the 4th Viscount, still alive at the time of Cobbett's visit, had been content to allow his agent Mr Poole to continue granting long leases and indulging the tenants by permitting them up to a year to pay their rents. Neither he nor Poole did anything to tackle the ever growing rent arrears that were accumulating, accepting an annual shortfall of around £3000 out of a rental income that should have brought in £18,000. At the 4th Viscount's death total arrears amounted to £70,000, and there was little chance that the bulk of this would ever be paid.

When the 5th Viscount inherited in 1836, he was determined from the start that this situation could not continue. While other landlords were also trying to maximize the efficiency of their estates at this time, Lord Midleton's incisiveness on this matter is interesting, given his declared ignorance of running a large estate. He demanded from Poole that tenants should pay their rent more promptly and regular accounts be submitted. Poole made excuses and dragged his feet and Midleton lost his patience. On 16th April 1838, he wrote to Poole

> *'You have broken your most solemn engagements - you have abused my forbearance & the confidence which I have in spite of appearances generously confided in you. Have you then no sense of shame - have you no sense of what is due to the station you have hitherto occupied - If you have, I peremptorily insist upon the accounts being instantly forwarded. If you have not – if you are really lost to all feelings of honour – I will take measures to compel you to do your duty in these respects previously to my ridding the estate of Your mismanagement.'*

Shortly afterwards Poole was sacked. Midleton then appointed a Cheltenham surveyor, Charles Bailey, to undertake a full survey and valuation of the Irish estate with recommendations for its improvement. Bailey's report, submitted in 1840, revealed an estate dominated by middlemen who were extracting much more rent from their sub-tenants than Midleton, and failing to invest in improvements such as building decent houses and drainage. The impoverished subtenants were allowed to divide their already small holdings among their children leading to increasingly unviable plots. Bailey cited cases such as the lands of Lyre and Ballinabortagh, nearly 2000 acres, which had been let in 1750 for 3 lives at the low rent of £290 pa, on the understanding that improvements would be made. Instead the tenant had filled the lands with cottiers paying him rack rents amounting to £2000 pa.

Bailey recommended that the middlemen should not have their leases renewed so that their cottier subtenants could be ejected and their holdings consolidated into viable farms let for much shorter periods at higher rents. If this were done total rents would rise from £18,000 to £28,000. Bailey recognised that wholesale evictions would make Lord Midleton very unpopular and recommended an assisted emigration scheme as *'the most reasonable mode of lessening the redundant population.'*

In this engraving from the *Illustrated London News* in 1848, an Irish cottier and his family plead in vain with the agent against eviction, while the bailiffs seize their goods and soldiers stand ready to quell any resistance from onlookers. Such scenes must also have been enacted on Lord Midleton's Irish estates in the 1840s.

Lord Midleton seized on these proposals enthusiastically. Poole was replaced by a local solicitor named Thomas Foley to implement the changes. As leases expired, or middlemen were evicted, systematic clearances took place and many impoverished cottiers were dispatched to Canada, their passage paid. Even so, progress was too slow, and Foley too lenient, for Lord Midleton. In order to see the situation for himself, Lord Midleton visited Cork in August 1842 and thereafter considered himself an authority on the subject of Ireland and quite prepared to overrule the judgement of those on the ground. In a letter of May 1846, he argued that the great social evil of Ireland was too many small tenants without '*the requisite capital to farm land to advantage'* and not enough regular employment which would *'improve the condition of the labouring classes and raise them in the social scale by encouraging thrift, cleanliness and industry.'* He solution was the introduction of a new English-style model 7- or 14-year lease, with stringent covenants about how the land was to be farmed and which crops sown to maximise fertility and prevent soil exhaustion (such as turnips, mangel -worzels, vetch and grass) and forbidding subletting and the construction of cabins.

Lord Midleton was not without philanthropy, however. By the standards of the day, he was not an excessively harsh landlord in Ireland, however much the double standards of these absentee landlords may appall us today. While his 'improvements' were intended to generate higher returns for himself, he ploughed at least some of these back into building new homes and undertaking employment generating projects for those tenants who did not choose the uncertainties of immigration before the privations of staying on the land they knew.

He also had plans for improvements to the towns of Cove and Midleton and for a number of model farmhouses, which he commissioned from Pugin at the same time as the construction of the gatehouse at Oxenford. Pugin visited Midleton town in June 1843 and wrote to Lord Midleton that he had prepared drawings for shops and a house for the agent of the estate and was ready to discuss Midleton's

proposals to turn Midleton into a model town.

It was not to be as successful a commission as the buildings at Oxenford. By 1844, frustration was mounting on both sides. Midleton was baulking at the cost of Pugin's proposals, while Pugin in despair at the toing and froing over the designs. By 7th October, Pugin was threatening to give up the commission:

> *'I greatly fear that it will be impossible for me to get on with your Lordsips Irish business after the present buildings are concluded. I have written more Letters about this unfortunate farmhouse, than on any great church I have erected. I am sure that your Lordsip will perceive that it is impossible for me to carry on, I wrote as distinctly as possible to Mr Pierce a short time ago & I received a Long Letter Last night with all the ground to go over again, as if I had never said anything. I am most anxious to meet your Lordsips wishes. I am indeed, but if we go on in this way I shall be worried to death & all about nothing....i hope your Lordsip will not be vexed with me, for all I do for you in England is a delight & an honour but these Irish farm buildings are intolerable.'*

And on 7 December 1844:

> *My Lord...*
> *I am quite sure no real good will be done in Ireland till I go & regularly start the work. I have written a very serious Letter to Pierce & if he does not give a satisfactory reply & satisfactory proceeding, I will cut him off – but it is impossible to carry on the work at Midleton by more Letter writing & I think it is quite a Question for your Lordsips consideration wether an architect less occupied & whos time is less valuable than mine would not answer your Lordsips purpose better.....i have written more letters and occupied more time about that small farm house than I should have taken about a very fine church & I could be producing works of art while I am writing about potatoe sheds, I am sure I could have written a small treatise on Christian art in the time...*

In the event, it is not clear how many, or indeed if any, of Pugin's designs for Lord Midleton were executed in Ireland. Pugin's Irish commission petered out after the completion of the work at Oxenford and Peper Harow and it was then that Lord Midleton appointed Decimus Burton, a Classical architect who work was anathema to Pugin, in his place.

Pugin, Lord Midleton and the Building of Oxenford Gatehouse

All this sets the scene for the building of Oxenford Gatehouse. In 1841, Lord Midleton wrote an uncharacteristically thoughtful Memorandum recording his intentions for his project, in what must have stood as an architect's brief for Pugin. It tells us that the current gatehouse replaced an earlier one, recounts the recent history of Oxenford Grange and tells us that the 'ruin' behind today's farmhouse was built by the 4th Lord Midleton from remnants of the earlier Grange. It is worth reproducing in full:

Memorandum as to New Lodge at Oxenford September 1841
[Surrey History Centre G145/39/2]

Oxenford was originally a Grange Farm belonging to the monks of the neighbouring abbey of Waverley. The Farm House however that was standing about 60 years ago had probably been built subsequent to the suppression of the Abbey – or so altered as to leave few if any traces of the Abbey Style.

The late Lord M[idleton] *pulled down almost the entire of the Farm House - & built the present Ruin in the Abbey Style in front of what little was left standing – a Lodge was at about the same time erected, with the view of corresponding with it – but not having been well executed was pulled down again about 40 years afterwards, and the present Lodge built in a different style to correspond with Peper Harow House.*

I had had it in contemplation to alter the Oxenford Entrance into the Park - & having observed in Hunt's Architecture a Design for a Gate Lodge "intended to have the appearance of being raised on the Ruins of a Priory" – the idea struck me as applicable, to a new Lodge at Oxenford, though I did not altogether like Hunt's design. I then thought, that a New Lodge might be built, in strict accordance with the style of the Abbey of Waverley , & that I might arrange the Entrance, so as to see the Present Ruins which are now a pretty object but are not seen from the present Entrance.

If this were done, a new Face in the Abbey Style to correspond with the Lodge, would required to be put on the exteriors of such of the Farm Buildings as were in sight – and I have with this view postponed for the last two or three years doing any permanent Repairs, or making any alterations in these Buildings, which they much required.

Memorandum as to New Lodge at Oxenford

Septr – 1841

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The late Lord M, pulled down almost the entire of the Farm House – & built the present Ruin in the Abbey Style in front of what little was left standing – a Lodge was about the same time erected, with the view of corresponding with it – but not having been well executed, was pulled down again about 40 years afterwards, & the present Lodge built in a different Style to correspond with Peper Harow House –

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The first page of Lord Midleton's *Memorandum as to New Lodge at Oxenford.* No portraits are known to survive of Lord Midleton, so these autograph documents are now our only direct link with the man.

That part of the Old Farm House, now occupied as a Cottage, would require the Brick Quoins & other brickwork to be cut out - & a sand stone substituted – and the exteriors altered to correspond in the Abbey Style.

The Lodge to be built of the Bargate stone of the Country – which is of a quiet colour – breaks to a pretty fair Head - & can be had to run in courses, if required – care should be taken against the dampness of this Stone, by Brick lining &c &c – the Angles to be turned with Petworth or Headley stone which is of a quiet, sober Tint - & the dressings & Mouldings of Portland – which corresponds in colour with the hard Chalk, our of which the Dressings & Mouldings at Waverley Abbey were principally cut – the Portland having the advantage over the Chalk, of keeping the sharpness of its tooling against the Frost.

As a general guide to the size of the Rooms & general Accommodations of the new Lodge, I cannot do better than to point out the present Lodge – subject to such variations as may seem advisable.

I have had a sketch of the New Line of Road &c – made by a clever Land Surveyor & Engineer – subject to any variation the Architect may suggest with reference to the Site of the New Lodge, to which of course every thing else must be suited - & the trees around, afterwards thinned out, & tastily grouped to complete the general effect.

I should like either a Gothic or Rustic Iron Railing, as a Fence, from the Bridge over the Brook to the Pond - & this I should be glad to be able to put up as speedily as possible.

I think the Entrance Gate should be of iron.

