

PHILIP WEBB (1831-1915)

Domestic Architecture

(2 Volumes)

Volume 1

by

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## PREFACE

The influence of the architect Philip Webb (1831-1915) on Arts and Crafts houses, or the so-called English Domestic revival, has been generally acknowledged for many years, yet this dissertation is the first full-scale scholarly study of his philosophy, and contains the first comprehensive presentation of his work in his chosen field of domestic architecture.

Webb's life, thought, and work were bound into a complete unity by his devotion to architecture, his love for the English landscape and its old buildings, and his views on art and society. For convenience and clarity, however, the thesis is divided into three main parts, the first of which is concerned with his life, including his involvement with William Morris in the firm commonly known as Morris and Company, with the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, and with socialism.

The second part is an investigation of Webb's architectural philosophy and its evolution, based on his own comments in letters and supported by evidence from his buildings, and of the clients who accepted it, and of his relationships with them, and with his assistants and contractors.

The third part is devoted to the history, description, and analysis of Webb's houses and major enlargements, illustrated by 230 plates including plans

of most of the buildings discussed.

The dissertation demonstrates that Webb made an early and important contribution towards the preservation of the architectural heritage, including houses of all sizes, in Britain and elsewhere; that he was one of the most original and influential architectural thinkers of the nineteenth century; and that he evolved a challenging philosophy which escaped from prevailing revivalism to produce, in his own hands and those of his followers, vigorous, inventive, and pleasing houses of national and local character.



## INTRODUCTION

Philip Webb was the architect member of the Pre-Raphaelite circle, a close friend of William Morris (1834-1896), Edward Burne-Jones (1833-1898), Dante Gabriel Rossetti (1828-1882), and Charles Faulkner (d. 1892)--his fellow partners in Morris and Company--and of the water-colourist George Price Boyce (1826-97), the writer William Hale White (1831-1913), Morris's wife Jane and Burne-Jones's spouse Georgiana, and Faulkner's sister Kate.

Webb is recognized as being of some importance in the history of nineteenth-century architecture, but because he did not set down his philosophy systematically, lecture on it, or publish his buildings, conflicting and misleading notions about his aims and intentions have arisen, and Morris often receives credit for Webb's ideas and influences. Only one Webb biography, by his friend and disciple William Richard Lethaby, has been published and, though an invaluable record, it is a collection of unscholarly and subjective articles published posthumously as an inadequately illustrated book rather than the considered and objective work its author had envisaged. The reprinted edition of 1979, edited and introduced by Godfrey Rubens, contains useful extra material.

The dissertation presents a detailed investigation of Webb's architectural philosophy and its evolution, and the influences from his life and the general and

architectural background of the 1850s and 1860s which governed his thinking; of the clients who allowed him to make the practical experiments which were necessary for the development of his ideas, and of his relationships with his clients and his conduct of his practice; and a comprehensive account of his houses (and enlargements), with many photographs and plans. As the history and work of the firm has been well-covered elsewhere, only a brief discussion of Webb's work for Morris and Company is included.

The primary sources listed in the bibliography have been used wherever possible but contemporary and more recent books and articles have been drawn upon to set Webb into the context of his times.

The dissertation demonstrates that Webb was a leader of the Pre-Raphaelite circle, a contributor of ideas, and an original architectural thinker of wide influence.

For convenience the thesis is divided into three parts which consider Webb's life, philosophy, and buildings respectively but these are artificial divisions: architecture was Webb's life. In part 3 the houses are grouped according to type and size but are treated sequentially within the categories, and a chronological list of all Webb's building works is appended. Dates given are those when the work was designed, and the names of buildings are those in use in Webb's time (where appropriate, present-day nomenclature is indicated in parenthesis).

## PART 1: WEBB'S LIFE

### CHAPTER 1: THE EARLY YEARS

#### Childhood and its Influence

Philip Webb was born and brought up in Oxford, a small city then little changed since mediæval times, which was to exercise a wide influence upon his philosophy of architectural design. As he later recorded, 'his life was coloured and even trained by its fashioning'.<sup>1</sup>

His first years were happy and secure. The second son and one of the eleven children of Charles Webb (c.1795-1848), general practitioner and physician, he was born at 1 Beaumont Street on 12 January 1831, and named Phillippe after the French monarch, and Speakman after his mother's family. He always used the English form of his first name and ignored the second. When he was about three, the family moved to what had once been the Oxford home of the Dukes of Marlborough, 15 St Giles, a large house whose gardens, courtyards and outbuildings, together with the grounds of adjacent St John's College, provided satisfying playgrounds. The everyday life of the town, with annual highlights such as the St. Giles's Fair, provided plenty of interest and excitement.

As he grew older, Webb became fascinated by the buildings of Oxford, the small cottages as well as the colleges and churches. 'That place', he wrote as an



old man of eighty, 'is mine and I am of it, with all its cranks and corners and passages, &c, still in my mind.'<sup>2</sup> This interest developed into a lifelong passion for all ancient buildings which was to colour his thinking. It was also in Oxford, in 1852 or 1853, that he first became alerted to the urgent need for the preservation of the architectural heritage, when he saw a needless alteration of the spire of St. Mary's Church.<sup>3</sup>

Accompanying his father on his rounds outside the city, Philip Webb was introduced to what became his second and equally influential passion, the English countryside, unspoilt by modern industry, 'full of exquisite beauty and thousands of lovely beasts', and dotted with old buildings, which to him were like open history books, part and parcel of the centuries of human endeavour which had shaped the land.<sup>4</sup> This strong sense of the continuity and unity of the English landscape was probably heightened by his reading of the works of Shakespeare, Scott, Wordsworth and, when a young adult, Ruskin.<sup>5</sup> Webb's friend and biographer the architect William Richard Lethaby (1857-1931) later recalled that Webb and William Morris had shared a rare 'religious love for England', far deeper than anyone else's, and not 'possessive pride and patriotism, but affection and even worship for the very earth, trees, fields, animals, ploughs, wagons and buildings--yes, and the weather, too'.<sup>6</sup> The countryside never failed Webb as source of inspiration or of solace. In later

life, at the funeral of his brother Harry he was comforted by the 'scene of perfect beauty' glimpsed through the church window; and time after time he dragged his old comrade Hale White out of the pit of despair by reminding him of the 'intense beauties' of nature.<sup>7</sup>

Dr Webb, who had inherited a good deal of the artistic ability of his father Thomas Webb, a renowned medallist of Birmingham, encouraged his own son to sketch the plants and animals they saw on their travels, and secured tuition for him from a skilled botanical artist of Oxford, Mrs Richardson.<sup>8</sup> The early sketches have not survived but Philip Webb's later drawings of birds and animals, considered by Rossetti to be the finest in the world, are beautiful as well as skilful, and it is regrettable that he never fulfilled his ambition of illustrating a natural history.<sup>9</sup> He deeply admired Albrecht Durer's drawings, which he found uplifting in contrast to the 'mighty work' of Rembrandt, 'master of human gloom and hellish ugliness', which cast down his spirits, and he treasured Thomas Bewick's wood engravings in his copy of The History of Birds.<sup>10</sup> With paramount significance for his future work, Webb's sketching and study of the work of Durer and Bewick developed his interest in texture, an interest deepened, probably during his architectural training, by working through the exercises in Lessons on Art by James Duffield Harding (1798-1863), which are based on old vernacular

buildings, and, in the 1850s, by the farm buildings in the water-colours of his own friend, George Boyce.<sup>11</sup>

Webb also sketched the horses which were part of his family's daily life. As a child he had his own pony, and he eventually became an expert horseman and an authority on every aspect of the animal, including its use in painting and sculpture. During his working life, he found horse-riding both soothing and stimulating to the mind, and in his last years, 'too stiffened by rheumatism to ride, he derived great pleasure from observing the Arabians in the field behind his cottage.'<sup>12</sup>

Apparently for no other reason than his liking for privacy, which was partly innate but probably increased by having so many siblings and by his years at boarding school, Webb was extremely reticent about his family background. One of the few certain facts about his mother's influence is that she instilled in him the Protestant ethic, the belief in the supreme importance of work. 'Well did my mother preach to me', he wrote in 1869, 'that work kept people out of trouble and mischief.'<sup>13</sup> She clearly gave him a grounding in the Christian faith; throughout his life Webb was a 'lover of Jesus of Nazareth' and a follower of his principles, although in adulthood he apparently became an agnostic.<sup>14</sup>

His mother probably taught Webb his great respect for truth, which he sought in all things including architecture, and encouraged his innate kindness and



sympathy. He became a man of honour, who could not abide deceit in any form. When asked for his opinion, for example, he gave encouraging advice and constructive criticism if he felt it would be welcomed but if he could find nothing good to say, said nothing. He felt keenly his friends' joys and troubles, as well as the wider woes of his nation and of mankind. As an adult, Webb would help anyone down on his luck, even if short of money himself, insisting that the loans were gifts, repayable only if good fortune came, and he always passed on to younger architects any commissions that he was too busy to undertake.<sup>15</sup> During his last years in practice, when losing money and having few savings, he gave one of his sisters £10 a month.<sup>16</sup>

On one occasion he took considerable trouble to find a happier position for a young female friend of his housekeeper.<sup>17</sup> Even when ill and in pain himself, he wrote long, consoling and stimulating letters to Hale White and Boyce during their frequent bouts of depression.<sup>18</sup> He helped Mrs Boyce during and after her husband's long final illness, and when Charles Faulkner became bedridden he visited him almost every evening until his death three and a half years later.<sup>19</sup> Morris insisted on giving Webb a copy of everything he published but, to ensure that Morris's trade did not suffer through this generosity, Webb always bought a second copy, though he could seldom afford it, which he lent to friends.<sup>20</sup>

In brief, Webb personified the ideal, based on the

hero of Charlotte Yonge's The Heir of Redclyffe (1853), which Morris and Burne-Jones had set themselves as undergraduates, and which called for conscientiousness, truthfulness, earnestness, courtesy, enthusiasm, and high ideals of honour and friendship.<sup>21</sup> In later years Morris, as Cockerell recorded, considered Webb 'the best man that he had ever known', to which Cockerell added: 'there are very few of those who were privileged to know him who would not say the same.'<sup>22</sup>

#### Aynho Free Grammar School and its Effects

Webb's love for Oxford and its buildings was intensified, when, at just eight years old, he was banished during term-time to Aynho Grammar School some twelve miles away in the village of Aynho. The school had been founded in 1654, and its buildings had changed little since that date; set in almost an acre of land, they consisted of a master's house (with two living-rooms, two bedrooms, a kitchen and three attics) and an adjacent schoolroom with a dormitory above it.<sup>23</sup> By Webb's time the school was somewhat in decline due to competition from the local national school but probably had about a score of pupils, chiefly sons of farmers and local tradesmen, around half of them boarders.<sup>24</sup> Webb's years at Aynho, where he probably had little in common with most of his fellow pupils, and certainly sorely missed his home and home town, were unhappy; in later years he referred to such establishments as 'boy farms'.<sup>25</sup> It was probably his imprisonment at

Aynho, where glimpses of swifts flying freely round the schoolroom provided a small solace, which--with his independent spirit--gave him a respect for the liberty of the individual. There too he learnt to manage with little and also to appreciate the quality of the material objects in his contrasting life at home.

However, despite his misery, Aynho School gave Webb a sound education, a wide-ranging outlook, and a life-long love of reading. Lethaby noted that where he and others treated books 'like "water laid on" to shelves' to Webb 'they were persons', loved and known intimately.<sup>26</sup> Even when memory begins to fail in old age, Webb told Hale White in 1910, reading has

. . . the lasting gain of qualifying one's own thoughts instantly--by those of others; if one has comparatively few books on hand--as library--and they be more or less masterpieces of human expression, they are like the landscape in front of our window in the country, never failing though never changed, and I defy a good book--which one is good enough to like--ever to fail in its mission to bless.

His letters, rich in quotations, Latin tags, and perceptive comments on paintings and painters, philosophy, music, politics, and social organisation, amongst other subjects, show that he became a well-read man, with an enquiring mind, well able to hold his own with Morris, an Oxford graduate, despite his feeling of inferiority in this respect.

Ever since fate was kind enough to make me acquainted with Topsy [Morris], and through him with Ned [Burne-Jones], [Ford Madox] Brown and yourself I have always thought that to allow of my being considered as one of such a company there must be something about my mental constitution which excused the seeming disparity, . . .



Webb told Rossetti in 1866.<sup>28</sup> Webb thought that this was largely because, though he felt he could not compete with them, he had the 'capacity for understanding' them.<sup>29</sup> He had a keen wit and was a good conversationalist,<sup>30</sup> and events were to show that he was certainly their intellectual equal.

Webb did not share the passion that Morris, Burne-Jones, and Rossetti had for poetry. He had, he told Hale White, 'no natural turn' for it, by which he meant that he 'did not read all fairly good poetry' as he did prose.<sup>31</sup> However, he shared their delight in medieval manuscripts, Malory's Morte Darthur, and the works of Dante, Dickens, Dumas, Shakespeare, Scott, and Surtees, amongst other writers. He read books recommended by what he termed his 'first-class literary tasters'--notably Morris, William Hale White, and Warrington Taylor (1835-70) and George Wardle (d. 1911), who were successive managers of Morris and Company.<sup>32</sup> But Webb also made his own discoveries, some of them outside the appreciation of the Pre-Raphaelite circle, and before these men became his friends he was familiar with the works of some of the authors they most admired, including John Ruskin (1819-1900).<sup>33</sup>

Lethaby, no mean scholar himself, had the highest respect for Webb's intelligence, and felt that the 'thought of the world' was packed into his bookcase.<sup>34</sup> He later remembered Webb reading Samuel Butler, Auerbach, Charles Reade, Defoe, Meinhold's Sidonia the

Sorceress, and biographies of Michelangelo, Lucretius, and Goethe, and also his habit of seasoning his talk as well as his letters with quotations.<sup>35</sup> Webb's letters reveal his liking for the work of Cobbett, Blake, Borrow, Emily Bronte, Bunyan, Euripides, Goethe, Homer, Keats, Lamb, Lewes, Newman, Plato, St Francis, Tennyson, and Tolstoy, amongst others, and they show that he thought deeply about what these authors had to say. When books such as Carlyle's Frederick the Great and Balzac's Les Chouans, opened his eyes to a particular epoch and country, Webb read them several times to get a picture of the period and of the 'lie of the land in its natural form, and of the human handiwork indenting it.'<sup>36</sup>

Another of Webb's abiding joys, music, might have developed at Aynho, but is more likely to have been stimulated by his mother. Though he played no instrument, he became knowledgeable on the subject. His favourite composers were Beethoven, Mozart, Haydn, Handel, Gluck, and Bach, in that order, but he also enjoyed the work of Berlioz and Wagner, and unsophisticated tunes played by village fiddlers for country-dancing.<sup>37</sup> He had an unusual ability to convey the story and emotion of an opera by description, as Morris's daughter May testified; she and her sister were introduced to Mozart's music on Webb's musical box before he took them to hear the real thing, a performance of Don Giovanni.<sup>38</sup> In the 1860s he often joined friends at small private musical evenings, and

throughout his London years he attended concerts frequently, often with George Boyce.<sup>39</sup>

Aynho School taught Webb to be self-sufficient and, perhaps because he never found it there,<sup>40</sup> to place the highest value on good companionship. Sincere friendships became for him one of life's greatest blessings, along with the countryside, old buildings, books, music, drawings, and paintings. 'Fellowship is Life, lack of Fellowship is Death', he was to tell Lethaby in later years.<sup>41</sup> He told Cockerell in 1902 that he had 'had the unutterable boon of gaining the "inmost love", of some seven or eight of the best of human souls!'.<sup>42</sup> These were the Morrises, the Burne-Joneses, George Boyce, Kate and Charles Faulkner, and William Hale White. Other close friends were George Wardle; George Howard (1843-1911), later the Earl of Carlisle, his wife Rosalind (1845-1921), and Lowthian Bell (1816-1904) and his son Hugh (1844-1931), who all were important clients also; Webb's own brother Harry (1827-1911), his older and younger sisters Sarah (c. 1826-1922) and Caroline (d. 1909). In later years they were joined by Lethaby, Sydney Carlyle Cockerell (1867-1962) who became Director of the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge, Emery Walker (1851-1933) the typographical expert, two young architects Charles Canning Winmill (1865-1945) and Alfred H. Powell (1865-1959), and Webb's assistant George Jack (1855-1932). Webb's wide circle of acquaintances encompassed many of the eminent English men and women of his time.



In adulthood, Webb enjoyed conversing with a 'seriously thoughtful friend' but he also appreciated a 'hearty laugh', which he considered good for the health.<sup>43</sup> He had a fine sense of humour, and a keen wit, and enjoyed evenings of good cheer and stimulating talk, plentiful of wine, beer, and jokes, with close friends. But he hated large social gatherings, small talk, and gossip, and seldom dined out in his later years, though as a young man he was in demand as a dinner guest.<sup>44</sup> 'Mr Webb is coming here today . . . so we shall have a merry party at dinner,' wrote Lowthian Bell's daughter.<sup>45</sup> All this, however, was in the future.

#### Architectural Training

Dr Webb died when Philip was seventeen; he and his brothers had to choose a career which would earn them a living. All four were successful. Harry became a general practitioner in Welwyn, Percy entered the Church and rose to be Canon of Chichester, Frank managed a brewery, and Philip became an architect of renown.

Philip Webb had hoped to become a painter but he abandoned this dream because he saw 'there was not so much need for painting as for building'.<sup>46</sup> This was the first important demonstration of his reliance on common sense, a faculty he prized highly. The building industry, to which his love for old buildings would turn his attention, was generally booming despite periods of recession,<sup>47</sup> and by the late 1840s archi-

itecture was considered a suitable profession for a middle-class man.

Oxford was a major centre of the current revival of church building associated with the Tractarian or High Church movement. Perhaps Webb imagined himself as a designer of great churches, in which pursuit his extensive knowledge of medieval ecclesiastic buildings would be of inestimable benefit as the movement's new buildings were based on medieval precedents. Instead he became a sought-after and influential designer of houses, who built only one church and one chapel.

In 1849<sup>48</sup> Webb moved to Reading, then a small market town, to serve his articles with the architect John Billing (1816-1863). There he found himself involved not only with churches, but with parsonages, the town's Georgian houses, the farmhouses and farm buildings around it, and small workshops within it. Billing and his brother Richard ran a practice which their grandfather had founded and their father had continued. John Billing was a member of the Oxford Architectural and Historical Society, usually known as the Oxford Architectural Society, and may have known the Webb family or been recommended as a suitable instructor by some mutual acquaintance. That William Butterfield (1814-1900) recommended him around 1858 as a suitable alternative to himself for the restoration of a church was a certain testament to Billing's architectural ability and probity.<sup>49</sup>

Work in Billing's office was concerned with real

buildings rather than with elaborate competition and perspective drawings. As well as the run of the mill work of a small town practice, whilst Webb was with him Billing designed the Savings Bank (1849) and Holy Trinity School (1852) in Reading, and the vicarage at Sandhurst, Berkshire, and rebuilt Tetworth Church, Oxfordshire. The Savings Bank, like the Victoria Square houses Billing had designed previously, were in the classical idiom, which he termed 'Italianate', but the others are in a gothic style. Webb's surviving student notebook<sup>50</sup> shows that Billing gave him a sound practical grounding in both the 'Italianate' and gothic manner of design and construction, and this, reinforced by the town's eighteenth-century buildings amongst which he worked, released Webb from the strait-jacket of gothic revivalism which limited the views of so many of his contemporaries including Morris.

#### Assistant to George Edmund Street

Billing and Webb developed a mutual respect. Webb stayed on as an assistant for two years after finishing his articles, before leaving in April 1854, aged twenty-three and armed with five years' experience and a fine testimonial, for pastures new and presumably better prospects with Bidlake and Lovatt in the Midlands.<sup>51</sup> Alas, Wolverhampton proved to be far from pastoral and only too appallingly new. There Webb encountered modern industry at close quarters for the first time, and found under what he saw as black



'clouds of prosperity'<sup>52</sup> a volcano of factories pouring forth a lava of row upon row of standardized terrace dwellings which was engulfing the countryside and its ancient villages. The shock of this ugliness seared Webb's spirit as severely as it did the landscape, and his reactions to it and to the threat it offered to what he held most dear, affected the rest of his life and his work. After only four weeks he secured a new post, the reduction to half his Wolverhampton salary of £2 a week being of no matter against the unutterable relief of returning to Oxford, his beautiful home town, where on 16 May 1854 he began working for the Diocesan Architect, George Edmund Street (1824-1881).<sup>53</sup> Webb had nailed his colours to the mast, from which he was never to lower them: beauty, and pleasure in work before reward, whatever the personal cost.

If Webb did see himself as a church architect, he must have felt his future was now secure, as Street, who trained with Owen Carter in Winchester before working for George Gilbert Scott (1811-78) for five years in London, was one of the architects most esteemed by the Ecclesiological Society which in the early 1850s effectively controlled what was then the most advanced sector of English architecture, the High Victorian Gothic movement.<sup>54</sup> When Webb first met Street is not known, but it may have been at Sandhurst, where the construction of Billing's vicarage coincided with that of Street's nearby St. Michael's Church. Perhaps Billing, who would know Street through the

Oxford Architectural Society, recommended Webb.

Whatever the case, Street found that Webb was a first-rate assistant, who shared his liking for hard work, was capable and conscientious, and had a love for medieval buildings and the natural world at least as great as his own. Street doubled Webb's salary to £100 a year after only twelve months, by which time Webb was probably his principal assistant or 'chief clerk', though he may have been this from the beginning.<sup>55</sup> In his employer Webb had found a new friend only seven years older than himself. He quickly settled back into the life of the town, probably lodging with his mother, working in the street of his birth, and resuming old delights such as swimming in the river.<sup>56</sup> He joined the Oxford Architectural Society, borrowing the money to do so from his brothers, Harry and Percy; they habitually helped each other in this way, though for the rest of his life Philip was usually the borrower, sometimes being helped out by his mother, too.<sup>57</sup>

Street, who believed that three-fifths of the 'poetry of a building lies in its minor details . . .', designed every part of his buildings himself, allowing his assistants no freedom of design; they merely finished his pencil drawings in ink.<sup>58</sup> Webb agreed with this view and was eventually to follow this practice himself, but meanwhile the embargo on design must have been irksome. However, working for Street was far from unpleasant. He expected his assistants and pupils to work as hard as himself, though not in

the evenings as he did, but he was a fair and cheerful employer whose prodigious output ensured constant variety, and necessitated frequent surveying trips around Oxfordshire and places further afield including London. Earnest effort was relieved by joking and high jinks, when Webb's sense of fun was at loggerheads with his conscientiousness.<sup>59</sup>

When Webb joined Street the Cuddesdon Theological College (1852-54) was in its final stages if not completed, but the large number of works designed and built during his time with this architect include the church, vicarage, curate's house, school, and almshouses at Boyne Hill, Berkshire (1855-57); Filkins Church, Oxfordshire (1855); Castle Ashby School, Northamptonshire (1856); the schoolhouse at Blithfield, Staffordshire (1856); churches at Firsby, Lincolnshire (1857), Watchfield, Berkshire (1857), Whitwell on the Hill, Yorkshire (1858), and Oxford (the Church of SS Philip and James, designed 1858). Webb also worked on Street's competition drawings: in 1855 for Lille Cathedral (the design was placed second), in 1856 for the English Memorial Church in Constantinople (again Street came second but the church was eventually built to his much-amended design), and in 1857 for the Government Offices in London (Street was unsuccessful).

During these years Street gave lectures, published articles, several of them in The Ecclesiologist (the highly influential journal of the ecclesiologists, and one of the first practical architectural periodicals,



albeit limited in range) and published his influential book on Italian medieval architecture--Brick and Marble in the Middle Ages, Notes of a Tour in the North of Italy.<sup>60</sup> He was an acknowledged leader of the High Victorian Gothic movement, and his office must have been an exciting place in which to work.

The most important aspect of Street's activities for the next developments in English architecture, however, was his interest in handicrafts. Inspired by the work of Overbeck, a leader of the German Nazarene painters who influenced the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood through Ford Madox Brown (1821-93), Street decided it was every architect's duty to decorate his buildings with painting or sculpture by his own hand.<sup>61</sup> His sister had involved him in ecclesiastical embroidery, and in 1848 he collaborated with her friend Agnes Blencowe on an influential book on the subject.<sup>62</sup> At Street's instigation, Philip Webb and the new pupil William Morris (who joined the practice on 21 January 1856) also became involved with these crafts, and tried others including wood-engraving--which Webb found 'foreign' to his aptitude--illuminating, clay-modelling, and carving.<sup>63</sup> As Morris and Webb were to become the foremost pioneers of the Arts and Crafts Movement, Street was thus one of its earliest sources, an attribution reinforced by his own sensitive handling of building materials, and by the fact that two of his later assistants, Richard Norman Shaw (1831-1912) and John Dando Sedding (1838-1891), also became important

figures in the movement's development. However, it was Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin (1812-52) who instigated the nineteenth-century consideration of the decorative arts as an integral part of architecture, and it was the Merton College Chapel ceiling painted in 1850 by John Hungerford Pollen (1820-1902), which first interested Morris in wall and ceiling painting.<sup>64</sup>

Webb and the new pupil, who was put in his charge, formed a friendship of a rare depth and understanding which endured until Morris died in 1896, and which was to have important repercussions on English architecture and interior design. Morris and his fellow undergraduate Edward Burne-Jones had intended to enter the Church after leaving Oxford, but a major part of the attraction it held for them was the beauty of its medieval churches and early music, and the colour and pageantry of the ancient ritual then being revived. In 1855, under the immediate influence of French gothic cathedrals and the drawings and paintings by the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, they decided to devote their lives to Art: Burne-Jones to painting, Morris to architecture.<sup>65</sup> After taking his degree, Morris apprenticed himself to Street, a fellow-member of the Plain-Song Society, partly because of Street's high reputation but probably also because he wished to stay near his Oxford friends. Morris had gained a wide knowledge of gothic churches during his schooldays at Marlborough College, and his veneration of them and of the English countryside and its old villages was

equalled only by that of Philip Webb, with whom it formed an immediate point of contact.

Morris found the office routine uncongenial and his training in draughtsmanship tedious, but such dull matters were relieved by visits to old churches with Webb, often in connection with work, and shared leisure pursuits, swimming and riding as well as crafts. Twice Webb visited Morris's home in Walthamstow, a large Georgian house now the William Morris Museum, from which they explored the surrounding country on horseback.<sup>66</sup> Their backgrounds had much in common. Their fathers were of similar status (Morris's was a discount broker), who each provided his children with a large, comfortable home, but died during their sons' formative years. Both boys went unwillingly away to school, and possibly blamed the banishment in part on the large number of their siblings (Morris was the eldest of seven children). Dr Webb's death meant that his son had to earn his living as soon as possible, and fortunately Philip found his vocation at the first attempt. He had been self-supporting for four years when he met Morris, whose £900 a year inheritance allowed him to make several false starts in life.

Though only three years his senior, Webb had a valuable steadying influence on Morris. Their personalities were complementary. Morris was mercurial, rebellious, vehement, prone to sudden enthusiasms which he pursued with an egotism that Webb described as 'amusing and childlike', and to sudden violent rages in which he



damaged himself and the furniture; and he was utterly careless of his appearance.<sup>67</sup> Webb was extremely reticent, of equable temper, highly self-controlled, slow to form or change his beliefs; and fastidious in his appearance. Both men were steadfast on matters of principle, loyal, sincere, lacking in pettiness, and wholly without pretence, and both disliked the artificiality of formal social occasions. Each found in the other a source of inspiration, encouragement, and support. Webb told Hale White in 1888 that for over thirty years it had been a 'good corrective' to his 'melancholy temperament' to 'rub shoulders with Morris's hearty love-of-lifedness'.<sup>68</sup>

The two companions held most of their ideas on art and life in common apart from the matter of English Baroque architecture. Morris did not seek to return England to the Middle Ages but he so loved medieval buildings and detested post-Reformation classicism that he could not imagine any forms which might approach the beauty of original gothic. The Renaissance was 'the ignorance', and the buildings of Wren and his colleagues were the product of it.<sup>69</sup> Webb told Lethaby that though Morris knew Wren's St Paul's Cathedral was a great work, 'it is not his kind of art and he won't allow good in what he thinks wrong.'<sup>70</sup> To the end of his life Morris was convinced that if it was to be to be good, contemporary architecture should not copy gothic but must nevertheless be 'gothic in form as well as in spirit'.<sup>71</sup> Webb, on the other hand, whilst

concurring that medieval gothic architecture was of unassailable beauty, could, in John Brandon-Jones's words, 'appreciate grace and straightforward building craftsmanship wherever he found it', whether in a thirteenth-century village church or a nineteenth-century Greek revival gallery in Oxford.<sup>72</sup> For instance, he found Blandford Forum in Dorset (rebuilt after the fire of 1700) 'one of the prettiest of little towns . . . composed mostly of dignified, brick houses with wood cornices &c. painted white'.<sup>73</sup>

In 1888 Webb told Hale White that he had 'quarrelled and rejoiced' with Morris for many years; 'Morris . . . never praises what I do', he added, explaining that this pleased him because it meant that with Morris he could put aside what he termed elsewhere the 'mailed covering of good-humoured doubt' he donned when complimented.<sup>74</sup> As they differed on no other major matter, their quarrels must have been about Post-Renaissance architecture and possibly Webb's own work, as Billing's training and his own open mind had made it possible for Webb to develop a design approach which took inspiration from Elizabethan, Jacobean, and English Baroque as well as medieval buildings.

