

An Anglo-French Enterprise: The Architects Hansom and the Clifford Family

by

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This paper unites hitherto unresearched major projects by Joseph Aloysius Hansom (1803-82), the Cathedral-Church of Saints Mary and Boniface in Plymouth, Devon and three churches in Boulogne-sur-Mer, Northern France, together with associated convents erected at the same time (1856-66). A highly complex network of Roman Catholic aristocracy and zealous prelates on both sides of the Channel provided stimulus and patronage. The paper opens by expanding on the contextual background, the Englishness of Boulogne and how the Clifford family was interwoven into the careers of the Hansom brothers. Parallel social conditions prevailed in the two seaports. It was hoped that religious indoctrination, facilitated by the building of churches, would redress moral shortcomings. A stark contrast is noticeable between the simplicity of the English work and the elaborate French architecture, where English expertise was commissioned to satisfy French tastes. The steeple in Plymouth was second in height to Hansom's Saint Walburge, Preston. One of the French churches was second in size to his French-style Arundel Cathedral. Plymouth Cathedral had the unusual distinction of collapsing during construction. The paper concludes with a brief description of extant fabric and reference to Hansom's resultant contribution to the Gothic Revival in the West Country.

A group of buildings in Plymouth, Devon, and simultaneous work in Boulogne-sur-Mer, northern France, were the product of the joint influence of the Clifford family of Yorkshire and Devon, and the partnership of J. & C. Hansom, Roman Catholic architects of Clifton, near Bristol. Based on a mix of archival research and fieldwork, this comparative study lifts the veil on a hitherto hidden cache of work. The backdrop encompasses the whole gamut of social change, the Gothic and Catholic revivals, forceful religious personalities, dependency upon female patronage, and above all the use of English expertise. Such disparate parts are inseparable as between them they comprise the whole. The overriding dominant feature, however, is a complicated network of patronage, which brought together the power of the priests and the dedication of the Roman Catholic architects.

An appreciation of the similarities in background and social development of the two locations is essential, as is some explanation of the multiple associations between the Clifford family and both English and French clergy, added to a pre-existing connection

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between the Cliffords and the Hansoms. The chronology is interwoven in a complex way, whereby a Redemptorist convent/monastery was established in Boulogne in April 1856, the foundation stone of Plymouth cathedral (Fig. 6), was laid on 28 June 1856, and by October plans had been finalised in Boulogne for a new parish church (Fig. 10).¹ Spanning ten years (1856–66), the total work comprised three exceptionally large churches, one with cathedral status, two small chapels, three convents, a bishop's house, and two schools. Misleading reports in French records as to which architect was responsible and financial aspects of the ventures will be clarified. The paper concludes with a brief outline of the status of the buildings in the early 21st century.

HISTORIOGRAPHY

The historiographical framework for the two seaports is somewhat one-sided. Archival records for Plymouth cathedral are sparse, due largely to their loss when the centre of the town was virtually wiped out in 1941. On the other hand French records are plentiful. The active participation of the local priest, François-Albert Leuillieux (1823–93), and the erudite priest-historian Daniel Haigueré (1824–93), bring together both the social context and the religious *raison d'être* for the three Hansom churches.² The forty-year rebuilding of the basilica of Notre-Dame Boulogne was closely linked to that of the chapel of Notre-Dame-de-Saint-Sang (Fig. 14). Both attracted many pilgrims and Biguet, Debussche, Haigueré and Robitaille describe their ancient origins at some length, with a broader overview of all churches given by Debussche.³ Post-Napoleonic Boulogne was infiltrated by English settlers, whose influence is well covered by the resident English historian, Merridew.⁴ The new parish church of Saint-François-de-Sales attracted the attention of Dounias, but it is Abbé Mermet's general guide which is such a rich source for identification of suppliers and manufacturers.⁵

LOCATION AND CONTEXT

The busy seaports of Plymouth and Boulogne had much in common: a rapidly increasing population, particularly sailors, industrialisation, the creation of a new parish and an ambitious priest. In Plymouth there was an increase of 13,000 people between 1840 and 1850; and in Boulogne the population, which almost became an English colony, comprised 1,100 English residents in 1823 rising to 2,913 in 1866.⁶ The total population given by Merridew for 1861 was 36,265, compared with 113,300 for Plymouth (including Stonehouse and Devonport), the eighth largest town in England.⁷ Thus the scale of church-building and associated publicity were completely disproportionate to their respective communities. Known as 'Three Towns' until 1914, Plymouth was made up of the Dock (then called Devonport); Stonehouse (where the only Catholic church was established in 1807); and Plymouth. It was a centre for naval and military personnel and attracted many immigrants from Ireland, including many publicans, whereas Boulogne, the third largest mercantile port in France carried much commercial traffic and also serviced pleasure boats and the passenger route to Folkestone. Boulogne was a society divided socially as much as geographically: the fashionable *haute ville* comprised the fortified old town, with basilica and castle, and the *basse ville* near the harbour, a deprived area set amidst burgeoning

industrialisation. English interest in Boulogne was such that it prompted a lengthy article in *The Builder* depicting an invasion of tourists between June and October, fleeced by the locals and confronted by poor plumbing.⁸ However it praised the new *Établissement des Bains* (won in a competition by the city architect, Albert Debayser), the seventeen-acre floating dock (largely constructed with Portland cement) and the fish-market covering 15,000 square feet (1,393.55 sq.m., designed by the Paris architect Léroux), all of which were constructed at the time of the Hansom churches. Common to both towns were social problems, poverty, low morals and lack of education. As in England, it was for these, as much as for religious reasons, that the churches were built.⁹

Other similarities between the two towns were the antipathy towards Roman Catholics and the need to resort to less than favourable areas for the building of their churches. Hostility caused the first English community of Redemptorists (prime campaigners for a new church in Boulogne), to relocate from Falmouth to Clapham in 1848;¹⁰ and Abbé Leuillieux (the Boulogne priest), was pelted with stones as he sought an acceptable location for Saint-François-de-Sales.¹¹ Plymouth Cathedral was erected on a site known as 'Five Fields', purchased with the help of a donation from two sisters of the wealthy convert Trelawney family.¹² The French Redemptorist church was built in the *haute ville*, but outside the ramparts. The others were sited in the marshy *basse ville*, amidst small-holders, a gas-works, a cattle-market, an abattoir, and a pen-factory.¹³

The building endeavours of the two leading priests, Bishop Vaughan in Plymouth and Abbé Leuillieux in Boulogne, were activated in part by changes in religious administrative structure. In England, the large increase in the number of Catholics (to 10% of the population) prompted the Restoration of the Hierarchy through a papal bull issued in 1850, the former eight vicariates being reorganised into twelve dioceses under the direction of suffragan bishops, all under the aegis of a metropolitan archbishop. This divided the Western District into those of Plymouth and Clifton, creating an essentially practical need for a suitable centre in the form of a cathedral and bishop's house. The situation in Boulogne was almost the reverse. The new parish of Brécquereque, location of the two southern-most churches, was founded to justify the new churches. Plymouth falls neatly into the English pattern of Gothic and Catholic Revivals. The new Hansom churches in Boulogne were just one example of English influence, for the French Gothic Revival tended initially towards restoration rather than new-build.¹⁴ The interest shown by Abbé Leuillieux in both design and internal decoration of his new parish church was heightened by the completion and opening of the vast and newly reconstructed basilica of Notre-Dame-de-l'Immaculée-Conception in Boulogne. This was designed and personally supervised by the self-taught architect, Abbé Benoît-Agathon Haffreingue (1785–1871), who purchased the site and its ruined remains following the ravages of the French Revolution.¹⁵ Taking advantage of its hill-top position, not only was it a religious symbol and an attempt on the part of the priest to reconcile Catholics and Protestants, but also a guide to mariners entering the port and an important expression of France's new found *liberté*.¹⁶ Of almost equal prestige was the private boarding-school for boys founded by Abbé Haffreingue. Both Joseph Stanislaus (1845–1931), youngest son of Joseph Aloysius Hansom (1803–82), and Edward Joseph (1842–1900), only son of Charles Francis Hansom (1817–88), were pupils there.¹⁷ Also at the college was Francis

Petre (1847–1918), who became an acclaimed architect in New Zealand.¹⁸ Francis was related to Laura Petre (1811–86) who paid for the building of Joseph Hansom's convent in Plymouth. Only two years younger than Joseph Stanislaus, Petre would have been heavily influenced by the building of the Hansom churches, which may well have triggered his own career.

It was in the wake of the completion of the basilica that the new French churches were erected. The 15 August, the *Fête Nationale*, was chosen for the consecration of the statue of Notre-Dame surmounting the basilica. Many French prelates were present, joined by boatloads of passengers from England, including Cardinal Wiseman (1802–65), and Bishop Ullathorne (1806–89).¹⁹ Daily processions took place over a two-week period, culminating in the laying of the foundation stones of the new English-built Roman Catholic churches and the adjacent Bréquerecque convent between 28 and 31 August 1857.²⁰ Bishop Paul Cullen (1803–78), bishop of Dublin, a long-standing friend of Abbé Haffreingue and supporter of the Redemptorists presided. When visiting the prestigious Haffreingue College in 1847, Bishop Cullen had also inspected the basilica, on which he estimated £40,000 had already been spent.²¹ As the most influential and powerful 19th-century Irish prelate, it was he who made the final decision for permission to form a community of Redemptoristines (an order of nuns associated with the Redemptorists) in Ireland.²² This coincided with the work in Plymouth and Boulogne. Subsidiary connections which reinforce the extent of Roman Catholic networking associated with this paper can be made through Daniel O'Connell, grandson of Daniel O'Connell and pupil of Joseph Hansom between 1853 and 1860.²³ The younger O'Connell's cousin, Alice Devitt, had already joined the Bruges Redemptoristines in 1855 and her sister joined the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur.²⁴ They were both encouraged to do so by Father de Buggenoms, the Belgian Redemptorist priest.

THE CLIFFORD FAMILY AND THEIR PRELATE NETWORK

Having established the setting of the two towns, some background on the key personalities is required. By investigating these in depth a plausible picture emerges, and misinterpretation in French records can be realigned. A number of questions needs to be asked: why were the Cliffords in Boulogne, why were the churches built, and why were the Hansoms chosen as architects? The answers are logical, but not straightforward. Seed had already been sown in the mid-1840s when Father Louis de Buggenoms established the first Redemptorist community in Falmouth, Cornwall (1843); when Joseph Hansom built (1845–48) a church in Clifford, near Boston Spa in Yorkshire for the priest Edward Lambert Clifford (born 1817, date of death not known); and when Laura Clifford and her husband Ambrose de Lisle Phillipps (1809–78), took up temporary residence in Boulogne (1846).²⁵ It was Father Clifford who initiated the meeting between Abbé Leuillieux, M. Ransom [sic] and M. Lambert during which plans were agreed.²⁶ Sometimes known as Edward Lambert, this would indicate that Hansom's patron from the Yorkshire church, Edward Lambert Clifford, was an early instigator, though it was his younger brother Alphonse (1831–93), who became so much a part of the French community.²⁷ Apart from Edward Lambert and the Phillipps' entourage, four other members of the Clifford family resided intermittently in Boulogne.²⁸

The English Redemptorist connection dates back to Bishop Baines, Vicar Apostolic of the Western District before it was divided into two dioceses. The arrival of the Redemptorists in Falmouth was at the behest of the bishop.²⁹ Though their stay there was brief, it had two outcomes. As early as 1844, Father de Held, the Belgian Provincial, was approached by priests in Boulogne to establish a community in France, but this only became possible in April 1856, following a donation from 'some wealthy [English] lay people'.³⁰ The second outcome was the strengthening of the Redemptorist connection when Edmund Vaughan (1827–1908), younger brother of the bishop of Plymouth, was ordained a Redemptorist priest.