In Anticipation of the objection that will be made to the erection of a Building in the Abbey Style as and Entrance Lodge to a House in the Modern Grecian Style of Architecture, I have to answer, that Peper Harow House & Lands were never held under the Abbey of Waverley - & that Oxenford Grange was – that I therefore wish to preserve the recollection of that circumstance, & that I consequently see no impropriety in the New Lodge presenting a complete contrast to the Architecture of the House – especially as I shall have to erect, some day or other an another part of Oxenford, at Bonfield under the hill in view of the House, something like an Anchorite's Cell – in the same Style as Waverley – with a Lavatorium or Piscina adjoining – which will be filled from a Holy Spring, called Bonfield Spring, supposed to have effected miraculous cures during the time of Oxenford being held by the monks of Waverley Abbey.

Lord Midleton's explicit wish to evoke the Waverley Abbey connection must have been music to Pugin's ears, although their contact predates the Memorandum. On 17th August 1841, Pugin had written enthusiastically to his friend and patron, Lord Shrewsbury,

> *2 new jobs have turned up since I returned. Mr Knights Hospital at Chelsea - and a gate house and other buildings for Lord Middleton [sic] of Peper Harrow [sic] near Guildford. His estate was formerly abbey Land & on it are the ruins of a Glorious church – there is also a holy well over which I am to build a sort of chapel. It appears that there was one on the Spot in old times. For a protestant he seems to have much good feeling & great veneration for the old men.*

The 'other buildings' Pugin refers to would include the magnificent barn and the court of outbuildings around it, as well as the shrine at Bonfield (today Bonville) Spring, which survives today though is on private land. Lord Midleton also commissioned Pugin to carry out alterations to St Nicholas Church in Peper Harow. This last was a potentially controversial commission from an architect who was a well known convert to Catholicism and was described as 'papist' in a local paper, by a leading Anglo-Irish landlord whose fortunes were founded on the dispossession of Catholics.

The correspondence also includes discussion on alterations to a house at Mousehill, though it is not clear how much involvement Pugin finally had here. It is also unfortunate, though typical of all Pugin's projects, that only Pugin's own side of the correspondence survives, since he was in the habit of burning any letters to him once he had dealt with them. In this case, it means that very few of Lord Midleton's letters to Pugin survive.

On 21st December 1841 Pugin recorded in his diary that he had 'sent drawings to Lord Middleton' and by February 1842, estimates were being drawn up for materials – bushels of grey lime, bricks and stone – Bargate, Portland and pre-dressed Petworth. On 19th April, James & Henry Moon of Godalming submitted a tender for the works of £2,694 (as with much of the correspondence, it is often unclear whether documents refer just to the gatehouse or to the grouping of farm

buildings as a whole). This tender was undercut, however, by Pugin's favourite builder, George Myers in May, with a tender for £2,052. Myers was a bluff Yorkshire man Pugin had met in Hull and upon whom Pugin relied entirely to execute his often sketchily explained ideas. Despite the discrepancy in their temperaments, the two men understood each other well and worked together on all of Pugin's most successful commissions (including The Grange in Ramsgate). At Oxenford as elsewhere, Myers emerges as another forceful character as the project unfolds.

At the outset, Pugin and Myers seem to have challenged Lord Midleton about which stone should be used, Pugin submitting estimates for Pulborough and, for dressings, Caen stone. The result as built (of Bargate and Portland) proves that Lord Midleton got his way. Lord Midleton seems to have proposed oak floors on the ground floor initially, although stone flags survive today and there is no evidence (air bricks etc) to suggest that there ever was a wooden floor. Lord Midleton also agreed to his architect's preferred builder, and on 21st June 1842 the contract was drawn up, although it would be another month before it was signed:

> *The Contracting builders are George Myers & Richard Wilson of Hull in the County of York.*
> *They agree to execute the building according to the plan and specifications & to the Satisfaction of A Welby Pugin the master of the work – for the sum tendered - & for this they are to provide all Scaffolding ropes tackles &c.*
> *The building is to be Compleated by the end of June* [-uly crossed out] *1843 under a penalty of £10 per week for every week after that time till it is finished unless the architect can testify that the delay has be caused by the want of stone or unavoidable circumstances over which the contractor could [not] have any control.*
> *The contractor is bound to remove any materials which shall not be considered by the architect as to the Quality specified - & he is bound to pull down and rebuild any work that the architect shall not*

Pugin's preliminary sketches for the farm buildings at Oxenford: 'effect of buildings from the road coming in' and 'view from wider Park.' They are reproduced close to life size, rough ink sketches on tracing paper. It was such hurried but assured ideas that builder Charles Myers was so adept at turning into bricks and mortar, but Pugin's was hardly a conventional working method and explains why he was so unwilling to work with contractors other than Myers. (Surrey History Centre)

consider to be properly executed provided notice in writing be given thereof to him within 3 days from the execution of the said work.

The contractor is not answerable for any damage that might arise by fire, The act of God, the Queens enemies or popular commotion, but any damage that may arise through the neglect of the contractor shall be made good at his own proper costs.

Late in May, Pugin's diary had recorded a visit to Peper Harow to set out the gatehouse. Once again, Lord Midleton proved a client who had ideas of his own and on 30th June 1842 Pugin (ever generous in the interests of achieving the best result) wrote to him,

> *I went to Peper Harrow on Tuesday & I immediately saw that your Lordsip was quite right in your observations respecting the site of the Gateway & I have accordingly ordered the foundation to be advanced 10 feet which alteration is most probably by this time completed. I settled also the depth of concrete & other manners [sic] which could only be determined after the ground was opened. The foundations seems capital. I am very glad I went down – as I can leave the building in the hands of Mr Myers for the next few weeks till I return from Scotland.*

Pugin later reassures Lord Midleton that the quantity of cement for the foundations was indeed required, and would contribute to the overall quality of the building, which 'will be one of the few that are well built in these days of plaister & cement.'

Work continued through the autumn of 1842, Lord Midleton intervening as he thought fit. In November, it seems he corrected a fireplace arrangement – wrote Pugin '*I perfectly understand the arrangement about the fire place – which I will communicate to Mr Myers.'* However, Pugin stuck to his guns over the management of the waterflow and bridge over the stream which runs past the gatehouse to the medieval fishponds:

> *I trust the fountain can be managed – for the idea of Rock work gives me the horrors already. I seem at once transported from the park to the back garden of a Brighton villa. I am sure the fountain can be Supplied. I will defend my Bridge at the gatehouse to the Last extremity – there is running water that is quite sufficient to warrant the erection of the bridge which is*

built of so wide a span to guard against floods. It can be defended on good grounds. Not so artificial rocks !!!

Indeed the resultant proportions and setting provided by bridge and stream may be considered one of the triumphs of the finished work.

By January 1843, preparations are being made to start work on the farm buildings, but Lord Midleton declined to re-employ Myers in favour of Messrs Moon to carry out the work, who had submitted a tender in November. Pugin expresses characteristic outrage and we hear his own unexpurgated voice :

I am very sorry to hear that your Lordsip is determined to Employ Mr Moon in the building the farm Court. It will be the occasion of unnecessary trouble & anxiety With[ou]t end to myself. I never spare myself any Labour that conduces to the perfection of the work but to expend my time in instructing modern humbugs of Builders is more than I can bear. Why should I not have every facility granted to me in carrying out the work intrusted to me – when both myself and Employer are equally benefited thereby. I have the advantage of a man of tried skill and integrity – one who perfectly understands my principles of work - & my drawings & instead of him I have to deal with an entire stranger – who will require the minutest directions about every Little matter. The drawings now in your Lordsips possession are quite sufficient for Myers to produce an excellent work - & if a stranger has to execute it – I must get out large drawings of everything – a dead Loss of time – which I can ill afford. I would gladly make 50 drawings if your Lordsip was benefited or the work improved in the slightest degree thereby but merely to help an ignorant mechanic who does not understand the work is distressing. Your Lordsip must remember Mr Moon asked your Lordsip for the working drawings of the Gateway - & expected me to see everything full size – Mr Myers has never had any other drawings than those your Lordsip saw, and which are quite sufficient for him & he has produced a most perfect work from them.
for the future then I must really decline executing any work to which I cannot appoint my own builder. I will serve your Lordsip with the greatest fidelity protect your interests as my own – but I must have facilities - I cannot waste time with strangers - & I know that in adhering to this principle I work quite as much to your Lordsips advantage as to the saving of my own time.

Given what we know of Lord Midleton's temperament, it is perhaps surprising that their relationship survived as long as it did. Most of the time, Pugin is almost obsequious in his tone to Lord Midleton, and always most anxious to meet up at

his Lordship's convenience, though relatively few meetings seem to have taken place. Pugin even invited Lord Midleton to his home, The Grange, when it was newly completed in 1844. Unsurprisingly after the above letter, however, bridges had to be rebuilt and on 7th January 1843, Pugin wrote in more conciliatory tone:

> *My Lord*
> *I am truly sorry to find that my Letter caused your Lordsip any annoyance – but suffering as I am at the present time from the negligence of a strange builder whom I was prevailed upon to entrust in Yorkshire – I trust I shall be excused for any warmth of expression- No man feels more anxious respecting a building than I. My heart & soul are in the work - & the slightest failure distresses me beyond measure. I did not apply the Epithet Humbug to Mr Moon – but to the class to which he belongs – for Modern builders build any thing & everything that they think will pay & alwyes work in a slight unsatisfactory manner. If I had not schooled the men I employ I could never produce my buildings…'* – and so on at some length in similar vein, with a tone of injury that if Midleton persists in employing his own builder, Pugin will be in *'continual anxiety'* but will *'do my best.'*

The Moons did indeed execute the farm buildings, and the Bonfield Spring and the Midleton chantry at St Nicholas, and no further explosions from Pugin survive. In May 1843, he insisted '*It is most important that the base course should not be buried at the farm buildings.* Let it be raised *or the effect will be destroyed.'* The only other surviving records relating to the farm buildings are authorisations from Pugin as architect to the Moons for work satisfactorily completed through 1843, supervised, it seems by a Mr Aylwin.

An engraving of the Oxenford farm buildings from E. W. Brayley’ s *A Topographical History of Surrey* Vol. 5, published in 1850. The weather vane, apparently complete with coronet, is clearly apparent, as is the careful placing of the trees for Picturesque effect. The engraving shows two buildings flanking the barn that are not present today. It is not known whether these were ever built or whether this is a case of artistic license.

