

The influence of the parsonage on English domestic architecture

by

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The parsonage in many respects epitomises the tradition of English domestic architecture. To complement his paper on the Victorian parsonage in Transactions Volume 58, the author here examines the evolution of the parsonage as an English building type over the centuries, with reference to examples from each period. This paper compares the parsonage to other houses of its period, to determine the extent to which it may be said to have influenced domestic architecture. It detects differing influences in different periods, analyses them in architectural terms, and examines the underlying reasons. It ends by reaching some general conclusions from all periods, including the contribution of the parsonage to the 'dilemma of style'.

INTRODUCTION

A parsonage is a dwelling house for clergy ministry, a house like any other, but one that also supports the priest's pastoral duties. Its setting alongside the church has long symbolised Church and society. In earliest times, the priest's house was a small hovel, but by the mid-19th century the rectory or vicarage was often substantial, second only to the manor house. For much of its life the parsonage was a vernacular house, only later becoming 'polite', so it is also central to the long debate about architectural style.

THE PRE-REFORMATION AND EARLY POST-REFORMATION CLERGY HOUSE

The Saxon thegn and the Norman lord of the Manor had responsibility for the estate over which he had jurisdiction. He felt the need for a priest to minister within his lands, he had the right to build and own the church and the parsonage, and he housed the priest in it. It was the priest's duty to use it for the provision of spiritual welfare for the lord and all those getting their living from his estate.

The priest was required to be celibate, at times when celibacy, meaning not chastity but being unmarried, was enforced. The early pre-Reformation priest's house was therefore normally very small, and any woman living there was the 'housekeeper'. It was usually a timber structure, of wattle and daub or mud and stud depending on the region of the country. It had just a hall and perhaps a parlour, was thatched, open to the roof, with one open fire, no chimney, very little furniture, and no bathing or toilet facilities.

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The housekeeper had a separate room with separate access. The priest was required to offer hospitality, so if he was not to share a room, a third was needed, and better houses had separate guest rooms, but size usually depended on the status of the cleric or the wealth of the patron. Most simple priest's houses of impermanent construction have long since vanished, and the few that date back to the 12th to 14th centuries are mostly of stone. Few Norman clergy houses survive, but the earliest must surely be that at Horton Court, Horton, Glos, a mid-12th century Norman stone ground floor hall, with a fine ambulatory. At Bedford, the building that was formerly the Hospital of St. John, and inspired Bunyan's Interpreter's House, was also once the rectory. Greatly altered, its core may be as early as 1180.

The early 13th century Prebendal Manor House, Nassington, Northants, is one of the finest surviving medieval domestic houses, home to a royal prebendary. There is a fine tithe barn and large medieval garden. The evidence suggests that priest's houses of very prosperous parish clergy were like this, similar to the wealthy landowning farmer's house, with hall, through passage and parlour, the priest also being a farmer, of course. At Westdean, East Sussex, there is an excellent example of a contrastingly modest late 13th century priest's house, flint with stone quoins and dressings, with first floor hall and solar, staircase and garderobe projections, fine fireplace, and an original two-light trefoil-headed window on the first floor. The 14th century Alfriston Clergy House, Sussex, the first building acquired by the newly formed National Trust in 1896, is a rare surviving oak-framed, wattle and daub clad, small thatched hall house, limewashed, unglazed until 250 years later, built for a yeoman farmer before it passed to the Church, a separate outside door suggesting a housekeeper. There is a similar 15th century house at West Hoathly, Sussex, of Wealden type, with upper rooms each side of an open hall (Fig. 1). The 14th century priest's house at Muchelney, Somerset, is an exceptional small house of local limestone with ham stone dressings, with pointed arched doorway, fine full-height mullioned window of eight lights divided by a transom, the upper lights with cusped tracery, and another large four light mullioned window. A grander stone house, Iffley Rectory, Oxon, dates back at least to the 13th century. It had a hall, solar wing, and service rooms (Fig. 2). Laurence Sterne's Shandy Hall, Coxwold, North Yorks, is perhaps a particularly typical priest's house, a mid-15th century hall house with wide cross-gables, now of brick but originally timber framed, almost indistinguishable from a Yorkshire farmhouse of the time.

Up to the Reformation and beyond, village priests still lived in small farmhouse-type houses, with unglazed windows, chimneys still a luxury. By the mid-15th century, a few more sumptuous buildings were now of brick, a material previously used only by very wealthy foundations. The Deanery Tower at Hadleigh, Suffolk, built by Archdeacon Pykenham in the 1480s, or 1495,¹ is of moulded brickwork with diapering, and castellations and machicolations connoting the chivalric tradition. Similarly exceptional brickwork is found at two contrasting houses at some time used as parsonages: Great Snoring, Norfolk, a prestigious house built by Sir Ralph Shelton around 1525, and the lowly vernacular 15th century timber framed and jettied house at Methwold, Norfolk, made remarkable by its brick north elevation with basket arches, tacked on in the early 16th century to signify prestige, which proudly features a polygonal chimneystack (Fig. 3).



Fig. 1
The Priest House, West Hoathly, Sussex
Photograph, author, 2010



Fig. 2
Iffley Rectory, Oxfordshire
Photograph, Tony Hodgson



Fig. 3 (above)
The Old
Vicarage,
Methwold,
Norfolk, (gouache
and watercolour,
artist unknown)
*Collection of the
author; photograph,
author, 2013*



Fig. 4 (left)
The Priest's
House,
Congresbury,
Somerset
*Photograph, author,
2008*

The old hall and former parsonage at Gawsworth, Cheshire, of about 1480, is a fine example of West Midlands decorative black and white timbering, representing the hall house, with queen post and carved boss, in its most sophisticated form. Stone was now more often used, where available, for grander houses. The 15th century priest's house at Congresbury, Som, is a stone hall house with prominent porch and buttresses, window tracery and drip moulds with carved head bosses, with three bays to the left, one to the right of the porch (Fig. 4). The Old Rectory, Cossington, Leics, is a late 15th century rubble stone house with an elaborately decorated timber framed wing, and a battlemented two storey bay of mullions and transoms, with gothic tracery. The stone rectory at Chew Stoke, Somerset, built for Sir John Barry in 1529, is of limestone and sandstone, with irregular arched and cusped mullioned windows with drip moulds, label stops and unusual stone panels with shields. The much plainer small clergy house at Easton on the Hill, Northants, is late medieval or perhaps early 16th century, more typical of a simple stone house of the period for priest or visiting clergy, a simple rubble rectangle on two floors, with characteristically Tudor mullioned windows (Fig. 5).