But again this was in the future. In August 1856 Street moved his office to London, taking Webb and Morris with him. Webb, by then a tall, slim man with a serious, intelligent and kindly expression, took a furnished room in Liverpool Street, King's Cross.<sup>75</sup> Morris shared rooms with Burne-Jones, who had been in

London since May and who also had become a friend of Webb, the man Morris had described as 'very fine old fellow in the office who was very kind to him and shewed him everything' and whom Burne-Jones was surprised to find was about their own age.<sup>76</sup> Burne-Jones's new idol Dante Gabriel Rossetti, having persuaded Burne-Jones to take up painting without first taking his degree, now turned his influence on Morris, whose poetry in The Oxford and Cambridge Magazine he had admired before he met its author.<sup>77</sup> Rossetti confirmed Morris's view that English poetry had reached its peak, and persuaded him there were great deeds yet to be done in painting and that he (Morris) had the ability to do them.<sup>78</sup> For a time Morris worked in Street's office during the day and spent the evenings at life class with Burne-Jones, but after serving only nine months of his articles he left to become a full-time painter.<sup>79</sup> Financially secure and bored by his architectural training, Morris was attracted by the unconventional life of artists, and unworried by its dubious respectability, and he found the immediacy of painting appealing: that he himself would execute the whole from inception to completion.<sup>80</sup>

By 1856 the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood<sup>81</sup> had disbanded but a wider circle, centred round Rossetti, had espoused its ideal of truth, of portraying people and events in the colours and attitudes of real life rather than in the formal conventionalized postures and arrangements, with colours strictly subordinated to



drawing, demanded by the Royal Academy. They concurred with the Academy, however, in regarding the subjects of genre painters as unfit for serious art. Several architects were attracted to the circle, not surprisingly for, as Street pointed out,<sup>82</sup> there were parallels between Pre-Raphaelite goals and those of the ecclesiologists: both groups had turned their backs on post-Renaissance art to seek inspiration in medieval art, and both had adopted the rich colours of that period against the blandness of neo-classical buildings and paintings.

Webb soon became one of the circle and a friend of Rossetti, who often called on him in the evening, when they talked freely.<sup>83</sup> Rossetti tried to make Webb into a painter too, but only managed to persuade him to attend a life-drawing class (where Webb actually measured the model, to Burne-Jones's lasting amusement).<sup>84</sup> However, Webb was no less fervent than were the painters for the cause of art which, as he was to tell Hale White in 1899, was the 'backbone' of his life.<sup>85</sup> In 1866 Webb wrote as follows to Rossetti:

I am quite sure Gabriel that you will agree with me . . . that anyone who wishes to follow art with advantage to the world and with hope of competing with art gone before, must be very severe in the liability of disturbance from collateral causes, such as payment, popularity--position &c--none of these are of necessity ruinous to art, but they do often ruin the workman.<sup>86</sup>

Webb was to pursue his branch of art with fervour and without swerving from these principles for the whole of his working life.

## PART 1: WEBB'S LIFE

### CHAPTER 2: THE YEARS IN PRACTICE

#### Setting Up in Practice

In 1858 Webb attended the Class of Design of the Architectural Association for six months, as he had done in 1856 (where, probably for the first time, he met Richard Norman Shaw, of whom he became a friend and who was soon to replace him as Street's chief clerk).<sup>1</sup> Webb's designs for a public fountain and a covered market for a country town appeared in the Association's 1858 Architectural Exhibition, and were selected for 'peculiar praise' by the reviewer in The Ecclesiologist, who thought that the market revealed 'a rather close, but successful study of Mr. Street's style'.<sup>2</sup> The Royal Academy's annual exhibition that year included Webb's scheme for the 'Interior of a Town Church'; the reviewer for The Builder noted that it resembled Street's churches in character and like them was 'marked generally by invention, and often by attendant beauty in the details'; the reviewer in a later issue of The Ecclesiologist, possibly the same critic as in February, commended the 'bold conception' of the church roof and found in the 'manipulation of the design great dexterity in the imitation of Mr. Street's style; and in the building itself study profitably made in his school', and ended by saying that the ecclesiologists had 'high hopes of Mr. Webb,



only let him while young avoid the snare of excessive originality'.<sup>3</sup> This was high praise for a young architect, signifying future success if he obeyed ecclesiologist tenets. As the drawings are missing, it is impossible to say whether the comparisons with Street's work were fully justified but Webb must have been dismayed rather than uplifted as copying was anathema to him and by 1858 he was no longer in sympathy with Street's ecclesiologist ideals.

Webb admired many things about Street and his work, enough indeed to allow him to put reticence aside and write about him after his death in The Dictionary of National Biography, one of the few items Webb published (in which with typical modesty he said he joined Street as a pupil though it was two years since he finished his articles).<sup>4</sup> For Webb, Street was 'everything that was honourable, and industrious beyond words, a very able architect according to his lights'.<sup>5</sup> But for Webb the lights of the gothic revival had gone out. Despite the very considerable invention and originality of Street and his fellows, Webb now saw, in Lethaby's words, that 'modern medievalism was an open contradiction'.<sup>6</sup> He deplored the use in England of foreign gothic elements and inspirations, for which Street was partly to blame, and he was deeply upset by the revivalists' destructive 'restoration' of ancient churches. He had probably become an agnostic by this date and therefore would have lost much of his interest in designing churches. Finally, he lacked Street's



taste for active involvement with professional bodies like the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA). Webb was twenty-seven, experienced in office and site management and in the construction and supervision of many types and sizes of building. Despite an increase of salary in May 1858 to £160 a year,<sup>7</sup> it was time to test his own ideas and powers of invention.

However, he had neither capital nor commissions on which to start off on his own, though he had met a number of potential clients through the Pre-Raphaelite circle and its Hogarth Club, which was founded 1858 as a social gathering-place where artists could meet their patrons and other painters from out of London, and as a forum and alternative or additional vehicle to the Royal Academy for exhibition.<sup>8</sup> Webb was elected a member in January 1859, and was a trustee of the 1860 exhibition.<sup>9</sup> The club was dissolved in December 1861, but for three years it brought Webb into close contact with many painters, sculptors, architects, poets, writers, art patrons and supporters. Membership was divided into two categories: 'artistic' and non-artistic'. Amongst the former were painters George Frederic Watts (1817-1904) and his two young protégés Valentine Cameron Prinsep (1838-1904) and John Roddam Spencer Stanhope (1829-1908); and George Boyce--for each of whom Webb was to design a house--Ford Madox Brown, Holman Hunt, Arthur Hughes, Frederic Leighton, Henry Tanworth Wells, David Cox, Edward Lear, William Bell Scott, John Hungerford Pollen, Burne-Jones,

and Ruskin, and Rossetti and Robert Braithwaite Martineau (1826-69) for whom Webb was to design studios. Architects amongst the artistic members included William Burges, Benjamin Woodward, Street and his friends George Frederick Bodley and William White. Non-artistic members included industrialists, professional men, poets, and writers; Algernon Charles Swinburne and Thomas Carlyle were members, for example, as were two of Webb's major clients, Francis Dukinfield Palmer Astley (1826-1868) and William James Gillum (1827-1910), for whom he was to design his first country houses.<sup>10</sup> However, Webb's first commission came from William Morris, and not through Morris's membership of the Hogarth Club but through their well established friendship.

In 1857, in Oxford, Morris had found both his vocation as a decorative artist (though he possibly did not yet appreciate the fact) and his future wife. The story is well-known. Rossetti had enlisted the help of Morris, Burne-Jones, Pollen, Arthur Hughes (1832-1915), Prinsep, and Stanhope to paint frescoes on the upper walls of the Union Debating Hall which his friend the architect Benjamin Woodward (1815-61) had just completed.<sup>11</sup> Ultimately the paintings were a disaster; the wall spaces were unsuited to the subjects from Le Morte Darthur, the drawing was poor, some panels were never finished, and the damp, ill-prepared walls soon ruined the brilliant colours. Morris's painting of the roof, with which Webb helped occasionally at weekends,

fared little better but its design was attractive, assured and suitable.<sup>12</sup>

Whilst staying in Oxford to do the paintings, Rossetti, Hughes, and Morris introduced themselves to Jane Burden, the daughter of a local groom, because Rossetti wished to paint her portrait.<sup>13</sup> Morris fell in love with her, and she accepted his proposal of marriage; Burne-Jones was already engaged to marry Georgiana Macdonald, as was Rossetti to Elizabeth Siddall (1829-62). As undergraduates, Morris and Burne-Jones had shared a dream of founding a monastic 'Brotherhood'; when they decided against careers in the Church, it mutated into a celibate community devoted to Art.<sup>14</sup> In 1858 the scheme had to be amended again to accommodate their and Rossetti's wives-to-be. Morris, relatively wealthy due to his inheritance, decided to build a house--in the country partly to please Webb<sup>15</sup>--in which the dream could be realized on a part-time basis: there he, Janey, and their friends, whether husbands, wives, bachelors, or spinsters, could live and work together at weekends and during holidays.

Morris and Webb first discussed the new house during a holiday in France in August 1858, Webb's first trip abroad.<sup>16</sup> His previous vacations had been sketching tours of medieval buildings: in 1856 to cathedrals in the south of England, in 1857 a five-week tour of cathedrals, churches, and monastic remains in northern England and southern Scotland.<sup>17</sup> Seeing and sketching ancient architecture was also the object of



the holiday in France, on which Webb and Morris were joined by Charles Faulkner who, through his old schoolfellow Burne-Jones, had met Morris at Oxford when they were undergraduates. Faulkner probably began his close and life-long friendship with Webb when he too helped to paint the Debating Hall roof.<sup>18</sup>

Taking almost a month to do it, the three friends rowed a boat from Paris to Caudebec,<sup>19</sup> hoisting sail in favourable winds, sleeping at inns, and stopping to explore the old buildings of each town and to make short excursions. It was a joyous, carefree holiday, involving battles with soda-water syphons, a narrow escape from being shipwrecked by the tidal bore, and imprisonment in a lock because Morris had angered the lock-keeper, as well as serious studying of gothic edifices.<sup>20</sup> By the time Webb joined his mother for a week at Ilfracombe, he had added many French churches, castles, and town-houses to his wide experience of British architecture.<sup>21</sup>

On their return home, Morris bought an old orchard in the small village of Upton (now part of Bexleyheath) in Kent, a county Morris loved, with a railway station only three miles away for the benefit of his friends.<sup>22</sup> After their marriage in April 1859 Morris and Janey took furnished rooms at number 41 Great Ormond Street, just a few doors away from Webb who had moved into a room in number 7 on his return from France.<sup>23</sup> This pl. 2 would facilitate consultations whilst Webb was designing the house (in his spare time as he was still

working for Street) and Morris was planning its decoration. Webb's drawings were ready by April 1859, the Morrises moved into their new home in late summer the following year, and named it Red House because of the colour of its bricks and roof tiles; Rossetti referred to it with glee as Hog's Hole, the name of some nearby cottages.<sup>24</sup> The experimental part-time community was a success; during 'Fridays to Mondays' and longer periods, life at Red House was a happy mix of serious art work and riotous fun.<sup>25</sup>

Red House demonstrated Webb's technical expertise and his design skills to the members of the Pre-Raphaelite circle and of the Hogarth Club. The interest they showed, and possibly their promises of commissions in the near future, must have inspired Webb to set up his own practice as, still without capital, at the end of April 1859 he told Street that he wished to leave him, and left a month later.<sup>26</sup> He had already bought a drawing-board, T square, and measuring tape in order to prepare the drawings for Red House, but it took the next three years to acquire all he needed for his office, and necessitated the selling of his old clothes, a treasured pen-and-ink drawing, and a photograph of a painting by Wallis.<sup>27</sup> Technical books such as Gwilt's Encyclopaedia and Waterlow's Specification were needed to supplement Webb's 1850 edition of Parker's Glossary of Terms, and clothes suitable for a professional man's wear in town and country had to be bought, including hats for all

occasions.<sup>28</sup> Probably because Webb did not ask for one, Morris paid him no fee for Red House, though he surely would have done had he known his friend's true circumstances.<sup>29</sup> Webb's fierce personal pride, in which renown and financial success played no part, would prevent him from allowing anyone outside his family to know the real facts, though he never pretended to be well-to-do.

Webb adhered to the principles he had outlined to Rossetti in 1866, and as a result he was often to find it difficult to make ends meet, though after the first year or two this was not through shortage of work but through his insistence on designing every detail of his buildings himself and taking a long time to do so. Stanhope commissioned Webb to design a house (Sandroyd) in 1860, and Gillum commissioned a terrace of shops and dwellings (91-101 Worship Street) in 1861, but Webb had no income in his first two years in business and had to be kept afloat by loans from his mother and brothers.<sup>30</sup> Occasionally they had to help him similarly in later years as he made an actual loss in fourteen of his forty-two years in business, and failed to meet his personal living costs in four more.<sup>31</sup> His earnings averaged £562 against expenses of about £347 (excluding his own living costs). It is not surprising that in 1893 he owed his chief clerk, George Jack, £393 in arrears of salary.<sup>32</sup> Jack was certainly taking a gamble in 1891 when he agreed to a change in salary from £241 a year to £156 with a variable share



in the profits.<sup>33</sup> Working in the way he did, Webb neither needed nor could afford many assistants. He had only part-time help until 1869 when 'Mr Basset' became his chief assistant; after Basset left in 1884 his place was taken by George Jack, who had joined Webb two years previously.<sup>34</sup>

Webb submitted his bill twelve months after construction of his buildings was completed. A few thoughtful clients, including Stanhope, Gillum, and Lowthian Bell, paid sums on account beforehand.<sup>35</sup> However, Webb worked for five years on his largest country house, Clouds, before the client, the Honourable Percy Wyndham, paid a penny, and he did so then only at the architect's request although he knew Webb had turned down almost all other work to concentrate his house.<sup>36</sup> Webb clearly had this in mind in 1900 when he told Cockerell that he had had 'too much to do with born aristocrats of a really kindly turn of mind--even generous' not to know that though they understood 'their own wants and the ways of their servants', they did not understand the 'restricted ways of a poor lower-middle-class man'.<sup>37</sup>

The tax gatherers could not believe that the income of one of the nation's well-known architects was so much lower than that of his fellows, and Webb was called upon to explain matters in person more than once. In 1896 a ridiculously high income tax demand, ignoring his own statement of accounts, stung him into a bitter reply. 'I really cannot understand', he wrote,

'why so many attempts should be made to convict me of dishonesty.'<sup>38</sup> At first he was permitted to deduct two-thirds of his rent before tax was calculated, but this was reduced to a half in 1888.

Despite what most of his peers would have regarded as financial failure, Webb was content. Overall he made enough for his modest needs with a little over to help others. He despised those who lived idly on investment income; in his belief only public bodies should lend at interest.<sup>39</sup> However, accepting that he had to live according to the times, he eventually managed to save almost £2,000 for his retirement and invested it in a Bank of England Warrant.<sup>40</sup> Ironically, Morris and Burne-Jones made sizeable fortunes in what at the outset had seemed far more speculative careers.

#### Morris, Marshall, Faulkner and Company

The money that Webb earned in the 1860s through his work for Morris, Marshall, Faulkner, and Company, helped to keep him in practice, though it averaged only about £43 a year.<sup>41</sup> He was able to take wine and household goods at cost in lieu of some of it.<sup>42</sup> The history of the firm is well known but, briefly, as a result of the campaign to reunite the decorative arts with architecture, several architects and artists had become involved in decorative work; they included Webb and Morris and some of their close friends who, in April 1861 and partly under the stimulus of working

together so productively and enjoyably on the interiors of Red House, set up a firm to undertake 'any species of decoration, mural or otherwise', and to sell goods produced 'by themselves and under their supervision'.<sup>43</sup> Morris, Burne-Jones, Ford Madox Brown, Charles Faulkner, Arthur Hughes, Peter Paul Marshall, Rossetti, and Webb were the original partners, each of whom was to pursue his career independently whilst also working communally for the firm on both commissioned designs and products for the market. As Morris's biographer John Mackail noted, the dream Brotherhood had become a 'firm registered under the Companies Acts'.<sup>44</sup>

At first the firm's chief success was in ecclesiastical stained glass, and as Charles Sewter pointed out in his authoritative book on the subject,<sup>45</sup> Webb played an important part in this. After inspecting the church, he produced the necessary scale drawings, designed the overall arrangement (taking into account the design of the building as a whole), and the borders, canopies, quarries, lettering, and some of the smaller lights.<sup>46</sup> The figures were chiefly designed by Burne-Jones or Morris. After 1875, when Webb ceased to have much connection with it, the stained glass became richer and darker, with overall designs which admitted little light in contrast to his favoured method, inspired by fourteenth-century precedents,<sup>47</sup> of a band of pictures, set in clear quarries, running round the building. In the early years he also helped to paint church interiors.<sup>48</sup>



Webb designed many items for the firm, including altar cloths and other embroideries, tables, chairs, cabinets, a circular settee, music stands, screens, bedrooms furniture, embossed leather panels (which he sometimes painted himself), lamps and candlesticks, tiles, pottery and table glass, mirrors, jewellery, and memorials, and all the heraldic work.<sup>49</sup> Some of his first cabinets and wardrobes were intended as a vehicle for paintings. These and some early tables were rather heavy (partly because they were designed to withstand the onslaught of Morris); under the influence of Warrington Taylor (who became business manager of the firm in 1865) Webb produced one or two slightly too light and spindly pieces before settling to a happy mean.<sup>50</sup> All his furniture was notable for its simple and direct use of material (without any veneering), its good proportions, and the way every joint was carefully designed as a part of the whole. All was decidedly English in appearance and not one piece was in the gothic or any other accepted style. Some pieces were ebonized or stained, but most were left natural or waxed to bring out the grain (as on the oak wainscot and built-in sideboards in his own houses).

Morris was a designer of two-dimensional work. As John Brandon-Jones pointed out in 1955, it was Webb who was responsible for for all the architectural aspects of the firm's work.<sup>51</sup> Just as for his own clients, he advised the firm's customers about necessary or desirable alterations; designed fittings such as panelling,

pls.  
3, 4,  
5 & 6

fire-places, bookshelves, sideboards, and china cupboard-<sup>pls.  
7, 8</sup>  
boards; designed or suggested the decoration; and advised on the choice of wall-papers and fabrics, the hanging of curtains, and the arrangement and hanging of pictures.<sup>52</sup> His personal taste for all but the largest domestic interiors was simpler than of Morris, who apparently could not resist large patterns. Webb favoured Morris's quieter wall-papers and fabrics with smaller patterns, offset by woodwork painted white or a pale colour to match their backgrounds.

In 1873 Webb told Morris that he wished to withdraw from the firm 'as a mercantile partnership' because he considered it unfair that he should receive a share of the profits when through pressure of his private work he was taking no part in the firm's management.<sup>53</sup> In 1874 Rossetti and Brown also decided to leave, and the following year the firm was dissolved and reformed under Morris's sole proprietorship. Burne-Jones, Faulkner, and Webb made no claims on the business, in order to help Morris, and though it would have put his practice on a sounder footing, Webb renounced the £640 due to him in arrears of salary (£80 a year had been voted to him in 1867 in recognition of his managerial efforts).<sup>54</sup> Afterwards, Webb continued to receive occasional royalties on re-used designs, and to prepare new schemes for Morris, including decorative work for execution by Kate Faulkner.<sup>55</sup>

Without Webb the original company might well have failed. As architectural adviser and as designer, his

role was of major importance; his sympathetic arrangement of stained glass pleased fellow architects and thereby ensured further commissions; he designed and arranged all the patternwork in the two prestigious commissions of 1866 which brought the firm to the attention of a wider public (the decoration of the Armoury and Throne Room at St. James Palace, and of the Green Dining-room at the South Kensington Museum);<sup>56</sup> and Taylor, too ill to work in London, found his help invaluable in getting the other partners, whose attitude was less professional and serious than Webb's, to complete their work and fulfil commissions.<sup>57</sup>

pls.  
9, 10,  
11

Webb's furniture for Morris and Company influenced that of the next generation of architects, particularly the Arts and Crafts men, and his interiors became popular in many middle-classes homes of all sizes, including some of the less well-to-do.<sup>58</sup> As Arthur Beresford Pite (1861-1934), Professor of Architecture at the Royal College of Art, acknowledged in 1900, in internal detail and decoration Webb for a 'long generation' had been 'foremost in directing and giving tendency to the revival of the decorative crafts'.<sup>59</sup>

#### Life at No. 1 Raymond Buildings

In spring 1864, after careful calculations to make sure he could afford the rent of £60 a year plus seventeen shillings a week for the housekeeper, Mrs Long (who cooked his meals, and would presumably also be paid by the other occupants), Webb moved to second-



floor rooms in a late-seventeenth-century house, number 1 Raymond Buildings, Gray's Inn.<sup>60</sup> Like many others in the area the house was divided into chambers which were chiefly occupied by barristers; Webb referred to it as his 'lawful' district.<sup>61</sup> There he lived and worked until he retired in 1901, looking out from his living-room-office and his sitting-room, decorated with Morris wallpapers and blue and white pottery, on to the gardens and trees and birds of Gray's Inn which he termed his 'seven acres of city paradise'.<sup>62</sup>

Webb's tastes, fully formed before he arrived in London, were simple and uncostly. London had plenty of ancient buildings, and the seven acres were a daily substitute for the countryside which he was able to enjoyed on alternate Sundays at his brother Harry's house at Welwyn where, walking with Harry and their sisters Caroline and Sarah, or gardening and probably helping to grow his own vegetables and fruit, he took enough exercise to last until the next visit, and where his clothes were repaired or otherwise attended to by Caroline.<sup>63</sup> He made sketches of plants in the Welwyn garden for use later in decorative work, and in London he studied and sketched the exhibits in the British Museum and the South Kensington Museum, and the animals and birds in the zoological gardens in Regent's Park.<sup>64</sup> Musical evenings at friends' houses cost nothing, and though concert tickets had to be bought, when he dined out with his companions afterwards, or after the theatre or a game of ten-pin bowls, it was inexpens-

ively at a pot-house; the friends who frequently joined Webb for good conversation in the evenings were given a good but plain supper with beer or wine and cigars.<sup>65</sup> For example, he invited George Howard to join Morris and Faulkner one evening at Raymond Buildings for 'pipes and beer'.<sup>66</sup>

His idea of a 'dinner fit for an alderman' was a grouse with a bottle of fine burgundy, followed by a 'morsel of cream cheese . . . a cup of good coffee and small glass of excellent brandy'.<sup>67</sup> He bought wine cheaply through the firm, as noted, and obtained at least some of his beer at low cost from his brother Frank, the brewer, whilst the grouse often came from clients.<sup>68</sup> Webb once mistakenly thanked George Howard for a brace sent by someone else; Howard immediately dispatched a second brace, and subsequently an embarrassed Webb enjoyed the joke against himself.<sup>69</sup> In general he disliked presents; often he could not afford to return them in kind, but also, as he told Rosalind Howard, a present called for a 'venture in the way of friendship which time may not make a winning one, and if ill luck has it, so much the worse for the friendship'.<sup>70</sup>

In Webb's opinion greed was the chief characteristic of the nineteenth century.<sup>71</sup> 'Our aim should be to live so as to consume the least possible, yet without impoverishment', he told Lethaby in 1898.<sup>72</sup> Webb fulfilled this aim. In forty-five years in London all he amassed apart from necessities of furniture and

equipment were a moderate number of books; a quantity of useful or pleasing cuttings or prints from architectural journals and The Times and the Saturday Review; three or four paintings, drawings, or prints by artist friends; a print of the Sistine Chapel frescoes; a small portrait print of Michelangelo and small models of two of his sculptures.<sup>73</sup> Ugliness, shoddiness, and pretentious or extravagant display, to which he was antipathetic by nature, training, and philosophy, were symptomatic of the nineteenth-century to Webb. He bought little, but what he did buy was of the finest quality and design.<sup>74</sup> He went to an excellent and expensive tailor, had his boots custom made and his braces stitched to his own design, and for the cigars his guests and his own snuff, he purchased the best that could be obtained.<sup>75</sup>

Rosalind Howard, sharing the view of most of his friends, told Webb that his life was too austere. Webb replied:

My austerity, I believe consists in enjoying every luxury both of mind and matter wh. I am capable of digesting and to wh. is added this last delight, of being taken--under the<sup>76</sup> circumstances--for an austere & virtuous person.

After reading some of Webb's letters Dame Laurentia McLachlan, Abbess of Stanbrook found, as she told her friend Sydney Cockerell, that

There is something of the monk in Webb, such a sane estimate of wordly things and comforts, and, ruling all, a splendid and consistent worship of goodness, beauty and truth in every sphere.

Telling Boyce of a visit to Mount Grace Priory, Webb wrote that he found the idea of being a Carthusian



monk, with his 'separate room and fireplace', attractive, but because the Order's rule would not have allowed him 'Dumas or Carlyle' nor to 'laugh very loud over Mrs Gamp' nor attempt 'snatches of Don Giovanni', he felt he had better stick to Gray's Inn where the occupants were not so particular.<sup>78</sup>

Webb's devotion to architecture may have begun as an expedient but by the time he moved to London it had become his life. As an elderly man he told Emery Walker that he never married because he could never afford to keep a wife in the state to which she was accustomed.<sup>79</sup> This was true, but if the wish to marry had been stronger than his passion for architecture Webb could have earned more money by changing his way of working. His letter to Rossetti of 1866 listing the things which must be given up for the sake of following 'art with advantage to the world' did not include marriage. In 1867 or 1868 Warrington Taylor remonstrated with Webb for paying so much attention to 'that fair haired girl in Pentonville' that he had no time to visit Taylor and his wife, and in a following letter he invited Webb to bring the girl, whose identity is unknown, to spend a weekend with them at Hastings.<sup>80</sup> Perhaps it was when this relationship began to threaten his freedom to work in the way he wished that Webb realized he had to choose between the latter and marriage. He was probably helped towards his decision by the unhappiness in the marriages of several of his friends, notably those of Morris, Burne-Jones, Ruskin,

Rossetti, and Taylor.<sup>81</sup> The latter warned Webb bitterly that any man enthusiastic about his work should remain celibate because women lacked enthusiasm and were miserable when their men became absorbed in their jobs.<sup>82</sup> In later years Webb used phrases such as 'freedom from the bondage of women', and averred that Venus, goddess of love, killed as many men as Mars, god of war.<sup>83</sup> The only time he attended a marriage ceremony was once by accident when caught in an old church by total strangers.<sup>84</sup>

He could probably have supported a wife from the working classes but whilst certainly not a snob, he was too fastidious and courtly to have been content with a rough-mannered companion on a permanent basis, and respect for her freedom would have precluded any attempt to educate her or inculcate his own standards, as some of his friends did.<sup>85</sup> Webb's regard for the liberty of the individual was so strong that he had to refuse the dying Taylor's request that he keep his wife in order by acting as her trustee after his death; 'I have the strongest dislike', he explained, 'to preaching one doctrine and practising the opposite'.<sup>86</sup> Presumably at her own request, he did assist one young woman who had fallen on hard times to emigrate to a better life in Canada, exhorting her to 'behave honourably . . . and you will live to be happy on your own exertions'.<sup>87</sup>

Webb liked children but he had no desire for any of his own.<sup>88</sup> He regarded 'hugger-mugger

breeding' as a major cause of contemporary social problems, and possibly he had a surfeit with his younger siblings; certainly he would have observed how the advent of offspring interfered with the companionship that Janey Morris and Georgie Burne-Jones had hitherto enjoyed with their husbands and friends.<sup>89</sup> Webb enjoyed and valued highly his friendships with women, particularly that with Kate Faulkner, who worked with him on Morris and Company projects and to whose welfare he attended after her brother's death.<sup>90</sup> But he was probably content and more at ease with affection, a quality he prized greatly in a woman,<sup>91</sup> than with stronger passions, and affection left him free to work as he pleased and to spend his alternate Sundays in solitary 'reflection and purging of mind'.<sup>92</sup>

### Vacations

Work was so important and so satisfying to Webb that during forty-two years of practice he took only seven proper holidays. He sometimes spent a day or two longer than duty demanded in the country homes of his clients, and in the mid-1860s when Astley's house was being built and again in 1881 when it was refurbished, he had to spend several days at a time at Arisaig on the west coast of Scotland because it was such a difficult place to reach. He spent most of his time on site but also went on family excursions into the hills and along the beautiful coastline, on foot, on horseback or in their boat.<sup>93</sup> In general, however, he



loathed country house life. He never joined a large house-party, and whenever possible escaped on horseback with his sketchbook to enjoy the surrounding countryside and its old buildings. He found the life frustrating, as he explained to Hale White:

. . . the chief reason of the perfect dulness of an upper class English country house, is, that the resource of honest jesting retort is out of the question there; partly because it wd. not be understood, & partly because the place wd. become even duller from the ill concealed disgust at "bad manners". I confess that when my business--as it often has--sends me into that atmosphere, the ill-bred but highly relieving jest must out, or I shd. burst.