Meanwhile, work was progressing on the finer details of the gatehouse. On 6th January 1843, Pugin wrote about the vane to go on the stair turret:

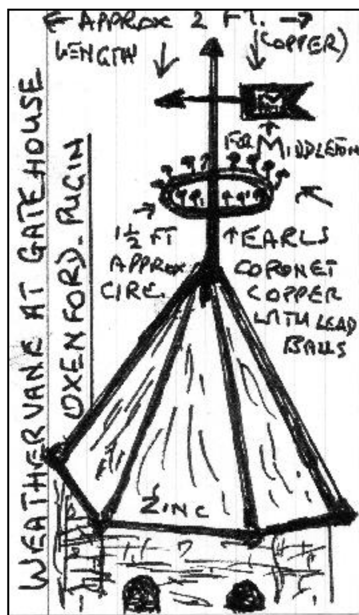
> *My Lord,*
> *Yesterday evning I saw the vane for the turret of the Gate house compleat & I am anxious your Lordsip should see it as soon as it arrives before it is fixed –as in my judgment it is the best thing of the kind that has been done since the old time.*

It seems Lord Midleton was not convinced by the vane and a week later, Pugin wrote:

> *My Lord,*
> *Understanding that you have expressed an objection to the coronet round the vane for the gatehouse – I beg to observe that the distinction by number of balls & Leaves is very modern as your Lordsip may perceive by inspecting the coronets on the effigies of the antient nobility which are of great variety – I thought therefore that in its position round a vane as a mere ornament – the most elegant form of coronet would be unobjectionable but if your Lordsip wishes it particuly – I will give the necessary orders for its alteration.*

Sadly, the weather vane has not survived, though from early photos it appears that Pugin's arguments in favour of the coronet as ornament won.

Colin Baker, father of the present owner, has provided this sketch of the vane as he remembers it before it was taken down:



Pugin's letter to Lord Midleton of 'First of the Epiphany' (6th January) 1843: 'Yesterday evning I saw the vane for the turret compleat…' Below, Pugin sketches his idea for the Oxenford ceiling boss, 'an ox crossing a ford with water plant leaves, oxenford.' (Surrey History Centre)
Below left: the boss as executed.

The ceiling bosses in the vaulting above the gate caused less controversy:

> *I should feel greatly obliged if you would Lend your shild of arms to Mr Myers in order that he may carve them on the inner boss of the gatehouse. The outer one is now finishing in London. An ox crossing a ford. Oxenford – with water plant Leaves round the ribs. Both these shields I intend to have gilt & painted & the inner one for your Lordships Shield is indispensable.*

Pugin loved to create such visual puns as the ox and ford for his friends and patrons. The heraldic description of the Midleton arms is *argent* (silver) *on a chief vert* (green)*, two spear's heads of the field, erect, the points embrued gules; the crest is out of a ducal coronet or, a spear head argent, embrued gules; the supporters are two men in armour, proper, each holding a spear in the exterior hand: and the motto is 'A cupside corona' ('from the spear a crown.')* Perhaps it was this inclusion of a coronet in his family crest that led to Lord Midleton's objection to its trivialisation in a weather vane.

The Midleton coat of arms as executed on the exterior of the gatehouse.

The details of the gatehouse are convincing and dignified. The Virgin and Child are a typical Pugin motif on buildings secular as well as religious; Lord Midleton however was generally less demonstrative of his moderate Anglicanism.

The last recorded payment to Myers for the gatehouse for £200 3s 2d was authorised on 14th December 1843, after a silence of six months or so (payments on Pugin's other projects were being authorised during this time). It is not clear whether this was a formal retention, although there is no evidence of the project overrunning its completion date and incurring the £10 a week penalty referred to in the initial contract. Whatever Lord Midleton's later financial difficulties, he was generous in his provision for the Oxenford buildings and their quality shines through in their materials as well as their design.

Pugin continued to supervise the works on the church, the shrine at the spring and the farm buildings through the first half of 1844 but clouds were gathering for both men. On 22 August 1844 Pugin wrote to Lord Midleton from Chelsea:

> *My Lord*
> *It has pleased Almighty God to deprive me of my dear wife who departed this morning after a few days illness. I am sure under these distressing circumstances your Lordsip will excuse me writing on business for a few days. I have 6 children & one only a few months old. God help me for I am in sad position.*

Pugin picks up the reins through the autumn, authorising payments but also becoming a little anxious about his client's own financial affairs. In September 1844, he writes:

> *My Lord*
> *I think it will be advisable at my next visit to Lay before you an accurate statement of accounts of the works that are under my superintendence at Peper Harow as I fear greatly that the expense of the Norman work* [at St Nicholas' Church] *will exceed your Lordsips expectations – it seems to take an enormous time & the cost of the pillars with all these litte sinkings is in my opinion greater than the effect. I assure you it alarmed me to know the wages that have been paid & the litte that has been done on all this extra work. I do not mean to say that more could have or ought to have been done, but I know it will cost a great deal, & from what your Lordsip mentioned to me about money matters I really think it will be well for you to see clearly how the case stands with regard to what is now doing so that your Lordsip can decide wether you will proceed to other works in the spring or not…*

In fact, St Nicholas' church was transformed as a result of Lord Midleton's work, and may have been largely directed by him. An elaborate Norman chancel arch, an Early English style north arcade, a Decorated style chancel and a mortuary chapel on the north side of the chancel were all added, using these different styles to give the impression of a building that has developed organically over several centuries. Such mannerism is somewhat at odds with the simple and confident blocking of the gatehouse and barn, at once coherent and convincing, and one senses that the work at St Nicholas's was not altogether to Pugin the mature architect's own tastes.

St Nicholas' Church, Peper Harow, adapted by Pugin and Lord Midleton to give the impression of a medieval church that has evolved by degree. Sadly, the church suffered serious fire damage on Christmas Eve, 2007. Restoration is underway.

It was at this point too that Pugin was in despair at the lack of progress and desultory way of proceeding over his Irish commissions for Lord Midleton, and indeed the surviving correspondence ceases after the invitation to The Grange, given on Christmas Day 1844. In 1848, Pugin says that Lord Midleton 'would not write to me for three years' and the Irish commissions peter out, from which we may infer that there was, eventually, some kind of falling out.

The gatehouse and other buildings at Oxenford, however, have long been considered among Pugin's very best work, proof, wrote Nikolaus Pevsner in 1962, that 'for [Pugin] at least some of the time, medieval architecture was not simply an –ism but a complete method of design.'

In his *Apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture*, written and published in the very year that Pugin was working at Peper Harow, Pugin urges his readers to look for 'the mere essentials of construction' even in humble vernacular structures like timber barns, sheds, gates, which Pugin calls 'natural architecture'. This openness extends also to materials, 'The rubble stones and flinty beach furnish stores as rich as for the natural architect, as the limestone quarry.' (p15). This willingness to absorb the spirit of the past almost by osmosis, rather than merely academic study of form and precedent, was a major leap forward for Pugin. Just a year earlier, in his *True Principles of Christian Architecture,* Pugin had denounced all innovations – 'We seek for *authority* not *originality*'. By the time he was working at Oxenford, Pugin had changed his mind. 'The whole history of pointed architecture is a series of inventions; time was when the most beautiful productions of antiquity were novelties.' (p40).

Thus freeing himself of the limitations of literal revivalism, Pugin is enabled to produce some of his best work, at a time too of personal happiness and security before the death of his wife Louisa. We may even wonder whether the assured antiquity of some of the buildings in this very precise corner of Surrey contributed to his appreciation of 'natural architecture.' It surely cannot be a coincidence that

the farm buildings just up the road at Peper Harow Farm are so fine, described by Pevsner as 'the best collection in the county' and the granary there as 'one of the best vernacular buildings in the South of England.'

And Pugin does not disappoint at Oxenford, where the massive barn, reminiscent in scale of any tithe barn a medieval abbey might have boasted, is uncompromising in avoiding any unnecessary embellishments. So convincing is its angular Gothic form that it was used in 2009 as the location for Maid Marion (Cate Blanchett)'s home in Ridley Scott's film, *Robin Hood* (projected to open in May 2010). For Pevsner, this overall grouping shows Pugin 'as a much more profound architect than such things, however brilliant, as his décor for the Houses of Parliament. The connection with...the Picturesque theory, is also clear for the whole group is now a picturesque set-piece with weeping willows and a pond.' Pevsner even speculates 'Did the duality [of Picturesque and Gothic Revival] by any chance go far enough to make Pugin arrange the ruin...in what he would castigate in others as the worst kind of C18 superficiality?' – Thanks to Lord Midleton's Memorandum, we know that Pugin did not so compromise his ideals at Oxenford, but that it was rather the 4th Viscount who was responsible for the ruin, just as his son's pursuit of the Abbey Style (and occasional judicious intervention) enabled Pugin's creation at Oxenford.

As the ideas embodied by The Grange would inspire countless other Victorian middle class homes, so Oxenford Gatehouse too became a mid-Victorian reference. William Butterfield's design for Coalpit Heath Church in Gloucestershire (1844), for example, a work generally accepted as marking the dawn of High Victorian architecture (and indeed the start of the wane of Puginism), draws from the Oxenford buildings. Similarly, Alton Lodge, just across the road from the intriguingly Italianate Landmark, Alton Station, and designed for Lord Shrewsbury in 1849, also derives from gatehouse at Peper Harow though fails to match the assured conviction of the latter's balanced asymmetry.

St Saviour's, Coalpit Heath, Gloucestershire, by William Butterfield.

The so-called 'Tudor Lodge' by Pugin for Lord Shrewsbury, guarding an entrance to Alton Towers.