The monasteries developed separately, acquiring huge estates and manors, some from patrons, some built from expressions of piety, run by administrative staff who often had several great houses to look after. The abbot's lodgings were part of the monastic complex, and often contained a substantial hall for functions and entertaining guests. Then there were the bishoprics, the institutions that had grown to support the parishes, and these also acquired wealth and property, as did the wealthier cathedral clergy and prebendaries. Finally, influential secular gentry founded their own collegiate churches and estates. Unlike parish priest's houses, the lodgings in these three categories were mostly polite buildings, influenced by the prevalent architectural style. The early 15th century prior's lodging at St. Milburga's, Wenlock, Shropshire, is one of the finest remaining examples of late medieval housing, a large house of hall and cross-wings type, like a secular domestic house in its massing and detailing. By contrast, the early 16th century abbot's lodgings at Muchelney Abbey, Somerset, are distinctly 'ecclesiastical', with their castellated 'tower' cross-range, and cusped lancet windows. The 15th century collegiate estate at Lingfield, Surrey was founded by Lord Cobham as his chantry. Round the church is a remarkable group of about fifteen buildings, including several timber framed houses for college guests.

After Henry VIII's dissolutions under the 1536 and 1539 Acts, and the suppression of chantries in 1547, when the power of the monasteries came to a dramatic end, many monastic buildings were used as revenue, not destroyed as sometimes thought but sold to favoured courtiers and converted into residences.² Some became important municipal buildings. There was little new church construction, but more clergy were married and more accommodation needed.

Elizabethan parsonages were still simple, but usually now had private rooms to one side of the hall, a screens passage and services to the other, and rooms above. For most clergy, houses were still of timber, wattle-and-daub, or cob, and thatched right through the 16th century. Box framing, with its prefabrication techniques, was being perfected, but window glass was a great rarity until the 17th century, and the priest with a chimneystack and wall hearth was lucky. But at the top of the scale, wealthy clergy had



Fig. 5

The Priest's House, Easton on the Hill, Northamptonshire, interior

Photograph, author, 2008



Fig. 6

Great Ponton Hall, Lincolnshire

Photograph, author, 2010

houses like the former rectory at Guiseley, West Yorks, an impressive late Elizabethan sandstone E-plan house with nearly symmetrical gabled façade, with continuous string coursing, central gabled porch and mullioned windows, more like a secular manor house than a parsonage. The manor house at Mells, Som, was the property of the Abbot of Glastonbury before the dissolution, a typically domestic house with Tudor mullions; that at Sandford Orcas, Dorset (*c.*1550), one of the first to have straight heads to its mullioned windows and a double height window in the great hall in place of the traditional oriel, could easily have served as a grand parsonage.

An increasingly popular feature of the gentry house of this period was the dovecote, and in 1549 the leaders of Kett's rebellion demanded that 'no man under the degree of a knight or esquire keep a dove house, except it hath been of an old ancient custom'. The exception presumably covers the parish priest.³ Perhaps, then, the dovecote was part of the semiology of the parsonage; but, most typically and for most clergy, it resembled the farmhouse of the time, and most clergy had to be farmers. The house of the prosperous Jacobean yeoman farmer or trader was larger than before; it may have had only one range, without corridors, but as time went on, it gained fireplaces set in the walls, and chimneys. William Harrison noted 'the multitude of chimneys lately erected', whereas previously 'each one made his fire against a reredosse in the hall where he dined and dressed his meat'.⁴ Most clergy benefitted from this general improvement in housing.

In summary, although clergy houses varied widely in massing and materials, they were little different in plan and layout from other houses of their time. So can we say there was any medieval or Tudor 'parsonage style'? Being mostly small and vernacular, early clergy houses effectively rule out formal or conscious stylistic distinctions. In any case, a house might be used by a priest but revert to a layman. Alfriston was built as a farmhouse, West Hoathly was used as an estate office and farmhouse, and Iffley was leased out. The 'polite' grander or later houses often had distinctive stylistic features: the brick mouldings at Hadleigh and Methwold can be seen as an eccentric Perpendicular. But many had at one time had other uses as manor houses or farmhouses. The manor house at Great Ponton, Lincs, built or enlarged around the beginning of the 16th century by Anthony Ellys from his wool wealth, with crow-stepped gable end of East Midlands Flemish influence, became a parsonage only in the 20th century (Fig. 6). It is therefore difficult to categorise most clergy houses as ecclesiastical as distinct from secular. The need for particular building types to display certain features largely was dictated by practicality or convention. A building type had the features 'deemed appropriate according to its position in the hierarchy and to the ambitions of the patrons'.⁵ It relied on a 'sense of decorum'⁶ about what was right. It was not about the occupant, but the status of the building. The 13th century hall at Bishop Auckland Palace, with its vaulted ceilings, traceried windows and piers, had the ecclesiastical features of churches of similar status. Northborough Hall, Lincs (*c.*1340), a manor house which could have served as a very grand parsonage, has reticulated tracery and cusping that also give it the ecclesiastical appearance of a prior's lodging or monastic range, but it was never a Church building.

Even so, society had been dominated by the Church and this tended to put its buildings at the forefront of stylistic development. Moreover, particularly notable features, like the richly detailed stonework at Iffley, brickwork at Hadleigh and Methwold,

or window tracery at Congresbury or Muchelney, show that good parsonages had a quality that would have been envied by the wealthiest yeoman, and the good features of those too small for manor houses would have indicated clergy occupancy at the time.

The Victorian architect and writer Robert Kerr (1823-1904), in his chapter on Elizabethan Style, tells us: 'the Elizabethan was simply the English domestic adaptation of what was originally Ecclesiastical, namely the Medieval or Gothic style'.⁷ His assertion certainly makes assumptions but shows that in his day the influence of the Church on architecture was seen as fundamental.

That influence, as seen in celebrated late medieval manor houses like the 15th century Ockwells Manor, Berks, would also be vital to the domestic architecture of Kerr's time, in particular the 19th century parsonage.

Abbots' lodgings and Bishops' palaces, polite buildings at the highest level, were most likely to have had an architectural influence on gentry houses. Robert Kerr suggests they did. In his conclusions from his study of 14th and 15th century Castle Acre Prior's Lodging, Norfolk, he criticises the scattered grouping of the rooms, but adds 'as compared with the ordinary house-plan of the period we cannot but perceive here a decided superiority, – in a word, the superior intelligence of the clergy'.⁸ In his chapter on the 14th century, discussing the invention of the chamber separate from the great hall as a means towards privacy, he says the Priest's Chamber beside the chapel of the Norman castle constituted 'the first properly private apartment in an Englishman's house'.⁹

These abbeys and priories taken over at the Reformation by private individuals and their households had to be adapted for secular use by pressure of circumstance. A large refectory or library might therefore be suitable for the great hall; the kitchen could be adapted; the cloister garden could become a courtyard with buildings on the other side. Monastic cloisters were used as arcades giving access to other parts of the building, or to gardens. Cloisters could also provide corridor access to rooms previously aligned



Fig. 7

The Prior's House, Carlisle, Cumbria

Photograph, author, 2011

end to end with through-room access only, accelerating the vital process of change from the single pile to the double pile house. It has been suggested that the purpose-built loggia at Hatfield House, Herts, was inspired by the remains of monastic cloisters deliberately retained by the owners of privatised buildings because they served such a useful purpose.¹⁰ The upper levels of the monastery with the abbot's lodging or dormitory were also influential on upper floor rooms and their increasing importance. The grander staircases of monastic buildings encouraged the transition from turret stairs to open ones in new secular houses. In short, the legacy of monasticism helped to mould the domestic house. The Prior's House at Carlisle is a 15th century pele tower, originally earlier, and with subsequent changes evolved into a comfortable lodging in which the origins of the wealthier priest's house, then the secular town house, can be detected (Fig. 7).