The Hansom link with the Clifford family was semi-personal as well as professional. Their mutual connections with York and its environs were particularly strong, not just the city, where Joseph and Charles were born, but particularly the area around Evingham, home of their grandmother and the Constable-Maxwells, for whom they also worked.³¹ The two Clifford sisters who were residing in Boulogne in 1856 were living in Micklegate at the time when Joseph and Charles built (1849–50), the York pro-cathedral of Saint George. Edward Lambert Clifford officiated at the opening in the capacity of deacon.³² Joseph's first professional task directly for the Cliffords was the building of Saint Edward the Confessor in Clifford. In 1858 Edward called upon his cousin, Charles, 8th Lord Clifford (1819–88), to help raise funds for the Clifford church, and it was consecrated the following year by William, bishop of Clifton.³³

These multiple common bonds, between Plymouth and Boulogne, and the Clifford family and the Hansoms, were underpinned by the friendship of Abbé Haffreingue with Laura Clifford and her husband Ambrose de Lisle Phillipps.³⁴ Laura Phillipps, second cousin to Edward, is important because it was she who irrevocably united the Cliffords with Boulogne. The whole Phillipps family, together with children and servants, lived in Boulogne between July and October 1846, where the cost of living was cheaper.³⁵ Saint-Nicolas, the oldest church in Boulogne, was midway between the two new, as yet unplanned, churches. It was the meeting-place between the Phillippses and the French priest, Abbé Leuillieux, and the stimulus for expansion.

It was of further significance that Robert Aston Coffin (1819–85), a wealthy armigerous Oxford convert, was part of the Phillipps' household, acting as tutor to their sons.³⁶ On his return to England, Father Coffin became superior of the Earl of Shrewsbury's chapel of Saint Wilfrid attached to Cotton Hall, Staffs. (the earl being John Talbot, 16th Earl of Shrewsbury and Waterford, 1791–1852), which he then abandoned to join the Redemptorists in 1850, becoming the first superior of the English province in 1865, and eventually bishop of Southwark.³⁷ Thomas Grant, first bishop of Southwark, introduced Coffin to Laura Petre, who in turn introduced him to Laura Phillipps.³⁸ As will be seen, Laura Petre was a close friend of her cousin Laura Clifford and she paid for a window in the Phillipps' chapel at Grace Dieu, Leicestershire.³⁹ This adds a fourth dimension: when widowed, Laura Petre joined the Nuns of Notre Dame de Namur and subsequently funded their convent attached to Plymouth Cathedral.⁴⁰

The final connection between all these was the Honourable William Joseph Hugh Clifford (1823–93), bishop of Clifton from 1857.⁴¹ It was this point in particular which led to French confusion as to the origin of funding. French records are emphatic that funding

for at least two of the three churches came from 'the rich Catholic family from Clifton', the Cliffords.⁴² Mermet is more explicit, stating 'the English Catholic family Clifford ... a son of which was bishop of Clifton'.⁴³ However, in view of the strong presence of Alphonse Clifford, and in the absence of any reference in either the Ugbrooke or the Clifton Diocese records, it is likely that the Yorkshire Cliffords were the source of this funding. Because both Joseph and Charles Hansom were living in Clifton, near Bristol, at the time, and because William Clifford, bishop of Clifton consecrated the altar in one of the French churches, an understandable assumption has linked funding to the bishop's immediate family, the Cliffords of Chudleigh rather than the Cliffords of Yorkshire.

THE HANSOMS

In similar vein, a question mark hangs over assertions in the majority of French records that Charles Hansom was the sole architect and not his older and more experienced brother, Joseph. Division of labour between the two brothers during their partnership (1854–59) is difficult to determine, for example at Saint Clare's Abbey, Darlington (1855–58), the Clerk of Works' diary clearly establishes Joseph as being in charge, whereas they were paid on a 50:50 basis.⁴⁴ The period around 1855–56, the start of building activities in both Plymouth and Boulogne, was a particularly busy time, with twenty-two major works in hand, some individual and others a joint effort. That Charles was involved in France is not in any doubt. In fact the scale of the project was such that six members of the family were at one time in Boulogne: (the two brothers, three sons and George Meacock [*sic*], Joseph's son-in-law).⁴⁵ Debussche was unaware of the partnership with Joseph and bases his analysis on a single drawing in the Boulogne Archives, assuming others to be from the same source (Fig. 1).⁴⁶ However, notes on the plan are in Joseph's handwriting and the name of the firm, J. & C. Hansom, has been erroneously misinterpreted as being the signature of Charles (Fig. 2). If indeed both churches were 'built by the same architect', it follows that Joseph was also responsible for the Redemptorist church.⁴⁷

Based on personal evaluation and a letter from the Reverend Mother Superior of Saint-Augustine's convent, Professor Stephen Welsh held the view that Joseph was the architect and the work superintended by his brother.⁴⁸ It was sometimes only with the help of his brother that Joseph was able to manage his workload, as had happened at Minsteracres, Northumberland in 1853.⁴⁹ The illustration of Saint-Sang attached to an article in *Building News* bears the name of Charles Hansom but the text describes him as superintendent and the illustration is not the final design; *The Tablet* quotes the partnership when reporting on Saint-François and Saint-Alphonse.⁵⁰ There is also some circumstantial evidence to reinforce Joseph's primacy. The Boulogne works are consistently named in Joseph's obituaries, but not in the *Building News* obituary of his brother.⁵¹ The only known French reference to name Joseph is that of Haigneré, the French priest-cum-historian, whilst Merridew refers to W. C. Hansom and H. & C. Hansom.⁵² These have been overlooked, and the entry in the French monument listing gives mixed attributions, with that for Saint-François cited as Joseph Hansom et Fils and all others quoting Charles.⁵³ An article in *The Tablet*, referring to Hansom's pupil, O'Connell, cites Mr [Joseph] Hansom, the celebrated architect, and unspecified work in England and France.⁵⁴ By then, and before work was complete, the partnership with Charles had been dissolved and a new

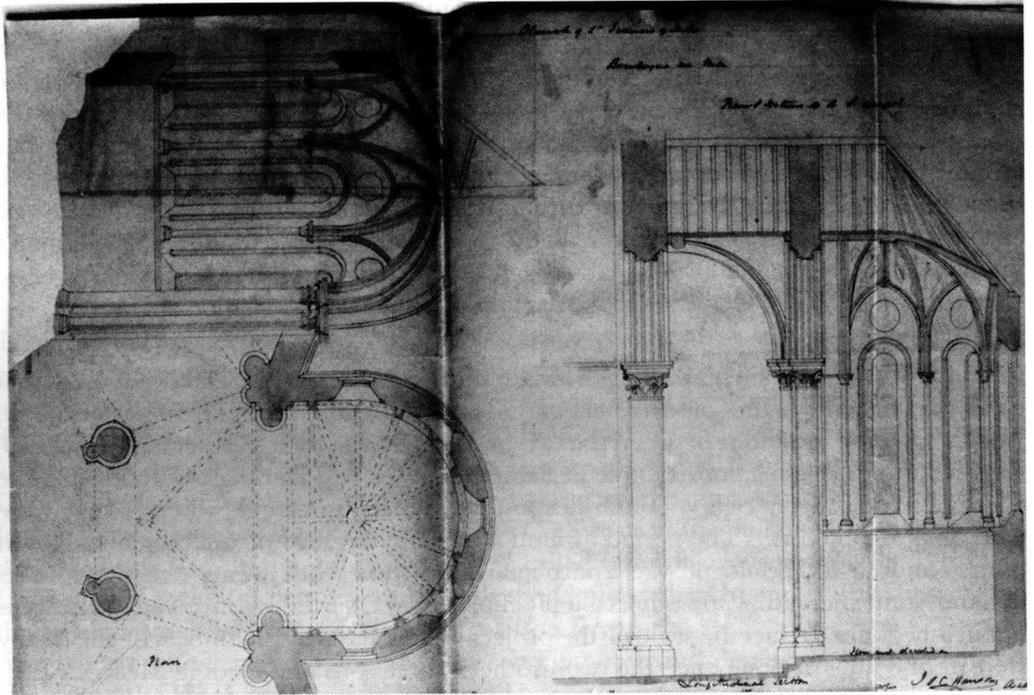


Fig 1

Boulogne, Church of Saint-François-de-Sales, cross-section of apse.

Municipal archives, Boulogne-sur-Mer, photograph, F. Debussche

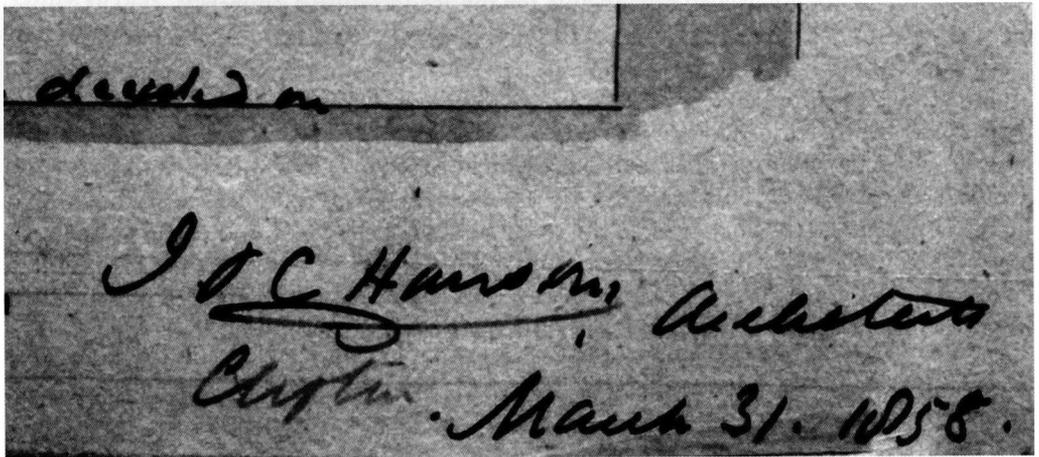


Fig 2

Enlargement of name of practice from cross-section of apse.