Bonfield (today Bonville) Spring (also known as the Lion's Mouth)

This little shrine, on the former Peper Harow estate in Bonville Hangar Wood was commissioned from Pugin by Lord Midleton to mark a local spring or holy well reputed to have healing properties. Inside there is a stone bench and a doorway which leads through to the spring itself, which is channeled through a lion's mouth. The boss the centre of the vaulted ceiling is an 'M' for Midleton. The shrine survives, but is on private land and is not accessible to the public

The Death of the 5th Viscount Midleton

Sadly, Lord Midleton would not enjoy his buildings much longer. We have already caught a whiff of unease about his financial affairs, and the summer of 1845 brought the first intimations of the natural disaster that was to throw all Lord Midleton's plans for his Irish estates into disarray: a fungus was attacking potatoes and making them entirely inedible. In a country in which it has been estimated that 3.3 million out of a population of 8.5 million survived on a diet that consisted almost entirely of potatoes, and in which a typical agricultural labourer or smallholder might consume 12-14 lbs of potatoes a day, the consequences of the blight were catastrophic. The partial failure of the 1845 crop was followed by a near total failure in 1846. By the time the famine had played itself out five years later, around 1 million, or an eighth of the population had died, and a further million had emigrated either voluntarily or because they had been forced through eviction.

Midleton's main source of income during the famine years was also devastated. In a rough note scribbled on the back of some accounts, he estimated that the crisis over the two years 1846 and 1847 cost him £16,000, almost an entire year's income. By the start of 1848 rent arrears were running at around £l5,000 and, despite economies, his expenditure was outstripping his income. He was convinced all his efforts to improve his estates were coming to nothing: *"For a model of reformed management, never certainly was there a more miserable failure than that of my Irish estates".*

Lord Midleton's financial concerns can only have added to the sense of despair which engulfed him as he struggled to deal with a domestic drama in 1847. Ellen, Lady Midleton is a shadowy figure, scarcely featuring in the surviving records after the drama of her marriage. Scraps of evidence suggest that Ellen also felt their social ostracism acutely. We do not know how much contact she was permitted with her family, and although her husband asserted that she had

shown *'no incapacity to abandon such habits of her previous position in life, as were inconsistent with her new one,'* the strain of this rapid re-education must have been considerable.

Lady Midleton was also faced with undeniable signs of her husband's increasing mental instability. In a statement made after his death, she reported that strange behaviour had begun as early as their tour of Europe in 1840-1. From then on he occasionally displayed signs of paranoia and compulsive behaviour: a conviction that people were ignoring him, an obsession with the cleanliness of cutlery and door knobs and suspicion of his servants, whom he hired and fired all too frequently.

Then in May 1847, a friend of Ellen's, Miss Frederica Henrietta Rushbrooke of Rushbrooke Hall, Suffolk, aged around 21, arrived on a visit to Peper Harow. She flirted outrageously with Midleton, who was not immune to her charms. After several incidents, Lady Midleton confronted Miss Rushbrooke, pleading '*You know how dependent I am upon Lord Midleton. You know I have no-one else to look to but him.'* Despite a temporary reconciliation, Miss Rushbrooke stayed on and Midleton's behaviour towards his wife became increasingly *'cruel and unkind.'* Ellen pleaded with her rival to leave and to tell her if her husband had behaved improperly: *'do tell me if there is anything, for all our sakes, for your sake, for my sake and for his sake; if there is do go away.'* Finally Miss Rushbrooke confessed to all to Ellen. Lady Midleton's reaction was predictable: '*is this how you repay me for all the trust and confidence I have put in you, you wretched, deceitful woman?'* She left Peper Harow, and Miss Rushbrooke followed soon after.

Ellen returned a month later but her husband's continued obsession with Miss Rushbrooke made reconciliation impossible and she left again three weeks later, when *"all hope of reconciliation between them was lost".* The vicar of Peper Harow believed that *"This ... was entirely the fault of Lord Midleton, as the*

conditions he sought to impose were such as her Ladyship could not in any way accept" but Midleton chose to interpret it as a conspiracy cooked up by his wife's friends.

The extent of his fixation with Frederica Rushbrooke is demonstrated by four wills he had drawn up between May 1847 and March 1848. In the first of these he bequeathed £15,000 to Miss Rushbrooke and, somewhat bizarrely, made George, Duke of Cambridge the chief beneficiary. By the terms of the last will, she was to receive £20,000 and was also to inherit Peper Harow and almost all the Surrey lands plus the lands at Cove in Ireland. Ellen was merely to have an annuity of £1,000 and a further bequest of £2,000; with particular heartlessness, Midleton also decreed that his wife should have *'for her life and singular the jewels, diamonds and corals which he had from time to time provided for her use'* but that after her death they were to pass to Miss Rushbrooke.

Lord Midleton was by now in a deeply depressed and mentally unstable condition. Quarrels with his friend William Beadon over an unpaid debt and with his clergyman nephew Arthur Thomas over some imagined wrong, left him almost entirely friendless and alone at Peper Harow. The few servants in the house and his doctor were concerned at his dark moods, forgetfulness, increasingly irrational behaviour and inability to manage the household. He complained of severe headaches and, when discussing with his solicitor's clerk his quarrel with William Beadon burst into tears. In March 1848, he exclaimed to the vicar of Peper Harow *'Oh, my life is hell on earth',* and added that he had had such a night that he would not have another like it for all the world, and that he had been on his knees in prayer all night. In the same month, the press picked up on the scandal. *The Satirist* reported:

> *'Lord Midleton finds the pleasures of Pepperharrow wonderfully increased by the company of an interesting damsel from Suffolk. There is a strange rumour afloat that the invitation came from his Lordship's wife, and a regular blow-up, in a domestic sense, has been the result.*

His thoughts began to turn to self-destruction and he claimed that only the vicar's ministrations *'stood between [him] and eternity.'* The vicar expressed his disapproval of suicide and Lord Midleton responded quietly *"I am not of the same opinion with you on that subject". On* Tuesday 31st October 1848, All Hallows Eve, he dined late and alone. After fortifying himself with alcohol, he removed his shoes and went with a candle to a small room where a brazier was lit to dry out damp wallpaper. A servant found him dead the following morning, lying on the floor, his head on a pillow, having asphyxiated himself. His fifth and last will lay close by with a letter addressed to Miss Rushbrooke. It was reported that Lady Midleton had been on the point of writing to him to tell him that she was returning. At the inquest, which recorded a verdict of suicide while his mind was disturbed, the Vicar testified that the Viscount had *"been living in a state of great wretchedness, and had I been asked who I thought the most unhappy man in the world, I should unhesitatingly have said Lord Midleton".*

The *Gentleman's Magazine* for December 1848 gave an obituary, stating that Lord Midleton 'has left issue' with Ellen '*whether a son or no we are not informed. Otherwise he is succeeded by his cousin Charles Brodrick, barrister-at-law.'*

> *'At an inquest held on his Lordship's body, it appeared that his death had been occasioned by the fumes of charcoal. He had latterly resided almost entirely alone, and his surgeon said that he had always considered his Lordship an eccentric man and of a very wayward disposition.*
> *'The clergyman of the parish stated that in July 1847 Lord Midleton came to him and communicated the intelligence that her ladyship had left him, and that it was all his own fault. He had frequently appeared in a very unhappy state of mind.'*
> *The jury's verdict was that Lord Midleton 'did...destroy his own life, he being at the same time in a state of temporary insanity.'*

Pugin's reactions to the news were both characteristically empathetic and revealing of his own preoccupations. On 7th November he wrote to his good friend John Hardman '*you will be horrified to hear that Lord Midleton has* killed himself *at Peper Harow. he would not write to me for 3 years, what dreadful*

things happen every day.' The following day, he wrote again to Hardman, who was seemingly suffering financial problems of his own, *'you must keep your spirits & not give way – you are worse than I was & you may rely on it that things will mend. after all Lord Midletons end will bring about a settlement of accounts & I shall get paid – I am almost an optimist.'* His comment to Lord Shrewsbury is even more trenchant: *'That unhappy man Lord Midleton has at last destroyed himself. I gave up all hopes of him when he put up the old pews in the new aisle I built for him. I thought he would come to a miserable end.'*

Lord Midleton is buried in Peper Harow churchyard under a monument erected by his widow Ellen. The mortuary chapel designed by Pugin which may have been intended to hold his tomb remained empty. After his death, Ellen allied with his family to contest his last will, which left Miss Rushbrooke as principal beneficiary. To avoid an unseemly public legal battle, the opposing parties agreed a compromise. By a settlement confirmed by a private Act of Parliament in 1850, the deceased Viscount's cousin, Charles Brodrick, inherited the title and part of the Cork estate and this line persisted until the death of the 2nd Earl Midleton in 1976 (the earldom having been created in 1920). The Irish titles and barony of Brodrick went to a second cousin; many of the Irish lands were sold, although the new Viscount bought back Midleton town. The line continues today in the 11th Viscount, descendant of the 7th. Our 5th Viscount's sisters bought Peper Harow and the Rushbrookes also received their share. Lord Midleton's widow, Ellen, was awarded £30,000 out of the proceeds of the sale of lands. By 1851, Ellen was living near Berkeley Square and reconciled with the aristocratic Brodricks. She was remarried in 1859 to an Irish surgeon, Richard Quain. When Ellen died in 1886, her fortune was valued at £38,000.

To bring Oxenford Grange up to date, in 1887 Jonas Baker became the tenant of Oxenford. In 1944, the 2nd Earl Midleton sold the Peper Harow house and estate, at first to a developer who took the timber but very soon after sold off the

individual farms. The southern part of the Peper Harow estate, including Oxenford, was bought by Jonas' son and the farm has remained in the ownership of the Baker family ever since. At one stage, a gamekeeper and his wife lived in the gaethouse with their nine children! Later it was used as a weekend bolt-hole and until about a decade ago provided a home for an estate worker. It then fell from active or purposeful use and in 2007, the current owners Anthony and Jo Baker approached Landmark for a solution for its future.

There is one final contribution made by this ancient holding to the context of the Gothic Revival in Regency and Early Victorian Britain. The novels of Sir Walter Scott, with their detailed and romantic evocations of medieval life, had a huge effect on popular imagination and contributed in no small way to the popularity of Pugin's own designs. Pugin himself read Scott, and his buildings embodied the romantic view of the Middle Ages that Scott described.