Webb told Rosalind Howard, with whom he sometimes stayed, that though personal friendships flourished in country houses, it was extremely boring when the house was 'full of stupid people'.<sup>95</sup> Far more to his taste were the two or three days that he usually managed to spend annually at Kelmscott Manor near Lechlade in Gloucestershire after Morris took the lease in 1871. Morris and Faulkner were often there too, and the three would fish and boat on the Thames, or explore the neighbouring district.<sup>96</sup>

The seven longer holidays comprised a week in the Lake District in 1859 with his brother Harry, a trip to northern France in 1866 with the Morrises and Warrington Taylor, a week or two in Scotland in 1871, a month's rest (after over-working) at Kelmscott in 1875 and again in 1876, and a winter in Italy in 1884-85. Little is known of the French vacation save that the birth of a son prevented the Burne-Joneses from accompanying them as planned, and that the friends drove from

Sens to Troyes via Paris, stopping to study and sketch old buildings on the way. In 1888 Webb convalesced for several weeks on a farm in Surrey--High Upfolds near Cranleigh--but it was carefully chosen so that he could keep an eye on several houses under construction.<sup>97</sup>

Early in 1884 Webb decided that if he was ever to see Italy it must be in that year, a resolve strengthened when his doctor ordered a complete rest.<sup>98</sup> Leaving the office in the capable hands of George Jack, he set off on 9 November and travelled through Belgium to Basle (with George Wardle as far as Brussels), inspecting art galleries and ancient buildings as he went, and as he was to do in Italy.<sup>99</sup> At Lugano he was met by the painter Charles Fairfax Murray (1849-1919), with whom he stayed for some weeks in Florence which they reached via Como and Milan.<sup>100</sup> Whilst in Florence Webb visited his old friend Stanhope, took lessons in Italian (with little success), and made excursions to San Miniato, Pisa and Uffizi.<sup>101</sup> In January 1885 he travelled via Siena and Orvieto to Rome where for five weeks he lodged in the same building as the archaeologist and historian John Henry Middleton (1846-96), whom he had met previously through Morris, and with whom he explored the city and the Campagna.<sup>102</sup> Webb returned to Florence by way of Assisi, Perugia, and Arezzo, and after a week or so continued via Bologna and Ravenna to Venice for about three weeks, then on through Vicenza and Verona to Milan, from where he left for home on 6 April.<sup>103</sup>

Predictably the vacation aroused guilt in Webb, who felt 'somewhat of an idle man, living on the sweat of the labours of poverty' whilst in Italy.<sup>104</sup> 'I feel rather like a fish out of water', he told Jack, 'wanting the support of my daily work which has become so much a habit with me that I do not feel at home without the stay of it.'<sup>105</sup> So that Jack was not 'too heavily taxed' Webb worked each morning in Florence and Rome on details for Clouds, his largest country house.<sup>106</sup> As he told his friends, this activity made him 'feel less like a middleman amusing himself while the poorer were working for him', and saved him from becoming 'savage and moody under the press of staring at and wondering over the vast wreck of ancient art strewn over' Italy.<sup>107</sup>

He was 'driven almost to desperation by the multitude and variety of things' which could not be 'passed by hastily without extreme folly' and by the little available time for sketching and returning to 'things that should be knawed at and not bolted'.<sup>108</sup> 'I thought to pay but general heed to pictures, but I find they lay hold irresistibly', he told Boyce.<sup>109</sup> In Belgium he was particularly attracted to the work of Van Eyck and Luini, and in Italy to that of Giotto, Benozzo Gozzoli, the 'good and great' Fra Angelico, and the 'great of the great' Mantegna.<sup>110</sup> Despite the naturalism that made it 'all wrong as decorative art', he found Michelangelo's Sistine Chapel ceiling in the Vatican the 'most beautiful and comforting' object



amongst 'thousands of other wonderful things', a 'great boon' to the world, a 'triumph of art, imagination and beauty'.<sup>111</sup> But the Judgement at the east end of the chapel, done later in Michelangelo's life, demonstrated the conventionalizing element which in Webb's opinion had made this painter the 'greatest of all the leaders in the destruction of simplicity in art' after his earlier simplicity gave way to consciousness of style.<sup>112</sup> Stylistic conventions, which he spent his life battling against in contemporary architecture, were for Webb the major and highly reprehensible feature of Renaissance art; in Italy he was sickened by the attention paid to Raphael's 'extraordinary skill, artificial in an artificial time'.<sup>113</sup>

He found the ancient Roman remains too 'brutal' (though he liked the Pantheon, into which he bribed his way when it was officially closed), but the Renaissance buildings were more interesting than he expected.<sup>114</sup> He admired Michelangelo's San Lorenzo Library in Florence but found St. Peter's Cathedral in Rome a 'mistake from first to last' which even that great artist had been unable to 'lick' into 'satisfactory shape'.<sup>115</sup> He also admired Brunelleschi's work (which he did not class as truly of the Renaissance), especially the dome of Florence Cathedral.<sup>116</sup> But Italy's medieval buildings gave him most delight. 'After having been made melancholy by the skilful but dismal skill of the great Palladio I turned to the beautiful bits of mediaeval work', he reminisced a few years

later.<sup>117</sup> In Venice he was displeased by the 'cold and formal architecture of the Renaissance', but found so many good older buildings including more medieval town houses than at any other place that he felt less regret than usual at not being back at work.<sup>118</sup>

Italy's countryside gave Webb pleasure, particularly the garden-like landscape of the northern plain and the view from Spencer Stanhope's hill-side villa.<sup>119</sup> 'How different the English and Italian landscape are and yet how equally beautiful', he told Boyce.<sup>120</sup> But Webb disliked travelling,<sup>121</sup> and it was undoubtedly with relief that he reached home. The tour had cost less than expected, so he spent the surplus on a painting for his weekend home at Welwyn.<sup>122</sup> It was not an Italian landscape but a Boyce water-colour of an English scene: Italy had not supplanted England in his affections.

Webb's firmly established philosophy of design depended on English precedents, therefore his stay in Italy had little if any effect on his architecture.<sup>123</sup> Robert Macleod has suggested that Webb's later work was influenced by the Byzantine churches he saw there, and John Brandon-Jones has discerned Byzantine influence in Webb's ornament at Clouds.<sup>124</sup> If this was the case, the influence was exercised subconsciously. Webb told Boyce he was pleased that, apart from a few details, he had designed Clouds before he left England; 'if there be any part of it bearable', he wrote, 'no one will be able to say that the good of it came from my seeing

Italy'.<sup>125</sup> His use of simple geometric shapes and his emphasis on materials rather than ornament had always given his buildings a robust vigour akin to Byzantine work but it was equally reminiscent of English Romanesque architecture. Most of his buildings had at least one bold round arch, and those which formed a major feature of Bell Brothers Offices (Middlesbrough) were designed in 1881-83 before he went to Italy.<sup>126</sup> The mosaic-like effect of his ornament, produced by a deliberate emphasis of the spaces as much as the pattern,<sup>127</sup> was more likely to have been inspired by Celtic designs than by Byzantine work.

Italy also had no permanent effect on Webb's health. Until the 1880s this had been good, apart from frequent headaches and at least one bout of liver trouble,<sup>128</sup> but he suffered serious illnesses in 1884, 1885, and 1887, all probably rheumatism of some type. The 1887 bout continued into the following year when it kept him indoors for three months and necessitated nursing care; this happened again in 1889 when a severe attack of rheumatic fever left him with chronic rheumatism, chiefly in his arms, to the end of his life.<sup>129</sup> His brother and sister cared for him at Welwyn during less serious indispositions, but in 1894 he had to spend three weeks in hospital probably under the care of Hale White's son, again probably due to rheumatism.<sup>130</sup>

Apart from these occasional holdiays and illnesses, only two changes affected the even flow of Webb's years



in practice, and both resulted from his love of old buildings and his wish to do something towards improving contemporary architecture, and art in general. These changes caused Webb to go against his habit and inclination by joining institutions, namely the Society for the Preservation of Ancient Buildings and the British Socialist Democratic Federation. Through the first, he was to strive to save the nation's architectural heritage, and, paradoxically, through the second (and later the Socialist League), to spend a few years working towards a violent social revolution which threatened to destroy some of it.

## PART 1: WEBB'S LIFE

### CHAPTER 3: THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROTECTION OF ANCIENT BUILDINGS

#### The Founding of the Society

By 1840 the 'Gothick Taste' had turned into a serious study of England's medieval buildings. The religious revivalists of the Cambridge Camden Society (which became the Ecclesiological Society in 1846), in re-instating medieval splendour, pageantry and ritual into Church services, saw old churches as places to be refurbished, repaired, and enlarged as much as objects for research. In itself this was perhaps no bad thing, but unfortunately they and their architects, many of whom were fellow members, stripped from the buildings any work not of the the Early English or Decorated styles they favoured. This meant the destruction of late-medieval as well as post-Reformation fabric. In their hands churches were ruthlessly 'restored' to what it was supposed they might have been when first built, or to a larger version in their earliest style. Memorials of the Perpendicular era and later were removed from interiors, medieval plaster was scraped from walls, windows of approved style were inserted, and worn medieval features were re-carved to a pristine condition. Additions and amendments were no longer built in the common manner of the day as they always had been until the concept of choice of style and the

practice of copying past styles had arrived. Ironically, the ecclesiologists were destroying the genuine medieval architecture they admired.

Antiquarians were opposed to such 'restorations', and they were not alone. Pugin was made indignant by the 1830s restorations at Salisbury Cathedral involving the removal of screens and tombs.<sup>1</sup> Though he believed Gothic the only style for the nineteenth century, and wished to reinstate medieval ritual, his passion for truth in architecture precluded any masquerading of new as old. In 1849 Ruskin, with what Webb later described as a 'unequalled literary force' that showed 'how ancient buildings should be guarded from mutilation and unseemly addition',<sup>2</sup> vigorously attacked restoration in his highly influential work The Seven Lamps of Architecture:

Neither by the public, nor by those who have the care of public monuments, is the true meaning of the word restoration understood. It means the most total destruction which a building can suffer: . . . a destruction accompanied with false description of the thing destroyed. . . . it is impossible, as impossible as to raise the dead, to restore anything that has ever been great or beautiful in architecture. That . . . spirit which is given only by the hand and eye of the workman, never can be recalled. Another spirit may be given by another time, and then it is a new building; but the spirit of the dead workman cannot be summoned up, and commanded to direct other hands, and other thoughts.<sup>3</sup>

He claimed that truthful copying of old work was:

. . . palpably impossible. What copying can there be of surface that have been worn half an inch down? The whole finish of the work was in the half inch that is gone; if you attempt to restore that finish you do it conjecturally; . . . There was yet in the old some life, some mysterious suggestion of what it had been, and of what it had lost; some sweetness in the gentle lines which sun and rain



had wrought. There can be none in the brute hardness of the new carving. . . . Do not let us then talk of restoration. The thing is a lie from beginning to end.<sup>4</sup>

In 1854 Ruskin wrote a pamphlet on the preservation of ancient monuments, but it produced little result.<sup>5</sup> This is not surprising in view of the ambivalence of many architects including Webb's employer, the eminent gothic revivalist Street, who demolished post-Decorated work in his own restorations and yet in 1857 denounced in The Ecclesiologist the French and Italian practice of destroying, re-carving, or copying medieval sculptures, and urged his fellow ecclesiologists to adopt the attitude of the Mediaeval Society whose fourth rule gave its committee "power to protest against any attempt to destroy old works of art, either wantonly or under the pretence of restoration".<sup>6</sup> Sculptures were works of art for Street and therefore sacrosanct, unlike a building's structure.

Fortunately for the sake of England's architectural heritage, Ruskin had stirred many people, amongst them William Morris and Webb, who protested against the restoration of the parish church of Hampstead, Greater London, in 1874, and against the demolition of Burford Church, Oxfordshire, in 1876.<sup>7</sup> When Tewkesbury Abbey was threatened with restoration, Morris wrote to the editor of The Athenaeum (in which journal Frederic George Stephens (1828-1907), one of the original Pre-Raphaelite Brothers, had attacked restorations for several years)<sup>8</sup> suggesting the founding of a society to protect old buildings. The letter was published on

10 March 1877, and the first meeting of the new society, the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB), took place on 21 June 1877.<sup>9</sup> Thomas Carlyle (1795-1881) and Ruskin joined the society, and the latter was elected to its Committee.<sup>10</sup>

Webb, who as already noted had been turned against the restorers in 1852-53 by their work on St Mary's Church in Oxford,<sup>11</sup> was a founder member of the Society. He served on the Committee from 1877 until he left London in 1901, a fact that in view of his antipathy to societies and committees demonstrates the strength of his feelings against restorations which, as Morris said in the Society's manifesto, had done more damage in fifty years to England's building heritage than several centuries of time, weather, violence and neglect, and were producing only 'feeble and lifeless forgery' as the 'final result of all the wasted labour'.<sup>12</sup>

Knowing he did not write or speak well on the subjects nearest his heart, Webb left lecturing on the society's behalf to Morris, who became the public figurehead, which largely explains how it was that he was often given credit for much that belongs to Webb.<sup>13</sup> Nevertheless, Webb was an active if quiet proselytizer. By letter and no doubt in person,<sup>14</sup> he tried, usually successfully, to persuade anyone he thought had influence to join the Society. Many of his friends and at least thirteen of his clients became members, and at his urging, brought the Society to the



attention of their acquaintances, kept an eye open in the field and press for buildings in danger, and reported them, usually through Webb. As he seldom missed a Committee meeting there was thus no delay in the Society taking action against such menaces as the imminent destruction of the city walls of Florence reported by Spencer Stanhope, the proposed rebuilding of the cloisters at Tewkesbury Abbey sent in by John R. Yorke, or the threat to Salisbury Cathedral's spire communicated by Percy Wyndham (who was instrumental in the saving of East Knoyle tower).<sup>15</sup> Webb's recruits, for their part, were equally prompt in responding to his requests for information or the lending of their names in support of protests;<sup>16</sup> George Boyce, for example, inspected and reported on many imperilled buildings whilst on painting trips in different parts of the country.

Many of Webb's letters to friends reveal the deep anger and distress evoked in him by the restorers. They abound in such phrases as 'quick-salving "eminent"' (with whom Webb classed Viollet-le-Duc (1814-79), the French gothic revivalist and restorer), 'the proposal is--of course, brutal and stupid, as usual in such cases', 'tampered with by a former restless and reckless parson', 'damned by witless fiddling', and 'ravished, sicklied over with a pale cast of idolatry'.<sup>17</sup> In this request to Hale White for help his bitterness is evident:

' . . . have you any friends who would fight to save Dunblane Cathedral from destruction? The heritors



are about to preserve this wonderfully beautiful piece of the scarce remains of Mediaeval Scotland, by spending £25,000 on it; they would not spend 25d on preserving a starving family.'<sup>18</sup>

Perhaps inevitably, all the best efforts of Webb, Morris and their Anti-Scrape colleagues sometimes failed. Then Webb became despondent, as on the occasion when they failed to secure essential repairs to the ruins of Kirkstall Abbey, Leeds, which Webb said were covered in 'sooty sludge, the appropriate accompaniment of gold making'; he told Hale White bitterly that '. . . neither gilded ease would nor grovelling labour could listen to us'.<sup>19</sup> On another occasion he told Weir of the despair brought on by some cases of botched repairs. 'It seems quite hopeless,' he wrote, 'to drive into wooden and parsonic heads that old buildings--in the treatment of them--deserve application of the best of intelligence, and not of shiftlessness lazily employed.'<sup>20</sup> However, he never ceased trying.

Morris was chiefly responsible for the SPAB's manifesto (which remains unchanged today) though Webb's hand can be recognized in it, and Morris was the first Secretary. However, he was not an architect, he had no experience in the repair of old buildings, and, after the first couple of years, it was found inadvisable to allow him to undertake case-work because his quick temper and intolerance alienated the people the Society hoped to influence.<sup>21</sup> Webb, on the other hand, though his anger at restorations was as great as Morris's, had a calm, reasonable manner and ability to see an

opponent's point of view that was ideal for the job, though he too was a vigorous and vociferous promulgator of the cause and the Society. He set a standard of selfless service by hardly ever missing a Committee meeting, and by giving hours to the cause without monetary reward, many of them spent in report writing.<sup>22</sup> But it was his contribution to the practice of preservation, and his training of younger architects in this that was of greatest importance to the SPAB.

#### SPAB Policy and Practice

Left to himself Morris would undoubtedly have restricted the new society's efforts to ecclesiastical and domestic medieval buildings, but Webb, with his wider vision, gave the Society a very broad base. Morris would never have written to The Times in defence of Wren's city churches in 1878 without Webb's insistence, for example.<sup>23</sup> The SPAB became concerned with buildings of all periods and styles, large and small, the humble and the great, cathedrals and village churches, bridges and barns and cottages, as well as manor houses and country seats.<sup>24</sup> The entire secular and ecclesiastical architectural heritage came under its umbrella.

Ruskin had drawn attention to the importance of retaining the authenticity of antiquity, to the beauty of weathered materials and to the associational value of ancient surfaces as those worked upon by medieval craftsmen,<sup>25</sup> and he began the serious attack against



the restorers, to combat whom Morris instigated the formation of a society. But Webb had a major say in forming its policy, and decided upon and developed its methods of repair.

Under the guidance of Webb, who would rather have seen an old building demolished than turned into a restorer's sham with all vestiges of the hand and mind of its original craftsmen obliterated, the Society set great store on original surfaces, and advocated a conservative approach to the repair of an old building, in his words 'sustaining it without injury to its historical interest'.<sup>26</sup> Only the minimum repair necessary to prolong its life was advocated, and that with as little disruption to structure, surfaces, and furnishings as possible, with no re-texturing, re-carving, or copying, and with no stripping of amendments and additions made through the centuries. 'Anti-scrape', the widely-used sobriquet bestowed on the SPAB by Morris, was indeed apt. Most SPAB-supervised repair work was invisible, in contrast to the restorers' stripped, re-faced and rebuilt efforts. If replacement of an item such as a window mullion was unavoidable, it was to be frankly modern though sympathetic in form and material. The idea was--and still is--not to make an old building look as it might have looked in its youth, but to make it last as long as possible by strengthening its structure, preferably invisibly, leaving it unchanged, with as much as possible of the old fabric untouched, for the



enjoyment and education of future generations.

There is an obvious paradox in the Society's approach. For Webb, old buildings were living history-books, yet under his guidance the Society, adamant though it was against the restorers' habit of stopping the story at an arbitrary date and stripping later leaves from the priceless manuscripts, itself called a halt in refusing to allow the nineteenth century to add its page to the volume. Furthermore, banning new memorials, as the SPAB urged--an example being Webb's refusal to countenance the introducing of '(as certainly it must be) incongruous modern work, whether of statues, monuments, stained glass, or useless ecclesiastical trifles' into Westminster Abbey<sup>27</sup>--was essentially the same as the restorers' banishment of memorials of unacceptable date. The paradox arose because Webb and Morris believed contemporary craftsmanship was of too low a standard to sit beside medieval work, and that contemporary architecture, being based on past styles developed by and for a way of life and thought to which the nineteenth century was alien, was unreal, decadent and therefore similarly unfit. In practice, however, because the Society treated essential insertions and additions in a frankly modern though very simple way, new pages were added to the chronicle, revealing at least a concern for conservation if little or nothing about contemporary design in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

After doing what he thought were minimum repairs to Hunsdon Church, Hertfordshire, in 1871-72, Webb had been 'dissatisfied with the amount of change', and so, long before the SPAB was founded, he had resolved to be 'even more radically conservative in future.'<sup>28</sup> For some years before 1877 he had practised what now became the Society's gospel (as will be shown in part 3, chapter six), and in so doing had developed ways of preserving old fabric with the least possible disturbance to it. Though not done for the Society, his 1892-93 repair of the tower of East Knoyle Church, Wiltshire, which had been threatened with demolition, was of the greatest significance to Anti-scrape because the methods Webb used there became its standard procedure. He strengthened the tower's walls, without touching their exterior surfaces, by removing small sections of the inside face of the wall, supporting the wall above with temporary beams, and inserting new masonry tied-in by slate bands--sometimes termed 'Webb sandwiches'--to form a strong honeycomb around the old rubble core which he stiffened with grout, and he replaced decayed parts of the roof timbers with new wood in such a way that most of the original members remained.<sup>29</sup>

With the incorporation of some technical developments, these methods are part of the SPAB system of repair, as is Webb's practice of replacing decayed stonework such as mullions with clay tiles or other sympathetic materials instead of stone copies of the



originals. Such replacements do not pretend to be old, and are far less obtrusive than new copies: though the latter can be defended on the grounds that as they can never become as weather-worn as the original fabric unless they are artificially aged, they give a better notion of the building when first built without truly suggesting false age. Sometimes replaced items look obtrusively new if there is no modification of the material's colour, but Webb, to whom all forms of deceit were anathema, would allow no such compromise, on this or any other point. 'My own feeling,' he told Boyce, 'is that our Anti-scrape principles are non too high, and that to temporise will be, in other words, to give in.'<sup>30</sup>

Buildings on which Webb acted as the Society's consultant include Lake House, Wiltshire (1897-1908), two churches in South Glamorgan (Eglwys Brewis and Eglwys Cummin, 1899-1902), the churches of All Saints at Sutton on Trent, Nottinghamshire and Wilby, Norfolk (1900-02, 1902-03), and Stonehenge (survey and recommendations, 1900).<sup>31</sup> Peterborough Cathedral was another; in December 1896 George Bernard Shaw (1856-1950) asked Webb, who had already been warned by Percy Wyndham of the proposed restoration by John Loughborough Pearson (1817-97) and Sir Arthur Blomfield (1829-99), to protest against the imminent fate of Peterborough Cathedral's west front, because he believed Webb's voice would be heard.<sup>32</sup> Modest as usual, Webb preferred to help Shaw to write the



protest, which did not mince its words, and which (anonymously to avoid accusations of self-advertisement from the restorers) was published in the Saturday Review on 2 January 1897.<sup>33</sup> After listing the problems, Shaw and Webb continued:

The foundations can be carried down to the rock by under-pinning; the inclination of two feet does not matter in the least with a wall seven feet thick; and the disintegrated core can be removed bit by bit, and replaced with sound bonded work, without touching or disturbing one grain of dust on the priceless Front which is the glory of the edifice.

Sadly, though backed by the Society of Antiquaries--to a meeting of which Webb personally explained the condition of the fabric<sup>34</sup>--and despite a strong SPAB campaign, the restorers won the day and the west front lost its authenticity.

As Webb's application of these principles on his own house alterations and extensions work will be discussed in part 3 (chapter 6), it is sufficient here to give a summary. When working on a property of great antiquity, he applied them rigorously. He told George Howard that his first aim when working on Naworth Castle was to do his work in such a way that 'the next Archt. who is turned on to Naworth can sweep it all away, and no injury will have been done to the fabric by the former Arch-e-brute'.<sup>35</sup>

With less important old houses he used his common sense, for it was always clear that a client requiring larger accommodation would go to another architect if he refused to design additions, and he must have known that no-one else during his time in practice would do

so as sympathetically. He was also very aware that very few clients would put up with floors of different levels, awkwardly shaped ceilings, and the like.<sup>36</sup> The wording of one of his accounts defined his approach: to 'advising . . . as to the best way of supporting, repairing and adding to the accommodation of the house with as little injury as possible to its character'.<sup>37</sup>

Where he judged a complete building or a part of it unworthy of rescue, he demolished it but usually rescued the odd item as a memento. For example, he treated the oldest tower at Cortachy Castle with the utmost care, but would have happily swept away its eighteenth-century wing.<sup>38</sup> He demolished the original small house at Clouds and the large country houses at Arisaig, Rounton Grange, and Joldwynds. He treated the eighteenth-century part of Exning House with the greatest respect because, though it was not to his taste, it was well-designed and well-built, but he replaced the early nineteenth-century wing. The 1788 frontage which had to the basically medieval Forthampton Court was a poor affair, so he changed it, not to what he thought it once looked like, but certainly to an asymmetry such as it must once have possessed.

#### 'A School of Rational Builders'

When working on an old structure for a private client Webb found it necessary to have someone on site at all times with more understanding of the problems

likely to arise than the usual clerk of works, someone who could decide 'at almost every step what to renew and what to let alone, as well as how to get round unforeseen difficulties and solve all sorts of petty engineering and building problems' in ways causing least change.<sup>39</sup> In the early years the Society adopted this practice, with Webb in overall charge and a younger architect supervising on site.

Of these younger men William Weir (1865-1950), George Jack, and Detmar Blow (1867-1939), had all been trained in such work by Webb in his own practice. Weir was Webb's assistant from 1888-97, and was clerk-of-works for the extending of Exning House, Suffolk, in 1895-96.<sup>40</sup> He worked full-time for the SPAB from 1899 until his death in 1950, making over 1,000 surveys and reports on old churches, and supervising the repair of many of them using and perfecting the Webb methods described above.<sup>41</sup> George Jack was Webb's assistant from 1882-1901 (chief clerk from 1884), during which time he spent whole days on site at critical stages; for the Society, he served on the Committee, supervised repairs, acted as site architect for Weir, for example at Rievaulx Abbey, North Yorkshire, and designed and made church fittings.<sup>42</sup> Detmar Blow, whose apprenticeship with a builder after his architectural training is thought to have been at Webb's suggestion, was the latter's site architect for the repair of East Knoyle church tower.<sup>43</sup> Blow repaired several churches and country houses,



including Lake House, Wiltshire with Webb as consultant, and Haddon Hall, Derbyshire, working with his own faithful band of craftsmen.<sup>44</sup>

Only three of the original fifty-six members of the first SPAB Committee were architects (Webb, George Aitchison (1825-1910) and John James Stevenson (1831-1908)),<sup>45</sup> but by the late 1880s and 1890s several younger architects were deeply involved in Anti-Scrape affairs. Most of them were disciples of Webb, who was their friend as well as professional mentor. As well as Weir, Jack, and Blow, they included Richard Lethaby, Ernest Gimson, Ernest and Sidney Barnsley, Alfred Powell, Albert H. Powys, Charles Winmill, and Hugh Thackeray Turner (Secretary for many years and latterly chairman of the Committee). All were Arts and Crafts Movement men, who in both their Society work and their new houses, carried into the twentieth century Webb's concept of architecture as a traditional building craft rather than a vehicle for flamboyant self-expression, or a matter of exhibition drawings.

From Webb, whose 'knowledge on these subjects was wonderful' as Thackeray Turner said,<sup>46</sup> they learnt not only repair technology but a great deal about the less glamorous aspects of architecture which to Webb were the essentials of all good building: for example, the characteristics, capabilities and weathering qualities of different materials and mortars, how to weatherproof and drain, to exploit the possibilities of each site, and how to make the most of traditional construction in

all its variety. Some of it they absorbed whilst doing Society work, or talking to Webb in his rooms, but chiefly his architect-students picked his brains after the weekly meetings of the Committee, after supper at Gatti's in the Strand, when they also asked Webb's advice on their new designs.<sup>47</sup> And so it was that Philip Webb, to whom no pupil was ever articulated, had his own informal college of building crafts and construction, and made the SPAB (in the words of Lethaby who, like Halsey Ricardo (1854-1928), passed on Webb's beliefs to the students of the Central School of Arts and Crafts) a 'real school of practical building--architecture with all the whims which we usually call design left out', a 'school of rational builders'.<sup>48</sup>

The SPAB is now over a century old, and through its battles--over 13,000--to save old buildings it has not only saved many of them from decay, defacement, 'restoration', or simple neglect, but has also alerted a large number of people to the importance of retaining the authenticity of each ancient monument.<sup>49</sup> In its early days, one of its members, Sir John Lubbock, was responsible for the passing of the 1882 Ancient Monuments Act, the earliest legislative measure for protection of ancient edifices, which provided for public ownership of them.<sup>50</sup> Today the Society is the leading authority in Britain, probably in the world, on the repair of old buildings, and it is still an active pressure group and 'school of rational building', with

the emphasis on construction rather than aesthetics. It is consulted by all the public bodies concerned with conservation, and by many of the lay public who are anxious to do the best by their old property.

As this foremost preservation authority owes so much to Philip Webb, he is clearly a figure of the highest importance in the history and practice of building conservation, thanks to whose efforts the heritage is richer than it might have been in monuments both large and small. This is so not only in Britain but abroad, where many countries now have their own preservation societies. From its inauguration the SPAB raised its voice to save foreign buildings. During Webb's lifetime his principles and practices of minimal repair became known in Italy largely through his friend Giacomo Boni, in France partly through his friend George Boyce, and in Germany through Hermann Muthesius (who became interested and involved whilst researching his influential study of contemporary house design in England, Das englische Haus (1904-05)).<sup>51</sup> Since his death, Anti-scrape has carried his word even further afield so that, as David Pearce, then Secretary, said in 1982, 'the SPAB approach has become the widely received view'.<sup>52</sup> The Society is the finest possible memorial to Willam Morris, its instigator, and to Philip Webb, its guide and mentor.



## PART 1: WEBB'S LIFE

### CHAPTER 4: SOCIALISM

#### The Influence of Ruskin

In 1883 Philip Webb, hitherto a supporter of the Radical Liberals, became an active socialist or, as Morris preferred to put it, a communist.<sup>1</sup> This change of allegiance stemmed from the beliefs about art and society which also lay at the root of his architectural philosophy.