THE LONG AGE OF CLASSICISM

Baroque architecture came from Continental Europe but had to take a more muted form in a non-Catholic England. The new compact double-pile houses of the late 17th century, of Flemish influence with smart cross mullions, dormers and hipped roof, a complete break from the old single-range courtyard house, were popular with the new breed of businessmen eager for something new, who wanted houses that showed their new wealth and taste. The parsonage followed the trend. The Old Rectory at Naunton, Glos, (1694) in the so-called 'Wrenish' manner, rubble with hipped Cotswold stone roof, with hipped dormers, mullion and transom cross windows, and continuous drip moulding above the ground floor, is described by English Heritage as 'a typical example of a William & Mary Cotswold House'.¹¹

The early 18th century saw more prestigious architects coming to the fore. The Rectory of St. Paul, Deptford, London by Thomas Archer (c.1668-1743) was a fine English Baroque house in his comparatively extravagant style, sadly demolished (Fig. 8). It was of 'picturesque plan and silhouette, contemporary with Vanbrugh's experiments in small turreted houses', taking from 1717 to 1724 to erect 'as a result of initial arguments about the expense of its design'.¹² At Christ Church, Spitalfields, London, the early 18th century townhouse rectory by Nicholas Hawksmoor (1661-1736) is of brown brick with red brick dressings, with segment-headed sash windows and glazing bars, a stucco parapet, dormer windows, and barleytwist turned balusters in a fine hall (Fig. 9). But these were exceptional. In contrast, a good vernacular parsonage is the Old Vicarage at Grantchester, Cambs (1683), unpretentious but charming and homely. If it lacks many obviously clerical characteristics, it has the tranquillity in which we can picture the vicar in his study drafting his sermon. Older timber-framed vernacular houses, just a hall with perhaps a cross-wing in 1500, and two cross-wings by about 1600, were now gaining another projecting wing and brick chimneystacks, 'mongrel' houses of composite design and materials. Pantiles were replacing thatch. Most clergy still had these vernacular houses, but some rectors were by now better off than their flock. Richard Gough's *The History of Myddle* (1706) was 'an engaging parish pump chronicle of his village', and noted that in 'remote and rural Myddle' only the rector, William Holloway, who died in 1689, had been able to afford a looking glass, a close stool, and a couch,¹³ suggesting that ambitious yeomen might now be wanting to emulate the houses of more prosperous



Fig. 8

The Rectory of St. Paul, Deptford, London, (Matthew Dubourg after S. B. Cudlip, *View of St. Paul's Church Deptford and Rectory House*, detail, aquatint, 1822)



Fig. 9

Christ Church Rectory, Spitalfields, London
Photograph, author, 2015



Fig. 10
Marlesford Rectory, Suffolk
Photograph, author, 2013



Fig. 11
St. Wulfram's Vicarage, Grantham, Lincolnshire
Photograph, author, 2010

clergy.¹⁴ They may have looked to houses like Archer's St. Paul, Deptford for the stylistic detailing of window architraves, doorcases and cupolas seen on some of the more Baroque Queen Anne houses.

Local architects were now also gaining reputations. Francis Smith of Warwick (1672-1738), known for his understated Baroque and reputation for elegance rather than invention, was in demand for gentry houses and parsonages; he designed Lamport Rectory, Northants (1727-30), stone, formal and elegant, with parapet, prominent corner quoins and keystones, pedimented doorway and some fine internal features. His Kislingbury Rectory, Northants, was 'one of the finest in the county'.¹⁵ His manner would influence later Georgian parsonages.

The stripped Baroque Queen Anne 'Dolls House', compact, brick with stone quoins and dressings, would become hugely influential later in the 19th century Queen Anne Revival. Very many parsonages were of this type. Inkpen Old Rectory, Berks (c.1695) is typical, red brick, the roof hipped with pedimented and hipped dormers, some windows still with wooden mullions and cross transoms. Westborough Old Rectory, Lincs, is 'the perfect early-18th century building'.¹⁶ But secular houses resembled them. Swanton Street Farm, Bredgar, Kent (1719) a solidly Baroque house, could easily be a parsonage. The chunky Baroque town house by Vanbrugh (1664-1726), Vanbrugh House, 20 St. Michael's Street Oxford, is almost a parsonage, if a worldly one.

Palladianism superseded the Baroque around 1715,¹⁷ but new parsonages in rural areas often still displayed an ill-digested but endearing interpretation of the classical orders well into the 1730s and beyond. These and the Queen Anne 'dolls' houses' are seen now as the most characteristic and desirable ones. The parsonage at Marlesford, Suffolk, is an appealing example of a house of this period with later extensions (Fig. 10).

Clergy prosperity was still uneven; enclosures concentrated farms into the hands of fewer wealthy families, tending to polarise rich and poor. Impoverished clergy were still in old houses with a small new wing if lucky. Perennial absenteeism meant parsonages were in poor repair, creating demand for new ones, often in debased or localised manner. But those of prosperous clergy were now fine houses. Brick had superseded timber, and also stone except in the Cotswolds, Northamptonshire and parts of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire. Worcestershire is classic timber frame country, but the rectory at Ripple (1726) is of polite formal brick with stone quoins and prominent keystones, a hipped cube. The Old Rectory at Farnborough, Berkshire (1749), John Betjeman's home, which won *Country Life's* 'England's Finest Parsonage' competition in 2008, is quintessentially English in its polite informality, of contrasting dark and red brick. At Somersby, Lincolnshire, the mid-18th century birthplace of Tennyson, of brick and pantiles with twin later side additions with hipped roof and dormers, is a simpler vernacular double pile rectory, its traceried fanlight and Doric pilasters its sole pretension. The sophisticated Old Rectory, Saxlingham Nethergate, Norfolk (1784) is by Sir John Soane, elegant, compact, with bowed central bay rising a further storey above the simple cornice, its cool refinement emphasised by its pale gault brick. The ground floor windows are set within typical segmental blind arches of the period. At Grantham, Lincs, the brick rectory (1789) by John Langwith, with Venetian windows and hipped roof, is characteristic of the long country Palladian tradition (Fig. 11). The Old Rectory, Church Langton, Leicestershire

(c.1800) is a fine sophisticated brick house with stone dressings, symmetrical façade with Adam detailing, with blind arcading in the central three bays.