Scott's first novel, *Waverley,* was published anonymously in 1814 and, though a tale of Jacobite intrigue which mostly takes place in Scotland, does indeed have a coincidental link Waverley Abbey. "'I recollect hearing' (writes Leonard Norries, Esq., to the late owner of Waverley) 'that Sir Walter Scott – being engaged in some researches in the State Paper Office or Record Office, I know not which – came by accident on some papers relating to the Abbey, that stands in your park, and that these documents suggested the name to him.'"[2] Such was the success of this first novel, and Scott's reluctance to claim public authorship until 1827, that his intervening works were published as 'by the author of Waverley' and came to be known collectively as *The Waverley Novels.*

[2] *A History of Waverley Abbey* by Charles Kerry (1873, rep. 2007).

Oxenford Gatehouse in the mid-20th century.

The picturesque grouping of the Oxenford farm buildings, gatehouse and medieval fishpond. The 4th Viscount's 'ruin' is in the left foreground of the aerial photograph.

Oxenford Gatehouse in May 2008, before refurbishment began.

The Restoration of Oxenford Gatehouse

When we first visited Oxenford Gatehouse in October 2007, its external fabric had been well looked after by the Bakers, who had re-roofed it in the 1990s. It had water and electricity and was not in bad condition overall. The internal spaces, however, were tired and their impact diluted by gloss paint. The fireplaces had later insertions. A dog-legged, modern staircase had been rather brutally forced through from today's ground floor bedroom to the first floor for easier access than the spiral stairs (a hatch, used to get our furniture to the first floor, shows its position). The ceiling of the original kitchen on the ground floor had also been lowered after fire damage to the original. All the rooms were cluttered by the low grade office use to which the building had descended, where it could have remained had its Grade II* status not made it deserve to be better appreciated.

The popularity of The Grange in Ramsgate as a Landmark and the knowledge of Pugin's work accumulated during its restoration also made us keen to help, and make The Grange an obvious point of reference. Having said that, as a less compromised building, investigation of the gatehouse did not need to be as detailed as at The Grange. As Landmark is letting the gatehouse on behalf of the owners, the cost of restoration was entirely borne by them and the gatehouse has taken its place in Landmark's portfolio without fuss, no fundraising having been required. Landmark was closely consulted for advice throughout the refurbishment and in particular we were able to offer reassurance that much more of the early internal fabric could be retained than was first thought.

Also in contrast to The Grange, we have been able to adopt a softer conservation approach here – the fabric was less decayed than in Ramsgate's maritime environment and the stone dressings have not suffered from sulphur migration caused by Pugin's use of London stocks for his own house. As a result, the gatehouse happily retains more of its patina.

West elevation before work began.

Top: dredging the stream in August 09, and inspecting the turret roof in December.

The oak 'cobbles' are surprisingly sophisticated in construction, being diagonally bedded, nailed and pegged.

Exterior

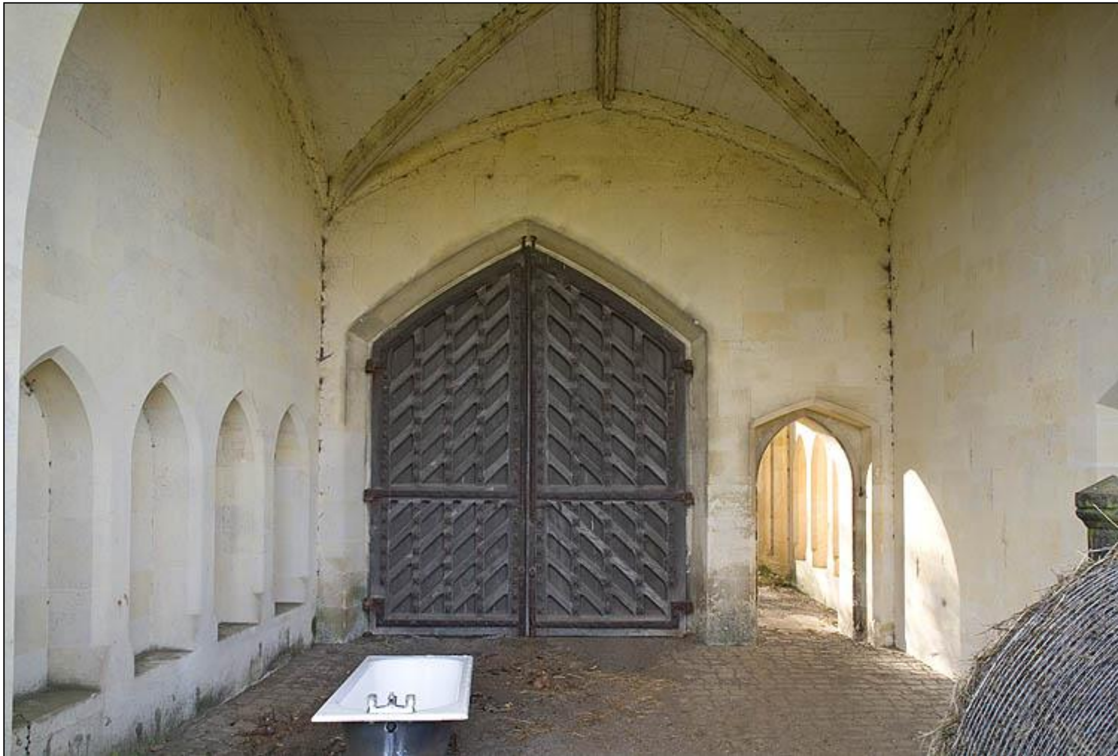
The blocking and position of the gatehouse above the clever use of stream to the fishpond as a mock-moat, passing under the bridge in front of gatehouse, is masterly, and as we see from their correspondence, the result of a combination of input from client as well as architect. This 'moat' was dredged with a digger so that the water now runs freely along the bottom of the plinth, as was surely Pugin's original intention. There is also something of Pugin's early career as stage set designer in the disposition of the walls around the gatehouse – it is unclear why they are so truncated or whether this was a later change.

Minor landscaping clearance and grass reseeding was done at an early stage, and a new septic tank installed. A new fence and gate were erected, with a curving path to the back entrance, which we have kept as the main 'domestic' access, through the service rooms rather than the official, public one off the carriage track which now leads into the ground floor bedroom. The yard was paved with bricks and a York stone path laid.

A new lightning conductor was fitted to the stair turret using a cherry picker. Sadly, the original weather vane is now lost, probably due to decayed timbers beneath the lead capping. Its replacement was discussed and remains an aspiration. All electrical cables to the gatehouse have been buried and the whole building re-wired. All the gutters are cast iron and presumed to be original.

The terminals to the gateway arches are (fierce) lions' heads on the outer face, and (peaceable) queens' heads on the inner. The passageway through the arch was originally paved with timber 'cobbles', many of which survive. The postern gate had to be significantly repaired although its original bracing, ledges and ironmongery have been retained. The lamp above it is the original, kindly returned by a Baker family member. The magnificent main gates are completely original and are opened just once a year for the Oxenford point-to-point. The gate from

the backyard in the estate wall is a new replacement (registered by the absence of diagonal braces).



The main gates are of masterly design and execution. The four alcoves are an endearing touch, without descending into whimsy.

Interior

While the interior finishes of the gatehouse are less colourful and grand than at The Grange, Landmarkers who have stayed there will notice many similarities in the detailing of the gatehouse: primary cast iron opening
staircase joinery (with the tower stairs at The Grange); hearth edgings in the same simple profile (and originally bedded in hot lead); the close boarded doors chamfered diagonally ledged and braced, and their door furniture. As the two buildings were being erected at exactly the same, these similarities are perhaps not surprising. Finally, the views from all the windows, including those on the stair turret, are carefully framed, just as at The Grange. As most of the windows

had either had plate glass or lower grade replacement leaded lights fitted, almost all have been re-glazed with leaded panes to match the surviving originals.

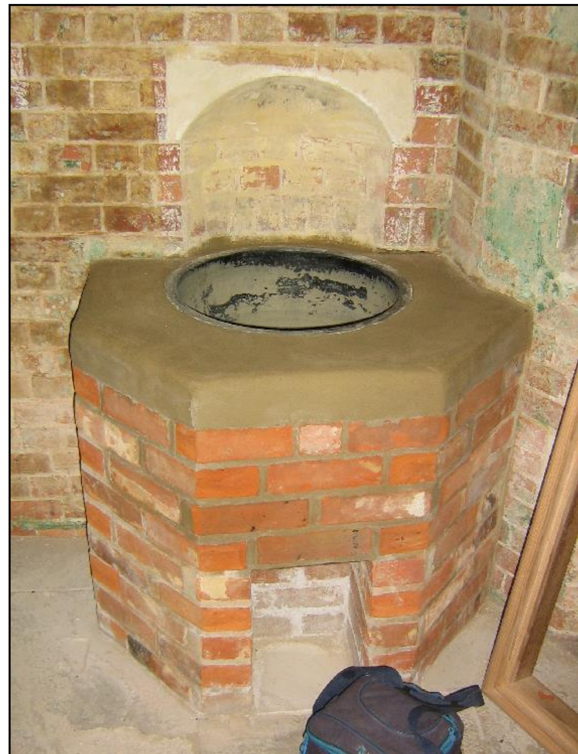
Removal of the gloss paint used throughout was a painstaking task, but one which was done without resorting to sand blasting which would have caused undue damage to the substrate. The original two-tone distemper paint scheme has been reinstated, of a mushroom colour to a high level dado height, with a paler colour above.

Ground floor

The floor had been covered in recent times with a concrete screed but happily most of the original flags survived beneath it. They were lifted to allow underfloor heating to be installed, and then put back, with a few replacements where necessary.

The **bathroom** was originally a pantry (on the north side of the building) and, to help keep it cool, the original brick floor was two feet lower than it is today – hence the stone step to reflect the original change in level. When it became a bathroom (before this latest refurbishment), rubble generated by inserting the stairs was used to help raise the floor level.

The **central ground floor room** would once have been the gatekeeper's kitchen. We felt it essential to remove the modern inserted staircase, but this meant that modern fire regulations precluded the possibility of making the central room the Landmark kitchen, since the only means of escape is down the spiral stairs which lead into this original kitchen.



Decoding the original kitchen. Top: once this concrete floor screed was removed, the footprint of the base of the copper was revealed. Note the lowered ceiling. The walls have been ill advisedly painted with gloss paint in the past. Bottom left: the flagstones have been temporarily lifted to allow underfloor heating to be laid in a limecrete base. The ash hole for the bread oven is re-opened. Bottom right: the reconstructed copper plinth, complete with firehole.