In the nineteenth century many people saw industrialism as progress, but some thinkers feared that the spiritual qualities of mankind would be destroyed by a materialistic society in which men were regarded as a commodity: labour. Realizing that economic and working conditions affect the spiritual or imaginative as well as the material quality of life, they felt that the feudalism and noblesse oblige of the Middle Ages had given each man his own place in harmony with his fellows and with nature, whereas increasingly in their own times men were regarded as machines.<sup>2</sup> For example, Thomas Carlyle warned that as human values were reduced to cash values in the 'Age of Machinery' men were growing 'mechanical in head and in heart, as well as in hand'; and William Cobbett (1763-1835), the champion of traditional rural England, maintained that medieval Englishmen had more liberty than those of his

own times when the wealthy were growing richer whilst the poor became dispossessed, and he contrasted beautiful gothic buildings with those of nineteenth-century institutions.<sup>3</sup>

Pugin also used the contrast theme, to great effect, in Contrasts: or a Parallel between the noble edifices of the Middle Ages, and Corresponding Buildings of the Present Day (1836), and in that work and in The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture (1841), by attributing the excellence of medieval architecture to the religious enthusiasm and faith shared by its builders and their community, he emphasized the concept that architecture reflects the society which builds it.<sup>4</sup> Webb was influenced by all these and similar views but above all by those of John Ruskin.

In Seven Lamps and The Stones of Venice (1851-53), Ruskin (who like Pugin disliked classical buildings) combined Carlyle's views with Pugin's concept by maintaining that the glory of gothic architecture came from its embodiment of the expression of the creative spirit of the craftsman, which had been exercised in complete freedom and with enjoyment in the work.<sup>5</sup> All art which did not express the 'vigour, perception, and invention' of a 'human spirit' was worthless, Ruskin pronounced.<sup>6</sup> He believed that man's intuitive creative faculty had been suppressed by increasing materialism during and since the Renaissance and almost destroyed by the machines and divided labour of industrialism;<sup>7</sup>

and he maintained that the lifelessness and soullessness of contemporary architecture was largely due to the fact that in the interests of profit-seeking, craftsmen were forced into slavishly executing the designs of others, which destroyed their pleasure in their work and impaired their ability to judge quality.

Doubtless reinforced by his reading of Goethe, and coupled with his own extensive knowledge of gothic buildings, Ruskin's views (which Webb encountered when in his twenties) led him to conclude that medieval art was, as Lethaby put it, the product of a 'folk tradition, an unconscious development, a natural welling up from deep sources', a 'kind of happy sing-song of labour and unconscious feeling'.<sup>8</sup> In the medieval community, with its shared faith, hopes, and beliefs, the 'daily life of the craftsman was a positive incentive to imaginative creation', Webb believed, whereas in the nineteenth century the 'art-workman' had been made even 'more of a mere mechanic' than in the Renaissance.<sup>9</sup> Concurring with Ruskin, Webb believed that gothic art had begun to decline in the Renaissance when it ceased to 'express the deeper feelings of the people' and simplicity was replaced by artificiality as 'artists began to be supported by the upper classes, and to pander to the luxury of the time'.<sup>10</sup> After studying Greek, Roman, and Byzantine art he concluded that the Romans had debased Greek architecture, that the fall of Rome had resulted in a rebirth of good art under Byzantium which culminated in the great gothic



buildings, and that the only hope of a similar 'new life spring' lay in the 'submerging of commerce and general purification of England from luxury'.<sup>11</sup>

Ruskin (whom Webb admired deeply without always agreeing with his opinions)<sup>12</sup> had widened the young architect's initial reaction to industrialism as a threat to the English landscape and its ancient buildings into a conviction that the entire commercially-governed society of his day was evil. Experience strengthened this belief. As will be shown, he found it necessary to constantly guard against poor and lifeless craftsmanship in his buildings, some of it caused by carelessness resulting from the use of machines in builders' workshops in the proprietors' search for greater profits. He observed some of his painter friends start with high ideals but succumb to commercialism. 'The painters do mainly wear financial spectacles, I am afraid,' he told Boyce, 'and nature gets denaturalized through those lenses.'<sup>13</sup>

In the course of his work he found that though most of his own clients pursued enlightened and useful lives, this was far from universal amongst the well-to-do. He concluded that the factory system, 'hugger-mugger breeding', and the 'herding of labouring men like herrings in a barrel' had created a 'class of rich people . . . whose greed could grasp more than "the dreams of avarice" had forecast'.<sup>14</sup> In 'fat ignorance of those who earned for them their means of waste',<sup>15</sup> they frittered away time and money on

non-essential fripperies which had often been made under miserable conditions. Such idleness and needless spending was offensive to Webb, who believed in work as a duty, and that man's purpose in life was to use his intellect to improve life for his fellows; and whose personal taste for a simple, uncluttered home had been reinforced by his time at Aynho School and by Ruskin's tenet of doing without all objects which were not the product of 'healthy and ennobling labour'.<sup>16</sup> London's terrible slums, compacted by railway building and swollen by Irish immigrants,<sup>17</sup> would heighten Webb's awareness of the contrast between rich and poor, and he must often have considered how many of the latter could have lived as well as himself on such squandered money.

Believing that in general the landowning or 'gentle' class understood the needs of their workers and ruled their estates accordingly and with justness, Webb reserved his contempt for the 'vulgar' class, the 'great majority of the fairly well-to-do', a 'bad bred lot' whose sole aim was a life of ease earned for them by others, an 'ill-gotten race' which 'must die out, for no good can come of them'.<sup>18</sup>

For Webb the need for social change was inextricably bound with the hope for a revival of great art. Cromwell's Commonwealth would have been entirely good for England, he averred, had it not been for its 'horror of anything beautiful', which not only had devastating effects at the time but had left a



lingering legacy of contempt.<sup>19</sup> Until Webb was about fifty there seemed to be no hope of the submerging of commercialism in a return to a social organization akin to that of the Middle Ages, so he pursued a quiet personal crusade for the improvement of architecture, and (though he was in touch with the Christian Socialists associated with the Working Men's College at which Ruskin, Rossetti, and Burne-Jones taught, looked to the Radical Liberals for some amelioration of the lot of those less fortunate than himself. He kept abreast of political affairs through his reading, through fellow Liberals, and those of his clients who were or hoped to be Members of Parliament, with whom he aired his views uninhibitedly.<sup>20</sup> On one occasion he sent a message to William Ewart Gladstone (1809-1898), then Leader of the Opposition, demanding greater seriousness in the House of Commons instead of unproductive laughter.<sup>21</sup> By 1879, however, when he assured the newly-elected George Howard that his duties as a Member of Parliament would not interfere with Howard's 'proper work as a painter', Webb was losing faith in the Liberal party.<sup>22</sup>

### Socialist Aims and Activity

The first realization that social change might be achieved through working-class efforts rather than those of the middle-classes probably came to Webb and Morris through their involvement with the Eastern Question Association, of which Gladstone was a figure-



head and Morris the treasurer. The association was formed in 1876 during the Balkan crisis of 1875-78 (after revelations of atrocities committed by Turkish mercenaries against Christian Bulgarians) to promote resistance to the alliance made with Turkey by the Prime Minister, Benjamin Disraeli (1804-1881)<sup>23</sup>. The need for such a body receded in 1878, but in working for it Morris and Webb had been involved for the first time with political agitation, and with a working-class organization (the Labour Representation League).

In the early 1880s, both Webb and Morris saw in the revolution which British socialists believed to be imminent a real hope for a revival of art and eventually of great architecture, as well as a better life for the masses. In 1883 they joined the Democratic Federation (founded in 1881), a year before it openly espoused socialism and changed its name to the Socialist Democratic Federation.<sup>24</sup> Morris made the first move but Webb did not follow suit simply through loyalty to his friend. With his distaste for institutions, he would not have become a member unless had he felt strongly about its major aims.

There is no reason to doubt Morris's statement that Webb taught him to be a socialist.<sup>25</sup> Webb was far from being a mere follower of Morris as so many writers have assumed. He used to joke with Morris about having brought him up by hand; May Morris, who considered Webb a genius, described him as her father's 'complement, not only in architecture, but in each of

the many-sided activities of his life'; and Rossetti considered Webb one of the leaders of the Pre-Raphaelite circle.<sup>26</sup> Such a man would certainly have added many ideas of his own to the discussion that he and Morris enjoyed frequently on all subjects.

Before they met, and largely as a result of reading Ruskin,<sup>27</sup> each had determined to do something for art, a resolve which undoubtedly was strengthened by their shared enthusiasm. However, Morris did not personally encounter the worst effects of large scale industrialization until after 1883 whereas, in 1854 at Wolverhampton, and again in the 1860s and 1870s when he designed buildings for Lowthian Bell's ironworks near Middlesbrough, Webb had direct experience of the threat it posed to their beloved English landscape and its ancient buildings, and of the dreadful conditions under which many people lived and worked. Webb's early reactions would join those of Burne-Jones (who came from Birmingham) in influencing Morris's own repugnance. Webb was a pacifist long before Morris became one: he refused to join the Volunteers in the early 1860s with Morris, Rossetti, and Burne-Jones.<sup>28</sup> As noted previously, he personified Morris's idea of a good man, and furthermore he demonstrated by his example that a life based on creative work and fellowship, with just a few possessions--all of the highest quality and none made by slavish labour--including books and one or two paintings and drawings, could be happy and satisfying. This was the way of



life which Morris--who had two homes, many servants, a collection of rare and costly medieval manuscripts, and a commercial business with its necessary accumulation of capital--began to put before the masses as an ideal.

Already out of step with their generation in openly disapproving of the two important phenomena of the times, industrialism and imperialism,<sup>29</sup> in 1883 Webb and Morris turned their backs on the middle classes (to which they belonged) to campaign for the revolution which they hoped would destroy middle-class commercialism. For the next eight years, and to a lesser extent for a further five until Morris's death in 1896, they gave all their leisure time to the cause, facing loss of livelihood if their political activity led patrons to desert them, and risking castigation and scorn from many of their fellows. Morris gave generous financial support to the cause. Webb donated every penny he could spare of his meagre resources, ultimately leaving himself insufficient to buy a cottage for his retirement, and he also helped individual socialists, displaying, according to Emery Walker, a 'boundless generosity in helping lame dogs over styles, including similar services to some pretended lame dogs'.<sup>30</sup>

Whilst not imagining the Middle Ages to have been perfect,<sup>31</sup> Webb and Morris believed that in the fourteenth century the craft guilds had achieved for their members a life of creative work and fellowship



near to their own ideal. This was what they sought from socialism: not a life of ease after the sharing out of wealth but the universal abnegation of wealth. Their ideal depended upon their beliefs that mankind was inherently righteous,<sup>32</sup> that the creative faculty was innate in all people, that under favourable conditions it would revive, and that most people would then find creative work satisfying and enjoyable. 'Of course, no-one is wholly without art imagination--', Webb averred, 'the having it, or not having it, is only a matter of degree.'<sup>33</sup>

'Living art--after all is said--is but a representation of right living',<sup>34</sup> Webb maintained. His conception of what that right living would be under socialism appears to have been the same as that described by Morris in 1890 in News from Nowhere.<sup>35</sup> Writing of an England a century after a successful communist revolution, Morris envisaged a country of healthy, helpful, and hospitable people, living as they chose (alone, in single families or small groups), in beautiful houses set in gardens amidst the fields, or in villages or small, well-wooded towns; with everyone made happy and contented by their pleasurable labour --creative, or administrative at will--with agreeable manual labour such as harvesting to refresh the mind, and unpleasant but necessary work shared by all (and eased by machines); and with everyone surrounded by and living in harmony with the beauty of nature and art. As there was no private property there was no commerc-

ialism, no heavy industries, no pollution, no money, no greed or theft, police or prisons, no central government (the chief purpose of governments being the protection of property, in Morris's view) and, as all decisions would be taken by each small community, no local government and therefore no bureaucracy; and there were no schools or large institutions.

Patently owing much to Ruskin except for the complete equality, this utopia perfectly suited such individualists as Morris and Webb, who in Morris's words had 'an Englishman's wholesome horror of government, interference and centralization',<sup>36</sup> and who attached the highest importance to the freedom of the individual. It was very unlike the stolid, repressive, and bureaucratic communist states which have so far materialized, in which the individual is subservient to the state.

Webb's notes of a topic for discussion show clearly that he believed that the overthrowing of the Government by revolution was justified:

Suppose that the various forms of authority had succeeded in giving a fairly satisfactory life to the masses, there might be some excuse for endeavouring to continue them; but as they have evidently and miserably failed, the masses are bound as honest men to displace authority which has proved itself so incapable.<sup>37</sup>

Morris expected the revolution to be a bloody one.<sup>38</sup>

Webb's zeal for the cause was no less than Morris's, but it is difficult to believe that, however 'incapable' and unrighteous the regime, such a confirmed and compassionate pacifist as Webb could accept the



justification of a violent uprising in which men would be killed and ancient buildings destroyed.

In fact, there are indications that he did not believe that the revolution would take this form. He joked to his aristocratic friend Rosalind Howard about putting aside his 'blood-thirsty knife' to write to her, for instance, and urged his communist comrades to have sympathy for the police.<sup>39</sup> Though he accepted Marx's view of history as to a large extent an unrolling of a partially-written scroll,<sup>40</sup> he rejected his contention that the middle and working classes would unite to overthrow the governmental powers of the aristocracy, after which the masses would seize all power. Webb was convinced that the bourgeoisie as a whole would never help the working-classes, and thus that nothing could be accomplished until socialism was understood and desired by the masses; the role of enlightened middle-class socialists like himself was not to lead but to educate.<sup>41</sup> In the early 1880s it was apparent that socialism was far from being widely understood, and that such an educative period would be a long one; a lengthy delay offered hope that the social revolution could be achieved without bloodshed, through the withdrawal of labour.

Before his 1884-85 winter in Italy (during which he kept in touch by letter, and fretted daily because he was not helping his friends 'in their efforts for the mass of mankind') Webb's political activities are obscure, but he gave at least one lecture (entitled



'The Source of Capital').<sup>42</sup> As he never lectured for the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, it is a measure of the strength of his political convictions. On returning to England in 1885 he joined the Socialist League which Morris and others had founded after seceding from the Socialist Democratic Federation because they disagreed with proposals to make the latter an orthodox political party<sup>43</sup> (both Morris and Webb regarded such a move, and the seeking of reforms through parliamentary measures, as an acceptance of some premises of the commercialist or capitalist society they abhorred). By 1886 Webb was treasurer of the league, a member of its council and its ways and means committee, and was writing occasional articles for its journal, The Commonweal; on occasions he also acted as chairman of the Bloomsbury branch for which also he was treasurer, and for which he gave and arranged lectures.<sup>44</sup> Webb's Saturdays, and Monday and Thursday evenings, were devoted to league business, and remaining evenings to branch affairs until his near-fatal rheumatic fever in October 1887, after which he abandoned lecturing, writing, and branch matters.<sup>45</sup> He increased his financial support, however, and frequently stood bail for members in trouble with the Law.<sup>46</sup> 'The League required as much bailing as a leaky boat!', he recalled.<sup>47</sup>

In 1888, after the secession of those members who wished to seek reforms through Parliament, the anarchist faction, some members of which advocated

armed insurrection, gradually gained control of the Socialist League. This led Morris and the Hammersmith branch to leave in November 1890 to found an independent body, the Hammersmith Socialist Society, with the aim of preserving and promulgating the principles of socialism.<sup>48</sup> Webb, who had some sympathies with the anarchists (as the quotation about displacing the authorities shows), tried to stay on but because of his closeness to Morris, he was ostracized and forced to resign.<sup>49</sup> He joined the Hammersmith Socialist Society in January 1891, and from then until his illness in the winter 1893-94 was a regular attender of its meetings.<sup>50</sup> The Independent Labour Party was founded in 1893 but, as its standpoint was parliamentary, neither he nor Morris became members. Already severely curtailed by ill health, Webb's political activity came to end after he was one of the speakers at the final meeting of the Socialist Society on 6 January 1897 (Morris had died the previous autumn), but he remained a socialist, albeit an extremely pessimistic one.<sup>51</sup>

Urging patience in 1884, and recognizing that they had to deal with what men had become under commercialism, Webb had warned Morris that a major hindrance to socialist success would be 'the want of no man wanting to get anything out of it for himself'; he added:

I think that the best of us English, if we were without money, could be "got at": we, even we, who are well off could not be sure of ourselves if the pinch came to us. The English cannot live on a



little<sup>52</sup>-when food fails them, spirit fails also.

In the event, the working classes preferred material reward and reforms and political power achieved through Parliament to the ideal life which Morris and Webb sought for them.

However, their efforts had not been entirely in vain. They were the first creative artists to enter the socialist movement and to attempt to help formulate its policy.<sup>53</sup> They succeeded in making the concepts that work should be rewarding in a spiritual sense, and that art and fellowship are essential to a full life, a part of late-nineteenth-century British socialist theory; from there it passed into the twentieth-century philosophy of both the Communist and Labour Parties in Britain, and led the erstwhile Prime Minister Clement Atlee (1883-1967) to maintain that Morris meant more to the Labour Party than Marx.<sup>54</sup>

Undoubtedly Morris's role in this achievement was the greater. Webb was prevented by ill health and meagre financial resources from leaving his work for days at a time to lecture up and down the country as Morris did, he was not as good a writer or speaker, and such public exposure was alien to his personality. (He later referred to these years as his 'trying times of socialistic display'.)<sup>55</sup> However, his contribution was not as insignificant as has sometimes been supposed. At the very least, he was a pillar of strength to the Socialist League during the vital period 1883-88 (not least in rescuing its finances from the troubled



waters into which Morris had cast them),<sup>56</sup> and he gave Morris encouragement and support once they had espoused socialism and estranged themselves from many of their fellows. More importantly, Webb had helped Morris to form his views on art and society, and had contributed to them, and he had exercised a valuable brake on Morris's impetuosity.

### Socialism and Architecture

It is sometimes wondered why Webb did not design public buildings such as hospitals and working-class housing. In the case of the former, he disliked working for a client that was a committee, and he could not afford the extra time involved in trying to satisfy a committee; the same objections applied to such appointments as architect to the London School Board.<sup>57</sup> Both in 1866-67 when he designed an abortive scheme for offices and shops for Newcastle upon Tyne Council, and in 1874-78 when at Howard's request and somewhat reluctantly he designed and supervised Brampton Church for a committee, a great deal of his time and effort was wasted.<sup>58</sup> Many competitions were held for the design of public buildings but Webb could not afford to spend time on speculative drawings, and the notion of producing designs which would attract attention was contrary to his philosophy, as will be seen.<sup>59</sup>

Local authority housing was out of the question as it only began to appear at the end of his career, and clearly he would have had no wish to add to the

proliferation of the 'rows of infernal dog holes'.<sup>60</sup> He did design some commodious and well-equipped cottages for workers on his clients' estates, and in 1861 one philanthropic project consisting of combined dwellings, workshops, and shops (in Worship Street, London) but such a commission never came his way again.

In 1865 he was approached by Lowthian Bell, on behalf of the building committee, about designing the Middlesbrough Exchange, but he clearly did not make the most of this chance and indeed may have refused to consider it, even though he was short of work at the time.<sup>61</sup> This indicates that at quite an early date Webb had a strong antipathy to the notion of designing such an epitome of the commercial society he loathed. He chose to specialize in domestic architecture: houses fulfil a basic human need (even when they fulfil more than basic needs), and he liked designing a building which was exactly suited to the requirements of a specific family and, as will be shown, which exploited the possibilities of a particular.

Though Webb's politics and architecture were both inspired by Ruskin, the one did not affect the other; 'though, as a real Socialist, I have some ideas on the "Theory of Life"--. . . I do not think these "ideas"? are detrimental to my considered way of making mortar', Webb commented in 1899.<sup>62</sup> His philosophy of architectural design had been fully mature for over fifteen years by the time he became a socialist, and it did not change afterwards. His sole design with a political

intent was a satirical but entirely fanciful project for a vast Jubilee monument to celebrate the commercial age.<sup>63</sup>

Through his young followers--some of whom were socialists--in his unofficial 'School of Rational Builders', Webb's design philosophy was applied in the London County Council housing and fire-station departments, and it influenced the buildings of the London School Board through its architect Edward Robert Robson (1836-1917), who in the 1860s had been kept informed of Webb's thinking and urged to study his work by Warrington Taylor.<sup>64</sup> It also influenced the houses of the garden suburbs and towns associated with the Garden City Movement, which in turn affected many subsequent council-house schemes.

By 1910, Webb found that despite the 'detested contest in declamation either by lies or honest speech' he preferred the 'rule by Parliament of tongues, and seeming waste of words, to the rule of blood and thunder'.<sup>65</sup> Lethaby recalled Webb saying in these late years:

. . . the world is so wonderfully adjusted, I should not like to take it upon me to alter anything. And it<sup>66</sup> has a wonderful self-righting power like a ship.



## PART 1: WEBB'S LIFE

### CHAPTER 5: THE LAST YEARS

#### Searching for a Cottage, and Leaving London

'My coat feels thinner', Webb commented sadly when William Morris died in 1896; 'One would think I had lost a buttress.'<sup>1</sup> Charles Faulkner had died in 1892, Boyce died a year after Morris, Burne-Jones and Kate Faulkner in 1898, by which year Webb had lost the closest of his older friends except for his brother Harry and William Hale White. It has been suggested that this is why he gave up practice.<sup>2</sup> He certainly missed them sorely, but as far as his work was concerned they were lost sources of re-assurance rather than lost stimuli. 'I do not mope over the repeated losses of beloved intimates, but feel the want of the steadfast rock of assurance their bodily presence afforded me,' he told Hale White in May 1899:

Lambeth religion, my own work, necessity at my time of life to get more fresh air and muscular exercise, with the crowding-out of London-town by stockbrokers and waste paper, makes it imperative for me to flit, like Cuckoo in August; . . . For the last 2 years I have felt both bodily and spiritually that time has told upon me, and that unless I do move into a freer air, with more freedom of life, I shall collapse unnecessarily [sic] quickly.

But there was also a pressing financial reason, as Webb had already explained to this friend who had learnt of the intended retirement with surprise:

. . . you could not realize that it would be impossible for me "to go on till I drop"--for certain it is, if I neglected the signs, that I

should shortly drop, having come to the end of my professional tether. I have been losing money over the last 3 of my pieces of work, and the rent and other costs of living in London are eating me up--mind body and estate. I believe I can live in a cheap country [sic] for 10 years on £150 a year; and my only risk is, that perhaps I may live too long under stimulus of free air and freedom from anxiety.<sup>4</sup>

Contrary to what appears to have been thought at the time and despite his renown, in the 1890s Webb was not inundated with house commissions, presumably because many people thought he was too important to consider their projects. Even had his health been perfect, Webb simply could not afford to stay in business. On the 28 September 1899, after thirty-five years' residence, he gave preliminary notice of his intention of leaving Raymond Buildings.<sup>5</sup>

Building a cottage for himself out of his meagre savings was impossible, so Webb set about finding an existing one at a low rent, asking all his friends and the builders on his sites if they knew of such a place.<sup>6</sup> He investigated the possibilities in South Wales during a visit to examine two churches, Eglwys Cummin and Eglwys Brewis, for Anti-scrape, but found his hope of that country being 'free from "posters" and the nineteenth-century craze for decoration with waste paper' was unfounded in the populous districts; the bracing air of the hills suited him well but no cottage was to be had amongst them.<sup>7</sup> At Hale White's suggestion he investigated the suitability of the geology and climate of the Quantocks in Somerset, but preferred the idea of living near his young architect



friends Gimson and the Barnsley brothers who had spent much time with him when working nearby in London before moving to the Cotwolds near Cirencester.<sup>8</sup> He and his friends searched that area but found nothing suitable at a rent within his means.<sup>9</sup>

In April 1900 Webb's old client and friend Lowthian Bell offered him a recently-purchased country house in North Yorkshire and, feeling that he was still in Webb's debt, begged him to be his architectural consultant, simply a matter of giving advice, for a professional fee; Webb jokingly suggested that Bell was trying to encompass his 'moral destruction' out of kindness of heart.<sup>10</sup> Hale White, fearing that he would see little of Webb in the Cotswolds and having failed to find him a place near himself in Kent, offered to buy a piece of land at some nearby 'untouched agricultural village' on which Webb could build a cottage at his, Hale White's, expense; 'You would be doing me a favour', he urged Webb, 'Much better put £500 in such a venture than in Rand goldmines'.<sup>11</sup> Webb, too proud and independent to accept any of these offers, continued his quest.<sup>12</sup>

Meantime however, Wilfrid Scawen Blunt, landowner and cousin of Webb's old client Percy Wyndham, learnt of the dilemma when Webb visited him with Sydney Cockerell, who was then Blunt's secretary. Blunt, who greatly respected and admired Webb, whose conversation he found 'delightful', recorded his decision to help in his diary:



Old Philip Webb came down for the day with Cockerell. A worthy old fellow, who is leaving off work at his trade of architecture, and is seeking a cottage in which to end his days. He has been too honest to make his fortune and talks of living in a £10 cottage. I shall try to find him one.

He unselfishly offered Webb a house, Caxtons in the village of Worth in Sussex, which he had recently taken over for his own occasional use; his wife Lady Anne thought it 'would add a new and very delightful interest' to their life if Webb could be persuaded to inhabit it.<sup>14</sup>

Cockerell described the dwelling, whose name he thought a 'good omen for a friend of the Kelmscott Press', to Webb:

Near Three Bridges there is a hill, and on that hill there is a cottage, and in front of that cottage there is a Saxon church and a forest where a dragon was killed. Lilies of the valley grow where his blood ran, and nowhere else. The cottage is an oldfashioned thing without a bathroom or even a gasometer, but it could be made comfortable, and the position is reputed the healthiest in the district. Mr. Blunt . . . would be proud if you would occupy it and roam over his portion of Worth Forest.<sup>15</sup>

Webb hesitated to accept the tenancy. Blunt's initial wish to retain the use of one lower and one upper room for his own sporadic use led him to fear that Blunt did not realize Webb would be there constantly; he was also worried about the cost of making the cottage fit for his permanent residence, and by his inherent dislike of being under obligation, as he explained to Cockerell:

I have had too much to do with born aristocrats of a really kindly turn of mind--even generous--not to know they cannot understand the restricted ways of a poor lower-middle-class man . . . and that is

why, probably, I had better try for another kind of landlord and the freedom of action so necessary for my simple life?<sup>16</sup>

and continued a few days later:

I do not think less than £150 would have to be spent on the cottage; and £20 or so would be all that would be necessary for Blunt's own use. Hence the tangle in my mind. Nearness to London; obligation to Blunt; spending of his or my money, (the latter preferable but not possible, as the funds go down like the bucket in the well.) Last but not least, I could not spare a bedroom, and so W.B. would be kicked out of his own house, as it were.<sup>17</sup>

Caxtons is a much larger house than Webb envisaged for his last years, a sixteenth-century yeoman's pl.  
13 four-bedroomed farmhouse not a small cottage, but it was unpretentious and unspoilt, partly brick, partly timber-framed, with a red tiled roof. Webb found it and its environs sufficiently attractive on his first visit--with Cockerell and Lethaby on 30 June 1900--to make a second inspection on 27 July, when he was shown round by Caffin and Holman, Blunt's agent and stud groom respectively.<sup>18</sup> After their picnic of sandwiches, ginger-beer and whisky, Webb took detailed notes of the cottage's 'fors and againsts', some of which he reported to Sidney Barnsley:

The little house, little garden, and little orchard, I thought all to the good. The drawbacks were the nearness to London, and the height above sea-level, only 340 feet . . . I could have the place at once and set about exorcising the evil spirits [Blunt's woodman had committed suicide in the cart-shed a few years previously]--not ferocious ones--and could hope to get in by the end of the coming October. Tenancy not to be disturbed during life, Rent £15 a year, Landlord to spend £150 on repairs. As some equivalent for such consideration, I receive my landlord as guest for an occasional night or so when he has to come over to look<sup>19</sup> after a bunch of the Arab horse stud at Worth.



On his way home Webb was dismayed to see 'squadrons' of hateful new villas being built a mile away at Three Bridges, but decided that unless Blunt decided to forsake love of his land for easy money, the railway-line would protect Worth from similar excrescences of commuting stockbrokers.<sup>20</sup> Yet with all 'these inducements to content', Webb's enthusiasm for Caxtons was 'only half-hearted', the 'larger half' being in the Cotswolds; but matters were becoming desperate, and so, immediately after penning the letter to Barnsley, he wrote to Blunt accepting the tenancy of Caxtons, and shortly afterwards told George Howard that he believed Worth Forest was to be his home until 'tripping-up time'.<sup>21</sup> This was to be the case, and despite Webb's misgivings Caxtons proved a happy outcome of the long search.