There were now more prominent architects, but parsonages were mostly still not grand enough for them. The Palladian John Carr (1723-1807), the principal architect in the north of England, later influenced by Adam, did one known rectory at Aston, near Rotherham, Yorks. It seems that Robert Adam's (1728-1792) only contribution to parsonage architecture was his improvement of the former rectory at Kedleston Hall, Derbyshire.¹⁸ John Johnson (1732-1814) had a considerable private practice in country houses, and remodelled the old Bradwell Lodge in Essex, which became a parsonage. Joseph Pickford of Derby (1734-1782), another classicist, did a fine parsonage at Edensor on the Chatsworth Estate.

Meanwhile, growing antiquarianism started to focus attention on rural house design and the smaller house. Even the cottage was now becoming a subject of study. William Halfpenny wrote *Useful Architecture in Twenty-one New Designs for Country Parsonages, Farm Houses and Inns* in 1752. In many of these pattern books, the parsonage was considered as a house type in its own right, and Halfpenny's designs were no doubt a boon to all the small builders trying to satisfy increased demand. This demand would be stimulated further by the Gilbert Acts, the first in 1776, named after Thomas Gilbert, their promoter, which, so long after Queen Anne's Bounty was set up in 1704 to augment clergy stipend, at last released funds for parsonage rebuilding and improvement as well. Isaac Ware's *A Complete Body of Architecture* (1756) describes and illustrates a modest country parsonage, with two parlours, a kitchen and wash house, and stairs leading to 'lodging rooms'. It might also have a study and a stables. It could be built 'without any underground work at all', that is, no foundations. The design is classically symmetrical, but remarkably the house is little grander than its medieval equivalent. Nathaniel Kent's *Hints to Gentlemen of Landed Property* (1776) contained 'Reflexions on the great importance of cottages', with designs of even the meanest structures. John Wood the Younger (1728-1781) also wrote in *A Series of Plans for Cottages* (1781), what 'no architect had yet thought it worth his while to offer'.¹⁹ Then came John Plaw's *Rural Architecture* (from 1785), perhaps the first pattern book of the picturesque movement, followed by others.

These books all brought the smaller house into greater prominence and helped to heighten the profile of the parsonage as a specific house type and provide a pattern for it. But how influential was classical parsonage design? When we look at gentry houses, John Johnson's Bradwell Lodge, Essex,²⁰ differs little either in massing or style from his secular Hatfield Place, Essex, or his other houses, and that is true of the other architects. Yet today the Georgian rectory is the most coveted house type of all and considered the most characteristic.²¹ How to explain this apparent contradiction? The higher profile of the parsonage and its standard pattern book room layout for comfortable living, and the enhanced status of the wealthier clergy tended to make the parsonage an exemplar for the middle class family house, encouraging architects such as John Johnson and Smith of Warwick to design the parsonages that are so coveted today. As the parsonage was now a recognised house type, and a clerical career was seen as appropriate for the second sons of the gentry who could not inherit the family seat, architects began to think of the parsonage when designing a house.

The classic Georgian style would recur in the early twentieth century: 'The Architects of the Arts & Crafts movement realised that the unpretentious Georgian rectory could be as good a model for a national vernacular manner of building as the rustic barn or cottage. The Georgian had the merit of simplicity as well as making a virtue of good brickwork, so by the 1920s, with the growing taste for the austere, it could seem modern as well.'²² Georgian reliance on simplicity and proportion is still appreciated, and the Georgian rectory must claim its share of this influence.

THE REGENCY REVOLUTION

James Wyatt (1746-1813), one of the great pioneers of the proper understanding of the Gothic style, though trained in classicism, died in 1813, one year after Pugin was born. Wyatt's new vicarage at Stoke Poges, Bucks (1802-4) was a Gothic house of three bays with a castellated parapet and hood mouldings - a 'tall, flat structure'.²³ It was almost with Wyatt's death that attention switched to the Gothic for the ordinary middle classes: 'its beauty and picturesqueness have reappeared in the Old English styles...the whole of the cottage architecture of England is imbued with its spirit, and the manifestations are everywhere visible'.²⁴ The style had never quite died, from the Gothic survival of Hawksmoor to the Gothic revival of the new designs being produced by writers and antiquarians such as Batty Langley in the 1740s,²⁵ though Langley's Gothick has been described as 'applied to incidentals and calculated for novelty' and as 'a branch of Rococo'.²⁶ The antiquarian clergyman William Stukeley had a Gothic Temple of Flora in the garden of his fine old vicarage at Stamford in the 1730s.

Between 1810 and the mid-1830s England's population, already exploding, leapt from about ten million to about seventeen million. People migrated to the rapidly expanding towns and cities, and parishes grew. The boom in house construction meant an even greater boom, *pro rata*, in parsonage construction. Chronic clerical pluralism was at last coming to an end; there had been a long period of Georgian decay; there was a need for many more clergy, and a demand for new urban parsonages. The money from Queen Anne's Bounty, supplemented by the Gilbert Acts, could fund large numbers of these. Many ancient ones were demolished, and replaced with new. The parsonage was more visible than ever before, and more standardised in layout and living space.

Travellers on the Grand Tour, when the moratorium on foreign travel ended after the Napoleonic wars in 1815, were seeing real Italian country houses: the Italianate style did not have to be symmetrical, and could be reinterpreted by the Picturesque Movement. But the search for an English style went on, and John Britton (1771-1857), J. C. Loudon (1783-1843) and many others²⁷ were fuelling the reappraisal of medieval architecture. Architectural historicism was not seen as backward-looking, but constructive, even progressive. Architects were trying to link the future to the past to create something new. The value of old buildings for what they represented was now appreciated. But the search for old small houses was difficult; they had not survived in the numbers of great houses and churches. T. F. Hunt describes the 15th and 16th century buildings that he researches as 'differing widely from, though in these times blended and confounded with, the ecclesiastical style, generally known under the denomination of Gothic'.²⁸

The old tradition of English vernacular building, epitomised by the stone Cotswolds

house, came to be known as Old English. Loudon liked the Old English because it 'accommodates itself to the opportunities, and means of building, prescribed by the diversified circumstances and locality'.²⁹ There was some confusion about the terms 'Tudor' and 'Old English', Loudon referring, in a caption, to 'the Tudor or Old English style'. Hunt saw the Old English as eminently suitable for the parsonage. His book has seven designs for a Parsonage-House, a Rectory-House or a Vicarage-House, and one for a Curate's House that seems grander than most curates could expect. He says of his Rectory-House: 'A house erected from this design would be a suitable residence for a Clergyman on an opulent living; or it would be applicable as a Manor House'; despite his view that such Tudor detailing was not specifically ecclesiastical, he notes: 'even the purest Grecian, 'sublime and beautiful' as it is, appears to be out of harmony when brought into close neighbourhood with any of our old churches'. In 1833 Francis Goodwin published designs for parsonages, trying to blend the 'cottage style' with the 'more imposing' work of the middle ages, also favouring the Old English style for the parsonage, because it enabled it to be 'in conformity with the church'.³⁰ Loudon's *Encyclopaedia of Cottage, Farm and Villa Architecture and Furniture* (1833) had designs for cottages and small houses, in as wide a variety of styles as possible. Loudon noted that 'the towers, battlements, buttresses, pointed windows, mullions and porches' of our parish church 'recall a thousand images'.³¹ He approved of 'writing an honest and obvious character with correct detail, and as much of the picturesque as circumstances will permit'.³²

The new parsonage architects were the ones favoured by Church and gentry, or with specific appointments for the Church Commissioners or their diocesan office. By far the most were architects of regional or local importance only. Most were still not committed to the Gothic style. The importance of Thomas Rickman (1776-1841), like John Carter (1748-1817) before him,³³ lay in his pedantic research on medieval Gothic, and his categorisations of Early English, Decorated and Perpendicular,³⁴ yet his house for the Chapter Clerk at Carlisle Cathedral at Brunstock, Cumbria (1828-30) is 'Tudor Domestic' with bargeboards, but classical in symmetry, with some fairytale Gothic detailing; 'fairy-like EE', says *The Buildings of England*.³⁵ Even he could not shake off his Classicism.