Photograph, F. Debussche

one formed between Joseph and his eldest son Henry John (1828–1904). Two extant letters from Henry to his family in Clifton were addressed from Boulogne, and a sketch of furniture for the main door is designated J. Hansom et Fils.⁵⁵ In 1866 it was Joseph's youngest son, and not Charles's son Edward, who was negotiating with Maycock regarding the design and cost of a crown for curtains to hang over the tabernacle of the Blessed Sacrament in Saint-François.⁵⁶

PLYMOUTH

Building work for the whole multi-faceted project was initiated in Plymouth in 1856. At nearby Stonehouse, the exiled French priest, Abbé Jean Louis Guilbert, had run into debt whilst attempting to establish the only Roman Catholic mission in the area, that of Saint Mary and Saint Joseph.⁵⁷ The mission was taken over by the Western District and passed into the hands of Trustees, one of whom was the 7th Lord Clifford. This became the embryo of the cathedral, pioneered by Bishop William Vaughan. The bishop was consecrated in the Clifton pro-cathedral of the Apostles, a Goodridge building completed by Charles Hansom under the watchful eye of his mentor William Ullathorne, Vicar Apostolic of the former Western District.⁵⁸ Charles remained in Clifton, where he was joined by Joseph during their partnership. Apart from Ullathorne, there was another Midland connection. Father Thomas McDonnell, Joseph's parish priest from Birmingham when he was building the Town Hall, became Ullathorne's predecessor at the pro-cathedral between 1844 and 1846, and was in turn succeeded by William Vaughan in 1859. With so many connections and an already-established reputation as Catholic architects, the J. & C. Hansom partnership was an obvious choice to build the bishop's proposed new church in Plymouth.⁵⁹

Bishop Vaughan considered the size and location of the Stonehouse church inappropriate 'for a well-connected priest', viz William Clifford before he was appointed bishop, and purchased a plot of land in Plymouth for £2,400. Edmund Bastard, of the Kitley House estate, offered to donate £1,000 plus £250 a year to pay off outstanding debts, but he died before he could do so.⁶⁰ The two Misses Trelawney, daughters of Sir Henry Trelawney, the wealthy Cornish landowner, convert and friend of the Cliffords, then offered a lump sum of £3,000 and this, together with subscriptions and a further sum of £1,000, enabled work to proceed.⁶¹ The original Bastard pledge was in part fulfilled when limestone from the family quarry was used for the cathedral.⁶²

A tender of £3,804 from the local builder, W Roberts of Stonehouse, was agreed to cover initial work (Fig. 3).⁶³ This was a very low figure when compared with the average cost of early Commissioners' Churches of around £6,500. No allowance was made at this stage for the bishop's house, and only part of the tower was built, sufficient to contain a bell.⁶⁴ The effect of having to work to a limited budget drew the attention of both Pevsner and Evinson, who described it as 'minimally detailed though spatially impressive', and 'plain without looking mean', whilst *The Builder* described it as 'of Early English in the simplest style'.⁶⁵ In size it was very similar to the Boulogne churches and Hansom's Saint Walburge in Preston, which were exceeded only by his French-style Saint Philip Neri (now Our Lady and Saint Philip), built in Arundel much later for Henry, 5th Duke of Norfolk.⁶⁶ Typically Hansom used a very high roof, tall slender windows and

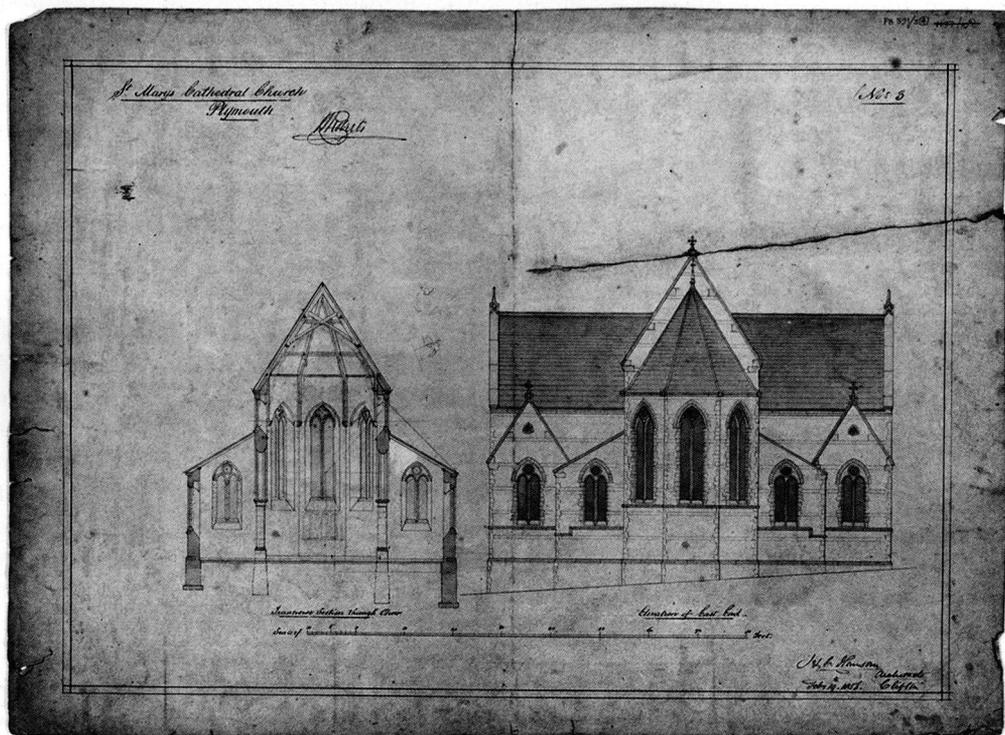


Fig. 3

Plymouth, Roman Catholic Cathedral of Saints Mary and Boniface, elevation of east end and transverse section through the choir.

RIBA Collections, PB391/3(4), February 1856

acutely pointed arches to give impact. A centrally placed transept increased the sense of length, and extra light was gained by inserting small circular windows in the Bath stone jambs above the lancet windows, the general style being one of 13th-century cruciform.⁶⁷ The roof was open to the spans, with woodwork originally dressed and stained, and a basic cement floor; marble columns in the choir had foliated capitals, and the building terminated in an octagonal apse.⁶⁸

Work proceeded well, with a date for the opening proposed, however there was a near disaster when defects which had already been identified in the south wall, caused the roof to cave in.⁶⁹ Several brick arches were splitting and the limestone was crumbling. The integrity of the building was further disturbed by the testing of heavy guns in the nearby Sound.⁷⁰ There were no injuries, but work was set back by nine months, with an estimated additional cost of £640.⁷¹ The columns were rebuilt using granite.⁷² The incident provoked widespread publicity. Setting the naval activities to one side, the *Aberdeen Journal* was privy to more information than has been found elsewhere and is the only one to put forward a combination of possible technical explanations.⁷³ Firstly the use of zinc instead of lead between the joints of the seventeen-foot columns, and poor quality bricks

which may have been frost-damaged or the result of cost-cutting. Two of the northern columns had already been condemned and the wall above, with an estimated weight of between twenty and thirty tons, was unusually thick and high for a column 18½ inches (47cm) in diameter to support. If this was a design fault rather than a building error, Hansom should have been able to cope as he frequently used narrow columns to maximise visibility for the congregation. When the four southern columns gave way, the fifty-foot western wall was left unsupported. The catastrophe was so great that the town surveyor was called upon to protect the site by use of a police guard.⁷⁴ Vibration from the guns in the Sound may well have been fortunate, sparing a more serious accident, had it occurred after the official opening.

Despite this setback, work was completed in less than three years, with the official opening on 25 March 1858.⁷⁵ The accident did not impact negatively upon Hansom's reputation and the cathedral proved to be the first of many contracts in the area over a ten-year period. He had already started to build the adjoining bishop's house, which was followed by a boys' school in 1860, a girls' school in 1864 and a convent in 1864–65. Meanwhile he designed a Caen stone pulpit and altar for the cathedral in 1859, and in 1864 an unexpected bonus was a further donation from Miss Trelawney in the form of £27 to purchase a stained glass window for the Blessed Sacrament Chapel (Figs 4 and 5). The two-light window depicting Saints Henry and Ann, in memory of Miss Trelawney's

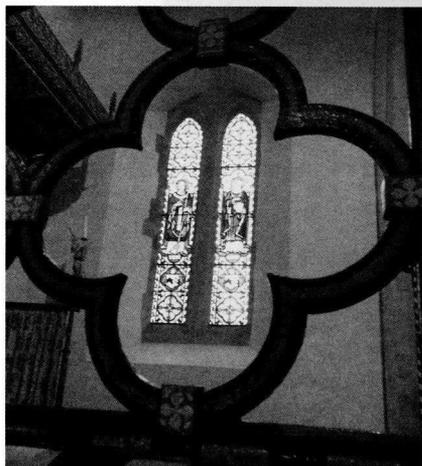


Fig. 4

Plymouth, Cathedral, stained-glass window in Blessed Sacrament chapel.

Photograph, author, January 2015



Fig. 5

Plymouth, Cathedral, grille in Blessed Sacrament chapel.

Photograph, author, January 2015

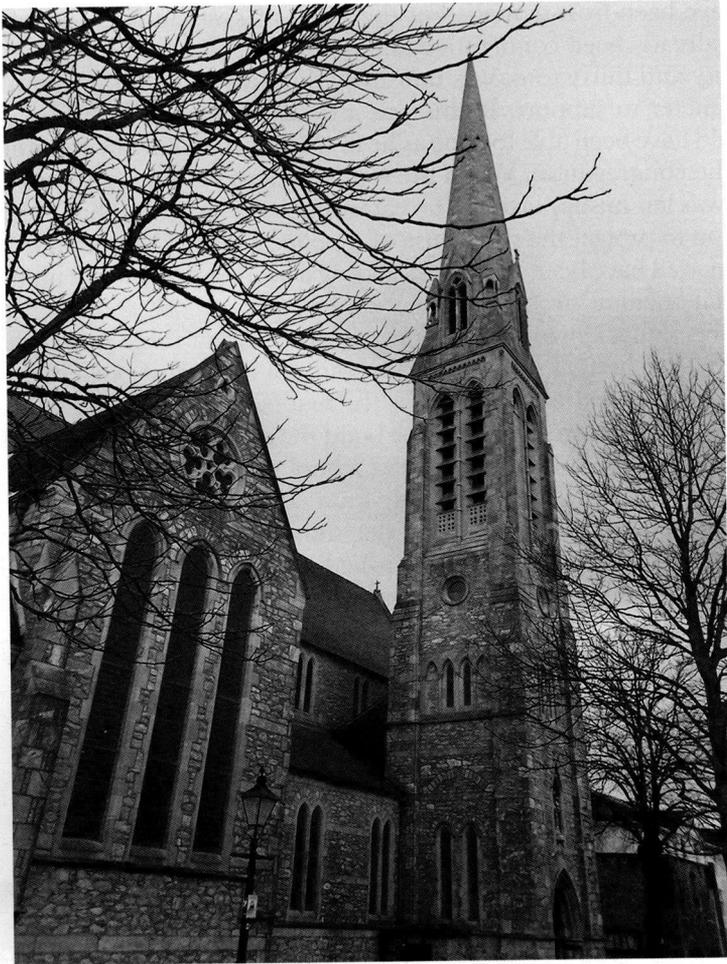


Fig. 6

Plymouth, Cathedral.