But first the house had to be prepared for his use after several years of neglect. Four first-floor bedrooms stretched east to west with three large ground-floor rooms beneath them--a kitchen at the east end, in the centre the living-room which Webb termed 'keeping-room', and parlour at the west end--to the rear of which were a saddle-room, a larder, a large earth closet, and a well seventy-four feet deep with good water at its bottom; in front of the house, between it and the road, was a narrow flower garden, and behind was an orchard with beyond it a field usually occupied by some of Blunt's Arabians, bred nearby on Crabbett Park estate.<sup>22</sup> Making Caxtons



warmer in winter to ameliorate Webb's rheumatism was of first priority. The floor and roof tiles were relaid; the oak weatherboarding to the first floor was renewed, as were the rear door and porch (which opened into the kitchen) and the fireplaces in the keeping-room, parlour, and east and west bedrooms; in the kitchen the old open fire with its separate copper and corner bread-oven was replaced with a plain and functional Longden cooking range.<sup>23</sup> The work was done by Blunt's estate workmen, beginning in September and working to the drawings Webb prepared between that month and November, and closely watched by the architect who made thirteen supervisory visits sometimes accompanied by his chief assistant and friend George Jack, to whom he gave his practice on leaving London.<sup>24</sup> Completion of the work was delayed by the dilatory Irish foreman, but by 16 December Cockerell was able to point out that Webb would get a 'new house and a new century at almost the same moment'.<sup>25</sup>

Before the move took place, Webb supplemented his slender resources and paid for the Caxtons' repairs by selling at Sotheby's all the books he could bear to lose, by selling his copy by Fairfax Murray of Carpaccio's 'St George' to Birmingham Art Gallery and, for £100, the animal drawings he had made for the Morris and Company 'Forest' tapestry to a customer of the firm.<sup>26</sup> Despite the paucity of his savings Webb could not bring himself to sell anything that had been given to him. He returned his two Burne-Jones

pls.  
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landscape studies to the family, gave away his Madox Brown drawing, and gave Cockerell the Rossetti water-colour painting which Boyce had presented to him (which Webb accepted on condition it became the property of whichever of them lived longest) and a Rossetti sketch for a sofa; in 1902 at Cockerell's instigation, he donated his Kelmscott Press books (which he considered too valuable to be kept from scholars and which he had accepted only after Morris told him he printed them chiefly for Webb and a few others) to Trinity College, Cambridge.<sup>27</sup>

These gifts proved singularly altruistic as Webb's fear that he might live too long was confirmed and his hope of managing on £150 a year was shown to be out by over £50 a year.<sup>28</sup> His retirement lasted a little over fourteen years, for the last few of which he would have been destitute had it not been for the surreptitious topping-up of his bank account by kind friends.<sup>29</sup> His current account stood at only £180 in June 1901, in summer 1903 he had to sell £200 of 'Consols', and by 1906 his savings were down to £1,219; the following year he had to borrow from his brother Harry, and, despite a temporary rescue in 1909 by £547.10.6 from his nephew (possibly from the sale of the Oxford property Webb and his siblings had inherited), by summer 1910 his account--which by this time appears to represent his entire resources--stood at only £624.<sup>30</sup> In contrast, Morris spent £1,900 on two medieval manuscripts in his last year and left £55,069.<sup>31</sup>

With the assistance of Cockerell and George Jack, the move occurred on 4 January 1901.<sup>32</sup> Webb had found the last year in London a 'quiet time of sad reflection', and his last evening with Walker and Cockerell, drinking the last of his cellar, was a melancholy occasion during which he hid his feelings under jests.<sup>33</sup> He told Cockerell how 'vacant-hearted' he felt after leaving his young friends in London, and Cockerell replied that those friends, though longing to see Webb renewing health and strength in the countryside, would feel shipwrecked on seeing his empty chair at Gatti's after SPAB meetings (no idle comment as Cockerell had recently survived a shipwreck).<sup>34</sup>

Webb had been 'depressed & easily irritated by his work' during his last couple of years in office, and he found the upheaval exhausting and was deeply moved by the withdrawal from so 'many--yes, many--very real and beloved friends'. However, as he had hoped, his health and spirits soon revived under the stimulus of beautiful countryside, fresh air and a regular routine of physical work and walking. After only three weeks Cockerell was able to inform Blunt that Webb had settled happily.

#### Life at Caxtons

By June the routine of Webb's new life was established and running smoothly, as he explained to Sidney Barnsley:

This is a pleasant place, and in most ways very fitting for my need; also in its way singularly



beautiful, though not quite in the way the more poetical district of the Cotswolds appealed to me. . . . My time is more fully occupied than when I was "professional", . . . and the muscles (below my brain pan) are very much exercised. Sydney Cockerell drops in now and again on Saturday afternoons . . . Walker and he gave me a bit of drawing to do, but I can only set hand to it on Sundays when the axe, the saw, the spade, shovel, fork, &c., are stabled away and my hand has a chance of not being too shaky.<sup>37</sup>

There was, he explained, a vast amount of work to be done in the front garden, trampled flat by the builders, and in the orchard. Still imbued with the work ethic instilled in childhood by his mother, he frequently worked until his own hands were sore, happily remarking to Barnsley 'From being without work to do, good Lord deliver us'.<sup>38</sup> He rose about 6-30 a.m. to see the postman, then drew water from the well, swept the paths and opened the shutters before washing and dressing properly in time for breakfast of 'milk-sop or porridge', feeling 'both sane, and hungry', after which he busied himself with wood-cutting and other household and garden chores until 'dinner-time at 1 o'clock'.<sup>39</sup>

Mrs Dickinson, the housekeeper (who needed a home more than high wages, and had been found for him by his old friend and client Mrs Wickham Flower) recorded that Webb also spent hours at the back door shooting rats with great skill, picked fruit, helped her two children with their lessons, taught them about flowers and, from his Bewick, about birds, taught her son to draw, gave the village children daffodils out of his orchard, bought the best of clothes for a local crippled boy,

and insisted that carollers sang properly before receiving cakes and money (which probably accounts for some local children thinking him a crotchety old man).<sup>40</sup>

The kitchen was Mrs Dickinson's domain and the parlour Webb's private retreat;<sup>41</sup> they had separate staircases to their bedrooms, but they ate together with the children in the keeping-room, and lived in complete harmony despite the housekeeper's lack of a sense of humour and her love for such things as a 'newspaper murder-drama', for as Webb told Cockerell, she was 'the essence of an industrious woman' and an excellent cook.<sup>42</sup> Not having lived with children since his own childhood, Webb must have worried about the prospect, but the young Dickinsons proved to be 'no nuisance', and he minded 'their chatter no more than that of a magpie, or a clock's ticking'.<sup>43</sup> The cottage proved to be cold in winter, but Webb did not mind this, though he had a fire in his bedroom the first year 'because the house had been uninhabited for a long time, and considerable repairing had been done'.<sup>44</sup>

With his customary thoughtfulness for others, Webb got Holman to find a 'dependable man' to help Mrs. Dickinson should he, Webb, become bedridden; as he explained to Cockerell, not being 'country-bred' she had no comprehension of how much he did to ease her work, and was more interested in the 'miserable shanty-shops of Three Bridges' than in the garden and the forest.<sup>45</sup> Webb took his annual holiday at his

brother Harry's home at Winchester in August so that Mrs Dickinson could take one herself with her children during the school vacation.<sup>46</sup> This concern for her welfare makes a revealing contrast to William Morris's keeping up a young maid-servant until the early hours to mend his fire whilst he discussed socialist ideas for the improvement of the life of her class.<sup>47</sup>

Although he had made a clean break from architectural work, Webb intended to supplement his meagre resources by designing commissioned items other than buildings in the few leisure hours left after all the Caxtons chores were done. At first all went well with this intention, as he told Sidney Barnsley:

Time goes faster than a "motor" but happily without the noise and stink. Also, I've had a piece of work to do which occupied more than my spare time for three moths or so--not professional, for I resist that as belonging to the building colts coming on. Again, "Anti-scrape" gives me work . . .<sup>48</sup>

The 'piece of work', which he had been asked to do by J. R. Holliday, was the designing of the mace for the recently founded University of Birmingham.<sup>49</sup> Webb was intrigued to think what an 'odd conjunction' of "designers" there would be when 'Brummagem-Joe' (Joseph Chamberlain, 1836-1914), the increasingly powerful politician and Chancellor of the University, walked behind his mace.<sup>50</sup> Of wood sheathed in silver, enamelled in part, the mace was made according to Webb's drawings, begun in January 1902 and finished by April, by Messrs W. H. Haseler of Birmingham, supervised at the designer's request by Robert Catterson



Smith, a member of the Art Workers' Guild, who was later the principal of the Birmingham Central School of Art and who did some of the silverwork himself.<sup>51</sup> Webb was still disturbed by the separation of designer and maker,<sup>52</sup> but every effort was made to interpret his design faithfully and in the finest craftsmanship. In 1903 the mace was illustrated and favourably criticized in The Studio.<sup>53</sup>

In 1901 and 1902 Webb directed the repairing of Eglwys Cummin for the SPAB, the work being supervised by William Weir, with Webb himself designing a new roof truss and some chancel furnishings, and he designed several book-plates, including one for Holliday and at least one for Cockerell and Emery Walker (who had become partners in a printing establishment); Webb used the fees to build a woodshed for the easing of his outside work in bad weather.<sup>54</sup> He made a small design of a peacock for Mrs Percy Wyndham of Clouds, but she found it too intricate for enamelling;<sup>55</sup> if Webb was aware that this had been her intention, it was a unique instance of him failing to design suitably for a material or method of execution. In 1902 he designed a memorial panel for the front of the Morris Memorial cottages at Kelmscott which he had designed in 1899-1900 before he retired, and the building of which was supervised by George Jack.<sup>56</sup>

In 1905 George Howard (who had become Earl of Carlisle in 1889) and his wife made it a condition of their contribution to its cost that the architect for

upper part of the tower of Webb's church at Brampton be Webb himself; after some demurring Webb amended his earlier design but in turn insisted that Jack supervise the construction.<sup>57</sup> When J. S. Beale asked Webb to alter the arrangement of some of bedrooms at Standen to suit his reduced household, however, Webb stuck to his resolve of leaving architecture to younger men; his recommendation that Jack be appointed instead was accepted.<sup>58</sup>

Confirming the beliefs of his old mentor Ruskin and of Leo Tolstoy (1828-1910), whose social theories and writing he had come to admire in the 1890s, that physical work is essential to well-being, Webb had fully regained his normal cheerful spirits by the summer of 1902, and was able to tell Cockerell he was back in his 'saddle-seat of former almost preternatural good health', thanks partly to the 'bitter cold, but health-giving dry air', and could do 'with fair ease, some half day's out-of-door muscular work' with appetite following in train and 'bowels coming on in the running!'.<sup>59</sup> However, in November Webb was stricken by rheumatic-lumbago so severely that friends feared for his life; he had to spend most of the next twelve months in bed, with 'pain and dozing stolidly reigning supreme in the little back room'.<sup>60</sup> But with his customary cheerfulness he found consolation even there. 'This is a perfect bedroom like a tent, and nothing ugly in it', he told Cockerell, adding that the 'sun came in so beautifully this afternoon'.<sup>61</sup>

Webb was still having trouble with his back two years later, when he told Lethaby he wished he could 'sit up and do some designing'; in fact, from the onset of this illness he had to decline all commissions as drawing became impossible.<sup>62</sup> Despite his chronic shortage of funds, there is no evidence that Webb complied with the 1902 request of Sir Lowthian Bell to sell him, at whatever price Webb chose, one of his drawings to hang at Rounton Grange; indeed, it was probably at this time that he gave Bell the several hundred drawings from which the house had been built in the early 1870s; as he customarily retained all drawings, this gift was a demonstration of sincere admiration and friendship.<sup>63</sup>

Webb confounded his friends' fears and eventually made a good recovery, though he was never again able to draw, and seldom able to sketch. Afterwards he enjoyed generally good health until his last few months, apart from the chronic rheumatism in his arms and minor troubles from time to time with his hearing, sight and failing memory.<sup>64</sup> In 1908, after his 'man-help' suffered a stroke, Webb was able to resume all the physical tasks though this curtailed his erstwhile daily walks to Sundays.<sup>65</sup> In June 1913, when Webb was eighty-one, Blunt told Cockerell that the old man was in 'perfect health of mind and body, able to discuss politics and all things else in excellent spirits'.<sup>66</sup>

Though political activity was abandoned with the move to Caxtons, Webb retained his interest in this



field but it was less important to him than his interest in art, and in the theory and practice of architecture, past and present, both on the large scale and in details, as his letters to Lethaby, Cockerell and Hale White reveal, and of which the following are just a few instances. In 1902 spurred him to urge Cockerell, who knew many architects through the SPAB, to tell them all to always 'keep the windows on the south side low, then you can get plenty of sunshine without too much heat and glare'; in 1904 he asked him to send some sand from the desert to test whether or not it made good mortar; in 1904-05 he wrote to Lethaby about the dangers of importing foreign architectural styles, and in 1906 about art being a 'discovery' which cannot be created at will, and in the same year he begged him to press upon his students the importance of mastering the possibilities of each site.<sup>67</sup>

He admired Westminster Cathedral (its designer, John Francis Bentley (1895-1903), had tried vainly to get Webb to agree to finishing it should he himself be unable to do so), but thought the other early-twentieth-century buildings in London were 'incumbrances of the ground'; he felt 'beaten down' by their 'hopelessness in the way of invention', and longed

for some quite serious and substantially simple public buildings being set up in place of the usual unintelligent masses of Portland stone which have been done lately, and are still doing under Government ignorance.<sup>68</sup>

He was infuriated because no plan was included in the published drawings for the new County Hall,

Westminster, in 1908. 'The plan, the plan, the plan, and all the plan is all one's help for making out what the effect of such a building would be on the excellent site. . .', he declaimed to Lethaby, and went on to grumble about the 'commonplace' detailing of contemporary architects.<sup>69</sup> The second-in-command of the London County Council architects in the fire-service department, Charles Winmill, who had become friendly with Webb through the SPAB (and whom Webb had advised on the design of a small house for the House and Home exhibition at the Whitechapel Art Gallery the previous year) sent the plans of County Hall to Caxtons in 1912, and was summoned there to explain the scheme in detail.<sup>70</sup>

Webb was greatly disturbed to find the twentieth century carrying on the nineteenth-century's 'brutalising of the simplicity of original settlements', in part by building hordes of 'nearly useless fancy shops'; for instance, he thought Crowborough, Sussex, resembled an 'inland sanatorium' and looked as if a 'seaside spot had been pumped up twenty miles back from the sea shore to grind invalids by wind-power'.<sup>71</sup> His recuperative holiday with Georgie (Lady Burne-Jones) at Rottingdean in Sussex, in 1903 was marred by the discovery that the 'leprosy of modern vulgar ostentation' was gradually eating away the town's grace, and he was angered to find Lewes, the county town and 'once a remarkably interesting town', turned into a 'slipshod looking nineteenth century,

slatternly object of scorn'.<sup>72</sup>

Yet, despite his disappointment with contemporary building, as he told Lethaby in 1904, he continued to hope for an eventual improvement which, adhering to the creed which had governed his own architecture, he believed could be achieved only by abandoning the copying of past or foreign styles and by returning instead to an emphasis on structure not style, to 'simple but excellent building, fitting for the climate and other characteristic qualities of this garden-like country'.<sup>73</sup>

As for ancient monuments, needless demolitions and savage restorations caused Webb continued distress, reinforcing his belief in the importance of the work of the SPAB which he continued to advise. He still enjoyed studying old churches, and sketching them when this was possible, whether alone or with a friend, for example Etchingham church, Kent, in the company of Hale White in 1909.<sup>74</sup> He corresponded with Lowthian Bell about the latter's rebuilding of a monk's cell and enlargement of the manor house at the Carthusian abbey of Mount Grace, North Yorkshire, and he kept in touch with Giacomo Boni, the Italian building conservator who had come under Webb's influence many years before and who visited him at Caxtons in 1907.<sup>75</sup> From travelling friends Webb was delighted to receive postcards of old buildings to study through his magnifying glass.<sup>76</sup>

He remained uninterested in his own professional renown. He showed no particular gratification when



Cockerell told him of the interest students were taking in his work, of an admiring Henry Goodhart-Rendell, for instance, who collected photographs of Webb's buildings and spent time gazing at the front of 19 Lincoln's Inn Fields (designed by Webb in 1868) as Cockerell himself had done.<sup>77</sup> When Country Life published an article by Blunt on Webb's house Clouds in 1904, and another by Gertrude Jekyll in 1905 on Tangley Manor, which Webb had extended, the architect commented ruefully to Cockerell: 'If I'd only hung on to practice that and the Clouds one would have sent me orders for more by the dozen . . .'.<sup>78</sup>

It was, of course, far too late for Webb to benefit from this belated publicity--which he had eschewed assiduously all his working life--but, though designing was impossible, and London concerts had been replaced by his musical box (and rare performances by amateurs such as Mrs Hale White on her pianoforte or Walter Cobbett, Cockerell's friend, on his violin),<sup>79</sup> many other activities made his leisure hours at Caxtons full and happy. Sometimes he was able to sketch as well as to observe the trees, plants, people and so forth near his house.<sup>80</sup> Letters, whether addressed to him or passed on by friends, brought the same delight as ever, and though he still disliked the activity, he wrote interesting letters himself, wide-ranging in their subject matter.

His chief happiness came from the countryside, from books and through friendships, as he explained Hale

White:

. . . the earth and the heavens are really the sum total of the "properties" of life's drama with me--not forgetting the divine gift of personal friendship aforesaid, and say--a human book filled with hopes and loving-kindness.<sup>81</sup>

On his feet again after the long illness, he told Cockerell that though 'shanks's mare' was 'not so elastic as an arab one', the beauty of the countryside, 'even in a north-east windiness of March' had lifted him 'above the poverty of grumbling'.<sup>82</sup> Although Webb had previously lived in the country only during rare holidays, and his weekends at Welwyn, he fitted easily into his new life because he was a countryman at heart. He revelled in the countryside's changing moods, and found perennial entertainment and fascination in every aspect of the farming year, and in watching Blunt's horses in the field behind Caxtons. Apple blossom transported him with joy in May, and cloud formations were a source of delight and wonder, especially on evenings when the sun went down 'with fiery dogs on his haunches'.<sup>83</sup>

Mercifully his eyesight remained good enough to the end of his life to prevent books failing in their 'mission to bless'; he exchanged them with friends, particularly Hale White and Cockerell, and debated in person and by correspondence the content of works of fact or fiction; Tolstoy's works, Scott's The Fair Maid of Perth, Carlyle's Frederick the Great, Bunyan's The Holy War or Lethaby's Greek Buildings, for example.<sup>84</sup>

Webb made new friends of all types at Worth, though

there were more "Carriage folk" amongst his neighbours than suited his inclination; 'aristocrats and their imitators much abound,' he grumbled, 'along with "bags" of 14 hundred! pheasants at a day's murder'.<sup>85</sup> But the entertaining of his old friends, whatever their age, gave him the greatest pleasure. He assured Hale White that, after all, love for the forest and the open countryside came second best to the laughter of a 'fitting companion'.<sup>86</sup> Cockerell venerated Webb and believed him to be a truly great man, 'absolutely modest . . . learned withal, well-read, witty, generous and unselfish'; he told Thomas Rooke (1842-1942), Burne-Jones's studio assistant, after the painter died in 1898 that they must cherish Webb, 'the only one of those great heroes that remain to us'.<sup>87</sup> Cockerell did cherish the old architect; as well as sending frequent letters and the daily postcards, he made the hour's journey from London to Caxtons roughly every fortnight. He often took along other friends such as Emery Walker (though Webb really preferred friends to call on singly to spin out the pleasure), and he kept others, including Lethaby, up to the mark with their attentions.

After Burne-Jones's death, Rooke told Webb--who was for him the last of the 'assembly of the Goodliest Knights (as Malory says) that ever was'--how often the painter had thought and talked of him, and added:

. . . may we to the end of our need have you to help and guide us and to confirm and bring up a younger generation to carry on your work, such as I rejoice to see gathering around at those Committees



[the SPAB] and may the joint efforts of all of us weaklings make up as far as they may to you for the mighty strokes<sup>88</sup> of the giants who no longer dwell in the land.

Rooke kept in touch with him by letter and visit, as did several other SPAB members, including William Weir, for example, and Charles Winmill who had often taken tea in Webb's chambers with Lethaby and during the last year in London had walked with Webb almost every evening.<sup>89</sup> In 1901 Winmill asked Webb to help at his wedding. 'Twas kind of you to think, if disabilities could be got over, to make me "best man", but in these days of bad architects a man of such quality is not easily found', Webb replied.<sup>90</sup> During the old architect's last two years Winmill travelled to Worth on his motor-cycle; the first time, knowing his host's hatred of noisy machines on wheels, he hid it, but to his surprise Webb was intrigued, and made Winmill ride up and down outside Caxtons explaining how it worked.<sup>91</sup> Winmill's friend, the architect and Webb admirer, Walter Shirley, later Earl Ferrers, also visited Caxtons fairly frequently, as did Wilfrid Scawen Blunt (with or without family and friends) who sent his writing and poetry for Webb's opinion and debated with him such matters as Tolstoy's social theories.<sup>92</sup>

The old architect was far from abandoned after he deserted London for Sussex. Sometimes he had so many callers that he could not get on with his gardening or minor repair work, for instance when Jack and Weir arrived unexpectedly as he was fixing weatherboards. 'Go home, who asked you two villains to come here?'

Webb asked before getting down and giving them a good tea.<sup>93</sup> Fortunately his housekeeper could cope with any influx. On one occasion, he told Cockerell,

. . . Walker brought Mrs. Morris here--a pleasant visit; also, I had Mrs. Flower here one day, and Weir another, so that "Missa Dick" had to skip about in that week; but<sup>94</sup> she did it womanfully--without turning a hair.

He remained in contact with his old and dear friends Janey Morris and Georgie Burne-Jones to the end, and stayed at least twice with the latter at Rottingdean. Old clients often called on him, sometimes with their families; Percy Wyndham and John Yorke, for example, and Mrs Wickham Flower wrote often and called occasionally.<sup>95</sup> That a visit to Caxtons was not merely a matter of duty, is shown by May Morris's account:

. . . [Webb] would come to the station to meet one--the pleasant walk up--perhaps a stroll later into the forest, and a talk about the Arab horses--the beautiful hospitality, the sweet homeliness of the spread table, the touching insistence that one should eat heartily of some simple dainty. Then the chairs<sup>96</sup> drawn up in his own inner room, and the long talks.

The pleasure of a visit to Caxtons was not felt only by Webb.

As well as his annual holidays with Harry at Winchester, Webb visited Hale White or other friends, and made several day-trips to London every year, sometimes spending the day alone but often meeting Lethaby, or George Jack who, Webb gratefully acknowledged, was 'good and helpful over the roughs of time, always'.<sup>97</sup> A typical day with Jack would begin at a watchmakers or shoemakers or some such, then, after luncheon and an inspection of any new buildings in

progress, end in a pilgrimage to St Paul's Cathedral; one day the old man had to turn to a ready-made shop on finding bespoke boots beyond his means, and Jack noted sadly the necessary reduction of Webb's beloved snuff from two boxes a week to one and then to none, but he also remembered Webb's boyish delight on a boat-trip on the Thames and his enjoyment of Wren's inventiveness and creative experiments.<sup>98</sup>

To the end Webb was interested in everything that came his way. At the age of eighty, for instance, he began to study the stars with the aid of astronomical maps and articles in the Daily News.<sup>99</sup> National and world affairs were a continuing fascination, but, apart from the deaths of friends and his sometimes faulty memory, they also brought the only real clouds to his horizon. He was as horrified and depressed by the continuing trouble with the Boers and the carnage of the First World War as he had been in his younger days by the Crimean and Franco-Prussian Wars and the threatened invasion by France. His old companion George Wardle died in 1910, his own sister Caroline in 1909, and his brother Harry, for whom Caroline had continued to housekeep after he moved from Welwyn to Winchester in 1900, two years later. When George Bodley died in 1907, Webb recalled that he had been a 'man of some taste and discrimination' whose companionship he had enjoyed until Bodley's restoration work, 'separator of friendly familiarity', ended the pleasure; in 1912 when Shaw died Webb commented:



I had thought that the old and trustworthy friend, Norman Shaw, would have held on as long as myself, but no. And he had done good and serious work.<sup>100</sup>

### 'Tripping-up Time'

Having been blessed with a phenomenal memory, Webb was naturally somewhat disturbed when it began to fail, but for many years its lapses were only occasional, and he accepted them philosophically. After a trip to London in 1908 he wrote (to Cockerell):

. . . I find daily that an everlasting attack of old age is appreciably wittling my wits away. True, I brightened up under the influence of you, Walker, and Signor Branca [a waiter at Gatti's], but when I reached home my terribly defaulting memory met me at the gate, and like the ghost of old age, addressed me with 'Here we are again'. Really I don't grumble much, but I have had an unusually long patch of writing to do just now, and the blundering about the sentences nearly drove me to tears of vexation. I say 'never mind', and try harder, smile again, and think of friends still left to forbear, in their kindly treatment of the 'old 'un'!<sup>101</sup>

In 1910, though not nearly so despressed by old age as his friend, Webb sympathized with Hale White:

I smiled, with your tradesmen, and bank book blunders, for the very same touches of memory-failure have beset me, that I could even enjoy a laugh at one's ridiculous position as a grown man!

and told how the countryside, the forest, and the stars, brought him solace.<sup>102</sup>

Towards the end of 1914 Mrs Dickinson expressed her concern about Webb's seriously defaulting memory to Hale White and Lethaby, asking the latter to come to Caxtons for what proved to be the last time he saw Webb.<sup>103</sup> He reported Webb's condition to Cockerell:

I hardly think he knew me at first sight, and when I spoke of Jack he asked who he was. Yet it was

rather a fading of the faculties than estrangement and when we sat at tea and got warmed up he seemed nearly his recent self. He would go a little way on the road with me, but was much easier about it, and about going back soon, than ever before.<sup>104</sup>

The old man's memory was obviously stimulated by friends, and he continued enjoying their company and reminiscing about old times to the end, but he had a fall at Christmas-time, after which he could not sleep but talked and laughed all the time, and longed to go 'home' to Oxford, the town which had meant so much in his life; Walker tried to take him there but they had to turn back.<sup>105</sup> He slowly weakened, and on 17 April 1915 Cockerell, devoted companion to the last, who had never witnessed death before, described the last hours in his dairy:

Reached Caxtons . . . and found dear Webb still alive but unconscious. Mrs. Dickinson . . . and a very kind and helpful male nurse were with him. He had been in much the same state since 5 a.m. yesterday. . . At 6.30 P. W. died peacefully, his breathing becoming weaker till it ceased. . . I found it, at any rate in the case of an old man, a natural event attended with no horror. . .<sup>106</sup>

Cockerell felt there was little cause to grieve as Webb had lived eighty-four happy and contented years, and lived them 'manfully and finished his work'.<sup>107</sup>

Webb's friends were deeply saddened by the news but found consolation in their memories of him. Mrs Flower kept thinking of Webb's 'wonderful life--and still more wonderful personality', and about how happy she was to have known him, whilst Georgie Burne-Jones gave 'thanks that his noble spirit has passed out of the baffling clouds that obscured it these last months'.<sup>108</sup> Lethaby, 'weak and sore', told May Morris that Webb had



been 'truly heroic', the 'strongest man' he had ever known, whose vision he had at times believed 'would save England'.<sup>109</sup> In the Cotswolds, Gimson and the Barnsley brothers remembered their fascination with Webb and his work during their London days, and recalled his 'many kindnesses and a ready helpfulness' when they lived near him in Gray's Inn, and the 'enthusiasm' of their 'pilgrimages to his houses' <sup>110</sup> Winmill, who had many times assured his young daughter that anything he knew of architecture was due to Philip Webb, was so distressed on hearing of his old mentor's death that he was temporarily overcome, and knelt sobbing beside her bed.<sup>111</sup>

On 20 April 1915 Webb's body was cremated at Golder's Green. In July his remains became part of the English landscape which he had loved so intensely, when Cockerell, accompanied by Emery Walker and St. John Hornby, scattered his ashes 'within the bounds of an ancient camp on the windswept wholesome down above the White Horse' at Uffington, a spot dear to Webb and his old companion William Morris.<sup>112</sup>

At Webb's own request no memorial stone was set up to him.<sup>113</sup> In 1902 he had told Cockerell:

So far as any written memorial of me is concerned, I don't care two crossed straws, and there may be fifty written for all I care, and each signed by the President of the Royal Academy and the R.I.B.A. Of course, any brief thing that Lethaby might wish to write, no hurt to my feeling could come from such, save that he has a tendency to give overdue value to a way-worn modern's strivings.<sup>114</sup>

With Cockerell's enthusiastic encouragement, Lethaby wrote a memorial, far from brief, and most valuable for



later students of Webb and his work. It was published in 1925 as a series of papers in The Builder, and posthumously in book form in 1935.<sup>115</sup>

At the news of Webb's death, obituary notices and memorial articles appeared in The Times and most British journals with an interest in architecture. In a letter published in The Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects, Arthur Kean drew attention to Webb's 'unusual ability for clear, original thought', his 'mastery of composition', 'fine instinct for proportion and right scale', and 'good understanding of colour'.<sup>116</sup> In Country Life, Sir Edwin Landseer Lutyens (1869-1944) praised Webb, amongst other points, for having had the courage to refuse work that was 'incompatible with his ideals'; for not degrading 'labour by forcing it to adopt unworthy methods and bad materials'; and for the 'keen sense and knowledge of proportion', the mastery of the 'right use of material', and fertile invention which had given his work a 'quality of surprise' and an 'enduring charm' that was the 'apotheosis of construction rather than the mask of architecture'.<sup>117</sup> He recalled how he had come to recognise the 'freshness and originality' in Webb's work as the product of the 'eternal youth of genius' conjoined with 'another attribute of genius--thoroughness'. Every detail, no matter how small or trivial, had been 'carefully and equally thought out and fitted to meet its special requirements', designed 'to fit its purpose'. By

studying Webb's buildings, drawings, and specifications, architectural students would better equip themselves to 'attain to his ideal', and to 'endue all members of the building trades . . . with dignity and honour'.