These fumbling efforts of many now required to do Gothic are exemplified by R. D. Chantrell (1793-1872). His parsonage of 1823 at Bramley, Leeds, is still in the Regency manner, with incongruous Tudor doorcase and arched windows. His Kirkstall, Leeds, parsonage of 1834 tries to look gothic with its gabled roofs, but is in essence a symmetrical classical box, as is his Dewsbury, West Yorkshire (1840). His Middleton, Leeds, vicarage (1845), is better because of its twin Gothic gables, but still symmetrical. His Armitage Bridge, Huddersfield (c.1848) is finally Tudor. His training made it difficult for him to embrace the new style.³⁶ By contrast, Edward Blore (1787-1879), William Burn (1789-1870) and Anthony Salvin (1799-1881) were skilled Gothicists. Chantrell started his practice in 1819, Salvin in 1825, Scott (with Moffatt) in 1835, showing how rapidly Gothic was maturing.

Designs published in works such as J. B. Papworth's *Rural Residences* (1818) and Charles Parker's *Villa Rustica* (1832) were used by architects and builders, with their designs 'suitable' for a particular occupant, whether it be farmer, member of that 'nouveau

riche' that so disgusted William Cobbett,³⁷ or clergyman. The parsonage for reasonably prosperous clergy now had three main rooms, a drawing room, dining room and study, and in grander houses a library.

The *cottage orné* style was Old English in concept, and despite its cosy title could be quite substantial, often in a contrived picturesque setting, with steep roofs, deep eaves, and self-consciously 'period' features such as thatch, leaded lights, and rustic wood and ironwork, a mannered pastiche of an imagined medieval rustic bliss. Its idealisation of Englishness made it popular as a parsonage, and that at Winterborne Came, Dorset (1820s) is the most frequently cited example. The style's influence would later be seen in Victorian urban and suburban housing, and on into the Arts & Crafts period.

By the 1830s, Tudor Gothic, with its prominent gables, decorative barge boards, projecting porches, mullioned and transomed windows, hood moulds and tall chimney stacks, was the most popular parsonage style. C.J. Carter's (1784-1851) rectory at Louth, Lincolnshire (1832) represents the process of transformation between styles, with its patchwork of features (Fig. 12). The garden elevation is a symmetrical Tudor Gothic, but the front turns picturesque, looking uneasily forward to the mature Victorian parsonage, while retaining some elements of the *cottage orné*. Charles Kirk's rectory at Swaton, Lincolnshire, is still Tudor Gothic in 1844 (Fig. 13).



Fig. 12

The Rectory, Louth, Lincolnshire

Photograph, author, 2013



Fig. 13
The former rectory, Swaton, Lincolnshire
Photograph, Smiths Gore, 2007

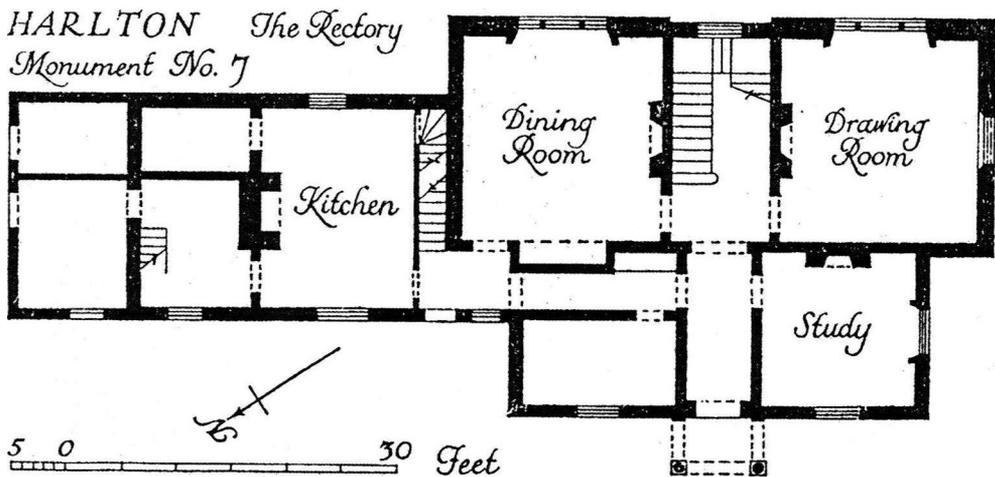


Fig. 14
The former rectory, Harlton, Cambridgeshire, plan (from RCHM(E), *West Cambridgeshire* (1968), 134)
© Crown copyright. Historic England

Even so, the Classical 'Regency Box', derived from the Italianate style, was still being constructed well into Queen Victoria's early years. In its new form, this was a radical departure from the axial Georgian house. Its squarer shape, shallow pitch and long eaves overhang, hipped roof, stucco walls and plain undressed windows were features of Italian villas. It was simple, plain and workmanlike, its sole ornamentation often just decorative ironwork on balcony or verandah. Harlton Rectory, Cambridgeshire (1843) is a typical, albeit late example of this manner. Its ruthless simplicity of plan (Fig. 14) provides two small rooms at the front flanking the wide and elegant central corridor hall, more spacious private rooms behind, similarly placed, and service areas kept apart. A practical parsonage needed public rooms with separate access from the entrance hall where the vicar could speak with parishioners without disturbing his family. Such rooms would become common in middle or upper class family houses of the Victorian and Edwardian periods.

The 'battle of the styles' of the Regency period brought the parsonage as a building type even more to the fore. The new estates required a new church and parsonage, and the parsonage was an exemplar for the kind of house the new middle classes wanted. In less individual form, its design could be seen in the urban and suburban terraces springing up everywhere.

PERFECTING THE GOTHIC PARSONAGE

The livings of rectors and vicars largely depended on the value of tithe and glebe, and corn and livestock prices had been high during the Napoleonic Wars. Church revival and the enhanced value of livings following agricultural revolution and enclosures meant that by the beginning of Queen Victoria's reign (1837) a clerical career was being seen as suitable for the more affluent middle classes, some of whom also had private means or wealthy patrons. By this time, many clergy no longer themselves farmed, but got income from letting out their glebe estates. A larger house was needed, to reflect their status and accommodate their growing families.