Photograph, author, January 2015

father and her sister, was designed by Hansom's son-in-law, Maycock, and manufactured by Joseph Bell of Bristol.⁷⁶ Hansom also designed an altar for the chapel and commissioned plates from Hardman for the door of the tabernacle.⁷⁷

The most striking feature of the cathedral is its pencil-thin broach spire, which was completed in 1866 at the same time as its counterpart in Preston. The north-west tower at Plymouth was four storeys high and the spire reached 205 feet 4 inches (62.48m) (Fig. 6).⁷⁸ Tower and spire, built by Hallett and Barrowes of Plymouth, cost £1,500.⁷⁹ The steeple of Saint Walburge's Preston, still the tallest church steeple in the country and of similar slender shape, reached 309 feet 6 inches (94.34m) in height and cost £1,600 (Fig. 7).⁸⁰ Taller than any other steeple in Plymouth, that of Saints Mary and Boniface was designed to add to the illusion of size and as such was highly controversial. Local points

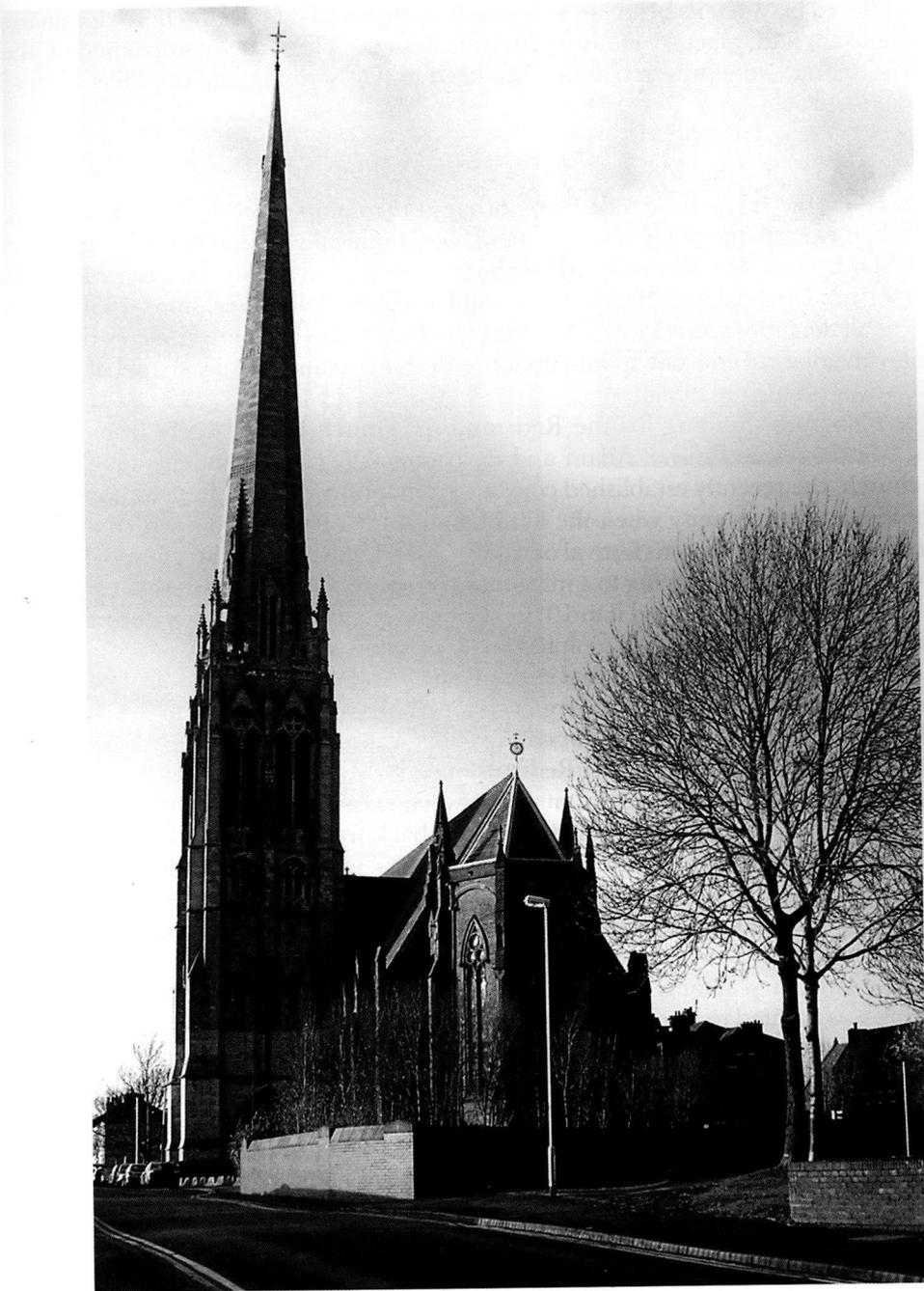


Fig. 7
Preston, Saint Walburge's Church.
Photograph, author, August 2010

of view differed between its being an expression of Roman Catholic intent to dominate, and being likened to a factory chimney in Manchester.⁸¹ The writer complained of the disproportionately small tower, blaming the need to 'Go so many hundred feet high at the least possible cost'.

BOULOGNE

Between 1856, the start of work at Plymouth and the completion of its spire in 1866, Hansom had twenty-one other works in hand, geographically spread between Scotland and the South West. He also built a church, presbytery and school for Laura Petre in memory of her late husband (Saints Mary and Germaine, Selby, Yorkshire, 1856). This schedule is all the more remarkable when the French churches of Saint-François-de-Sales together with adjacent convent, Saint-Alphonse-de-Liguori and the tiny chapel of Notre-Dame-de-Saint-Sang are added.

Like Plymouth, funding for the Redemptorist church came largely from female patrons, Mesdames de Loisne, Adam and de Nanteuil.⁸² Though independent of the parish church, the recently established convent, or monastery, of the Redemptorists was brought into the community when the foundation stone of their proposed church was included in the annual religious festival of 1857. Less is known about this church than the others due in part to its belonging to a missionary order, and also due to the change of use when the Redemptorists vacated it in 1970. However great care was taken during recent refurbishment to retain numerous sculpted heads of saints, along with a few remnants of highly decorated columns and original stained glass windows (Figs 8 and 9.) The façade comprised a large arched portal with organ chamber above, a bell-tower to the right and a smaller one to the left.⁸³ At the point of the gable was a statue of Saint-Alphonse-de-Liguori (1696–1787), founder of the Redemptorists.

Size was dictated by a narrow frontage between existing buildings, but this did not inhibit the scale of the building, which extended back from the road to the adjoining convent at the rear. The nave, an area unbroken by piers, with seven chapels on each side, was 135 feet (41.15m) in length, from sanctuary to the west end, and 54 feet (16.46m) in width.⁸⁴ It was designed to accommodate 1,500 people. Tall slender windows along both sides and at each end effectively acted as a clerestory, but with lighting intentionally less bright in the sanctuary, arranged so as to fade into the distance, accentuating its length.⁸⁵ The ceiling was painted to resemble a blue sky with a constellation of stars, as also found in the chapel of Saint-Sang (see below), and unlike Plymouth Cathedral, it benefitted from more generous funding. The wooden floor was painted in rich polychromy in a mosaic-like pattern.

The extent of polychromy in Saint-Alphonse is difficult to determine, but there is no doubt about the way in which Abbé Leuillieux decorated his parish church of Saint-François (Fig. 10). He favoured this French feature and wanted the whole interior painted in bright colours.⁸⁶ Such an effect was being promoted at the time by the renowned eclectic, German-born French architect, Jacques-Ignace Hittorff. However the priest was insistent upon English expertise in order to achieve this in his new church. His close association with the Clifford family had inculcated a respect by the prelate for English workmanship upon which he believed he could rely for the highest level of work and 'an

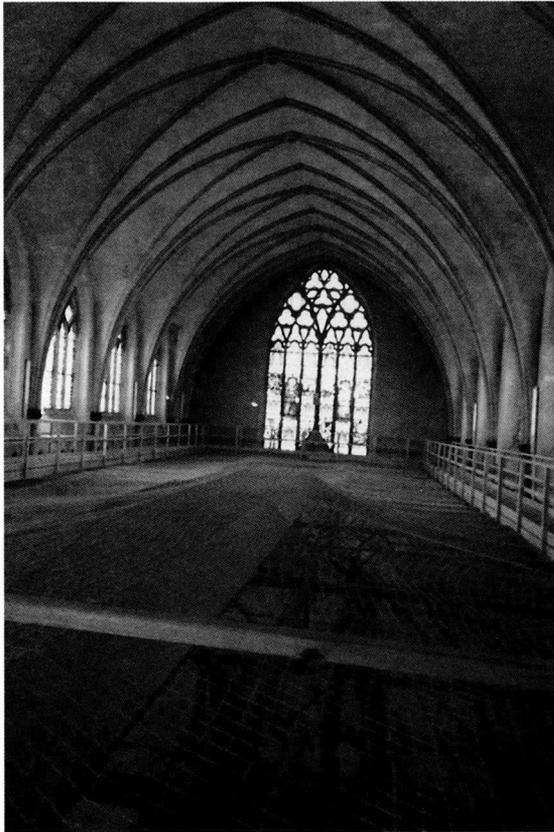


Fig 8
Boulogne, Saint-Alphonse,
distant view of extant stained-
glass windows, roof level.
*Photograph, author, September
2014*

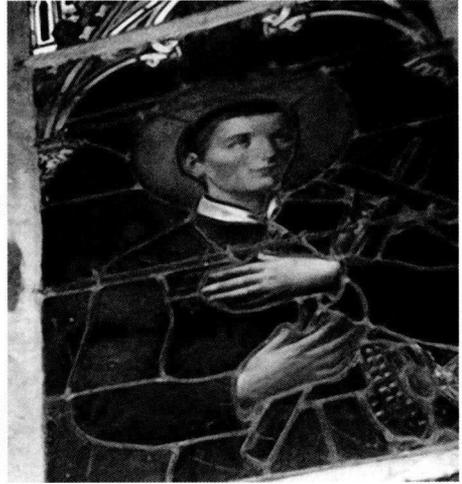


Fig 9
Boulogne, Church of Saint-Alphonse, stained-
glass window depicting Saint Majella.
Photograph, author, September 2014



Fig 10
Boulogne, Saint-François-de Sales, external façade.
Lithograph Asselineau, Pas-de-Calais Archives

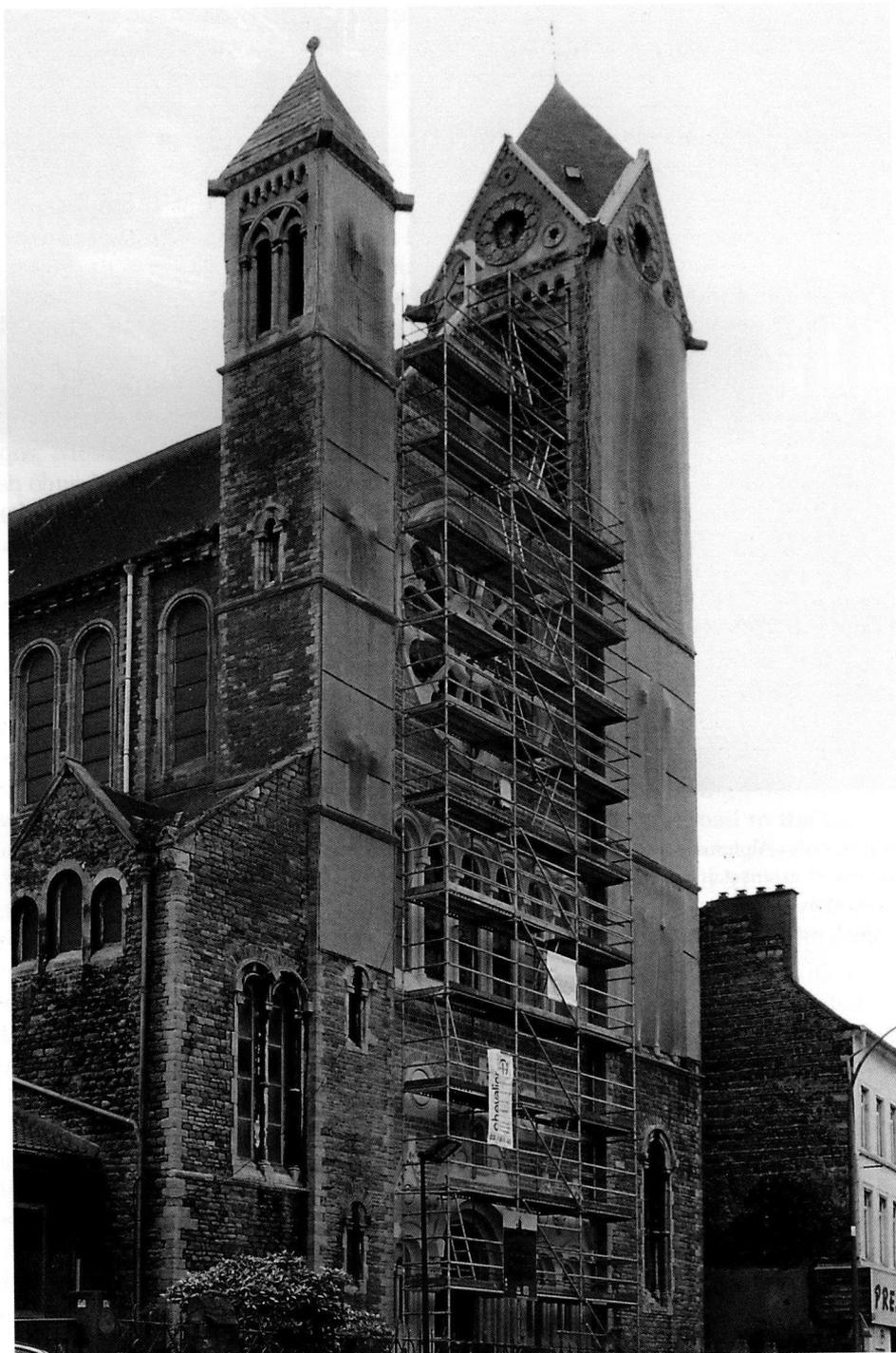


Fig. 11
Boulogne, Saint-François.
Photograph, author, September 2014

exactitude for detail'.⁸⁷ The French builders Adolphe Crouy and Auguste Lacour were employed, but English experts Hart and Son, William Farmer and Minton, Hollins and Co., were used for metalwork, sculpture and encaustic tiling respectively, with Maycock designing the stained glass.⁸⁸