At a General Meeting of the Royal Institute of British Architects--which Webb had steadfastly refused to join--members paid him tributes which were published in the Journal.<sup>118</sup> Guy Dawber spoke of Webb as a 'pioneer' who had left a 'great mark on English architecture'.<sup>119</sup> Webb's 'profound conscientiousness' was recalled by Philip Norman, who had known no man 'more absolutely determined to do his duty'.<sup>120</sup> In Halsey Ricardo's view, 'the 'vitality and life' in its every part part was the main characteristic of Webb's work, which he lauded for being full of ideas and suggestions for development and further invention.<sup>121</sup> These attributes, stemming from Webb's knowledge and application of building materials, made his work inspiring, unlike most buildings of their own day. 'What higher praise', he asked, 'can we give to a man's work than that besides being distinguished it is fruitful?' Lethaby opined that Webb had been a 'great force' and a 'great man', a 'great building architect and a great decorative architect', who had anticipated by two to three decades what the 'Arts and Crafts people tried to do', and who had 'set the pattern for what became the ambition in building in the latter end of the nineteenth century'.<sup>122</sup>

In his appreciation in The Architectural Review, George Jack wrote that Webb had in him a 'most potent quality of silent influence', one which 'removed "architecture" from the architect's office to the builder's yard and the craftsman's workshop, and one which held many younger architects 'under its spell without knowing it, as was proved by their work afterwards'.<sup>123</sup> In another article in The Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects, he expressed his belief that Webb's greatest faculty had been his knowledge of 'all kinds of building materials, and the inventive skill he displayed in their use'.<sup>124</sup> When he first studied Webb's work Jack had concluded, as he still believed, that 'of all the architectural genius of the nineteenth century, Webb's was the most vital and the most inspiring'.



## PART 2: PHILOSOPHY, CLIENTS, AND PRACTICE

### CHAPTER 1: WEBB'S NATIONAL VERNACULAR APPROACH (1)

#### The Gothic Revival

In the mid-eighteenth century the 'classical' idiom with its absolute rules of architectural beauty was universally accepted by British architects and their patrons but by the turn of the century, influenced by theories of associational beauty, many architects no longer believed in such rules, and some of them had become interested in the gothic styles.<sup>1</sup> By 1859, when Webb set up his practice, architects in Britain were roughly divided into three schools: the classicists, the gothic revivalists, and those willing to design in either style according to their clients' wishes.<sup>2</sup> There was much propaganda for gothic on the grounds that it was the national style, with prominent medievalists such as Scott and Street demanding its universal use,<sup>3</sup> and it was accepted by almost all Anglicans and Roman Catholics for ecclesiastical work. The classical idiom remained popular for public buildings.

By the 1840s the late-eighteenth-century interest in gothic architecture had developed into a serious attempt to revive it. In 1858 Street, a leader of the High Victorian gothic movement which was then at its height, recorded that in England this was due largely to the efforts and publications of antiquarians, to the

novels of Sir Walter Scott, to the republication of early literary works such as Malory's Le Morte Darthur, to Wordsworth whose poetry demonstrated that observation of the conventions of classical art was unnecessary, and to the religious revival which began in the 1830s.<sup>4</sup> To this shortlist must be added the theories and publications of Pugin, Ruskin, and the Ecclesiological Society (whose members sought to revive medieval liturgy, ritual, and art).

Pugin crusaded for the adoption of gothic styles, in which he discerned truth and reality, on religious and moral grounds, and castigated classical buildings for subterfuges and untruths such as permitting cheap materials to masquerade as expensive ones, and the acceptance of inconvenient plans and unnecessary windows for the sake of symmetry. He emphasized the concept that architecture reflects the society which builds it and, paradoxically, he maintained that neo-gothic architecture would make society more righteous.<sup>5</sup> He called for the primacy of a convenient plan over regular elevations, the use of ornament only to enrich the structure, the frank revelation of construction (which should vary according to the nature of the material used), and the omission of all features unnecessary to convenience, to construction, or to an appearance suited to the building's purpose (which, with that of its various parts, should be expressed externally).<sup>6</sup> Suitable appearance for any building of a Christian society demanded a gothic style, of

course.<sup>7</sup>

The limiting effects of Pugin's Roman Catholicism led to leadership of the gothic revival being assumed around 1845 by the Ecclesiological Society, whose members followed Pugin's guiding star of truth and accepted his tenets, except that they tended to look to the best features of a gothic style rather than to its local variants as he had urged.<sup>8</sup> In its journal, The Ecclesiologist, the Society published theories on and guides to design, and criticisms of new churches and schools, praising those which revealed a 'manifest grasp of the true principles'.<sup>9</sup>

In the late 1840s the ecclesiologists' original demand for a copyist approach changed into an acceptance that development within the gothic styles was not only possible but desirable, and their earlier liking for picturesque irregularity gave way to an liking for sublime.<sup>10</sup> The result was High Victorian gothic, with its grandeur, compact massiveness, vigorous and inventive use of gothic elements; its emphasis of the wall and horizontality in contrast to Pugin's understanding of gothic as a framed structural system with an emphasis on verticality; its architectural hierarchy (the expression of the relative importance of the church, vicarage, school, almshouses, and cottages through the amount of gothic details each possessed); and its many foreign elements and details. However, despite its freedom to develop, High Victorian gothic contained as much of the letter as of the spirit of



medieval architecture.

Throughout the 1850s and 1860s there was considerable disquiet as to whether architecture was on the right lines, and much debate as to the respective merits of gothic and classical styles, with some demands being made for an eclectic style culling elements from both, and some for a new style for the industrial age.

For example, Scott argued for the universal use of gothic styles but recommended that both lintels and round arches be incorporated, whereas Street considered that the pointed arch was not only a beautiful form but a mechanical invention of such importance as to be a 'sufficient justification for the condemnation of the design of any building in which it is not used'.<sup>11</sup> Robert Kerr (1823-1904), in his successful book The Gentleman's House (1864), maintained that both gothic and classical styles were part of the English heritage, and that therefore both should be retained but remain separate, with each adopting the best qualities of the other.<sup>12</sup> In 1860 Thomas Harris (1830-1900) pleaded for a new style which would express the 'true and national character' of industrial nineteenth-century England, with 'new expressions' based on 'clear first principles', and 'on the understanding and right use of materials'; and the Reverend John Louis Petit (1801-68) suggested in 1861 that such a style, suited to contemporary needs and capable of expressing the spirit of the age, could be provided by the monumental

buildings of the Queen Anne.<sup>13</sup> In 1850, though he was then a gothic revivalist himself, John Pollard Seddon (1827-1906) had pleaded for astylar buildings, but the concept of architecture as primarily a matter of style had taken too firm a hold to be dislodged, and his pleas fell on deaf ears.<sup>14</sup>

However, one architect, Philip Webb, did ignore all styles, though he may not have known of Seddon's call.<sup>15</sup> In 1859 Webb set up practice and simultaneously rejected the gothic revival. These were brave steps to take when he lacked capital and commissions, when the revival was at the peak of its power and influence, and when Street would have helped Webb to make a success in the gothic styles in which he had excelled when Billing's pupil.<sup>16</sup> But, ironically, Webb had been convinced by one of its greatest advocates, Ruskin, that the gothic revival offered no hope of great or even good architecture.

As previously explained, Ruskin convinced Webb that the glory of gothic stemmed from its expression of the creative spirit of its craftsmen, freely and inventively exercised, with unimpaired power to judge quality, and with evident pride and joy in the work, and that this spirit had been destroyed by commercialism. Webb concluded that as the creative spirit and skill of the craftsmen began to decline architects had turned to copying past styles; and that under the pressures of commercialism they had ceased to do their own work thoroughly.<sup>17</sup> As a result, by the nineteenth



century they had lost touch with the realities of building, and had become 'ill-fitted to deal with buildings where scientific and practical knowledge is required'.<sup>18</sup> Architecture had ceased to be a living, developing tradition and had become instead a poor and lifeless, uninventive affair of copy-books and exhibition drawings. Webb saw, as Ruskin did not, that if their assumption about the cause of gothic's greatness was correct, it was utterly useless to hope for great architecture by copying it when the feeling and spirit which had produced it no longer existed, when the nineteenth-century craftsman had become 'more of a mere mechanic than ever he was before',<sup>19</sup> and when architects had lost their essential knowledge of materials and construction and were unwilling to involve themselves in such practicalities. The gothic revivalists 'worked on a sand-hill', Webb averred, and many of the results were contemptible 'childish efforts' of 'wasted labour'.<sup>20</sup>

It was similiary futile to hope for great architecture from a revival of the Greek styles which in Webb's view had the additional disadvantage of being unsuited to English light.<sup>21</sup> As for an entirely new style for the age, commercialism and industrialism were not matters he wished to celebrate, and in any case he believed that all new architecture must necessarily contain something of the past as all ideas develop from or are inspired by what already exists.<sup>22</sup>

Having rejected all revivals and the possibility of



a completely new style, and believing that under current social conditions great architecture was impossible, Webb was in a seemingly inextricable dilemma. However, he had to earn his living in the only way he knew, which he happened to enjoy, and, despite his assertions to the contrary, he was fundamentally an optimist, so, as he told Lethaby later, he resolved to see whether it was possible to make new buildings 'pleasant without pretences of style'.<sup>23</sup> If he was to do this, and thereby satisfy his urge to do something for art and his fellow men, he had to find a way of designing the best possible buildings under the circumstances.

Webb believed, in Lethaby's words, that from the Byzantine period until the Renaissance architecture had been a 'folk art, having a common tradition behind individual whims and wills, and shaped by the very nature of things--a revelation of humanity'.<sup>24</sup> During his first decade in practice, through observation, thought, and experiment, and with a total disregard of fashion and opinion, he evolved a design philosophy based on the belief that the only hope for good architecture lay in a return to honest, high-quality, unselfconscious building; if and when this developed into a similar common tradition, within which architects, clients, and builders accepted the 'natural expression of the moment' without thought of style, great architecture, which revealed humanity instead of commercialism, might again be produced.<sup>25</sup>

## The Influence of the Ecclesiologists

In the hope of making 'modern architecture in some way genuine',<sup>26</sup> Webb rejected the fundamental aim of Pugin and the ecclesiologists but he followed their dictum of truth to purpose, structure, and material. In the cause of truthful appearance, he made chimneys an important part of the composition of all his houses, for example, and for Brampton Church he employed the pointed arches and traceried windows made suitable for the purpose by centuries of tradition, though he did so in an inventive and idiosyncratic manner, and in a building whose plan ignored most ecclesiological precepts.<sup>27</sup>

Though he revealed a building's purpose externally, he did not deliberately express its plan, except to a limited extent in his first two or three houses, the stair-turret of Red House being an example. The four corner turrets of Rounton Grange for instance, had no relation to the ground-floor plan; one housed the cloakroom and butler's room, another the study, but the windows of both were alike. This similarity also demonstrated the lack of hierarchy in Webb's approach; he happily used the same material or feature in country house or cowshed. For instance, he roofed Rounton Grange in pantiles, then and long afterwards considered by most architects as suitable only for outbuildings and, above the main entrance used ogee-arched windows similar to the one he had employed

pl.  
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in the gable of the steading at Arisaig House.

Though in general, and especially in his earliest houses, Webb observed the dictum of truth to structure, he occasionally abandoned it in order to secure an appearance of stability. For example, he used tile-hung studding for those walls of the stair turret at Red Barns which did not rise from the foundations but he gave one room at Rounton Grange false beams to prevent any sense of unease arising from the fact that a similar sized room had real ones.<sup>28</sup> Another instance was his use of round arches in Bell Brothers Offices (Middlesbrough) to overcome the problem of large ground-floor windows looking too frail to carry the wall above: he made the arches slender enough to make it obvious at second glance that the weight was actually taken by beams.<sup>29</sup>

Webb always observed truth to materials (the handling of materials played a vital part in his design approach, as will be demonstrated later). Occasionally he used mouldings of cut and rubbed bricks, but more often he created decorative vertical or horizontal bands using bricks as simple blocks, and reserved complicated profiles for stone which had to be finished by hand in any case. Except where smoothness was necessary for practical purposes, he utilized as an aesthetic feature the marks made by the particular hand-tools of a district, thereby expressing the process by which the stone was shaped. In his opinion, the use of a coating such as plaster, unmarbled and



ungrained paint, hardwood strips, or thin marble slabs was acceptable so long it did not imitate another material and so long as it looked 'like applied decoration not as if it carried the house'.<sup>30</sup> He regarded rough cast as an honest material, and used it to weatherproof extremely exposed walls, but stucco masquerading as masonry was anathema to him. pl.  
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Webb accepted Pugin's doctrine of the primacy of a convenient plan over the design of elevations but, as will be shown, he developed a liking for symmetry, which led him to countenance occasional minor solecisms, such as those at Four Gables where to retain elevational symmetry a window was crossed by a half-landing and a bedroom wall was angled to admit a window to the landing.

Though Webb regretted Street's total involvement with the revival of gothic, and deplored his restoration work, he spoke the truth in an informal sense when he called himself Street's pupil. From his employer he learnt: much about the arts and crafts associated with building; how to achieve good composition and good proportions; the usefulness of rhythm, regularity and repetition as contrasts to elevational irregularity; the value of long roof lines and unbroken sweeps of walling; about handling a building as an assemblage of hollow volumes within which contrasts of shapes and light and shade were of great value; and about the importance of details, and the necessity of designing each one himself as a major

aid towards unity and consistent high quality.<sup>31</sup>

However, it appears that Street learnt the value of the sensitive exploitation of the intrinsic qualities of materials from Webb, not vice versa. Webb's influence has been discerned in Street's work of the late 1850s and the 1860s by scholars who attribute to him Street's move of the early 1860s away from assertive muscular, foreign-inspired designs towards a gentler English manner with much emphasis on the colour and texture of materials.<sup>32</sup> Street's parsonage at Laverstoke, designed in 1858 whilst Webb was still with him, is a case in point.<sup>33</sup> It was certainly not Street, but Hutchinson, a fellow assistant in Billing's office, who taught Webb the value of the 'distributed middle term',<sup>34</sup> that is of diagonals as dynamic contrasts to horizontals and verticals, and of greys and other soft colours as contrasts to black and white and bright colours, an appreciation that was increased by studying Bewick's engravings.

Despite Webb's liking for and admiration of Street, he had more affinity with Butterfield (to whom he was probably introduced by Street who had worked with Butterfield in Scott's office). Butterfield's approach was less antiquarian than Street's, and, as Lethaby noted, to Butterfield gothic was a 'logical system and an essence not a source of cribs'.<sup>35</sup> Webb clearly admired the combination of daring innovation with common sense in Butterfield's work, and no doubt envied his two-year apprenticeship with a builder, in



Webb's view the best preliminary training for an architect.<sup>36</sup> He sought out Butterfield's smaller buildings, including those at Alvechurch (1855), Great Bookham (1856), and, probably during his 1857 tour in the North, Baldersby (from 1855), as well as a large 'house at Highgate' in London.<sup>37</sup> It was Butterfield whom Webb recommended to the client in 1868 after his own scheme for George Howard's new house (number 1 Palace Green, Kensington) had failed to please the Commissioners of Woods and Forests; again, in 1873, after declining to be considered for the job himself, Webb recommended Butterfield as designer for Oxford's new Examination Schools because he considered him the only living architect whose work would not harm his own beloved birthplace.<sup>38</sup>

Butterfield was seventeen years Webb's senior, but they had much in common, both being bachelors who lived for their work; who scorned professional bodies and publicity and considered architecture a matter of practical building not exhibition drawings. They shared a determination to make every detail of their buildings work and, despite Butterfield's espousal of gothic forms, to make their buildings clearly of the present day not historical pastiches. The two became friends, and in the 1860s and 1870s occasionally entertained each other in their rooms after dinner; by 1873 they were sufficiently close for Webb to freely criticize Butterfield's work, and for the older man to welcome Webb's 'intelligent but far too favourable



criticism'.<sup>39</sup>

As will be shown, Butterfield's influence was most apparent in Webb's early work, but Butterfeldian elements appeared in his buildings throughout his career: bedrooms lit by hipped or gabled dormers, timber framed gables, segmental arches, vertical sashes and casements in the same building, windows with lintels hidden under the eaves (in Butterfield's case for economy, in Webb's clearly because he liked them), polygonal bay windows under gables, internal chimneys instead of the external ones demanded by Pugin, brick-dentilled chimney tops and string courses, and, less often, arches with herringbone brickwork tympana.

The only contemporary buildings Webb truly admired were the vicarages, small schools, and cottages designed by Butterfield and Street in an almost astylar manner introduced by Butterfield in the 1840s and immediately adopted by Street.<sup>40</sup> These buildings, on some of which Webb had worked as Street's chief assistant, had nothing of the exaggerated rusticity of picturesque villas and cottages, although they too relied on simple vernacular forms because of the need for economy, a long maintenance-free life,<sup>41</sup> and the demands of hierarchy (most gothic details were reserved for the churches). Few people knew these simple buildings at the time because all attention being reserved for the churches they accompanied.<sup>42</sup>

Webb's first independent essay in this parsonage manner--Red House--was as assured, attractive, well

composed and finely proportioned as any of its fore-  
fathers by Street or Butterfield. Though he later <sup>pls.</sup> 19 - 21  
referred disparagingly to Red House and his other early  
buildings as being of his 'Gothic days',<sup>43</sup> they pleased  
his clients, and had it not been for his independent  
nature, his hatred of copying on however broad a front,  
his open-minded outlook which Billing had fostered, and  
his great inventive power, he could have made a success  
as a designer of houses in the parsonage style. As it  
was, he began to develop his own manner almost from the  
first.

## PART 2: PHILOSOPHY, CLIENTS, AND PRACTICE

### CHAPTER 2: WEBB'S NATIONAL VERNACULAR APPROACH (2)

#### Common Sense, Ornament, Simplicity, and Symbols

Webb believed that if historical pastiches were to be avoided architecture must be founded upon 'common sense'.<sup>1</sup> It was their common sense quality, as well as their astylar simplicity, which had attracted him the vicarages and schools by Butterfield and Street. Common sense provided a guideline by demanding a convenient plan with well-lit rooms of suitable size, pleasing proportions, and good lighting, aspects and prospects, and a durable structure: in brief, common sense demanded that everything about the building be governed by reason. However, common sense alone could not fully determine a building's appearance.

One of the first decisions Webb made on aesthetic matters was to abandon ornament almost completely. Most of his peers concurred with Ruskin's contention that a building without ornament could not be architecture, but Webb considered it a 'fallacy, on the line of Fergusson'.<sup>2</sup> The historian James Fergusson had asserted that 'Architecture is nothing less than the art of ornamental and ornamented construction'.<sup>3</sup> Early English gothic architecture, in which ornament was strictly limited, and simple vernacular buildings in which it was not employed at all, had convinced Webb



that architecture meant building not ornamented building.

He found contemporary ornament deplorable on two counts. Firstly, it was often added to conceal poor construction; Webb agreed with Pugin that its proper use was the 'enrichment of the essential structure of the building'.<sup>4</sup> Expressing a long-held view, in 1883 Webb told his client William Thomas Tate that 'If all ornament were omitted in modern houses they would be much less offensive'.<sup>5</sup> 'Unfortunately,' he continued, 'ill understood and therefore bad ornament is much cheaper than good construction.' Secondly, because of craftsmen's atrophied creative spirit contemporary ornament was lifeless. There was 'no sign of inspiration in it, no reward for the labour, which is always visible in a real work of art'.<sup>6</sup>

Webb believed that all the great architectures of the past had been 'noble customary ways of building, naturally developed by the craftsmen engaged in the actual works'.<sup>7</sup> He saw the ideal architect of the future as an 'upper foreman' equivalent to a medieval master-mason, skilled in one building craft and knowledgeable about the rest in which his craftsmen, with their creative abilities revived, would follow his overall scheme but execute work such as mouldings and ornament of all types to their own 'design' and 'invention' (Webb sometimes used these terms synonymously).<sup>8</sup> 'Till our born craftsmen are stirred to the depths to make their own designs in the different

crafts, there will be none done of lasting value', Webb told Constance Astley.<sup>9</sup>

In the meantime, rejecting Ruskin's view that a poor piece of work done to the workman's own design was better than one slavishly executed to the design of another,<sup>10</sup> Webb accepted that the architect must design everything himself. In fact, he had an innate urge, which had been strengthened by observation of Street's example, to do this in any case. George Jack recalled that when Webb was dilatory in designing urgently required details, his assistants did them, then asked Webb 'if they would do; of course, they would not do, and he himself immediately set to work'.<sup>11</sup> The role of the nineteenth-century architect, with total responsibility for design, suited Webb well.

When designing mouldings and other details he bore in mind the method by which they would be made and the tools which would be used, and kept the designs simple partly so as not to overtax the craftsmen's limited abilities, but then insisted on his detailed drawings being followed meticulously. He told Lowthian Bell that it was better to leave the rough block on his porch uncarved than have the family emblem carved on it without guidance of his detailed drawings.<sup>12</sup> In repetitive interior mouldings such as cornices he did permit slight variations, in the shape of leaves for instance, to give pleasure in the execution and limit the chance of lifelessness.<sup>13</sup> In an apparently unique instance, after being convinced of John Pearson's

unusual ability, he allowed him to design as well as execute the floral ornament on some of the light-sconces for the drawing-room at Standen, but even then Webb could not resist providing suggestions.<sup>14</sup> Models were made for important items, such as his rare capitals, from which the work was carved after Webb had made final adjustments.<sup>15</sup>

An expert designer of heraldic emblems but 'very much averse to ostentation' in their use, Webb seldom permitted them on an exterior, and, as with all forms of ornament, limited them in interiors, where he was 'dead against' employing even a pattern unless it was 'really beautiful'.<sup>16</sup> Indeed, had craftsmen of medieval calibre been available, Webb would have employed little more ornament than he did, for, as Red House had demonstrated, he liked simplicity for its own sake. Believing beauty in all its forms to be an 'enemy to all excess', he admired French medieval buildings but found it necessary to excuse their elaboration.<sup>17</sup> They contained the 'essence of red wine', not of 'ale or mead!' like the 'comparatively rustic' English gothic buildings he preferred, especially those of the chaste Early English period, such as Cleeve Abbey, 'so very lovely and gentle in its perfect simplicity of dignified art.'<sup>18</sup> He aimed for a similar restraint in his own work. Many comments in his letters refer to finding work done to his design 'very simple & unostentatious & therefore satisfactory.'<sup>19</sup> 'I will lick my best soul-work out of simplicity', he



assured Morris in 1896 when nearing the end of his career but expressing a conviction held since its beginning.<sup>20</sup>

Webb disapproved of the making of analogies and seeking of syntheses between the various arts, whereby each was thought to gain in power, which became increasingly popular as the nineteenth century advanced.<sup>21</sup> For him, a fine building, such as the church of Tintern Abbey, was a 'masterpiece of the art of building . . . not at all like a poem, nor a symphony of music, nor a forest avenue' though just as 'stirring, mysterious and comprehensive'.<sup>22</sup> A work of architecture was sufficient in itself. Descriptive analogies, even between one type and another, lessened rather than increased a building's power; people who thought a 'dignified plain old church was like a barn' were 'mentally eyeless' to Webb<sup>23</sup> who recognized each as beautiful in its own right. Despite the importance, which he fully acknowledged, of what he termed its 'science' side,<sup>24</sup> architecture was for him the most important of all the arts; it was, after all, the only art in which people lived and worked, and which became a major part of the landscape.

In expecting a building's appearance to suit its purpose Webb can be seen as an associationist. However, as he believed that objects could be beautiful in themselves to those with a 'natural aptitude for seeing into the best of things, though possibly without the power to master the subtleties of motive and

execution' that an experienced architect or painter would have,<sup>25</sup> he did not accept evocation of specific thoughts in the mind of the viewer as a major basis for architectural design. In his opinion a beautiful work of art, whether a building, a decorative work, or a painting, depended not only on the creative or inventive power of the artist but also--and to a great extent--upon the pains-taking effort of a well-trained and experienced artist; it did not depend on the viewer's reactions or on a creative genius's sudden flash of inspiration (though he believed painstaking effort by a genius would produce the best results). 'All good work has been produced by strenuous effort in the past, now we are expected to do it as easily (as Morris said) as not answering our letters', he told Lethaby (who thought that taking pains was the secret of Webb's success), and warned of the 'great danger' that students might 'look on art as a trick to be learnt or found out' whereas satisfying work could 'only come of hard pounding'.<sup>26</sup> Webb used the inspiration of older buildings not to evoke thoughts of the past (as has been suggested)<sup>27</sup> but as a starting point for developing new designs which would have the links with the past which he considered inevitable.

Not only historical allusions but symbols of any kind had no place, except in ornament, in Webb's search for reality in architecture.<sup>28</sup> Prominent roofs, chimneys, and porches were not symbols of shelter and warmth but the essential elements of a building. He

would have deplored the use of symbols by twentieth-century Modern and post-Modern Movement adherents: by the former as a reflection of the machine age, by the latter as deliberate references to the past. Identification of Webb's sources is fascinating but never necessary in order to understand his buildings, for neither as a whole nor in their details, which customarily have both a practical and a visual purpose, do they contain hidden messages or morals.

However, he did employ symbols in ornament, such as a bird returning to its nest on a chimneypiece at Clouds to indicate the house's place in the life of the Wyndham family, because, like Ruskin, he believed that good ornament was necessarily representative.<sup>29</sup> It must, he considered, result from 'some beautiful piece of nature' so impressing a designer that by representing it in conventionalized form (and observing Pugin's demand that two-dimensional ornament be flat), he can express and pass on 'some of the keen delight' he has felt.<sup>30</sup> His assertion that the ground of a carved frieze should form a 'mosaic-like pattern effective at a distance' shows that he also appreciated the abstract qualities of ornament.<sup>31</sup>

#### The Barbaric Element, and Multiplication of Details

Webb's attempt to return architecture to the realities of rational, common sense building away from copying past styles or designing within their bounds, corresponded with that of Wordsworth to turn poetry



from conventions of style and language back to recording and reflecting on the natural world and everyday life, and with the work of Sir Walter Scott; he described the latter as 'one of the forerunners of the present movement (now being rather vulgarized) for greater simplicity and naturalness'.<sup>32</sup>

Though Webb's interest in vernacular buildings was akin to Wordsworth's and Scott's in country folk and folklore and in line with the general tendency to regard primitive art as better than that of cultured man bound by rules and conventions, he was not attracted to them because they were primitive in the sense of being crude, rude, or rough. To him many vernacular structures embodied good building, admirable for its beauty, practicality, and ingenuity. They retained something of the spirit of medieval architecture which 'was always communal and had something for all from the ecstasy of holiness to coarse humour, fairy-fancy, stern-sense, grace and strength',<sup>33</sup> and which in his opinion had been produced by communities more truly civilized than those of his own day, communities whose artist-craftsmen had used their imagination and skill for the benefit of all.

In the gothic art of northern Europe Ruskin discerned a fresh, vigorous quality which he termed savageness.<sup>34</sup> Webb valued this quality for its simplicity and directness, and after years of considering the 'essentials' of the great architectures of the world concluded that regardless of geographical

location they all.

... had in some stage of them the 'Gothic' element--that is, the barbaric; which led the builders to express themselves--and probably when at their best--in direct effectiveness, before consciousness of attractive detail. I have seen it in the Greek, strongly before the Parthenon time--so-called archaic; noted it in the early rock-cut temples of India, with pure Buddhist sculptures; also in the earlyish Byzantine work, . . . it is not barbarous, but is the beginning of throwing off fetters on the impulse of imagination, and is not licentious as the satiety of the unrestrained<sup>35</sup> is but rather the shyness of simplicity in growth.

In his view the barbaric element in early Byzantine buildings rescued architecture from the 'debased Greek art of the Romans' and led to developments which made Byzantine architecture the mother of all later Western art.<sup>36</sup>

Pugin had commended the medieval practice of increasing the number of details on larger buildings rather than enlarging them as in the classical idiom.<sup>37</sup> Webb, to whom over-plainness signified 'affected posing', felt that in smaller buildings, which lacked the impact of magnitude, such 'multiplication and disposition of parts' was essential if the 'heavy-browed "wonder"' which he considered a 'primary essential' of the 'strength-giving' barbaric element was to be evoked.<sup>38</sup> He never lost this belief in the importance of detail, which was for him the 'sign manual of instinct and imagination, applied only when called for by the object', but he was continually exercised about the danger of excess, as he indicated in 1903:

The question to me, then, has been: how far can detail (ornament, structural or otherwise) be carried without losing the massive, direct, and simple qualities of the 'barbaric' saving element of

breadth? I take it the answer would be that you may overlay simplicity with some gain, and without loss if the addition be not too mechanical--the work of slaves.<sup>39</sup>

Clouds illustrates Webb's application of multiplication of detail in a large country house, whilst number 19<sup>pl. 95</sup> Lincoln's Inn Fields, London (offices, designed in 1868)<sup>40</sup> demonstrates his use of it to give a narrow building the necessary visual strength to prevent it from being swamped by its neighbours. Other good examples are Brampton Church and Bell Brothers Offices. These buildings show that, in his view, simplicity and the barbaric element did not involve the plain, the barbarous, or the primitive. After the early 1860s this was also demonstrated by his interiors, in which detail was used with skill to create a sophisticated background which avoided the boredom of starkness and the satiety of over-elaboration.