The Ecclesiastical Commission was set up in 1835, a sign of Church centralisation. Tithes were commuted in 1836. The Church of England was growing after the relative decline of the 18th century. In reaction to the dissenting Churches came the rise of conservatism with the Tractarians and the Ecclesiologists; this coincided with the first formal recognition of architecture as a profession with the foundation of the IBA in 1834, becoming the RIBA in 1866. George Gilbert Scott (1811-78) joined the Cambridge Camden Society (later known as the Ecclesiologists) in 1842, as did William Butterfield (1814-1900) in 1844, and G. E. Street (1824-81) in 1845. William White (1825-1900) joined in 1848 and G. F. Bodley (1827-1907) in 1849. R. C. Carpenter (1812-55) was introduced to the society by Pugin, himself unwelcome as a catholic. The society attracted architect members, having been set up by its Cambridge University founders ostensibly for the study of Gothic church design, though they were as steeped in piety as the Oxford Tractarians, and the architect members were men of religious conviction. Scott joined the Oxford Architectural Society in 1843. Carpenter and Butterfield became the favoured architects of the Ecclesiologists. In one decade most of the influential Gothicists had effectively joined forces.

The Tudor Gothic was giving way to the mature, more historically accurate Gothic, vertical, irregular of plan, with steep gabled rooflines, cross-gables, and projecting stair towers. The 'gable and bay' design characteristic of the Victorian detached house developed, the internal layout dictating the shape. Windows became pointed and ecclesiastical, their hood moulds no longer straight but following the window arch, its architraves flush or chamfered. The rise of middle class clergy made the need for the three main rooms, the drawing room, dining room and study, in order of size, more or less universal, grouped, separate from the service rooms, in a range, often along the south side of the house, no longer set symmetrically around the hall in Georgian or Regency fashion. More staff accommodation was now required, with a butler's and a housekeeper's room near the back working areas of butler's pantry, scullery and utility rooms. The family was often substantial, so several first floor bedrooms were needed. Servants' bedrooms were often in a large attic under the roof joists. The arrangement could be read from the exterior, the tall staircase hall window flanked by hierarchical window treatments. More attention was paid to the spiritual requirements of the vicar and family, with a small oratory or chapel. Part of the house might be needed as a schoolroom. As the new style developed in the 1840s, the grander staircase hall began to appear.³⁸

In his previous paper the author explained the evolution of the Gothic parsonage style in the work of the new rationalists such as Pugin and Butterfield, and discussed four key houses. Another important house is Pugin's St. Marie's Grange, Alderbury, Wiltshire, built for himself when he was twenty-three years old, as early as 1835. It is a house for which no precedent existed, with its spiral staircase, lack of hall or corridor, inbuilt chapel, and drawbridge. It seems almost genuinely medieval, trumping anything other revivalists could conceive, yet it also had progressive qualities. Pugin 'put windows only where he needed light or wanted a view'.³⁹ It was not technically a parsonage, but guided him to his parsonage model, though it was both too ahead of its time and impractical to be emulated. By contrast, his exceedingly plain gable-and-bay presbytery at Brewood, Staffs (1843-4), with its simple stripped features could almost be a suburban house of the 1950s.

Butterfield, seeking to Anglicise foreign influences, realised Pugin's Gothic needed to evolve and his fine parsonages include at one extreme the complex Alvechurch, Worcs (1865), and at the other, the simple parsonages at West Pinchbeck (1848), Cowick, Hensall and Pollington, Yorks (all 1854). Butterfield's parsonage style crucially influenced his own small houses and cottages; 'simple vernacular forms were chosen to express the architectural hierarchy of church, vicarage, school and cottage'⁴⁰ creating his so-called 'English or Farmhouse school'.⁴¹ His brick cottages at Baldersby: 'show how indebted Philip Webb was to Butterfield, with the same freedom of composition'.⁴² Woodyer (1816-1896) worked briefly with Butterfield, learned from him, and in his Sexton's Lodge at Highnam there even seems a foretaste of the National Romanticism, the European nationalist styles to come at the turn of the twentieth century (Fig. 15). William White also had a strong feeling for the vernacular. At his St. Tyd (1852-4), rubblestone gives the house a timeless look. The 'domestic' windows set close up under the eaves, and mullions and architraves flush with the rubble walls, foreshadow such later Domestic Revival architects as Voysey and Baillie Scott.

It should be stressed that the progressive mature styles attained by those architects



Fig. 15
The Sexton's Lodge, Highnam, Gloucestershire
Photograph, author, 2013



Fig. 16
The Rectory, Warwick Bridge, Cumbria
Photograph, author, 2011



Fig. 17
Danby Vicarage, Yorkshire
Photograph, author, 2013



Fig. 18
Chilcote Manor, Chilcote, Somerset
Photograph, Victoria Corr, 2012

were not typical, and were never achieved by architects content with Tudor Gothic or Italianate, or even by routine High Gothicists. More representative were parsonages like those at Warwick Bridge, Cumbria, by the fine but classically trained John Dobson (1787-1865) (Fig. 16), and at Danby, North Yorks (Fig. 17), houses with plans and elevations that did follow the key principle of asymmetrical circulation space.

Loudon, Hunt, Pugin, Kerr and Scott had all criticised 'the absurd supposition that Gothic architecture is exclusively and intrinsically ecclesiastical'.⁴³ But *The Ecclesiologist* saw the Gothic parsonage as an ideal, observing that the parsonage 'should therefore seem to partake of the stable and permanent character of the church itself'. It described Woodyer's parsonage at Marchwood, Hants, as having 'that peculiar character which ought to distinguish a parsonage'.⁴⁴ *The Buildings of England* observed: 'The type of house that most commonly is given a Gothic flavour is that of the vicarage, intended to complement its church but also appear domestic. Even where the church has disappeared, the original function of the house is often unmistakable.'⁴⁵ This 'parsonage style' is discussed in more detail by the author elsewhere.⁴⁶

The new and expanding planned suburbs created a need for medium sized houses in their own grounds to cater for the newly prosperous, 'derived by architects from mid-century designs for parsonage houses'.⁴⁷ Parsonages were seen as an archetype for the suburban ecclesiastical Gothic houses now being built, and in rural areas also. Chilcote Manor, Somerset, is a country house in the parsonage manner (Fig. 18).