The other advantage to a first floor kitchen is the avoidance of carrying prepared food and drink up and down the staircase, given that the south facing first floor room is so pleasant to both live and dine in.

Once stripped of its gloss paint, a dressed stone arch appeared on the north wall of this room. At first this was a mystery: it looked like a bread oven doorway, but the lack of depth in the partition wall made this impossible. However, when the floor screed was removed all became clear. It was niche that once held a copper for washing clothes, whose brick outline was clearly visible in the floor. This structure has been rebuilt and a suitably sized copper put back in. The fire box has been recreated in the brickwork but painted in with the wall to show that it is not original.

To its right is a cupboard sitting in brickwork, projecting from the corner – almost certainly, this was the much-altered bread oven, which would often share a flue with a copper. Below is the hole to collect the ash raked out from the oven. It was felt too conjectural to recreate the bread oven in full, so it has been kept as a simple storage space for the housekeeper (with a new frame and door made by Landmark's joiner).

The flue for the bread oven and for the fire to heat the copper feeds into the range flue (and the dimensions of the original range can be made out in the brickwork on the back wall of this hearth). Brick was originally used for these 'hot' flue areas, and never plastered, since the plaster used over stone elsewhere would not have withstood the heat without cracking.

The original high, coved line of the ceiling, beloved of Pugin for such service areas (again apparent at The Grange) has been reinstated.

The inserted modern staircase in today's ground floor bedroom, now removed.

Looking south across the former kitchen before works began. The hearth for the range is on the left.

In the **ground floor bedroom,** its fireplace was uncovered, and a crane found to be still in situ, for hanging a kettle or cooking pot over the fire. This room would have acted as the 'office' of the gatehouse were Lord Midleton and his estate staff passing through, perhaps for a hot drink and a chat, so the fireplace is well crafted. Its back skin was rebuilt in brick and toned in with a soot wash. This is one of four flues in this relatively small building, further proof that Lord Midleton was generous in his funding. They are all of the same design, a simple, chamfered squarish Tudor arch with a stone moulding to the hearth edge (now missing from both ground floor hearths).

The metal pintels on the windows suggest that this room once had wooden shutters, perhaps as a measure of official security. The original rim lock and case were restored and refitted.

First floor

In the **living/dining room, t**he fireplace had been partially infilled with brickwork which has been removed to restore its original appearance, complete with its original stone kerb. As elsewhere in the building, the window stonework was stripped of modern gloss paint and repainted with the stone coloured favoured by Pugin.

The pine ceiling trusses and oak wall plates were also stripped and restained and varnished to match the original scheme as surviving on the banisters – again, a very similar treatment to that found in Pugin's own home at The Grange. The foot of the SW corner truss was very badly rotted owing to previous damp ingress through the faulty roof on the turret. Rather than exposing this to carry out a timber repair, it has been rebuilt in solid masonry. The pine floors were stripped and re-waxed.
The same refurbishment of finishes was carried out in the **first floor bedroom.**

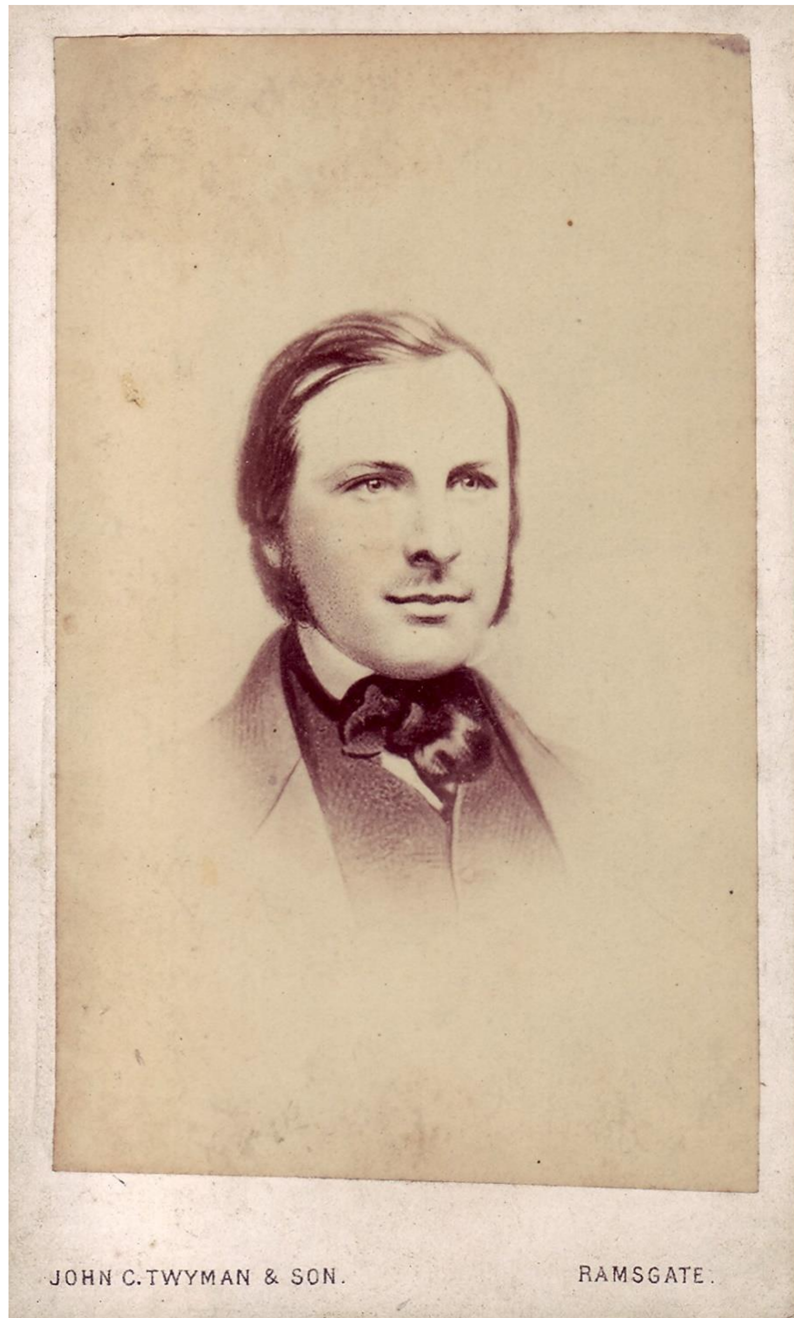
The living room before work began.

Interior surfaces throughout the building had to be stripped of gloss paint, before repainting in distemper.

The kitchen before work began. The photo on the left shows the top of the modern staircase as it emerged into the room. The partition between the two rooms on the north side of the first floor appears to be original.

The **kitchen** was made by Landmark's furnishing team. The fitted units use as their end cupboards pieces from a 19th-century Gillow pededstal sideboard, acquired in pieces at an antiques fair, the central portion being constructed to match. The large free-standing cupboard in the kitchen is constructed from a built-in linen press removed from the Palace of Westminster after bomb damage and reconstructed by Landmark's team. Other furniture includes simple A W Pugin House of Commons chairs at the dining table, Hardman brass furniture on the cupboard in the old kitchen and in the ground floor bedroom the fine hat stand, which we feel must be by Pugin. The fire dogs are cast from the same mould as at The Grange and and the curtain material was chosen because of its resemblance to the 'strapwork' wallpaper design used in the service areas at The Grange.

Like Pugin with Lord Midleton, it is fortunate that the owners of OxenfordGatehouse were willing to carry out a meticulous refurbishment in the spirit of the original building. This little gatehouse is rightly judged one of Pugin's best works and it enters its new lease of life as a Landmark in good heart.



Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin (1812-52)

This is the only known photograph of Pugin, probably copied from a Daguerrotype taken in the early 1840s, around the time he was commissioned by Lord Midleton to design the buildings at Oxenford. (Private Collection)

A Brief Life of A W N Pugin

The work of Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin, designer of Oxenford Gatehouse and Barn, was to shape the architecture of the Victorian Age. What follows is merely the briefest overview of his prolific life, and readers who would like to know more are referred especially to the introductory essays in *Pugin: A Gothic Passion* and Rosemary Hill's biography, *God's Architect*, both to be found in the bookcase.

Until a seminal exhibition at the V& A in 1994, Pugin had fallen from favour in the 20th century. 'We remember Ruskin because he was a member of the Labour party before it came into being; we have forgotten Pugin because he was fired by faith and Christianity is now a thing of dying embers' wrote art critic Brian Sewell when the exhibition opened. Today, we are deeply uncomfortable with investing an architectural style with the moral and religious certitudes Pugin sought to invest in his own. Pugin's own temperament and circumstances had had something to do with his fall from grace – he was never a conformist and eventually fell out with every institution with which he came into contact, including Oxford University and the Vatican. The later Victorians preferred to forget him, and John Ruskin was especially vitriolic, calling Pugin 'one of the smallest possible or conceivable architects.' Time has allowed this harsh dismissal to be reversed, and today Pugin is justly recognised as a pivotal figure in the evolution of British architecture and design, as both moved into the industrial age.

Augustus Pugin was born on 1st March 1812. The Prince Regent was ruling for his insane father, George III, and Napoleon Bonaparte's Russian campaign was well underway. For all Pugin's impact on the later century, he was formed and moulded by his upbringing during these Regency years. Augustus Pugin's father, Auguste Charles Pugin, was a French Protestant of a good although probably not (as he liked to hint) aristocratic family. A C Pugin came to London in 1798 to further his career as an architectural illustrator and draughtsman. He found

employment in the offices of John Nash, then engaged on refashioning London with his Classical terraces, but A C Pugin soon also gained a reputation as a book illustrator. He is best known today for his collaboration with pioneering publisher Rudolph Ackermann and Thomas Rowlandson on *The Microcosm of London* (1809), a collection of architectural views of the capital. A C Pugin provided the architectural backgrounds against which Rowlandson sketched his characteristic plump Regency figures.