Multiplication of detail was a major component of the 'delicate tender' quality discerned in Webb's work in the late-1860s by Warrington Taylor, who had in mind Ruskin's assertion that gothic architecture looked as if built by strong men yet had 'some exquisite tenderness which seems always to be the the sign manual of the broad vision'.<sup>41</sup> Drawing it to the attention of his friend Robson, Taylor averred that the gothic revivalists lacked Webb's 'feeling for the poetry of that very insular characteristic "littleness of English nature"', and were seizing 'all that is huge [and]



coarse in French Gothic' and ignoring that 'English softness' which only Webb sought.<sup>42</sup>

Red House had captured the barbaric quality, but <sup>pls.</sup> 19-21 clearly Webb found its stripped gothicism too plain; as the 1860s advanced, multiplication of detail softened what Mark Girouard terms the 'big-boned no-nonsense element' of Webb's first houses.<sup>43</sup> Though idiosyncratic, most of the new details were based on those traditional in England since the sixteenth century. Perhaps influenced by a report of 1863 in The Builder which criticized the 'degree of rudeness' of the internal finishings of his Worship Street shops and dwellings, Webb had recognized that whilst it was every architect's duty to experiment if architecture was not to become moribund, to reject worthwhile refinements developed by earlier post-medieval experimenters was to indulge in archaism, a practice which he, like the ecclesiologists, abhorred.<sup>44</sup> He abandoned the gothic revivalist precept that all mouldings be within the wall-thickness, and began to model wall-planes with brick pilasters, window surrounds, and corbelled string courses, in a manner reminiscent of the late-sixteenth century, and softened the junction between wall and eaves by a simple cornice. The exposed timber lintels, brick arches, and notched panel-cresting of Red House were superseded by architraves, plastered arches, and moulded cresting, sometimes with dentils. Hooded fireplaces in stone or brick gave way to the timber surrounds with tiled jambs, bracketed mantels and <sup>pl.</sup> 199

panelled overmantels which became a characteristic of Webb's work, and timber beams acquired plaster casings, though he continued to expose the bottom flange of iron girders in ceilings until after 1868.<sup>45</sup>

Webb's and Ruskin's admiration for the barbaric element, and Ruskin's belief that imperfections signified the creative spirit of the craftsman, led to respect for a certain rough or rustic finish as a sign of handwork becoming part of Arts and Crafts ideology. Thus, paradoxically, mature houses by Webb, the acknowledged 'father' of the movement's architecture, often have more sophisticated interior finishes than those by his disciples, and exhibit no external primitivisms such as the exaggeratedly random-rubbed walls and thatched roofs which they sometimes employed.<sup>46</sup>

In the mid-1860s Webb abandoned open grates in favour of the more efficient (for coal burning) enclosed grate; if they wished, clients could choose from those made to his design by Longden and Company, some of which incorporated convected hot air.<sup>47</sup> He loved old stone-mullioned casement windows<sup>48</sup> but rarely employed them, and then only in halls and staircases as at Clouds, because he considered vertically-sliding sash windows an improvement on casements. In 1867 he justified his use of vertical sashes at number 1 Palace Green, Kensington, thus:

Sir C. Wren; Sir J. Vanbrugh; N. Hawksmoor; J. Ripley and many other architects of acknowledged artistic power . . . constantly used the form, . . . visibly with great simplicity & breadth of

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effect . . . and I am perfectly satisfied that for most purposes of modern convenience whether of light, ventilation, internal fittings or facility of construction, there is no form of<sup>49</sup> window so suitable for English town architecture.

In fact, he considered it the most suitable form for all new buildings, and, except in some small cottages, used the cheaper but draughtier casement only for passages, cloakrooms, larders, and the like; this, not deliberate expression as has been suggested,<sup>50</sup> made his major rooms identifiable on the exterior. He used sashes in his many experiments with what had been a traditional feature in England since the fourteenth century: the bay-window.

Webb's search for reality, liking for simplicity, and determination to retain the barbaric element ensured that multiplication of detail did not change the fundamentally practical basis of his work into a pictorial one. As he had first hoped to become a painter this might seem surprising, but even in his youth, under the influence of his father, Mrs Richardson and Harding, it was the real not the imaginary which appealed. He believed that the ability to make 'picturesque sketches' was a 'fatal gift' to an architect,<sup>51</sup> one which led to facile designs concerned with effects instead of constructional realities. He ignored the fashion for emphasizing pictorial effects in architectural drawings; when he sketched old buildings he concentrated on the construction and, as did Butterfield, he made his drawings for new buildings simply information sheets from which to build. As



Robert Macleod pointed out, the degree of detail shown by Webb was then exceptional; for instance, joints in timber were not only indicated carefully in elevation and section but also sketched in perspective to show the precise shape and size of the tenon, and the joiner was shown exactly how to set out Webb's characteristic flattened internal arches.<sup>52</sup>

Webb's desire for reality and simplicity fought constantly with his prolific invention. 'I never begin to be satisfied until my work looks commonplace', he told Lethaby,<sup>53</sup> by which he did not mean undistinguished or mediocre but quiet, restrained and well-mannered as opposed to ostentatious and exhibitionist. 'Whatever you do, cut out, cut out!' he urged his assistant George Jack, who recognized this as a keynote in the development of Webb's philosophy.<sup>54</sup> He recalled how Webb repeatedly simplified schemes, and remembered that one house remained 'wonderfully elaborate and interesting' because abandoned at an early stage (this was almost certainly the scheme for rebuilding Rougham Hall, Norfolk).<sup>55</sup>

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The Romantic Movement's understanding of art as the expression of the artist's spirit, and Ruskin's belief that good art can only be created by an artist working in complete freedom, carried a grave danger of art becoming solely a vehicle for indulgent and exhibitionist self-expression on the part of the artist, whether painter, sculptor or architect. Whilst accepting Ruskin's view that pleasure in the doing leads

to good art, Webb sought an architecture which harmonized with its surroundings and pleased the community in the long term and which therefore demanded considerable abnegation of self. Hence his search for the 'commonplace'.

Webb made use of some of the features called for by Picturesque theory (notably interesting skylines, 'movement' varied fenestration, modelling of wall-surfaces, contrasts of colour, texture, light and shade) but he did so in a sternly controlled manner which paid little heed to associationism and nothing to pictorial resemblance. Shaw, whose early urban work was influenced by Webb's, later thought that Webb had a 'strong liking for the ugly'; in fact Webb neither liked nor sought the muscular ugliness favoured by some High Victorian gothic revivalists.<sup>56</sup> Webb told George Howard that he preferred 'the "chaste" detail . . . of Dryburgh to the barbarous character of the other Scotch remains'; and Lethaby thought that the term 'rustic delicacy' which Webb used to describe a certain cottage 'illuminated the sort of things he cared for'.<sup>57</sup> The fundamental differences in approach seem to have been that where Shaw saw control of invention as leading to the ugly, Webb believed its indulgence led to unreality, and that unlike Webb, Shaw--who was always happy to add completely unnecessary but attractive details and to employ picturesque effects such as imitation timber framing--concentrated on external effects often to the detriment of interiors, of circulation

areas especially.

By 1882 Shaw was deploring the fact that whereas 'old work was real', his and that of most contemporaries was 'only like real'.<sup>58</sup> This was partly due to their only half-hearted rejection of historicism. In the 1860s Shaw and William Eden Nesfield (1835-88), the greater innovator of the two, developed their vernacular-based 'Old English' manner as an alternative style to gothic for houses in the country; later Shaw, still not escaping the insidious concept of 'choice of style', adopted a Baroque manner.<sup>59</sup> The difference as John Brandon-Jones noted, was also due to the lack of that conscientious study of every detail of design and construction which gave Webb's work such a 'feeling of reality and solidity'.<sup>60</sup> The third cause was that whereas Webb took the requirement of Picturesque theory that a building should reflect the character of its immediate site a step further by allowing the character of old local buildings to largely determine that of each of his new buildings,<sup>61</sup> Shaw used vernacular elements indiscriminantly, without regard to local buildings. This gave many of Shaw's houses, for instance Cragside an unreal, alien air such as Webb's never exhibited.



## PART 2: PHILOSOPHY, CLIENTS, AND PRACTICE

### CHAPTER 3: WEBB'S NATIONAL VERNACULAR APPROACH (3)

#### The Landscape

Webb's passionate love for the pre-industrial English landscape and his reaction to the damage caused to it by industrialization led him to believe that it was as much an architect's duty to respect and protect it by prolonging the life of all its worthy old edifices and ensuring that new ones were unobtrusive and harmonious, in town or country, as it was to meet the needs of the client in a sound, durable and convenient building of suitable and pleasing appearance.<sup>1</sup> The root of architecture lay in the land, he believed; without love of the land, no good work could be done (his love for England was not xenophobic: he believed that the same respect was due to the landscape and buildings of other countries).<sup>2</sup> Fitting his houses carefully into their surroundings, using the local materials and methods to which much of the harmony of the pre-industrial urban and rural landscape was due, and taking 'particular pains to avoid anything like obtrusive or erratic design' and never to 'err on the side of ostentation', kept his own work free from the 'leprosy of modern vulgar ostentation', and prevented them from 'blasting the view' and being an 'eyesore to the country round'.<sup>3</sup>

Webb's understanding of the desirable relationship

between buildings and the landscape differed from that of Picturesque theory propagandists. For example, Gilpin maintained that no matter how 'awkwardly' a house had been placed in its park the scenery could always be 'happily adapted to it', and Uvedale Price advised the architect to 'accommodate his building to the scenery' so that the house would have a greater 'number of picturesque forms and combinations' than would a more uniform building.<sup>4</sup> Webb's approach was the opposite. He loved the English landscape as it was, however imperfect from a pictorial point of view, and he did not seek to improve it. His houses in the country were always subservient to their surroundings. As he explained to Boyce (with reference to Coneyhurst), he spent a considerable time scratching his head to see how he could 'least mar the site with the coming house'.<sup>5</sup> Throughout his career he steadfastly refused to discuss the likely appearance or plan of a building until he had spent hours, sometimes days, in becoming familiar with every detail of the site and of many old structures nearby.<sup>6</sup>

The locality of the site suggested the character of each of his buildings, in country or town, and the topography of the site decided the overall layout (the arrangement of main block offices, kitchen yard, coach-house, and stables). By rejecting recognized styles Webb had deprived himself of a useful discipline; exploiting the 'possibility'<sup>7</sup> of each site in this way was an equally helpful but less restricting

guideline.

Allowing the site to determine character meant that each commission required an open-minded approach such as that which in the Middle Ages formed part of scholastic philosophy, with which Webb was familiar.<sup>8</sup> Scholastic theory contended that art was a practical matter therefore designing anything without a practical end in view was useless; that as the end was different for each work, the form of each work was unpredictable so there could be only conditions of beauty (such as integrity, proportion or harmony, and the clear expression of the building's purpose) not absolute rules.<sup>9</sup> Deliberately or not, Webb's philosophy was fully in accord with this theory, and to this extent he worked in the spirit of gothic yet without employing its letter.

Webb preferred English gothic architecture to French not only for its relative simplicity but for its greater local variety which in his view came, like that of vernacular buildings, from the encouragement of ingenuity wrought by having to make do with less easily worked materials than the abundant freestone of France.<sup>10</sup> He discoursed on the subject to Hale White:

It is astonishing how much the material itself modifies architecture. Even in this little England one county differs from another--even in contemporaneous buildings, <sup>11</sup>by the material used by necessity of circumstance.

'Some decent building might be done now', he continued, 'if architects had to make the best of extremely limited resources in material.'



In the nineteenth century local character was almost completely destroyed by speculative building with its stucco and lifeless, gimcrack ornament, and by railways which made the same materials widely and cheaply available. 'Our architecture, now,' Webb told Hale White in 1888, 'might be said to be designed by steam-carriage, which has almost completely killed local ingenuity.'<sup>12</sup> Pugin and some of the ecclesiologists, including Butterfield and Street, used local materials,<sup>13</sup> but they did so within the bounds of their chosen style and without the intense study that Webb devoted to the old buildings of any area in which he was to work. Despite the erosion of local character, in the 1860s Webb managed to find a few experienced craftsmen in various districts from whom to supplement his already extensive knowledge of practical building matters with what he considered the most valuable information of all.<sup>14</sup> 'It has only been by constantly keeping my eyes open, talking freely whenever possible with all kinds of workmen, and reasoning out the knowledge gained that I have had any professional peace of mind for the last forty years', he told Alfred Powell in 1894.<sup>15</sup>

Despite his respect for local materials, Webb never became hidebound by them. Because it was extremely exposed he rough-cast Hill House in Cleveland, for example, and for visual effect crow-stepped the gable <sup>pl.</sup> 184 which linked its entrance porch with the stable, though neither rough cast nor crow-steps was tradit-

ional to the area.

He was preceded in the use of vernacular forms by the designers of picturesque villas and cottages, and by some gothic revivalists, notably Pugin, Butterfield, Street, and White, but as with local materials all were primarily concerned with style, as too were Shaw and Nesfield. Even Edward Buckton Lamb (1806-69), who preceded Webb in the use of a highly idiosyncratic gothic idiom for his ecclesiastical work, and who used local materials with great verve and allowed them to partially effect the character of his churches, farmhouses, and cottages, saw architecture as a matter of style.<sup>16</sup>

From the 1850s George Devey (1820-86), who had trained as a painter under John Sell Cotman and J. D. Harding, employed the local vernacular skilfully and deliberately to make his cottages look centuries old and his country houses as if built piecemeal over generations.<sup>17</sup> As he eschewed publicity, his work was not well-known but Webb would hear of it from his friend Boyce who had served his articles under Devey before turning to painting.<sup>18</sup> Devey's approach was alien to Webb's search for reality but, by bringing the beauty of farmsteads to the attention of Boyce whose paintings influenced Webb in the late 1850s, he had an indirect influence on Webb's work though Harding had already played the vital role by opening Webb's eyes to the beauty of such structures.

Analogies between architecture and natural organ-

isms became popular in the nineteenth century, when they were in line with Wordsworth's ideas on the unity of all things, living and inanimate, and with the naturalism which stemmed in part from the naturalists' theories of evolution. As it suited their hope of developing gothic architecture, the ecclesiologists eagerly accepted the concept of organic architecture, architecture which develops instead of being designed according to style conventions; they used the term 'organic whole' to indicate a building developed to suit needs and conditions.<sup>19</sup> Webb's buildings, in being designed according to needs and conditions, to respond well to the effects of time, and to blend harmoniously into the surrounding landscape by being built of local materials (sometimes taken from the site itself) were arguably as organic as architecture can be.

However, Webb ignored the analogy and used only the term 'consistent whole' (by which he meant a building in which every detail and the whole were interrelated in character and scale).<sup>20</sup> As with analogies between architecture and other arts, this was not through lack of imagination and sensitivity but because for him architecture, the supreme art, was a product of man's intellect and invention, and to suggest even metaphorically that it was a natural organism lessened both it and man's achievement. He did use the terms 'living art' and 'living architecture' to indicate the opposite of the dead art of revivalism but, significantly, on



the rare occasions he used an analogy when referring to actual buildings it was with other human achievements such as books and ships.<sup>21</sup>

This explains the apparent contradiction in his practice of blending buildings into their sites, and mitigating some of the brash newness of their walls with climbing plants, then insisting that at close quarters their major lines were not obscured by shrubs and plants. His aim was not to make the buildings seem like an organic part of their surroundings but simply to make them an unobtrusive part yet one that was clearly the product of the minds and hands of men, like the castles and ancient churches he loved. He was so angry when his views on the matter were ignored at Rounton Grange that Lowthian Bell good-naturedly had the garden re-laid to Webb's design, in which the main block rose clear from gravel and greensward against the surrounding background of mature trees, and plants and shrubs were restricted to rectangular plots enclosed by low walls and rectangular plots alongside the service wing.<sup>22</sup>

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## Materials

By rejecting style motifs and ornament Webb greatly increased the aesthetic role of materials. Not only the mouldings and the occasional heraldic item but also the general workmanship and the materials had to be of the best quality. Webb achieved excellence in these matters through his wide knowledge of materials and the

processes by which they were worked and, as will be shown, through selecting contractors with great care, providing good supervision, and insisting on the replacement of any poor work or materials. The interest he took in their work, his understanding of it, and his praise when it was well done, would undoubtedly encourage workmen towards higher standards.

The colour and texture of materials also became more important. Webb was not the first to exploit their intrinsic colours but, after the early 1860s, he did use it in a newly subtle and sympathetic way, in his large houses especially. By the 1840s interest in architectural polychromy had been increased by controversy about whether or not Hellenic buildings were brightly painted (this began in the 1820 after traces of colour were found in some ruins), by the introduction of chromolithography, by the books of Owen Jones (1809-1874) on the use of colour in architecture, by frescoes by the Munich school of painters, and by the ecclesiologists' interest in every aspect of the medieval Church including colour in interiors.<sup>23</sup> Interest in brick amongst gothic revivalists had been largely initiated by Pugin,<sup>24</sup> and encouraged by the repeal of the tax on bricks in 1850, and by necessity: the need for massiveness, for building large numbers of churches and schools as cheaply as possible; for combating the effects of soot in towns; and for buildings to be as different as possible from the despised and ubiquitous Regency stucco. In the 1850s,



under the influence of Ruskin's Seven Lamps and Stones of Venice, Street's Brick and Marble, and articles by Benjamin Webb (1819-95; he was the Secretary of the Ecclesiological Society, and no relation of Philip Webb); attention became focused on constructional polychromy, and particularly on the use of multi-coloured brickwork inspired by foreign gothic examples.<sup>25</sup>

The ecclesiologists' use of colour was not subtle. They expressed the laying-down of the wall in bands of colour, inside as well as outside in some churches, and employed marbles of different colours in brightly patterned inlays in interiors. Butterfield was the foremost colourist. 'If my own work bears no resemblance to yours it is because I could not do good work like yours and therefore I do not try', Webb told Butterfield in 1869.<sup>26</sup> In fact, Webb's experiments with the multiplication of detail and his acceptance of post-medieval developments had caused his work to veer away from that of the older man, whose bravely patterned polychromy seems strident and alien against Webb's subtle handling of colour.

Believing them to be to architecture what rhythm is to poetry, Webb studied the colour and texture of building materials with the concentration of a painter. He disposed them carefully about a building, 'shading' the different materials together (as Lethaby put it), balancing and contrasting light and dark with consummate skill, a skill partly innate but developed

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by studying Thomas Bewick's handling of mid-tones in his engravings, and the generally soft colours of the English landscape.<sup>27</sup> Webb used colour and texture not as an addition to style motifs as the gothic revivalists did but to replace them.

In the South he reflected the wider choice of materials, but in the North limited them in line with local tradition, and relied greatly on the varied tints of richly-hued stone or of hand-made bricks. George Jack recorded that Webb habitually specified seconds in bricks because they were varied in colour and surface.<sup>28</sup> In all districts he used white-painted window frames as an aid to unity and liveliness. Such was the importance of colour in Webb's buildings that they lost much of their effect in monochrome illustrations, but this had no inhibiting effect on him because after the 1863 criticism in The Builder of his Worship Street terrace he had resolved never to publish or exhibit his work.<sup>39</sup>

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Webb handled textures--to which he had been attracted through sketching, by the drawings of Harding, the paintings of Boyce, and the writing of Ruskin--as skilfully and sensitively as he did colours. He had painstakingly gathered an unsurpassed knowledge of the products of brickyards and stone quarries in many districts, of the effects produced on the various types of stone by different hand-tools, and of the most suitable and durable profiles for mouldings in brick, stone or timber. As a result of this knowledge, coupl-

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ed with what George Jack described as an instinct for the 'right use of materials,'<sup>30</sup> every Webb detail had a shape, profile, and finish suited to its material which was itself right for the detail's position and purpose. 'All materials should settle the fitting design for their use', Webb told Hale White.<sup>31</sup> Standen, a masterly amalgam of stone, brick, tile-hanging, weather-boarding, and rough cast, is an excellent example in both details and overall effects of Webb's fitting and sensitive or 'delicate tender' use of materials.

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Whilst not accepting Harding's view that buildings are at their most beautiful in decay and Ruskin's that they reach full beauty only after surviving the battering of several centuries,<sup>32</sup> Webb certainly believed that buildings should be designed with a view to their long-term appearance. If they weathered well they would continue to be harmonious with older buildings, they would be more likely to please future generations, and they would probably last longer and cost less to maintain. To ensure the satisfactory appearance of his buildings in future decades he not only eschewed fashion but summoned time itself to his aid. He studied the effects of weather, moss, and lichen on all materials, on walls and roofs of all aspects, and on buildings of every type, size, and age, with a care which has never been surpassed and seldom approached since.<sup>33</sup> The displeasing weathering of some Modern Movement buildings, for example, suggests that their architects either ignored or misjudged the effects of



time.

However, to age materials artificially went against reality, was untrue to time so to speak, so Webb never permitted it, even though it meant that a replaced item, such as a replaced finial on Rounton Grange, would be slightly obtrusive for several years.<sup>34</sup>

Given a willing client, a house constructed of glass and iron was feasible and could have been adequately heated in Webb's day, but such a building would not have been commensurate with his understanding of his duty to the landscape. He did employ iron-framed glass in conservatories and passage roofs, but used arches of brick or stone to make them part of the 'consistent whole', examples being the ambulatory and palm house at Rounton Grange and the conservatory at Standen.<sup>35</sup> His vertical sashes were always of timber but he occasionally set casements in iron. He ignored the large sheets of glass, whose development and popularity had been stimulated by the abolition of glass duty (1845) and window tax (1851); small panes avoided a false and disturbing impression of open space, and they captured the sparkle of light reflected from slightly varying planes.

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Webb's railings were all of traditional wrought iron, but he kept an eye on the possibilities of cast iron; he supported an external balcony at West House on a length of cast-iron gas pipe, for instance. He employed iron and, later, steel lintels and, in large houses, beams (which freed upper floors from the

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constraints of the ground-floor plan), and in Bell Brothers' Offices he supported part of the load on steel stanchions in the basement. Probably encouraged by his ironmaster friends Lowthian and Hugh Bell, he sometimes replaced king-posts with 1" iron king-bolts, and used similar rods either as the uprights or in addition to them in latticed girders employed in effect as purlins--in the stable block at Joldwynds for example--or along the ridges of huge roofs, as at Rounton Grange.<sup>36</sup> At Smeaton Manor and possibly other large houses, he used rods, suspended from the roof and concealed in partition walls, to reduce vibration in floors and probably also to reduce the size of beams in the ground-floor ceiling.<sup>37</sup> To use rods in these ways was extremely unusual. Webb's abandoned design of the early 1870s for an engine-house for Atherston Colliery employed cast-iron columns and iron roof trusses; notes on the drawings show that he understood the strains and stresses involved.<sup>38</sup> He normally calculated the sizes of structural members himself, no doubt with the aid of technical books.

Webb used concrete for foundations and lintels but did not share Shaw's interest in developing concrete building blocks and tiles, presumably because in his view this material neither weathered pleasingly nor harmonized with traditional ones.<sup>39</sup> In 1890-91 Webb designed an iron and concrete saucer-dome for a ceiling in his extension to number 23 Second Avenue at Hove and an unexecuted one for Standen (which were similar to

that Lutyens was to design for Marsh Court in 1901-08) but he never designed a complete structure in reinforced concrete though they became practicable in the 1880s.<sup>40</sup> When George Jack suggested there might be a future in this construction, Webb replied: 'Perhaps so, but, Jack, it's not architecture.'<sup>41</sup> Structures poured into moulds like cheap pots probably seemed to be yet another shoddy product of a commercialist society.

Webb was up-to-date on all technical developments from the qualities of new cements to the Bowerbarffing of waterpipes and the chemical action of soft water on lead pipes. In his opinion most of his fellow architects concealed their ignorance of such practicalities by banding together in professional associations, and would not risk exposing it or lessening their prestige by approaching experts in particular fields.<sup>42</sup> He himself willingly consulted engineers on matters of water supply, drainage, and heating. He attended geology lectures to learn more about subsoils and, once convinced its primary purpose was not to improve members' status or hide their ignorance, he joined the Sanitary Institute to keep abreast of developments in sanitation and drainage.<sup>43</sup> However, he adopted only innovations which improved on older methods. He advised against gas lighting, for example, because of its damaging effects on interiors, but welcomed electric lighting, and designed slender, delicate fittings to suit its character, such as those for the drawing-room at Standen.



Webb refused to have a telephone or typewriter in his office because of their disruptive effect, and he often used phrases such as 'the fretful rolling of wheels' and 'this world upon wheels' to indicate his dislike of railways,<sup>44</sup> which devastated the countryside and destroyed vernacular building traditions, but with pragmatic good sense he travelled by rail to save time. He was not against machines in general, only those which had a deleterious effect on the countryside and craftsmanship, or which turned factory workers into slaves. He welcomed machines such as waterpumps because they saved irksome human labour, but was always angered by finding machines in builder's yards where, in his opinion, they supplanted handwork, thereby leading to carelessness, unwillingness to take pains, and ultimately to bad craftsmanship.<sup>45</sup>

#### The 'Queen Anne' Style

As a result of their locality not personal preference, roughly twice as many Webb buildings were of brick as of stone or of stone and brick combined. As well as its ecclesiological precedents and Pugin's brick buildings, several country houses in the neo-Tudor-Elizabethan or 'Jacobethan' style favoured from the mid-1820s by William Burn (1780-1870), Edward Blore (1787-1879) and Anthony Salvin (1799-1881) and their followers<sup>46</sup> were of brick, so Red House was not revolutionary in its materials as some in the Pre-Raphaelite circle believed. It was an understandable



mistake, however, because the house was a startling contrast to the stuccoed terraces and villas then being built in London. It may have been one of the circle--perhaps Dante Gabriel Rossetti, a dab-hand with a limerick--who added the last couplet to the verse which circulated there at the time:

With reason is Caesar Augustus renowned  
For of marble he left what of brick he had found.  
But our Mr. Nash we must own is a master,  
For he found us of brick and he left us of plaster.  
Now Webb has succeeded in trumping the trick--  
For he found us of plaster and left us of brick.<sup>47</sup>

However, though not revolutionary in material, Red House and Sandroyd, and to a greater degree, Webb's London studio-houses of the 1860s number 1 Holland Park Road, number 1 Palace Green, and West House, greatly increased the popularity of red brick for town houses by playing a major role in the development of the new so-called 'Queen Anne' style.

Number 1 Palace Green, a large house on an important site near Kensington Palace and therefore bound to attract attention, was the most influential of these studio-houses. When designing it, Webb told the client George Howard that he had 'endeavoured to keep the artistic impression of the Palace neighbourhood in mind subject only to the necessity of a modern difference'.<sup>48</sup> For this reason, he explained to James Pennethorne, architect to the Commissioners of Woods and Forests, he chose a 'full coloured red brick, with pure bright red gauged brick mouldings, arches, string courses, cornices, &c with the addition of white Portland stone, white sash frames, lead and grey

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slates', as the 'very best and most harmoniously coloured materials to be used in London', an opinion supported, he asserted, by the 'many examples of work of this kind' by the English Baroque architects upon whose names he had called in support of his windows, examples still of 'perfectly delightful effect' despite 'accumulated soot and dirt'.<sup>49</sup> In designing it as he did for reasons of harmony, Webb had unwittingly helped to determine the character of the new style.<sup>50</sup> The 'Queen Anne' style was not a neo-Baroque revival but, in Mark Girouard's words, 'a cocktail, with a little genuine Queen Anne in it, a little Dutch, a little Flemish, a squeeze of Robert Adam, a generous dash of Wren, and a touch of François I<sup>er</sup>'.<sup>51</sup> Webb contributed only its English components: red brick walls with simple pilasters, aprons, and rubbed dressings,<sup>52</sup> tile-hung gables, white-painted sash windows with segmental arches, and generous white woodwork.

The 'Queen Anne' style became extremely popular, especially for town houses and public buildings such as schools and colleges, from the 1870s into the next century because it suited the lighter taste of a generation of the middle classes who were cultivating their artistic sensibilities and revolting against the gothic taste of their parents. The other pioneers and several early practitioners of the new style were acquainted with Webb and his work: Shaw and Nesfield, and Bodley, John James Stevenson (1831-1908), Thomas Graham Jackson (1835-1924), George Gilbert Scott junior (1839-



97), Robson, and Robert James Johnson (1832-92) (who had all been assistants of Scott), plus two friends of Webb and Morris, Robert William Edis (1839-1927) and Basil Champneys (1842-1935).<sup>53</sup> Nesfield's Lodge at Kew Gardens suggests that he was thinking on the same lines as Webb in 1867, that is of allowing local buildings to determine character, but as Andrew Saint has pointed out, he delighted in style and decided it almost whimsically, and his invention had petered out by 1870.<sup>54</sup> Bodley's vicarage at Scarborough (1866-67) shows that in the 1860s he and Webb were in tune, but he too was fundamentally a style man, as the Palladian windows and Ionic capitals of his houses at Malvern Link demonstrated (in 1869 Webb helped his sick friend by drawing the last few details and supervising the final stages of the construction of these houses).<sup>55</sup>

In the hands of others, notably of Nesfield, his manner became a style used to determine character and appearance regardless of that of the site and nearby older buildings, a style which emphasized deliberately quaint features, and which, as a member of the American Institute of Architects noted, was 'open to the suspicion of a certain striving after picturesqueness, at the expense of good construction.'<sup>56</sup> In 1886, when Percy Wyndham praised Clouds as the 'house of the age', Webb demurred:

There are two classes of houses which would rightly come under that title in England. The first is the majority one, the natural style of a 'shoddy period' of which the houses in Tyburnia, Belgravia, Victoria Street &c and their kind in the country give the type and might be called Victorian . . .