THE POST-GOTHIC PARSONAGE

After the 1870s the great era of parsonage building was over; there was a relative decline in religious belief, and also in agriculture and the fortunes of landowning benefactors. The foremost architects were no longer parsonage specialists. But the ground work had been done, and from the 1860s and 1870s, the High Gothic would yield to the Domestic Revival.⁴⁸

Philip Webb (1831-1915), though he designed only one parsonage,⁴⁹ was the key bridge to the Domestic Revival and beyond. His Red House, Bexleyheath, as early as 1859, is noted to be the first perfected Domestic Revival house without Gothic detailing; a workplace for William Morris as well as a family house. The Red House 'is essentially a 'parsonage-manner' building',⁵⁰ and Hermann Muthesius thought it 'the first house to be conceived and built as a unified whole inside and out, the very first example in the history of the modern house'.⁵¹ Kenneth Frampton notes: 'In the Red House... Webb established the principles which were soon to inform the work of his brilliant contemporaries, William Eden Nesfield and Richard Norman Shaw'.⁵² Nesfield (1835-1888) and Shaw (1831-1912) would in turn signpost the future, yet their work 'suggests the L-shaped parsonage plan evolved by Butterfield'.⁵³

Webb had studied Butterfield's cottages at Alvechurch, Great Bookham and Baldersby, and his own designs of farm workers' cottages at East Rounton, North Yorkshire (1875) demonstrated his link with Butterfield and Street. Sir Gilbert Scott had thought that if any 'style' could be said to be appropriately English, it was that of the period before the Reformation, but this worried Webb, who reasoned that the choice of any particular 'style' was conscious and therefore artificial; nor did he like the prevailing eclecticism. That approach would be key to the Domestic Revival and the Arts & Crafts movement.

Immediately after setting up his own practice in 1862, Shaw, with Nesfield, spent a day at Ockwells, Berks, the 15th century manor house,⁵⁴ from which 'immediately the Old English' style emerges'.⁵⁵ Shaw's early cottage design had 'all the studied clumsiness'⁵⁶ of Butterfield, but his style was freer. The plan of Shaw's The Corner House, Shortlands, shows the typical parsonage layout, but the interlocked dining room and kitchen hearths led to the 'hearth-centred' houses of Frank Lloyd Wright. The Domestic Revival sprang from the ideas of Ruskin and Morris: 'you don't want any style, you want something English in character',⁵⁷ ideas with origins in Pugin and Butterfield. The Domestic Revival country houses of Lutyens (1869-1944), such as Munstead Wood (1897) and Goddards (1898) and even his Champion Hall, Oxford (1935-7), drew from the massing and features of late medieval houses like Ockwells. Yet when Muthesius (1861-1927) used the term '*die Neue Sachlichkeit*' in his articles in *Dekorative Kunst*, he placed the English Arts & Crafts movement in the spirit of 'objectivity' of modernism. He went on to disseminate what he saw as its radical new approach in his book *Das Englische Haus*.⁵⁸

A specific feature linking old with new is the flush architrave, mullion and transom, a key parsonage motif drawn from medieval origins, adopted by the Arts & Crafts movement and favoured by the pioneering Modernists. It is seen in Pugin at Rampisham and Butterfield at Coalpit Heath, and was echoed by William Burges (1827-1881),⁵⁹ Voysey (1857-1941), Baillie Scott (1865-1945) and beyond (Figs. 19, 20). Lutyens' Castle Drogo (from 1911), a rare example of twentieth century Gothic, had Butterfield's mullions. Among the later architects of the Domestic Revival tradition, Voysey and Edgar Wood (1860-1935) show a clear link with modernism. Wood's house Upmeads (1908) is Arts & Crafts, Art Deco and Modernist, with its flat roof and concave central section with flat wings. The flush window architraves and mullions and the proto-modernist strip windows on the garden façade owe the same debt to Butterfield's parsonages, as do the mullions and transoms at his vicarage at St. Saviour's, Penistone, Yorks (1906).

The influence of the Domestic Revival as originated in the Red House and developed by Voysey and Baillie-Scott was in turn admired on the continent by Adolf Loos (1870-1933): 'English ways he admired to an extent which is often slightly ludicrous...Loos' estimate of English house-design, however, rings true by the standards of the time. He was not the only one to become obsessed by its excellencies'.⁶⁰ Loos wrote: 'we are indebted' to Hermann Muthesius 'for a series of instructive books on English life and culture',⁶¹ and in 1903 he published a paper about English culture, which he saw as the salvation from provincialism. His hostility to ornament made him a harsh critic of the Secessionists, which gave him some difficulty with the admiration he expressed for the English Arts & Crafts movement, with its connections with the Secession, but endeared him to the Modernists who followed him. But the English influence on him was clear, and his irregular *Raumplan* can be traced back to the English Gothic Revival.⁶² 'British influence in Austria spread further than the Secessionists.'⁶³ The exteriors of Loos were cubic and stark but his interiors were 'complete with inglenooks and (often fake) exposed ceiling beams'.⁶⁴ In debased form, this was the style that was to become almost ubiquitous in the typical suburban semis and the much ridiculed 'Mock Tudor' estates of the interwar years, and beyond that, to the post-war 'modern vernacular', and even to this day.



Fig. 19

Flush mullions at York House, Candover Street, London, by H. Fuller Clark (1903)

Photograph, author, 2010



Fig. 20

Flush mullions at the former Middlesex Hospital, Mortimer Street, London (1912, Nassau Street elevation)

Photograph, author, 2015



Fig. 21
Former vicarage, St. James, Muswell Hill, London
Photograph, author, 2014



Fig. 22
The manse, St. Boniface (R. C.) Adler Street, London (1960)
Photograph, author, 2015

THE MODERN PARSONAGE

Modernism made little impression before 1925, so the parsonage of the Interwar period between 1918 and 1939 drew on a very wide variety of styles, the Domestic Revival, the Neo-Georgian, the Tudorbethan, the Old English, even the Romanesque or Wrenaissance, as well as, much less often, the Art Deco and the Moderne.

After centuries of growth in the size and status of the parsonage, the trend dramatically changed with a more impoverished Church. The Neo-Georgian vicarage of St. James at Muswell Hill, North London, on the site of the previous one, foundation stone dated 1915, of brown brick with prominent pediment over projecting central bay, and ribbed Adam-type semicircular-arch-headed doorcase, may be seen as one of the last of the old tradition. The architect could be that of the adjacent church, J. S. Alder, or perhaps W. B. Collins who worked in this area (Fig. 21).⁶⁵

From the 1950s, parsonages have either been broadly traditional 'sub-executive', or more rarely, Modernist (with Catholics more adventurous than Anglicans) (Fig. 22), or else somewhere between the two. The former rectory for St. John at Hackney, Mare Street, a 1950s house thought to be by N. F. Cachemaille-Day (1896-1976), who worked on the adjacent church, with Neo-Georgian fanlight, is modern in concept, with ground floor double sitting/dining room with partition, and function room with bow window. On both floors, rooms lead off a central corridor. Its open well staircase has uncarpeted wooden open string treads, plain white vertical balusters, and wooden rails with Georgian scrolled ends. Domestic Revival in origin, its setting helps clarify its function.

The 'open plan' parsonage, usually seen as 'modern' and 'trendy', could also be interpreted as a return to the old medieval hall, supplanting the long tradition of segregation of owner and staff by green baize door, though it was by no means uncontroversial.