***The old House of Commons in St Stephen's Chapel,* by A C Pugin & Thomas Rowlandson, who added the figures.**

In 1810, A C Pugin married Catherine Welby, an intelligent, well-read, devout and domineering woman, daughter of a barrister from a gentry family in Lincolnshire. A C Pugin's practice was (mostly) prospering and Nash had commissioned him to produce detailed drawings of ancient buildings. The

workload meant he began to take in articled pupils to help him prepare the drawings for Nash and others, Mrs Pugin ruling the establishment with a rod of iron.

Augustus Pugin was born into this household in 1812. An only child, he attended Christ's Hospital briefly before his mother took his education in hand and he joined his father's pupils. Undoubtedly fiercely intelligent, this lack of a formal education is later apparent in Augustus Pugin's sloppiness over factual accuracy in his writings and his Latin (his French was, not surprisingly, excellent). His arguments came from the heart and were rarely intellectually sound, and even from this early age, he preferred to create than to study. But he learnt quickly and his proud mother declared 'If only he knew how to dress I would declare him a universal genius.' She would take him to hear especially learned preachers, which produced in her son a lifelong distaste for this important element in Protestant worship, even though he absorbed something of its language and millenarianism.

Augustus's father also exerted a strong influence. In 1821, A C Pugin published *Specimens of Gothic Architecture*, which he dedicated to Nash. It was a success and in 1825 he was able to take his son on a sketching tour of Normandy. Augustus was already developing his own style. In contrast to his father's painstaking use of measurement and instruments to produce accurate and detailed perspectives, Augustus Pugin preferred already to sketch freehand and began to amass a huge collection of studies of Gothic buildings, for which he developed a passion. In 1827, representatives of goldsmiths Rundell and Bridge found the 15-year old youth copying Dürher prints in the British Musuem. They were so impressed by his work that they commissioned him to design gold plate 'in the old manner.' Sir Jeffrey Wyattville was enlarging and refurbishing Windsor Castle at the same time and, too busy to design the furniture and fittings himself, he delegated the task to the young Pugin, exceptional recognition at such a young age that must have further reinforced Pugin's innate self-confidence.

The family home was in Great Russell Street and, strict mother notwithstanding, Pugin's world was the cosmopolitan city, already mixing with some of the best known architects and designers of the day, as well as book publishers and sellers, theatre scene shifters and dancers, antiquity brokers and artists. This background gave him a democracy of manner and confidence apparent throughout his life.

Idiosyncrasy of dress also continued throughout Pugin's life. His characteristic attire was a sailor's jacket, loose pilot trousers and jack boots. He affected a long black velvet gown for professional wear. Large pockets in his coats swallowed up sketch books and drawing gear and enabled him to travel without luggage whenever he could –when on tour, he would travel with only two shirts, buying a new one and giving away the old when necessary. And travel he did: as soon as the railways arrived, he used them to criss-cross the country between projects and meetings on punishing schedules that impress even today. Pugin would work wherever he found himself and so would often sketch on trains.

During the 1820s, though, Pugin was still revelling in life in the metropolis. Having outgrown his father's drawing office (and probably being of too practical a bent to wish to remain a mere draughtsman) he started a business supplying carved Gothic details for the increasingly popular large Gothic houses being built in the wake of the popularity of Walter Scott's novels. From 1829, Pugin essayed a career in the theatre, as a set carpenter and designer. Here, he met Anne Garnet, a 17-year old dancer, whom he married in 1831. Pugin himself was only nineteen and there is a whisper that it was a marriage of necessity. It cannot have been the best time to marry; Pugin was pricing the well-crafted Gothic mouldings too cheaply and his business went bankrupt the same year. Anne died the following year just a week after giving birth to a daughter, Anne. Pugin locked away in her workbox her death mask and the unfinished baby's dress she was working on when she died.

Pugin's father also died in 1832 and his mother the following year, and at this point Pugin became more focussed in his activities, concentrating on training himself as an architect by intensive study tours of medieval buildings. In 1833 he married Louisa Burton, who may also have been an actress. Louisa and Augustus were married until her death eleven years later and she bore him five more children: Edward (1834-75), Agnes (1836-95), Cuthbert (1840-1928), Katherine (1841-1927), and Mary (1843-1921).

In 1834, Pugin received a legacy of £30,000 from his favourite aunt, Selina Welby who had lived in Ramsgate since 1828. This seems to have enabled him execute for himself his first architectural project, St Marie's Grange near Salisbury. This deceptively small house was precursor as family home to The Grange, though less successful in execution. Pugin dispensed with corridors and, picturesque though it looked from the outside, once Edward was born, it was clear the house was not going to be practical. Moreover, Louisa, whose health was not good, was missing London and so in 1837 they moved back to lodgings in Chelsea.

St Marie's still survives today, though significantly altered from Pugin's original design.

These years brought other momentous personal and professional changes for Pugin. In 1835 he converted to Catholicism, for him a logical corollary to his view that medieval art and liturgy represented the apogee of a natural and pure expression of the Christian faith. This millenarian vision of a return to a pure English church is a common theme in English religious history, and not restricted to Catholics. Nevertheless, to convert to Catholicism in the 1830s was still a brave move (a decade later, Pugin's engagement to Helen Lumsdaine would founder precisely because her family could not contemplate her conversion). Until the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts in 1828 (which dated back to the early days of the Restoration of Charles II, to prevent 'infiltration' of public institutions by Catholic officials) and the Roman Catholic Relief Act in 1829, Catholics had been prevented from holding public office, voting or worshiping freely. This meant Catholic worship was effectively driven underground, kept alive by the discretion and devotion of a few old recusant families.

The early 19th century was also a period of stagnation for the Anglican Church, momentum lost among working class congregations to the Non-Conformist sects, liturgical detail neglected, comfortable Regency vicars living out their days in sleepy vicarages while curates did most of the work. As Pugin travelled Britain and the Continent in search of Gothic architecture in the late 1820s and early 1830s, becoming ever more disillusioned by the treatment of medieval buildings by the Church of England, he came to the conclusion it was Catholics who represented the 'true Christians' of the Middle Ages and who would have better cared for this medieval legacy, both architectural and liturgical. His appreciation of Gothic architecture became indissoluble from his belief in the religion of the Gothic age. His architecture was an expression of that religion, fulfilling all liturgical and spiritual needs as it reached in Pointed form for the heavens.

Pugin was undoubtedly a polemicist, apparent by opening almost any of his works at any page. He reserved some of his most vitriolic comments for the Renaissance for its effect on the arts (he considered it 'a mistake') and the Reformation for its

impact on religion and society (he described Elizabeth I as 'that female demon'). The return to Classical forms so fashionable through the 18th century he considered pagan and morally degenerate, believing 'Christian thought in a pagan costume is a discord in architecture and Art.'[i] He concluded that England should return to Catholicism and that architecture should return to the true, Gothic style. Pugin was to devote the rest of his life to these twin causes. Perhaps ironically for a second generation immigrant on his father's side, it was above all the English Catholic tradition that was important to Pugin. 'Never acknowledge yourself a Roman Catholick,' he wrote, 'we have had an English church from the days of the Blessed Austen … we are of the old school of our Edwards Anselems Thomass, Englishmen to the backbone.'[ii]

Pugin's commitment to the Catholic faith also brought him into contact with formerly recusant aristocratic circles. Charles Scarisbrick commissioned him to work on Scarisbrick Hall in 1837. In the same year he was introduced to St Mary's College, Oscott, a school and seminary of great influence. He also met John, 16th Earl of Shrewsbury, whose seat was at Alton in Staffordshire and who would become his greatest patron and a good friend, and Ambrose de Lisle Phillipps, another Catholic convert and wealthy patron. Another hugely important encounter was meeting John Hardman, a Catholic metalworker from Birmingham of ecclesiastical and architectural fittings who would become one of his greatest friends and collaborators.

In the mid 1830s, Pugin began his collaboration with Charles Barry on the rebuilding of the Houses of Parliament. In 1834, a bonfire of old tally sticks in the Exchequer deep in the bowels of the Palace of Westminster got out of hand and the seat of British government burnt to the ground. The committee formed to deal

with the crisis decided to hold a competition for a new design. In an interesting decision that continues to shape our collective constitutional psyche to this day, the committee decreed that only designs in the Gothic or Elizabethan style should be submitted. Augustus Pugin did not enter himself (he would not have had the

architectural experience) but as a known expert on Gothic detail, was approached by architect Charles Barry to assist with the detailing of his own entry (indeed, Pugin also helped Scottish architect Gillespie Graham with his entry). Barry's entry won. For the most part, it proved a successful partnership. Barry proved adept at dealing with the committees that Pugin so detested and at designing the infrastructure of the complex, but there can be no doubt that the Palace of Westminster owes its Gothic form and character to Augustus Pugin.

Meanwhile, another direct effect of Catholic Emancipation (as the legislation of 1828 and 1829 is collectively known) was that Catholics were once again free to build their own churches and cathedrals. As a Catholic himself and an acknowledged master of the Gothic style, Augustus Pugin was perfectly placed to benefit from this surge in ecclesiastical and associated buildings. In 1839 he began work on two Catholic cathedrals, St Chad's in Birmingham and St George's in Southwark as well as designing numerous churches, monastic and seminary buildings. The next five years or so were to be his most prolific and successful, backed up by the publication of *The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture* (1841), *An Apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture in England* (1843) and *The Glossary of Ecclesiastical Ornament and Costume* (1844).

On the crest of this success and at the peak of his powers, in 1841 (the same year that discussions first began about the buildings at Oxenford) Pugin purchased a plot of land on the West Cliff at Ramsgate, where in 1843-4 he would build his own home, The Grange (restored and cared for by the Landmark Trust), St Augustine's Church and establish a Benedictine monastery. Here Pugin could live

out his dream of a community of manor and monastery by the sea, re-establishing Catholicism in this part of Kent.

At its completion, Pugin was delighted with his house. 'There's not an untrue bolt or joint from foundation to Flag-pole', he wrote, 'except where that fool of a carpenter turned the corridor joists the wrong way, against orders.'[iii] But on 22nd

August 1844, just as the family was preparing to move into the still unfinished home, tragedy struck. Louisa Pugin, who had been in uncertain health since giving birth to Mary some months earlier, died of 'rheumatic fever' in the space of a week. The family moved into The Grange just six days after her funeral and the image of Louisa in the altar window forms a poignant memorial to the wife and mother whose home it was intended to have been.