Debussche had difficulty defining the church, calling it in a 'style of its time', noting that Hansom adapted several medieval styles to meet modern needs, *Non nova sed nove* [not new but in a new way].⁸⁹ Mermet and Brunet described it as Roman, of the 11th- and 12th-centuries, whereas Haigneré was more specific, likening it to the style found in Eastern France and along the borders of the Rhine.⁹⁰ Hansom's designs appealed because they were less formulaic than those of Debayser, the local City Architect, and he had the added advantage of a more flexible budget. Inadequate funding had restricted the latter when building the churches of Saint-Vincent-de-Paul and Saint-Pierre, a problem which beset Hansom at Plymouth and at one stage threatened the size of the tower and spire at Saint Walburge's.⁹¹ He resisted the English vogue of copyism and his inherent eclecticism led him to introduce a number of characteristic stylistic quirks, or 'ingenious peculiarities'.⁹² Ten to twelve steps led up to the façade, where he built two towers of different heights and sizes, and three windows of unequal size (Fig. 11).⁹³ Personal preference and Jesuit influence are seen in his use of high ceilings and wide open space internally, such as the ten-foot wide aisles designed to allow for ceremonial processions.⁹⁴ As at Saint Walburge's, there was a vast rose window (7m diameter, following York Minster) and no transept. Elaborate oak seating near the high altar was made by Buisine of Lille, with basic benches along the outer sides of the nave for school-children.⁹⁵ Carving for the choir stalls, gallery and organ loft was by Farmer, and the organ was manufactured by Merklin-Schutze of Paris.⁹⁶ Features attributed to English influence are the five in-built confessionals, 'nearly unique in France', and the design of the baptismal fonts with deep tanks, supported on four columns accompanying a central octagonal barrel (Fig. 12).⁹⁷ The unusual finely-modelled faïence plaques depicting the Stations of the Cross were almost certainly made by Minton, Hollins and Co. The nearest known comparator is in the Gamble Room of the Victoria & Albert Museum (1868).⁹⁸

Suppliers and manufacturers came from an extensive range of sources, an indication of Abbé Leuillieux's wish to ensure high quality. The designs for the sculptured capitals were mostly taken from those in Saint-Remy at Reims, the Byzantine calvary was based on the Lothaire crucifix, and the grille in the Lady Chapel by Hart and Son was a near copy of that in the cathedral of Viterbo.⁹⁹ The Maycock windows were manufactured by Bazin de Saint Fuscien of Amiens, the bells by the Douai-based Drouot and the Paris-based Hildebrand. The Verdun-stone reredos and high altar were made in Reims.¹⁰⁰

Particular attention was paid to the tiny *Très Saint-Sacrement* chapel in the apse, immediately opposite the main entrance but hidden from view by the high altar. One of a semi-circle of five chapels, it was accessed by an ambulatory. Unlike the rest of the church, the *Très-Sacrement* remained intact after bombing in the Second World War and exemplifies the full splendour of the original decoration used elsewhere. It is enclosed by an elaborate iron grille with golden ornaments, produced in the workshop of the local M. Guche of Boulogne (Fig. 13).¹⁰¹ The altar was designed to represent the Last Supper, and as a measure of the mutual respect the French held for the Clifford family William,

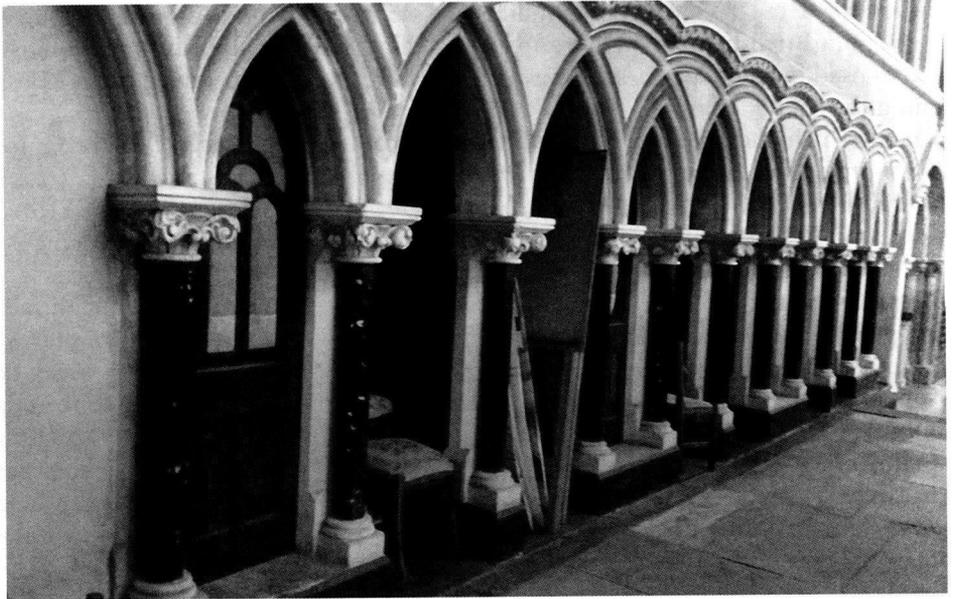


Fig. 12
Boulogne, Saint-François, confessionals.
Photograph, Marie-Claude Bontemps, October 2014



Fig. 13
Boulogne, Saint-François, grille and ceiling in apse.
Photograph, author, September 2014

bishop of Clifton was invited to consecrate this altar when the high altar was consecrated in 1859. He also led the Solemn Mass the following day, when he was assisted by his Vicar-General, John Bonomi, relative of the architect Joseph Bonomi (1739–1808).¹⁰²

The parishioners had been allowed to choose the dedication of the church, which was duly named after the patron saint of the priest. Abbé Leuillieux personally gave ornaments and fittings valued at 1,650 francs, but donations had not quite reached expectation and to meet the criterion of being fully paid (Catholic churches could not be consecrated if there were debts outstanding), he made over the church to the parish, agreeing to pay off a loan in six annual payments of 60,000 francs.¹⁰³ This accounts for the delay between opening on 15 December 1862 and consecration on 3 July 1868. In his journal, the architect-priest Abbé Haigneré commented that ‘not a single year passed without that this church enriches itself with some new beautiful thing’, and, as Dounias pointed out, people continued to donate ‘right until the time where there was nothing left to do’.¹⁰⁴ Haigneré laid emphasis on the part the English Catholics had played in its foundation, describing the church as being truly international in character, a building which brought two nations together under one Catholic religion - even the choir at the consecration service was largely made up of English amateurs.¹⁰⁵

As with the basilica, which had been rebuilt to commemorate the legend of a statue of the Blessed Virgin brought to Boulogne by an angel in a boat in 633, the tiny chapel of Saint-Sang, a near-neighbour to Saint-François, was also rebuilt to hold relics of the distant past, on a site dating back to the 3rd century (Fig. 14).¹⁰⁶ Thus, in tune with the French Gothic Revival, both were rebuilds of previous churches, rather than anything completely new, like the other two Hansom churches in Boulogne. In the 10th century, a piece of cloth with the blood of Christ had been given to the countess of Boulogne. The relic was lost, but when recovered and returned to her by her son Godefroy de Bouillon in Jerusalem, it was placed in safe-keeping. It was the Abbé’s personal wish to re-build the chapel specifically to house it.¹⁰⁷ The original chapel had become derelict

and was completely ravaged during the French Revolution. Subsequently it was replaced by ‘a mean, unsightly [building] ... in the worst possible taste’.¹⁰⁸ This was then demolished and replaced for a second time by one designed by Hansom and funded by the Clifford family. The materials from the previous building were solemnly buried in the foundations of the new building.¹⁰⁹ The site was very small and the chapel, which measured only 27 feet (8.23m) by 15 feet (4.57m), was scaled down to allow for a pathway round the outside for priests to process whilst chanting prayers. However, at a cost of 75,000 francs (around £3,000),



Fig 14

Boulogne, chapel of Saint-Sang-de-Notre-Dame, external view.

Lithograph, de Deroz, Pas-de-Calais Archives

this privately funded chapel in Neo-Gothic design was extremely expensive, especially when compared with the building estimate of £3,804 for Plymouth Cathedral.¹¹⁰ The religious significance of the relics dictated a building of this quality and it became a showpiece of English talent, highly decorated from floor to ceiling, with sculpture by Farmer and vivid floor tiles made by Minton, Hollins and Co., one of which has been identified as from a Pugin design, made in Stoke-on-Trent in April 1864 (Fig. 15).¹¹¹

The chapel was built in white stone from Saint Leu: Lacour, the mason from Saint-François, was employed.¹¹² In the tympanum lintel over the doorway is a statue of Saint Ide receiving the relic, above which, in a niche, is a statue of Notre-Dame, hence the double name of the chapel, as at Plymouth. At the back, a row of ornate sculpted fleur-de-lys was placed between the pinnacles to support the buttresses at the base of the roof (Fig. 16). The elaborately carved steeple was made of wood.¹¹³ Despite the smallness of scale, Hansom again endeavoured to counteract this with eleven stained-glass windows, six of which were grisailles. These were manufactured by Lévêque of Beauvais.¹¹⁴ Beneath the painted ceiling, a blue sky with gold stars, is much iconography, along the lines of Sainte-Chappelle on the Île de la Cité in Paris, restored by Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc (1814–79).¹¹⁵ At each join of the vaults are carved symbols of the ways of the cross, and similarly, symbols of the Passion in the ceiling of the apse (Fig. 17). An ornate grille, similar to those in Saint-François and Plymouth separates the sanctuary from the nave (Fig. 18). The colonnettes of the stone altar are made of marble. A magnificent brass double tabernacle, designed by Hart and Son of Cockspur Street, London, was initially placed on the altar for the relic.¹¹⁶