Many eminent architects designed parsonages. Giles Gilbert Scott (1880-1960), Edward Maufe (1882-1974), Basil Spence (1907-76) and Frederick Gibberd (1908-84) were all cathedral architects, and others such as George Pace (1915-75) and Cachemaille-Day were parsonage architects. Despite this, the decline of the Church of England lessened the architectural influence of the parsonage. Pevsner wrote that new vicarages are 'only too often architecturally weak, stylistically backward-looking, and totally lacking in individuality, whereas the old may be of the highest value within their styles'.⁶⁶ He no doubt saw the failure of parsonage architecture to embrace Modernism as a problem, though tradition is a desirable characteristic for a parsonage. But his verdict nevertheless seems correct.

In the 21st century, the Church increasingly sees the parsonage more as a private family house than as one with a community mission: 'A parsonage is essentially a normal family house as well as a base for the incumbent's work'.⁶⁷ It is a philosophy at odds with that of Pugin, the early clergy, indeed history overall, but it is reflected in the modern parsonage which has few characteristics to associate it with the Church, and is no longer seen as a place to inspire.

CONCLUSIONS

The power of the established Church in medieval times might be thought the simple major reason for Church buildings influencing architectural development, and that seems to be true. Yet their most practical influence resulted particularly from their 'privatisation'. The classical parsonage seems to have been less obviously influential than its long era might suggest, and was not favoured by the antiquarian research of the 18th and 19th centuries. Yet it is now precisely the 'Georgian rectory' that is the parsonage of popular imagery. The eclectic Regency and Victorian parsonage had a detectably specific influence on the new domestic style, at once medieval and modern. The Domestic Revival parsonage, less specifically influential on other types of house, nevertheless owed its very existence to the medieval vernacular house when Church masons and craftsmen had been dominant. The modern parsonage, whether traditional or modernist, stems from the Domestic Revival in important respects. Except for the period of Classicism, the pattern is thus one of a consistent domestic strain of architecture that can be traced back from the modernists via Edgar Wood, Lutyens, Shaw, Webb, Butterfield, and Loudon to the medieval English houses that had themselves been influenced by Church buildings.

Ever since the beginning of the conscious search for style after the Reformation, the 'dilemma of style' had required resolution. From the Restoration through to the early 19th century, the classicism of the continent was in favour, but there were repeated attempts to create a more English style. For the Church, during that period, growing Enlightenment values were a continuing threat. By the 1830s, religious decline and the architectural dilemma of style had both become increasingly problematic. Cultural change caused by industry and new technologies was strengthening efforts to avert Church decline, by way of reaction. These efforts, expressed in architecture, seemed consciously reactionary, yet they turned out to be progressive as well. Indeed, that new style, born of the efforts of antiquarian research mainly by parsonage architects, became as influential as the unconscious vernacular of four hundred years earlier. Architects had to take on the challenge that buildings can no longer be vernacular, and were vindicated by an architecture of conviction. That enabled them to steer a course towards a freer manner with which the layman as well as the architect was comfortable; there was an enviable popular acceptance of the resultant architecture from the mid-nineteenth century through to the Domestic Revival.

Pugin and the Modernists both espoused the doctrine of function. Pugin had written that 'there should be no features about a building which are not necessary for convenience, construction, or propriety',⁶⁸ introducing a concept of morality by substituting 'propriety' for the 'delight' of Vitruvius. This was not new: Henry Wotton (1568-1639) had already played down 'venustas' as elemental, considering beauty as derived from utility, an early 'form from function' argument.⁶⁹ The rejection of the Baroque for the perceived rationalism of Palladianism had been on a similar basis. Pugin just developed these ideas and the major parsonage architects broadly agreed; Street wrote: 'I take it for granted that we all feel that ornament for its own sake is valueless'.⁷⁰ But the difference between the architectural forms of Pugin and those of the Modernists shows the caution with which architectural theory must be treated. It suggests that the problems of Modernism

lie not just in its mistrust of conscious style but in its reluctance to accept the context of the past in validating the present.

Architectural form, from its pre-Reformation origins to the Domestic Revival, was achieved with respect for the role of tradition. The parsonage played a major part in the process. Architects succeeded in creating a semiology of the parsonage out of that tradition. The resultant influence of the parsonage on the development of the English house equalled that achievement.

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 40. P. Thompson, *William Butterfield* (London, 1971), 29.
 41. Thompson, *Butterfield*, 355 (referring to *Building News* (12) 1865, 657).
 42. N. Pevsner, *Yorkshire, the North Riding* (Harmondsworth, 1966), 70.
 43. C. L. Eastlake, *A History of the Gothic Revival* (1872) (Leicester, 1970), 309, quoting G. G. Scott's paper read at Doncaster before the Yorkshire Architectural Society.
 44. *The Ecclesiologist*, VI, December 1846, 238-9.
 45. B. Cherry and N. Pevsner, *London 4 North* (London, 1998), 37 (citing the former vicarage in Oakley Square, St. Pancras, by John Johnson).
 46. A. Jennings, *The Old Rectory, the Story of the English Parsonage* (London, 2009) 188-95, 203-4; and A. Jennings, 'The Influence of the Victorian Parsonage on English Domestic Architecture', *Transactions of the Ancient Monuments Society*, 58 (2014), 114-33.
 47. J. Betjeman, *A Pictorial History of English Architecture* (London, 1972), 90.
 48. This term is used to describe the architecture of the Arts & Crafts period, Arts & Crafts having wider application.
 49. S. Kirk, *Philip Webb, Pioneer of Arts & Crafts Architecture* (Chichester, 2005), Catalogue of Works, 300.
 50. Kirk, *Philip Webb*, 29.
 51. Kirk, *Philip Webb*, 35; H. Muthesius, (*Das Englische Haus*, Berlin, 1904-05), *The English House*, 3 vols, ed. D. Sharp (London, 2007) i, 306.
 52. K. Frampton, *Modern Architecture, A Critical History* (London, 1992), 43.
 53. A. Saint, *Richard Norman Shaw* (New Haven and London, 1976), 104.
 54. R. N. Shaw (with E. Newton), *Sketches for Cottages and Other Buildings* (London, 1878).
 55. Saint, *Richard Norman Shaw*, 28. The 'new' Old English after that of Loudon.
 56. P. Davey, *Arts and Crafts Architecture: The Search for Earthly Paradise* (London, 1980), 38.
 57. Warrington Taylor, William Morris's business manager, to R. R. Robson.
 58. Muthesius, *Das Englische Haus*.
 59. They are a dominant feature at his parsonage at Chevithorne, Devon (c.1870), see J. M. Crook, *William Burges and the High Victorian Dream* (London, 1981), 304.
 60. *The Architecture of Adolf Loos*, Arts Council (London, 1985) (foreword by Sir John Summerson), 7.
 61. Loos, *Cultural Degeneration*, 1908, quoted in *The Architecture of Adolf Loos*, 1985, 98.
 62. Frampton, *Modern Architecture*, 94.
 63. Davey, *Arts & Crafts Architecture*, note, 203.