A drawing of The Grange by Augustus Pugin. As the church has hardly been started, the sketch probably dates to around 1844, when the house was newly completed. John Hardman Powell remembered the Pugin children as 'handsome like their parents and brown and hardy from blowing about in gales' – but at this date, their mother's seat against the house is empty.

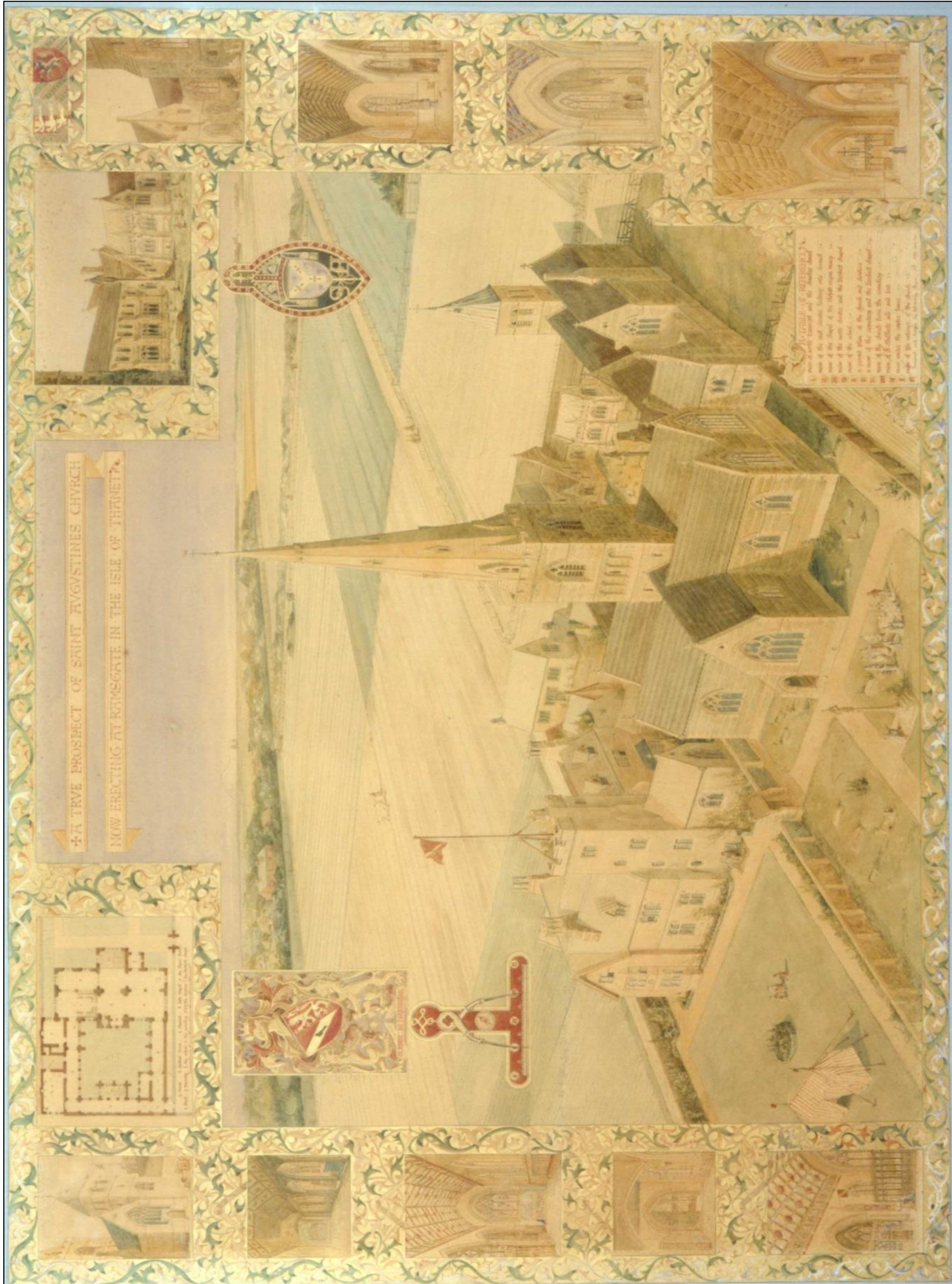
This was the beginning of a difficult time for Pugin, and with hindsight his work at Oxenford in 1843-4 had coincided with the pinnacle of his career. Though only in his early thirties, he became plagued by bouts of sickness, headaches and temporary blindness, caused, it seems, partly by his own highly strung disposition and partly by the high doses of mercury prescribed as a cure for his eyes, inflamed through overwork.

A W N Pugin, **by J. R. Herbert. Today this portrait hangs in the Pugin Room at the House of Commons. Herbert and Pugin were good friends, but even so Herbert had to bargain with Pugin to get him to sit long enough for Herbert to finish the likeness.**

Re-marriage was very soon on Pugin's mind after Louisa's death, not just because his children needed a mother but also because he himself was miserable without a partner. Ever highly strung, misery also affected his health and so his work, at a time when commissions for Catholic churches declined sharply. After an abortive

engagement with Helen Lumsdaine, on 5th June 1848, he entered a characteristically terse note in his diary 'Mrs. Knill and dined [sic] here [at The Grange]'. A mere six weeks later, on 22nd July, he recorded 'Dearest Jane affianced to me.' This is his first mention of his third wife, Jane Knill, ward of her uncle John Knill whom Pugin probably met in the course of the building of St George's Cathedral in Southwark. Perhaps crucially, the Knills, Jane included, had already converted to the Catholic faith in 1842. She was also thirteen years his junior and acknowledged by all to be beautiful.

Jane and Augustus were very much in love and Jane slipped seamlessly into her role as stepmother, despite being, at twenty three, only a few years older than Anne and Edward (Pugin was thirty six). While the currents of professional stresses, local rivalries and religious controversy continued to eddy outside its walls, The Grange at last became the happy family home Pugin had always envisaged. Jane 'manages everything admirably & is a great comfort to me.' His correspondence with Jane and her own journal capture the happy early days of their four-year marriage. Lord Midleton's personal life and state of mind were falling apart in 1848, resulting in his suicide in November, but for Pugin, the year saw a new lease of life. The following year, he painted the wonderful bird's eye view of The Grange, a golden image of his vision for the site on a golden afternoon and more than just an architectural vision, encapsulating the themes of the human condition played out in such settings.


A TRVE PROSPECT OF SAINT AVGVSTINES CHVRCH
NOW ERECTING AT RAMSGATE IN THE ISLE OF THANET

The Medieval Court at the Great Exhibition of 1851

In 1850, Pugin and his friends and collaborators Crace, Myers, Minton and Hardman began work on a new and exciting project, the Medieval Court at 'the Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations', to be held in the Crystal Palace in Hyde Park the following year. This was to be a showcase for their work. They were awarded a square bay at the heart of the exhibition for their exhibit, and it was a great success, helped by Queen Victoria and Prince Albert's approbation. The Medieval Court also introduced the wider public to the Gothic as a design fit for a domestic context: there were cabinets and carpets, fireplaces and fabrics, candlesticks and curtains.

Pugin always had a eye on the commercial potential of his work and The Grange itself was intended in part as a show house of what he could do, to impress the 'big wigs' who might become his patrons. This particular foray into the thick of the commercial world, however, left him exhausted and depressed. His health was

beginning to deteriorate again. Even his religion was making him unhappy. In 1850, the Catholic Church had re-established a hierarchy in Britain, appointing the

first cardinal since the Dissolution. At an institutional level, liturgical practice and emphasis had evolved; at a personal level, Pugin himself was now rather an embarrassment to the English Catholic establishment in his untutored enthusiasm and unbridled responses during the offices. Pugin preferred the mystery and historical veracity of the rood screen; the new practice required communicants to have an unimpeded view to venerate the consecrated host. With the restoration of the Hierarchy, Pugin's position as an English Catholic had become an anomaly. Instead of uniting two churches, as he had once hoped, Pugin found himself marginalized. He entered the fray with typical fervour, publishing A Treatise on Chancel Screens & Rood Lofts in 1851 and attracted vitriolic comment in the papers, fuelled by his own unmeasured responses. The Treatise was to be his last publication.

Augustus Pugin finally broke down physically and mentally in January 1852. His good friend and Ramsgate doctor, James Daniel, advised that all work must cease. 'The medical man said I had worked one hundred years in forty...I am ordered to Italy as soon as possible,' Pugin wrote to Minton in mid-February. But there were to be no more jaunts to the Continent. Pugin went to London on business with seventeen-year old Edward (for whom it must have been a particularly distressing time) on 25th February and became so confused that he was committed first to a private asylum in Kensington and then in June to Bedlam. In July, Jane removed him first to a house in Hammersmith where, at first disguised as a maid because of his confused state, she nursed him personally. His mental state improved somewhat but his physical decline was to be terminal. Jane's journal captures the poignancy of their last weeks together; around 10th September they caught the train back to Ramsgate for the last time, Pugin soothed to be home and to enjoy familiar surroundings and pictures, and comforted by his religion. On the night of 13th September 1852, he died. He was

forty years old. An article in *The Times* at his death summed up his influence like this:

'Pugin is dead...Let us remember in his honour that if now there seems to be the dawn of a better architecture, if our edifices seem more correct in taste, more genuine in material, more honest in construction, and more sure to last, it was he who first showed us that our architecture offended not only against the law of beauty but also against the laws of morality.'

On the Albert Memorial in Hyde Park, unveiled in 1872 and early monument to the Victorian age, Gilbert Scott gave Pugin a prominent position on a corner of the frieze, relegating himself modestly to *bas relief* over Pugin's shoulder.

A W N Pugin's statue on the Albert Memorial (designed 1872, completed 1876). George Gilbert Scott can be glimpsed over his shoulder.

[i] Pugin in his home, A Memoir by J H Powell, ed. A Wedgwood, *Architectural History*, Vol 31, 1988, p. 180.
[ii] Letter to Clarkson Stanfield in Belcher, Margaret, *The Collected Letters of A W Pugin*, Vol. I, p. 384.
[iii] *Architectural History Journal*, vol. 31, 1988, Alexandra Wedgwood, ed., 'Pugin in his home: a Memoir by J.H. Powell', p. 175.