THREE CONVENTS

A convent adjoined each of the three major churches. The function of each differed greatly. Details of that attached to the Redemptorist church are sparse, excepting that it was substantial and built as accommodation for the eleven priests who first settled in Boulogne in 1856.¹¹⁷ As it was the first of a well-coordinated plan, it is logical that Hansom was the architect, but there is no evidence to support this, one way or the other. The next convent to be built was that of Saint-Augustines de Précieux-Sang, attached to Saint-François. The foundation stone was laid on the same day as that of the church, with Abbé Proyard, Vicar General of Arras and Bishop Cullen officiating.¹¹⁸ It was built to house a new composite Congregation inspired by the bishop of Arras to provide medical and other benevolent facilities for the town as a whole.¹¹⁹ Land, with a 140-foot (42.67m) frontage, was purchased in May 1856, one month after the Redemptorist priests arrived but before church-building commenced.¹²⁰ The design, in Neo-Gothic English collegiate-style, added to the rich architectural character of this otherwise ignominious quarter of Boulogne. It was built of grey limestone and comprised a basement, two floors and an attic, with a slated roof and a massive central tower. A private communicating door enabled the nuns to enter the church to attend the confessionals. War damage was near catastrophic and the photograph of the remaining external wall gives no indication of the scale of the original (Fig. 19). Schools were added in 1857 and the standard of education was augmented by the addition of a conservatoire. As in England, the Mother Superior gifted her personal fortune and the school attracted girls who were able to contribute



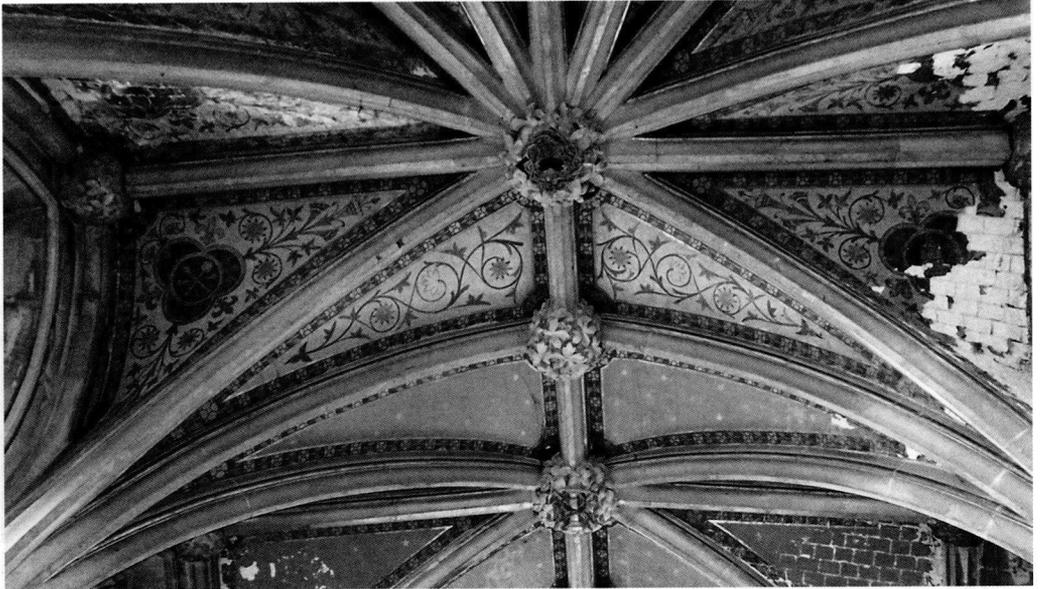


Fig. 15
(top, previous page)
Boulogne, Saint-Sang, Minton, Hollins and Co.
floor tiles.
Photograph, F. Debussche, August 2015

Fig. 16
(bottom, previous page)
Boulogne, Saint-Sang, sculpted fleur-de-lys
supporting buttresses at rear of chapel.
Photograph, author, September 2014

Fig. 17
(above)
Boulogne, Saint-Sang, ceiling decoration.
Photograph, author, September 2014

Fig. 18
(right)
Boulogne, Saint-Sang, grille.
Photograph, author, September 2014

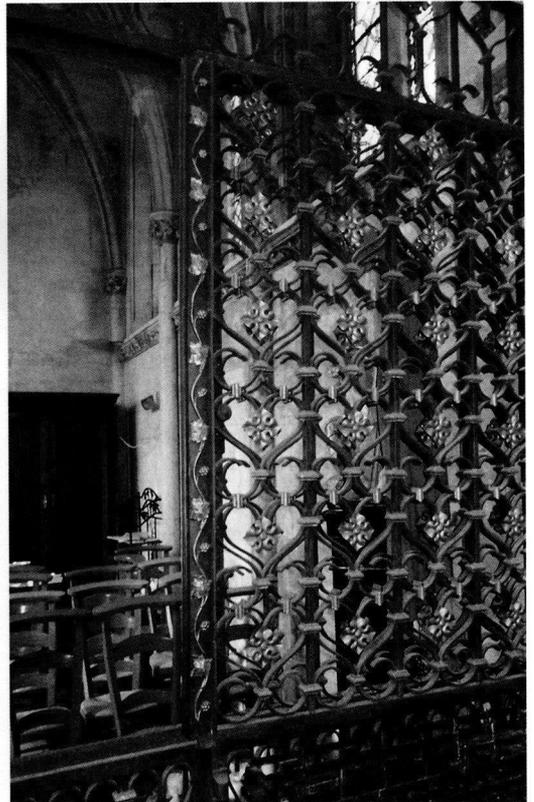




Fig 19

Boulogne, convent of Saint-Augustine, section of wall with church tower in background.

Photograph, author, September 2014

dowries. A significant benefactor of both convent and church was Madame Chartron, widow of the chief of the Boulogne Customs Office.

The convent of Notre Dame de Namur in Plymouth was part of a different master-plan, that of the Belgian sisters to nurture and provide education for poor children, a mission founded in Belgium, but brought to England by the joint efforts of Fathers de Held and de Buggenoms, and largely financed by Laura Petre (Sister Mary).¹²¹ This stemmed from the involvement of Sister Mary's late husband, the Honourable Edward Petre, and his promotion of the Catholic Poor School Committee, founded in 1847 to negotiate with the Privy Council in order to obtain grants; and the Teacher Training School built by his widow in Liverpool in 1857.¹²² As an outlet for newly-trained teachers, the Plymouth convent was one of eleven built across the country by the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur. Initially a group of nuns was recalled from Clapham and they settled in the former presbytery at Saint Mary's, Stonehouse.¹²³ They found conditions there unsuitable, as had the bishop, and they also wished to be closer to the cathedral.¹²⁴ A site adjacent to the cathedral was secured, but the nuns, who took an active part in the arrangements, insisted upon more space and further land was purchased.¹²⁵ After protracted negotiations, dating back to December 1858, work progressed apace; however mindful of the delays encountered when building her Selby church, Sister Mary said that she hoped 'Hansom would be expeditious'.¹²⁶ The bishop helped to supervise the building work, oversaw the move from Stonehouse and contributed financially.¹²⁷ He also requested a latticed window between the infirmary and the convent chapel so that the sick could participate in the prayers.¹²⁸ Peep grates, or grilles, for the convent doors, as well as further grilles and gas branches, were ordered from Hardmans.¹²⁹ Hansom's clerk of works was John Ley.¹³⁰

LATER WORK AND CURRENT STATUS

As stated, all these buildings suffered considerable damage from bombing during the Second World War, especially Saint-François, where the roof fell in and all the stained glass was lost.¹³¹ The convents in Plymouth and that of Saint-Augustine, which had both previously grown from strength to strength, never recovered, although the war was not the only cause of damage (Figs 20 and 21). Saint-Alphonse was the first to suffer, when the statue of its founder above the main entrance of the church, was blown down in a hurricane which ravaged the whole town in 1876.¹³² It was replaced with an iron cross, now also lost. After a drop-off in numbers, it was finally closed and reinvented as a commercial financial tribunal, with the convent used as associated offices.¹³³ The wooden steeple of Saint-Sang came down some time before 1939, and was chopped up for firewood in 1942. Carvings over the front door simply deteriorated with age (Fig. 22). Many years later the chapel was threatened with demolition to provide access to a garage, but it was rescued by the Friends of Saint-Sang and is currently in private ownership.¹³⁴ The remnants of the Boulogne convent remained active until 1905, when a law was passed separating church from state. It was partly rebuilt in 1954 by the French architect Charles Dujardin, but the extant chapel has recently been demolished.¹³⁵ The Plymouth convent was rebuilt as Notre Dame House in 1966 and both this and Saint Augustine now provide a form of sheltered housing.

Work continued in both countries after the official openings. A distinctive feature



Fig. 20
Plymouth, convent of Notre-Dame de Namur, section of wall.
Photograph, author, January 2015



Fig. 21
Plymouth, aerial view showing how cathedral survived bomb damage; the adjacent convent was reduced to ruins (1941).
Reproduced by permission, Dean & Chapter of Plymouth Cathedral

added to the French Redemptorist church in 1874 was that of an elaborately carved purgatory altar, given by an unknown English donor, who gave £120 towards the cost.¹³⁶ The scene depicts a kneeling saint interceding on the part of lost souls, rescued by an angel. It was discovered during renovation and is now preserved within a glass case (Fig. 23). The following year Sir Charles Clifford (1813–93), one-time Speaker of the House of Representatives in New Zealand and older brother of Edward and Alphonse, contributed to the second biggest bell in the larger of the towers of the Bréquerecque church.¹³⁷ During 1877–78 a south wing was added to the bishop's house in Plymouth at a cost of £800, and Herbert Gribble (1847–94), the Plymouth-born convert who became Hansom's chief draughtsman, extended the convent in 1884 and again in 1888 (Fig. 24).¹³⁸ A thirty-foot reredos in Beer stone was installed behind the high altar in 1889, sculpted by A. B. Wall of Cheltenham.¹³⁹

Apart from the addition of a modern narthex in 1955, joining the cathedral to Notre Dame House, Plymouth Cathedral has remained largely unaltered externally. However considerable changes were made internally when it was radically re-ordered following Vatican II. Between 1920 and 1927, the eastern end of the church was completely transformed by Bishop Keily, who wished to embellish Hansom's plain design.¹⁴⁰ As the episcopal centre of the Diocese, Plymouth Cathedral continues to flourish, whereas Saint-François never achieved the full capacity for which it was designed.

Hansom already had a foothold in Devon when he built Our Lady of the Assumption at Torquay in 1854, but Plymouth opened up a whole new market, giving him a near monopoly of Catholic work in the Plymouth Diocese during the 1860s, directly attributable to Bishop Vaughan. This in turn earned him the reputation of being responsible for taking the English Gothic Revival to the South-West, as he had in Boulogne.¹⁴¹ Before Plymouth was completed, Hansom was already building Saints Michael and Joseph at Devonport to serve as a military chaplaincy for the army and the navy.¹⁴² A chapel was built for the Trelawneys at Liskeard between 1862 and 1863, and between 1864 and 1865 he gothicised the private chapel of Saint Mary's in the grounds of Lulworth Castle for Edward Weld, close friend and relative of the Clifford family.¹⁴³ These are only three of a long list of other works in the Diocese. The most outstanding commission accounted for by Bishop Vaughan's intervention was one in Scotland, the remodelling of a Hanoverian fort into Saint Benedict's Monastery and College at Fort Augustus on Loch Ness.¹⁴⁴

CONCLUSION

That this paper has focused more on the social background of the churches than the finer architectural detail is necessitated by the exceptional complexity of patronage. These factors cannot be underestimated. Contextually a pattern emerges: the strength and breadth of a strong Catholic network, the informed and active participation of priests, finance from all of whom provided extensive work for equally dedicated Catholic architects. Fundamental to this was social need and a wish to provide schooling for poor children. While work of the calibre discussed in this paper cannot be attributed to any one single factor, it could be argued that it sprang from the friendship between Laura Phillipps and Laura Petre. The former established a firm place in the Catholic community through links with the Boulonnais priesthood, and the latter's connection with the Redemptorists



Fig. 22

Boulogne, Saint-Sang, tympanum on the façade.

Photograph, F. Debussche, August 2015



Fig. 23

Boulogne, Saint-Alphonse, carving of purgatory altar.

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in Falmouth helped to bring Plymouth and Boulogne together.

All three main churches made statements through their sheer size and in terms of Hansom's personal legacy, the spire of Plymouth cathedral was his second tallest and the church of Saint-Alphonse his second largest. The striking difference between the simplicity of Plymouth and the splendour of the Boulogne churches was dictated by the commissioning priests. Examples of this are illustrated by comparing the plain grille in Plymouth, as shown in Figure 5, with their ornate counterparts in Boulogne, as shown in Figures 13 and 18. It was Bishop Vaughan's express wish to minimise expenditure and reject unnecessary ornaments, whereas the French priests rejoiced in elaborate decoration.¹⁴⁵ With the exception of Bishop Vaughan, who was consecrated in 1855, the entrepreneurship of the priests brought accolades to Father de Buggenoms who became the future English superior; Abbé Haffreingue was granted 'Monseigneur' status by Pope Pius IX in 1859 and the Légion d'Honneur by Napoléon III; and Abbé Leuillieux became bishop of Carcassonne in 1873 and then archbishop of Chambéry in 1881. The extent of interest and active involvement by prelates in the building of churches led to both Abbé Haffreingue and Bishop Vaughan in Plymouth being dubbed 'builder priests'. Euphemistically the expression 'builder of a church' can mean either the financier or the designer. A new study might explore the architectural expertise of English prelates, for example Bishop Ullathorne, who claimed that 'every priest must now become an architect'.¹⁴⁶

Notwithstanding the scarcity of original documentary evidence, together with the widespread bomb-damage, the drastic re-ordering of Plymouth and the change of use of the Redemptorist church, there is still scope for a more detailed structural analysis, especially of the French churches of Saint-François and Saint-Sang. Further investigation could also seek out work by English architects on the continent, solely dependent upon patronage and operating outside the competition system. It would also be worth considering whether this case-study typifies a difference in cultural attitude in a wider context, comparing the essentially functional English approach with that of the French, who valued their buildings as works of art.



Fig. 24
Plymouth, convent of
Notre Dame.
*Lithograph, Herbert Gribble,
Building News, 24 February
1888*

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The research for this article started with a more-or-less blank page and a number of burning questions, such as why so many references to the bishop of Dublin, and so few to Joseph Hansom. Findings could not have been possible without the time, patience and knowledge freely given by Lord Clifford, who kindly permitted access to his family archives at Ugbrooke; Squire de Lisle who assisted with access to Laura de Lisle's diaries; Sister Benignus, Archivist of Plymouth Diocese; Nicholas Lee, Archivist of Clifton Diocese; Adrian Wardle, editor of *Plymouth Cathedral*; Véronique Tonnel-Novak of the French Patrimoine; Alain and Marie-Claude Bontemps who kindly gave access to Notre-Dame-de-Saint-Sang; the Boulogne Municipal Archives and Municipal Library; Antoinette Doran, Librarian of the Redemptorist Archives in Ireland; Sister Mary Anthony, archivist at Loughborough convent, who drew my attention to the letter referring to Edward Hansom; and the President of the Tile Society who provided information on Minton, Hollins and Co. Finally thanks are given to Professor James Stevens Curl, Dr Peter Howell, Dr Ayla Lepine and Dr Peter Shapeley, who all gave valuable advice, reading and commenting on my earlier drafts.

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1. *Guide-Brunet dans Boulogne et ses environs*, 6th edn (Boulogne, 1870), 41; D. Evinson, 'Joseph Hansom' (M.A. thesis, University of London, 1966), 338; H. Carrière, *Vie de Monseigneur Leuillieux, Curé-Fondateur de la Paroisse de Saint-François-de-Sales à Boulogne-sur-Mer* (Chalons-sur-Marne, 1938); A. Dounias, 'L'Eglise Saint-François-de-Sales de Boulogne-sur-Mer', *Memoire d'Opale* (Boulogne, 2013).
2. Carrière, *Vie*; D. Haigneré, *Dictionnaire historique et archéologique du département du Pas-de-Calais* (Dainville, 1962).
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4. H. M. Merridew, *Merridew's Visitor's Guide to Boulogne-sur-Mer and its Environs*, primary source edition (London, before 1923).
5. Dounias, 'Saint-François'; L'Abbé Th. Mermet, *Boulogne-sur-Mer: Guide pour la visite des Églises Paroissiales* (Arras, 1926).
6. Carrière, *Vie*, 11; Debussche, *Architecture*, 69; Walling, *The Story of Plymouth* (London, 1950), 195.
7. Merridew, *Visitor's Guide*, 72.
8. *Builder*, 12 November 1864, 830.
9. H. S. Goodhart-Rendel, 'English Gothic Architecture of the Nineteenth Century', *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, 31 (1924), 323.
10. Redemptorists are 'The Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer', founded in Naples in 1732 by St Alphonsus Liguori and devoted chiefly to work among the poor. The first house in England was established in Clapham in 1843 (C. Fitzgerald-Lombard, *English and Welsh Priests 1801-1914*, Bath, 1993; see also J. Sharp, *Reapers of the Harvest: The Redemptorists in Great Britain and Ireland, 1843-1898*, Dublin, 1989).
11. *The Clergy Review*, London 67 (1982), 383-392; G. Stebbing, *History of St Mary's, Clapham* (London, 1935); Boland, *Dictionary*, 79, 125; Carrière, *Vie*, 13.
12. 'Plymouth Notes', Fourth National Catholic Congress Handbook, 4-7 July 1913 (Mr Langdon Lee *et al*), 45.
13. Merridew, *Visitor's Guide*, 69-70; Debussche, 30; A. Mille, 'La revue des Amies du Patrimoine de Saint Martin' (no page numbering or date).

14. See Lewis, *Gothic Revival*; [http://www.actuacity.com/boulogne-sur-mer/Monuments historiques et bâtiments protégés de Boulogne-sur-Mer ... Basilique Notre-Dame de l'Immaculé Conception, Cathédral](http://www.actuacity.com/boulogne-sur-mer/Monuments%20historiques%20et%20b%C3%A2timents%20prot%C3%A9g%C3%A9s%20de%20Boulogne-sur-Mer.../Basilique%20Notre-Dame%20de%20l%27Immacul%C3%A9e%20Conception,%20Cath%C3%A9dral) (Accessed 1.03.15).
15. Inspired by St Paul's Cathedral, the dome, measuring 367 feet (111.86m) by 138 feet (42.06m) and rising to 269 feet (82m), is one of the largest in France.
16. C. Daly, 'L'architecture de l'avenir', *Revue Générale*, 8 (1849–50), cols 26–29; H. Janniard, 'Trois jours à Rouen', *Revue Générale*, 5 (1844), cols 421–31.
17. Time spent in Boulogne was an integral part of Edward's training; Loughborough Convent Archives, Loughborough, letter from Charles Hansom to the Revd. Mother, 2 August 1863, describing Edward's burgeoning skills in 'the French "round" hand ... on purpose to write on plans'; he was subsequently of the Newcastle-based Dunn and Hansom partnership.
18. See *The Cyclopaedia of New Zealand*, 3 (1903); P. R. Hamilton, 'Francis Petre: 1847–1918', M.A. thesis, University of Auckland, 1986; D. B. Wynn-Williams, 'The basilicas of F. W. Petre', M.A. thesis, University of Canterbury, 1982.
19. Hamain, *Chronique*, 126, 145; *Catholic Telegraph*, 14 September 1857, taken from *Boulogne Gazette*, 2 September 1857.
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21. Suibhine, *Cullen*, letter Cullen to Hugh ..., from Lyons, 6 December 1847, 303.
22. <http://www.dublindioocese.ie/content/paul-cullen-1852--78>. (Accessed 17.08.14).
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25. Boland, *Dictionary*, 57, 125; P. Harris, 'Joseph Aloysius Hansom (1803–82): His Yorkshire Works, Patronage and Contribution to the Catholic Revival', *York Archaeological and Historical Journal*, 85/1 (2013), 190–91; M. Pawley, *Faith & Family: The life and circle of Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle* (Norwich, 1993), 227.
26. Carrière, *Vie*, 13; Dounias, 'L'Eglise', 52.
27. Carrière, *Vie*, 11–12.
28. Other residents were the Countess Constantia de Clifford (1846), and Alphonse, Francesca and Constance (1856), see Boulogne census records.
29. E. Norman, *Roman Catholicism in England from the Elizabethan Settlement to the Second Vatican Council* (Oxford and New York, 1986), 74; J. Sharp, *Reapers of the Harvest: The Redemptorists in Great Britain and Ireland, 1843-1898* (Dublin, 1989), 5–6; 'Jubilee: Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur Celebrate 150 years in Britain, 1845-1895' (Leeds, 1995), 17.
30. Boland, *Dictionary*, 47.
31. See Harris, 'Yorkshire Works'.
32. *York Herald and General Advertiser*, 13 September 1851.
33. Ugbrooke, Clifford family archives, letter Edward Clifford to Charles Clifford, 13 May 1858; H. Lane Fox, *Chronicles of a Wharfedale Parish* (Fort Augustus, 1909), 57.
34. Carrière, *Vie*, 11; Billesdon, diaries of Laura de Lisle Phillipps, 29 June –17 October 1846.
35. Pawley, *Faith*, 227; overspending on English architectural and ecclesiastical activities had severely drained their financial resources.
36. Pawley; *ibid*; J. Gillow, *Bibliographical Dictionary of the English Catholics from 1534 to the Present Time*, (London, 1885), 1, 522–26; *New Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com.unicat.bangor.ac.uk/templates/article.jsp?articleid=5810...> (Accessed 06.03.15).
37. Pawley, 413; Boland, *Dictionary*, 83.
38. Dom B. Camm, ed., *Sister Mary of Saint Francis* (London, 1913), 113.
39. Camm, *Sister Mary*, 131.
40. For the support the nuns received from the Redemptorists and work carried out for them by Joseph Hansom see P. Harris, 'Mount Pleasant, English aristocrats, and Belgian nuns: financing the English Sisters of Notre Dame', *North West Catholic History*, XXXVI (2009) 19–35.
41. William Clifford was son of the 7th Lord Clifford, and thus second cousin once removed of both Edward Lambert and Laura.

42. Meridew, *Visitor's Guide*, 68–69; Debussche, *Architecture*, 15, 31; Dounias, 'L'Eglise', 52; Debussche, 'Cahiers', 15; Carrière, *Vie*, 13.
43. Mermet, *Guide*, 62.
44. Summary accounts 1858, Poor Clare Archives, Much Birch, Hereford.
45. For Maycock see J. Knowles, 'Glass Painters 1750–1850', *The Journal of Stained Glass*, XIII/3 (1966), 401.
46. Debussche, *Architecture*, 32.
47. *Tablet*, 5 September 1857; Debussche, *Architecture*, 31; Hamain, *Chronique*, 126, 145.
48. London, RIBA, Stephen Welsh papers, Box 11, WeS/11/1/104(i-), Welsh to Syndicat d'Initiative et Tourisme, Boulogne-sur-Mer, 17 October 1961; WeS/11/1/105.
49. Birmingham, Birmingham City Archives, Hardman correspondence, letter Charles Hansom to John Hardman, 25 November 1853.
50. *Building News*, 28 February 1862, 145; *Tablet*, 5 September 1857.
51. Obituaries for Joseph: *Builder*, 8 July 1882, 44; *The Times*, 1 July 1882, 12. Obituaries for Charles: *Building News*, 7 December 1888, 763; *Tablet* 5 September 1857, 564.
52. Haigneré, 'extrait: Saint-François-de-Sales', la semaine religieuse, 16 July 1868, 253; Merridew, *Visitor's Guide*, 69, 70.
53. [http://www.actuacity.com/boulogne-sur-mer ... Saint-François-de-Sales](http://www.actuacity.com/boulogne-sur-mer...Saint-François-de-Sales) (Accessed 10.07.15).
54. *Tablet*, 13 August 1859, 813.
55. Private collection, 14 January 1859, 6 February 1859; Boulogne Archives, M-Boite 1107.
56. Birmingham, BCA, Hardman correspondence, Joseph Stanislaus Hansom to Hardman, 12 January 1866 and 2 March 1866.
57. *PDR*, No. 2, vol. 4, August 1923, 25.
58. The Honourable William Clifford, bishop of Clifton, became William Vaughan's Vicar General and was priest of Saint Mary's between 1854 and 1856; B. W. Kelly, *Historical Notes on English Catholic Missions* (London, 1907), 316; in 1846 Ullathorne had taken Charles to Belgium and France, including St Trond and Cologne Cathedral, 'to educate his taste and stimulate his ideas'; L. Madisan, ed., *The Devil is a Jackass* (Leominster, 1995), 261.
59. Of particular distinction were Saint Walburge's Church in Preston (from 1850) and Our Lady of the Assumption in Torquay (1854), The Architectural History Practice Ltd., 'Churches in the Roman Catholic Diocese of Plymouth: An Architectural and Historical Review' prepared for English Heritage and the Diocese of Plymouth (2009), 12, 21.
60. *PDR*, *ibid*; M. Dunning, *Plymouth Cathedral: The story of a people* (Plymouth, 2008), 11.
61. Kelly, *English Missions*, 316; Dunning, *Plymouth Cathedral*, 13, 141, 142.
62. Plymouth and Devon Record Office, 1/720/488, 19 Apr 1858.
63. *PDR*, August 1923, 26.
64. *Builder*, 1 May 1858, 296.
65. B. Cherry and N. Pevsner, *Buildings of England: Devon*, 2nd edn rev. (Harmondsworth, 1989), 100; Evinson, 'Hansom', 227; *Builder*, *ibid*.
66. The sizes of the respective churches were: Saint Boniface, 155 feet (47.24m) by 80 feet (24.38m) across the transepts; Saint-François, nave 130 feet (39.62m) by 42 feet 6 ins. (12.95m), 89 feet (27.13m) from ground to ridge of roof; Saint-Alphonse, 170 feet (51.82m) by 54 feet (16.46m), 77 feet (23.47m) to ridge; Saint Walburge's, 165 feet (50.29m) by 55 feet (16.76m), 83 feet (25.3m) to the top of the hammerbeam roof and Saint Philip Neri, 185 feet (56.39m) by 96 feet (29.26m) across the transepts.
67. Cherry and Pevsner, *Devon*, 645–47; Evinson, 'Hansom', 227–28; Little, *Catholic Churches*, 105; *National Heritage List for England* at <http://www.list.english-heritage.org.uk/resultsingle.aspx?uid=1386510> (Accessed 18.02.15).
68. *Builder* 1 May 1858, 296; Little, *Catholic Churches*, 105.
69. *Builder*, 13 June 1857, 342; Evinson, 'Hansom', 229.
70. Evinson, *ibid*; *PDR*, xi/4, October 1930, 99; the Captain of the ship *Cambridge* on which the guns were being tested was William, later Rear-Admiral Jerningham, cousin of Laura Petre, (Sister Mary); Clarke, *Life of Mrs. Petre*, 185–86; *The Foundations of the Sisters of Notre Dame of England and Scotland*, 1845–95 (Liverpool, 1895), 103.

71. *Builder*, 1 May 1858; Kelly, *Historical Notes*, 316.
72. Evinson, 'Hansom', 230; *PDR*, 3/4, September 1923, 49.
73. *Aberdeen Journal*, 17 June 1857.
74. *Ibid.*
75. *Catholic Directory*, 1859, 101.
76. *Builder*, 1 May 1858, 296; see also J. Cheshire, *Stained glass and the Victorian Gothic Revival* (Manchester, 2004); Knowles, 'Glass Painters', 401, 525.
77. Birmingham, BCA, Hardman correspondence, Hansom to Hardman, 6, 10, 22 June 1864.
78. *Building News*, 22 June 1866, 420.
79. *Building News*, *ibid.*; *PDR*, 4/4, October, 79.
80. *Preston Guardian*, 28 September 1861.
81. *Western Morning News*, 25 November 1863.
82. Boulogne, letter Redemptorist Archivist to Director of Tribunal, 5 December 2013, I.
83. *Tablet*, 5 September 1857, 564; Haigneré, *Dictionnaire*, 381; Hamain, *Chronique*, 126, 145.
84. *Tablet*, 5 September 1857, 564.
85. Hamain, *Chronique*, 126, 145.
86. Debussche, *Architecture*, 32; Haigneré, 'extrait', 254.
87. Haigneré, 'extrait', 254.
88. Mermet, *Guide*, 62; Merridew, *Visitor's Guide*, 69; Dounias, 'L'Eglise' 54–55; Haigneré, 'extrait', 253; *Building News*, 28 Feb 1862, 148.
89. Carrière, *Vie*, 254, cited by Debussche, 34.
90. Mermet, *Guide*, 62; Brunet-Après, *Guide*, 38; Haigneré, *Dictionnaire*, 253.
91. Debussche, *Architecture*, 35; B. F. Page, *Our Story being the History of Saint Walburge's Parish* (Preston, 1929), 17.
92. *Builder*, 12 November 1864, 830.
93. Haigneré, 'extrait', 254; Carrière, *Vie*, 14; Brunet-Après, *Guide*, 38; the height of the taller tower was 82 feet (25m), Dounias, 'L'Eglise', 53.
94. Mermet, *Guide*, 65; *Tablet*, 564; R. Dixon and S. Muthesius, *Victorian Architecture* (London, reprinted 1995), 192.
95. *Tablet*, 564; Mermet, *Guide*, 63, 66; Brunet-Après, *Guide*, 39; Haigneré, *Dictionnaire*, 253.
96. Haigneré, *Dictionnaire*, 253; Mermet, *Guide*, 67; Merklin designed the organs for the cathedrals at La Rochelle and Strasbourg; this is contrasted by the use in Plymouth of a redundant organ from St Martin in the Fields, designed by William Gray, purchased at half the original cost, Dunning, *Plymouth Cathedral*, 14.
97. Haigneré, 'extrait', 253, 254; Debussche, *Architecture*, 34; Dounias, 'L'Eglise', 55; *Builder*, 12 November 1864, 830.
98. Tile Society, email to the author, 9 May 2016.
99. *Builder*, 12 November 1864, 830.
100. Dounias, 'L'Eglise', 53, 54; Mermet, *Guide*, 63; Brunet-Après, *Guide*, 39; Haigneré, 154.
101. Mermet, *Guide*, 63.
102. *Ibid.*, 65; Dounias, 'L'Eglise', 56; J. H. Crosby, 'Ignatius Bonomi of Durham Architect' (Durham, 1987).
103. Dounias, 'L'Eglise', 52, 65; Haigneré, 'extrait', 254.
104. *Ibid.*, 253; Dounias, 'L'Eglise', 56.
105. Haigneré, 'extrait', 255; Debussche, 'Cahiers', 16; *Builder*, 12 November 1864, 830.
106. Mermet, *Guide*, 65, 67; Brunet-Après, *Guide*, 39; Dounias, 'L'Eglise', 55, Debussche, 'Cahiers', 13, 20; Robitaille, *Bulletin*, 120–127.
107. Carrière, *Vie*, 15–16; Debussche, *Architecture*, 56.
108. *Building News*, 28 February 1862, 148; Debussche, *Cahiers*, 14.
109. Robitaille, *Bulletin*, 121.
110. Debussche, *Cahiers*, 15; Chauveau, 'De Boulogne à Saint-Omer par les Vallées de la Liane et de l'Aa' (Boulogne-sur-Mer, 1874), 30.
111. *Building News*, 1862; Robitaille, *Bulletin*, 121; Merridew, *Visitor's Guide*, 71; Debussche, 'Cahiers', 14. Information on the Pugin design, Tile Society, email to the author, 10 May 2016.

112. *Building News*, 1862.
113. Debussche, 'Cahiers', 17; Chauveau, 'De Boulogne', 30.
114. Debussche, *Architecture*, 56.
115. *Ibid*; similar tracery and rib-work can be seen in G. Sanders, 'origin of Gothic architecture', Plate IV, Fourth Class, *The Gothic Revival 1720–1870: Literary Sources & Documents*, II, ed. Charlesworth (Robertsbridge, 2002).
116. Merridew, *Visitor's Guide*, 31.
117. Debussche, *Architecture*, 48.
118. *Tablet*, 5 September 1857, 564; Carrière, *Vie*, 14.
119. Mille, 'La revue'.
120. *Tablet*, 5 September 1857, 564.
121. 'Jubilee: Notre Dame', 25.
122. Gillow, *Dictionary*, 5, 292; for details of the founding of the Training School for Catholic School Mistresses, paid for by Sister Mary and built by Hansom, see Harris, 'Belgian nuns'.
123. *Foundations*, 103.
124. Camm, *Sister Mary*, 254.
125. Plymouth, Plymouth Diocesan Archives, letter Sister Teresa, Stonehouse, to the bishop, 29 January 1864, Notre Dame file 1858–65.
126. Plymouth, PDA, letter Sister Mary to Bishop Vaughan, 21 September 1864.
127. *Foundations*, 104.
128. Camm, *Sister Mary*, 254.
129. Birmingham, BCA, Hardman correspondence, letters Hansom to Hardman, 1 September 1865, 18 January 1866.
130. Plymouth, PDA, receipt dated 14 July 1865; John Ley also worked for Hansom at the Priory of Saint Mary, Princethorpe, Warks.
131. Debussche, *Architecture*, 31.
132. Redemptorist archivist, II.
133. *La Voix du Nord*, <http://www.lavoixdunord.fr/region/boulogne-le-site-judiciaire-des-tintelleries-pleinement-ia31b49030n2234071> (Accessed 30.06.14).
134. *La Voix du Nord*, 1 September 1867.
135. Mille, 'La revue'.
136. Redemptorist archivist, II.
137. Dounias, 'L'Eglise', 53.
138. Evinson, 'Hansom', 338; *Building News* 13 June 1884, 931, 28 November 1884, 888 and 24 February 1888, 255; Gribble's only famous work was his unusual design for the Brompton Oratory in London, possibly inspired by the Boulogne basilica.
139. Dunning, *Plymouth Cathedral*, 17.
140. *PDR*, xi/4, October 1930; *Architectural History Practice, Plymouth Diocese*, 21.
141. AHP, *Plymouth*, 12.
142. *Catholic Directory*, 1862; PDA, sketches and plans for presbytery and school, Joseph Hansom and Son, 1859; Kelly, *English Missions*, p.154; <http://www.plymouthdata.info/Churches-Roman%2FCatholic-StMichael&StJoseph.htm> (Accessed 02.01.14).
143. Evinson, 'Hansom', 333; this was reversed by Goodhart-Rendel in 1953.
144. *Building News*, 22 February 1878; the first prior of the monastery was The Very Reverend Joseph Jerome Vaughan, nephew of the bishop of Plymouth.
145. *PDR*, xi/4, October 1930, 98.
146. Champ, *Ullathorne* (Leominster, 2006), 116.