The second is the non-natural class of which the first mediaeval style is represented by--say--the Law Courts--the scholastic, by the British museum; the showy, by the club houses &c and the Dilettante-picturesque, by the (so-called) Queen Anne style. All these styles are exceedingly artificial, and have been run to death by lively fashion.<sup>57</sup>

As 'Dilettante' to Webb meant 'having no sincerity in it',<sup>58</sup> and as in his view to be 'picturesque' was to be essentially unreal, this was a major condemnation.

## PART 2: PHILOSOPHY, CLIENTS, AND PRACTICE

### CHAPTER 4: WEBB'S NATIONAL VERNACULAR APPROACH (4)

#### The National Vernacular

The last but by no means least important factor of Webb's design philosophy was the use he made of the national vernacular, of buildings of English as opposed to purely local character. Though there is much over-lapping, in the domestic field these can be roughly divided into four categories: the great house, the large house, the small house, and the cottage.<sup>1</sup> Webb found most of his inspirations in the buildings of the first two groups, and in farmsteads.<sup>2</sup>

On his tours of the 1850s Webb had studied castles and Tudor, Elizabethan, and Jacobean great houses as well as gothic churches; in the 1860s he widened the field to include English Baroque buildings, some of which were brought to his attention by Warrington Taylor, who much admired the large houses of that period.<sup>3</sup> As a result of his investigations Webb concluded that

. . . at all times in England, when there was an art worth considering, by its characteristic qualities it acclimatised its gains from other countries and held its own in all reasonable equality. . . . To my seeing there came a sea-change almost instantly on landing, to any fresh fashion adopted from elsewhere.<sup>4</sup>

In Webb's view, Palladian classicism--which was introduced into England in the early seventeenth century by Inigo Jones, and again, with widespread

effect, a century later by Colen Campbell, Lord Burlington, and William Kent--was not an art worth considering. Finding in it no trace of either a sea-change or the barbaric element, he classed it as utterly alien, a style developed for a foreign way of life and different conditions, and furthermore, a style founded on an attempt to revive the debased Roman version of Hellenic architecture. In his opinion, 'instead [of] absorbing new blood', Renaissance art 'went back, not to simplicity but to the complication and meaningless expression of the past paganism . . . without belief in it, and which could but result in affectation of belief'.<sup>5</sup> He termed English Palladian buildings 'Renaissance', for him a derogatory term signifying the start of the fall of Western art, the time when art ceased to 'carry the "people" with it; for it was the beginning of an aristocracy in all the arts'.<sup>6</sup> That a small number of architects and patrons should impose such a style upon England was anathema to Webb, to whom a 'priesthood' dictating what is good in art was 'one of the worst heresies ever propounded'.<sup>7</sup>

Webb found that the sea-change had occurred in buildings of the late Tudor, Elizabethan, and Jacobean periods. Native traditions, buttressed by the 'revival of imagination' which he believed had occurred in the fourteenth century,<sup>8</sup> and native ingenuity had been strong enough to retain national character despite an overlay of classical ornament, and in spite of commercialism having already made architecture a matter of



great houses rather than great cathedrals for the community. With the exception of those by Jones and his followers, Webb regarded the buildings of these periods as English, and never termed them Renaissance. He used the great and large houses of these periods, particularly those of the late-sixteenth to mid-seventeenth centuries, not to develop a new style as Burn, Blore, and Salvin had done, but as sources of inspiration for much of his multiplication of detail, and sometimes also for the basic guideline which determined the overall form of each of his houses.

From about 1870, Webb took his customary exploitation of the site further by allowing its topography and locality, with the size of the proposed house, to suggest an 'Idea' as a basic guide for overall form as well as arrangement, a guide particularly helpful in the case of a complex country house, and when forms from the large house vernacular category were being incorporated into a much larger building. In his biography, Lethaby indicated that 'Idea' was part of Webb's theory of design, but he did not explain its precise nature.<sup>9</sup> Study of Webb's houses shows that the 'Idea' was usually a building type from the national vernacular, such as an Elizabethan great house or a Border pele, or perhaps even a specific building within a type, such as Compton Wynyates, an Early Tudor fortified house, which influenced Standen. As Webb recorded discussions with clients only as brief notes in his sitebooks, it is not known whether he told

clients of the 'Idea'. Keeping it to himself would avoid being pestered for a pastiche.

This was not the first time in English architecture that building types from the past had inspired new buildings. For example, though the need for them was past, some Elizabethans built castles, including Robert Cecil who rebuilt a medieval house at Snape, North Yorkshire, in the form of a corner-towered quadrangular castle like those which apparently originated in the same county at Bolton in 1377,<sup>10</sup> and in the eighteenth century many landscape garden buildings were built as mock ruins of abbeys and castles. The difference between the use made of such inspirations by earlier architects and by Webb was that where his predecessors recreated a past building type, or deliberately evoked memories of one, Webb borrowed only its essence and did not allow it to influence the detail of his building. The inspiration for Rounton Grange was clearly the same type of Northern castle as for Snape, but Webb's house had no battlements, and neither did Four Gables though based on a Border pele; the 'Idea' for the final design for Clouds was apparently an Elizabethan courtyard house but almost all its windows were vertical sashes not mullioned and transomed casements, and its entrance had no classical orders.

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Some of Webb's finest houses were those with the strongest 'Ideas', but the source of inspiration was never immediately obvious to an observer. As with local tradition, he did not permit the 'Idea' to become

a handicap, and if common sense so suggested he changed it. The first 'Idea' for Rounton Grange, for instance, was a Border pele but as the required accommodation pl.  
72 considerable, he changed it to a quadrangular castle which was even more suited to the locality of the site.

The usefulness of a governing 'Idea' may have occurred to Webb through studying the buildings of the great English Baroque architects, in which designing within the classical idiom, however freely, had curbed excessive originality. It was certainly due to their work that a greater formality entered his buildings from 1867. Attention had been drawn to the English architecture of the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries by John Clayton's books on the work of Wren,<sup>11</sup> but Webb's interest became engaged whilst designing number 1 Palace Green (London, 1867-68) to suit pl.  
34 nearby Kensington Palace (which had been extended by the Office of Works under Wren's command in 1689), when, it will be remembered, Webb employed windows of similar proportions to Wren and his fellows, and called upon their names in support. He found on investigation that the great inventive power of these architects, and the freedom with which they used classical elements, had made their buildings far more English than Italian in both appearance and plan. He therefore considered that England's architecture ceased to be English about the time of the accession of George I in 1714,<sup>12</sup> after which, as Palladianism became widespread, it ceased to be an art worth considering.



Blinded by bias, Morris found Wren's St. Paul's Cathedral 'the very type . . . of pride and tyranny, of all that crushes out the love of art in simple people', and refused to admit that anything about it was good.<sup>13</sup> To Webb's open eyes, though it was regrettably an essay in style not 'living art', Wren's ingenuity and imagination had made it the finest example of the 'monumental Renaissance' style.<sup>14</sup> The more he studied the building the more he esteemed it; in his last year in London Webb spent many hours there, when, as George Jack recalled, he

lost all thought of 'style' . . . but enjoyed the romantic abandon of Wren's compositions when compared to the pedantic stuff which goes by the same style name. For Wren's abrupt changes, his spontaneous introduction of inventions of his own and for all [his] creative experiments, Webb had the profoundest admiration and sympathy.<sup>15</sup>

In a letter of 1881, published in The Builder,<sup>16</sup> Webb explained more about his admiration for the buildings of this period. In it he praised the unknown designer of Ashburnham House (London, 1662) for 'adapting the so called classical forms' rather than merely adopting them in the 'fashion of the day'; for achieving--to an even higher degree than Wren and his followers--a 'richness and invention' combined with 'simplicity and directness' and a freedom from that 'vice of stateliness which so cursed the Renaissance art of Europe'; for attaining 'admirable proportion' and an 'appearance of space and dignity . . . yet with a homeliness of effect'; and for retaining in the detailing a 'touch of the naturalness and invention of an

earlier style', that is, of medieval gothic.

'The greater part of our 19th century architecture is ruined in appearance for want of attention to or knowledge of the laws of proportion', Webb opined to Percy Wyndham in 1886.<sup>17</sup> This suggests that he shared the Renaissance belief in absolute universal laws of proportion dependent on cosmic mathematical relationships revealed by Pythagoras and Plato, which were evident in music.<sup>18</sup> However, by the time Billing was training Webb in the classical idiom, the thinking behind the associational theory of beauty had destroyed this belief; good proportion had become a matter of individual sensibility and judgement, unfettered by mathematical rules. That Webb accepted the later view was demonstrated by his development of an approach which precluded designing according to absolute laws of beauty; furthermore, though Webb was fully conversant with musical theory he refused to discuss architecture in musical terms, and significantly Lethaby did not include proportion when discussing the salient points of Webb's theory, and, finally, study of Webb's buildings shows that by a 'consistent whole' he did not mean a building in which every detail was interrelated through specific mathematical ratios or multiples of a chosen module. Webb would doubtless have concurred with John Betjeman's definition of proportion as 'the first thing in architecture', a matter requiring 'humility, humour and a constant looking at buildings for anyone to understand it . . . not rules'.<sup>19</sup>

As scholastic theory allowed, disbelief in absolute laws does not preclude the use of guidelines towards good proportion, such as the use of height to width ratios widely recognized as pleasing, or of such theories as Ruskin's that that one large or principal item with several smaller, less important ones, and one storey of greater height than the others, gives a more satisfactory appearance than when all are of equal value or size.<sup>20</sup> Factors such as these were what Webb had in mind, not immutable laws. The consistently good proportions of his designs were seemingly due to an innate sense which had been fostered by Billing, by study of medieval buildings, by Street, and finally by observation of the proportions employed by the great English Baroque architects.

When the attention of Norman Shaw and Lutyens was caught by English Baroque architecture, they each began to design in its manner. Webb merely allowed something of its formality--its relative formality, that is, compared to the freedom and irregularity of gothic revival buildings--to infuse his work. To avoid recognizable style motifs, and because he believed that only a genius (such as he certainly did not class himself) could successfully adapt alien elements, and because he was against importing foreign elements on principle,<sup>21</sup> he did not use the classical orders even when extending a classical building (except rarely in a decorative item such as the common-room fireplace at Warrens House. In his extensions to classical houses he man-



aged to achieve a classical air by adapting lesser classical features, for instance at Exning House and in the unexecuted gatehouse for Rushmore Lodge. Some of Webb's details which appear at first glance to have classical inspirations were derived from medieval precedents: round arches and circular windows were as much English Romanesque as classical, and segmental arches appeared in several English gothic buildings. All, to Webb, were simply answers to building needs.

pls.  
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English Baroque architects often used corner fireplaces to allow several flues to be grouped into one stack; Webb, too, exploited the device in giving chimneys their due importance in the composition of a house.<sup>22</sup> He employed it on a small scale at Sandroyd and Arisaig, then extremely effectively in his new entrance front at Washington Hall, after which his noble chimneys, always vital compositional elements, were frequently achieved in this way. His use of powerful stacks to anchor buildings to the ground and, as at Standen, as a pivot at the junction between the parts of large buildings, preceded by many years Frank Lloyd Wright's employment of them in these ways in his Prairie houses.<sup>23</sup> Webb was proud of his kitchen stacks;<sup>24</sup> he had every right to be proud of all his chimneys, for they were all handsome and they all worked as well as they looked.

pl.  
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### The Influence of Vanbrugh

From the first, Webb's plans for small houses and

cottages were models of functional common sense, but not surprisingly his planning of country houses took a while to mature. It did so in the mid-1870s under the influence of houses by Sir John Vanbrugh, whose work was ignored by the gothic revivalists despite the fact that it had influenced the development of Picturesque theory after first Robert Adam then Reynolds and Uvedale Price recognized that many of its characteristics fitted the new category of beauty, and despite the attention Kerr drew to his work.<sup>25</sup>

As already shown, Webb was familiar with Vanbrugh's work by 1867. He would have known Blenheim Palace in his home county from an early age and, with his inquiring habit, on moving to London in 1856 he would soon become acquainted with the various Vanbrugh buildings there, including Vanbrugh Castle, built for the architect's own use at Greenwich, and the Board Room and Saloon range at the Royal Arsenal at Woolwich: two bold exercises in geometry, astylar in both senses of the word, which confirmed Vanbrugh's claim that form and proportion, not ornament, were the important factors in architecture, a claim of which Webb was probably unaware but with which he was in accord.<sup>26</sup> The barbaric element was very evident in these buildings which, like all those by Vanbrugh, had the vigour and gusto of English castles and Elizabethan houses that both he and Webb admired.<sup>27</sup> Vanbrugh's buildings, in which castle elements were often successfully combined with the classical idiom, had a stimulating effect on Webb,

its influence perhaps being was most evident in the Works Offices near Middlesbrough, designed for Bell Brothers in 1875.<sup>28</sup> Though almost certainly unknowingly, in order to get the proportions exactly right Webb sometimes followed Vanbrugh's practice of insisting that heights be finally determined on site in his presence.<sup>29</sup>

As John Brandon-Jones has recorded, Webb made a special study of Vanbrugh's buildings in the 1870s.<sup>30</sup> Possibly he was stimulated into doing this by working at Castle Howard in 1872-74 when stained glass by Morris and Company was installed in the chapel (doubtless at the instigation of the heir apparent George Howard).<sup>31</sup> Doubtless to Morris's chagrin, Webb designed classical canopies--albeit with foliage-swathed rather than fluted columns--for the figures and to avoid disturbing Vanbrugh's elevation set the glass into hinged internal shutters which gave the congregation a better view of it whilst making it almost invisible from outside. Though Webb disliked its 'discomfort and stateliness' (which in his view required countering with plenty of 'good Bordeaux'),<sup>32</sup> Castle Howard had qualities which bland Palladian revival buildings lacked, and which he, like Adam, Reynolds, and Price, greatly admired, namely 'movement', a varied skyline, and contrasts of light and shade and texture. It also exhibited the contrasts of big and small, of bold geometrical shapes, and of horizontal, vertical, and diagonal lines and planes



that Webb prized.

Webb apparently based the plan of his first country house, Arisaig House, on that of an Elizabethan house<sup>pl. 46</sup> such as Wollaton,<sup>33</sup> with major rooms grouped irregularly round a central hall, but he did not adopt the elevational symmetry so dear to the Elizabethans. Though Street had pointed out that symmetry was not uncharacteristic of medieval architecture,<sup>34</sup> Webb's experiments with symmetry did not begin in earnest until he began to study English Baroque buildings. His interest in symmetry was apparent in all his 1867-68 buildings, but was most evident at his second country house Church Hill House, which had symmetrical elevations on three sides though the rooms were still<sup>pls. 57, 58</sup> grouped irregularly round a living-hall in an almost square double-pile plan. From this date, having no doubt recognized that it had been a characteristic of most English buildings--cathedrals, castles, and country houses from the Middle Ages to Queen Anne's reign--Webb habitually employed symmetry to reinforce the order and rhythm which even his earliest buildings had displayed.

There is a gap between the tentative formality of Church Hill House and the plan of Webb's third country house, Joldwynds, which, surprisingly in view of his disdain for the style, was based on that of a Palladian villa. The missing link in the development of Webb's planning of large houses was his 1868-69 scheme for the rebuilding of Airlie House, which at an

estimated cost of £70,000-80,000 would have been Webb's largest building until Clouds, the largest of all.<sup>35</sup> In the event, the client decided to enlarge Cortachy Castle instead, and unfortunately Webb apparently destroyed the drawings, his habit with abandoned projects.<sup>36</sup>

In his adaptation of the Palladian villa plan for his third executed country house, Joldwynds, Webb<sup>pl. 63</sup> placed some emphasis on axes. Starting at the main and garden entrance respectively, the axes met at right angles in an octagonal central living-hall reminiscent of the central saloon in Lord Burlington's Chiswick House.<sup>37</sup> Fitting the irregular rooms required by the client into the constraining square proved difficult; to gain sufficient length in the drawing-room, Webb had to allow it to project like an added afterthought. Externally the house owed nothing to Palladio except the fact that its four elevations were symmetrical and,<sup>pls. 64, 65</sup> on the two upper floors, identical; in materials, forms, and details, they were decidedly if idiosyncratically English. In the interior, the two tiers of<sup>pl. 66</sup> round-arched arcading on the galleries above the central hall were strikingly similar to those by Vanbrugh in the halls of Blenheim, Seaton Delaval, and Grimsthorpe Castle.<sup>38</sup>

For his next country house, Rounton Grange, Webb adapted the villa plan by extending the hall to meet<sup>pl. 71</sup> the projecting porch on the entrance front, as Vanbrugh had done at Blenheim, Castle Howard, and Seaton

Delaval. Irregular rooms were once more set within symmetrical--but this time not quite similar--elevations. The two axes of Joldwynds were repeated, again extending from the main and garden entrances to meet at right angles in the centre of the hall, but that from the main entrance was obscured, in the cause of draught avoidance, by offsetting the porch. The symmetry of the entrance front was retained by projecting part of the hall as a lobby which effectively became part of the porch (which, of course, was not a grand portico). With great benefit to the convenience of the major service-rooms in his large houses, at Rounton--probably partly under the influence of Castle Howard--Webb abandoned forever the basement kitchens which, though they were only justified by a steeply sloping site at the first and last, he had employed at Arisaig, Church Hill House, and Joldwynds.<sup>39</sup> He did not repeat his experiment with monumental hall arcades, but instead gave the Rounton gallery a simple timber-balustered balustrade which made the room below more of an informal sitting-room than the halls of his earlier country houses.

The plan of Webb's next country house, Smeaton pl.  
82 Manor, combined the medieval H-plan with the double-pile-with-passages plan introduced by Vanbrugh in the main block of Castle Howard. Having been popular with English Baroque architects, the H-plan went out of favour in the eighteenth century when the villa with separate pavilions became fashionable, and in the



nineteenth century it was seldom used because it did not lead to picturesque irregularity, and because its symmetry was associated with inconvenience.<sup>40</sup> At Smeaton, perhaps stimulated by the plan of Vanbrugh's King's Weston,<sup>41</sup> Webb pulled back the side wings to allow the major rooms to project southwards where they captured the sun from early morning in the dining-room until late evening in the drawing-room. So much smaller than palatial Castle Howard, the house required only one cross-passage not two on each floor; on the upper floors, lit at each end, it ran through the main block between the north and south rooms, and on the ground floor it extended through the house from its western extremity to the kitchen yard, passing along the north entrance front--where the main staircase caused a hiatus--at right angles to the entrance axis.

Smeaton Manor proved to be a convenient house. That servants had to traverse the hall to reach the drawing-room was of little matter because there the hall was a single-storey entrance hall not a true living-room, though it had one armchair, much appreciated by the family pug.<sup>42</sup> In all his later country houses except Clouds, which had unusual requirements, Webb adhered to Smeaton's cross-passage system, with major rooms to the south, and entrances, cloakrooms, bathrooms, less important bedrooms, and rooms in which sunlight was undesirable, such as billiard-rooms and studies, to the north. However, as the early drawings for Standen reveal, the cross-passage often lost its

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clarity as a scheme developed, a fact which can mislead investigators into thinking that Webb started with a very irregular arrangement.<sup>43</sup> Long vistas, deliberate contrasts of light and relatively dark areas, and sudden opening out where they met the main staircase, gave Webb's cross-passages considerable spatial drama. In two smaller houses, New Place and Coneyhurst, he used a series of porches and lobbies as enfilades with similar effects, such as were seldom found in houses of that size. pls.  
176,  
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Although the fact was obscured by some service and servants' rooms being in the east wing of the main H block, Smeaton effectively consisted of three basic parts--family rooms to the west, major services and servants' rooms in the centre, and lesser offices in a lower block surrounding a yard at the east end--set in line like a traditional vernacular longhouse. This tripartite arrangement started life at Rounton Grange, where the tall family block and lower office wings were contained within and occupied the whole of one rectangle. In a Victorian country house, needs and propriety demanded a separate room for almost every activity of family and staff, and the segregation of the rooms used by the various categories of occupant; as many of the requirements were common to all large and moderately sized houses, using the tripartite longhouse saved a deal of unnecessary rethinking. The longhouse could be adapted to the topography of most sites by being raised or lowered in height, or angled--if

necessary at right angles--at either or both junctions between its sections. This adaptability, with the fact that within it the sizes and arrangement of rooms were not standardized, meant that Webb still approached each commission with an open mind as to appearance and detailed plan, but with some order already created out of the unavoidable complexities.

#### 'Progressive Eclecticism' and Neo-Georgianism

Webb has been accused of being eclectic in the sense of deliberately mixing features from classical and gothic styles.<sup>44</sup> In the 1840s propagandists for a new style for the age were hoping that one would develop from such a combination, coupled with new technology according to some theorists, whilst the ecclesiologists were hoping for a living gothic style from an amalgam of elements from all European gothic styles; by 1860, in theory though not in practise, the gothic revivalists had widened their ingredients to include the lintel and the round arch but were still hoping the style for the age--which they termed 'Progressive Eclecticism'--would be fundamentally gothic yet also progressive and evolutionary in tune with the times.<sup>45</sup> In 1876 J. Sulman defined Progressive Eclecticism as 'not . . . the haphazard jumbling of incongruous fragments but a judicious combination and modification of forms'.<sup>46</sup> By then, however, all hopes for a universal gothic style had sunk for good under the rising tide of popularity of the so-called 'Queen Anne' style, through



his inadvertant role in the development of which Webb, in Henry Goodhart-Rendel's words, had been the 'man who laid the fuse that exploded Victorian Gothic'.<sup>47</sup>

Whilst others were theorizing about the possibilities of a judicious combination and modification, Webb (a thinker who put his thoughts into action not words) was achieving it: first with a somewhat inharm-  
onious result in 1861 in his Worship Street terrace,  
and later in the 1860s in his entrance extension to  
Washington Hall, where fluted brick chimneys inspired  
by sixteenth century examples mix happily with the  
pointed arch of the porch, and in his unexecuted scheme  
for a street in Newcastle upon Tyne (an innovative and  
successful blend of pointed and round arches and pedi-  
mented hood-moulds, designed with the existing classic-  
al terraces in mind), a forerunner in stone of number  
1 Palace Green. However, he was not combining and mod-  
ifying in an attempt to develop 'Progressive Eclectism'  
or a new style. In his attempt to turn architecture  
away from styles to good traditional building he was  
simply taking inspiration from buildings which he  
viewed as English, not as gothic or classical.<sup>48</sup>

pls.  
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Webb's adoption of symmetry coupled with his use of  
vertical sashes and his reflection of existing local  
buildings (most of which dated from the late-sevent-  
eenth and eighteenth centuries), carried the danger of  
his work being seen as neo-Georgian. For instance,  
although Smeaton Manor had no orders at its entrance  
and no bracketed cornice, and though its fenestration

pl.  
85

ignored the classical rule of solid over solid, void over void, and its roofs were a mix of hips and gables<sup>pl. 84</sup> such as was never seen on a classical building, the house led and still leads some observers to believe that Webb had either espoused English classicism or that he was willing to design in the gothic or the Georgian style according to the whims of his clients.<sup>49</sup> That both these suppositions are incorrect is demonstrated by the fact that in 1888, though in desperate need of new jobs (he had received only £93.10.0 in fees the previous year), Webb threw away the valuable commission to design 170 Queen's Gate, London, by refusing to be bound by the client Frederick A. White's preconceived notions that the house would have an eighteenth-century appearance.<sup>50</sup> Ironically, White recorded that he had been taught to appreciate eighteenth-century houses by West House, which Webb had designed to blend with neighbouring Queen Anne houses<sup>pl. 39</sup> in Cheyne Walk.<sup>51</sup> In the event, Shaw, lacking Webb's scruples and already with one neo-Georgian house in London to his name, designed the house much according to White's sketches,<sup>52</sup> complete with overtly Queen Anne details such as Webb would never have countenanced.

Most of Webb's peers were held captive in the quicksands of style consciousness and revivalism. He began to break free of these in the late 1850s when he recognized that revivals of past styles were illogical, unreal, uninventive, and lifeless, and that good building not ornament was the prerequisite of archi-



ture. In so doing he rejected the demands of Pugin, the ecclesiologists, and Ruskin for a universal use of gothic, and Ruskin's contention that without ornament no building could be architecture. He escaped from style consciousness completely in the 1860s when he began to see the whole of English architecture--up to the imposition of the Palladian style--as a common tradition of good building; a tradition which readily adopted worthwhile innovations, and which, though it fell from the peak of perfection it had reached in the thirteenth century, nevertheless had produced good buildings which still retained something of the inventiveness and ingenuity of gothic.

His escape was a major achievement in an age devoted to categorization, in which architecture was largely classified by its ornament and when he himself had such a great love and admiration of medieval architecture. It must have taken an great effort of will to regard a pointed arch, for instance, as simply a way of creating an opening not as the gothic way. Webb wrote that Morris had an 'extraordinarily wide knowledge of the rise, decay and fall of the arts' which he 'was able to assimilate as a foundation for his work, and [then to] proceed with real originality; thus avoiding the fatal step of imitation'.<sup>53</sup> This evaluation fitted Webb himself, with his wider approach, even more justly.

Though he ignored contemporary opinion, and did not seek to produce a new style or a theory of design which



might lead to a new style, Webb had developed a philosophy of architecture which answered many of the demands that were being made about the time he set up practice. Designing according to the capabilities of craftsmen and giving their ordinary everyday work a vital role in a building's success, would increase their pleasure and pride in their work as Ruskin demanded even though they still had to execute the architect's designs. Buildings designed according to the philosophy would include gothic and classical elements (though the result would not be a Progressive Eclectic style as the ecclesiologists hoped, or separate but modified gothic and classical styles as Kerr had suggested); and they would be based on truth and the understanding and right use of materials, with even less ornament than any theorist had envisaged. Finally, though it would not produce an English style, his philosophy would produce buildings of truly national and regional character.

His thinking had produced an approach to design which could be applied at any time and in any country with an architectural heritage, and which would produce buildings of varied appearance but uniformly excellent materials and craftsmanship. In the interests of historians, his theory must be given a name. The 'vernacular style', which it has been called, is misleading; 'vernacular approach' disregards the importance to it of buildings of great house or aristocratic classification; and to term it the 'English approach'



## PART 2: PHILOSOPHY, CLIENTS, AND PRACTICE

### CHAPTER 5: CLIENTS, COMMISSIONS, AND CONTRACTORS

#### Clients' Acceptance of Webb's Design Approach

Philip Webb's national vernacular approach imposed demands upon his clients. They had to accept Webb's beliefs that architecture was good building, not an affair of styles or ornament, and that experiments were essential to avoid stagnation. They had to abandon any preconceived notions of the style or character of their proposed building, and have no wish to copy other buildings, new or old, and no expectations of an elaborate or strikingly different edifice--or one in a recognizable Webb style--with which to display their own or their architect's status and success. A liking for relative simplicity and lasting value, not quaint features, showy ornament, and ephemeral fashions was imperative, plus a willingness to pay for high-class materials, construction, and finishes, though the latter would seldom be luxurious. They had to possess a 'natural aptitude for seeing into the heart of things', and to use it to distinguish the true, the real, and the genuinely beautiful from so much that was meretricious in their commercial age. They had to trust Webb to fulfill their practical needs in a sound and convenient building, and to be courageous enough to allow him to be the sole arbiter of its appearance, and in the case of the rehabilitation and enlargement



of old ones, they had to be willing to put to the fore considerations of preserving the heritage.

These rigorous demands would not have been accepted by most clients of the day, but fortunately they were accepted by a sufficient number to keep Webb in hand-made boots and snuff, and to allow him to work in the way he wished. Though his first client, William Morris, knew several architects, not surprisingly he asked Webb, the one with whom he thought alike on so many points, to design his house. Understandably, when other painters in the Pre-Raphaelite group, excited by Morris's pioneering studio-house in which friends and patrons could be entertained in sympathetic surroundings which provided ample opportunity for embellishment with paintings, decided to commission one for themselves, they went to Webb whom they knew well, and who was seeking truth and reality in his art as they were themselves. Rossetti's much quoted comment that Red House was 'a most noble work in every way, and more a poem than a house' shows that the artists regarded it as a work of art; but he added that it was 'an admirable place to live in too' which shows that they also appreciated the building's convenience and practicality.<sup>1</sup>

Most of Webb's other clients were friends or patrons of these painters, but this was not because of a deliberate wish or attempt on his part to design only for his friends and their acquaintance, to be 'the exclusive architect of the exclusive art set' as has

been suggested.<sup>2</sup> In view of his retiring nature and determination never to publicize his work or his theories, and the fact that he could not afford either the time or money to socialize whether with potential clients or fellow architects, his clients were bound to come from this group, its patrons, and the patrons' friends. When Percy Wyndham accused him of avoiding possible clients, Webb replied:

. . . it would merely be that I do not want to lay myself out to do work for people who do not in any degree want what I could honestly do for them.<sup>3</sup>

After refusing a commission in 1874 because of pressure of existing work, he explained the matter further to a would-be client:

Also, to avoid any possibility of misunderstanding I will say that for some time past, I have decided not to undertake to build for anyone who is not conversant with my work and able to judge of what would be the finished effect of that which I should agree to carry out.<sup>4</sup>

Avoiding misunderstanding was important for his peace of mind but it was even more crucial to his pocket. The real crux of the matter, which he was too proud to explain, was that he could not afford to produce scheme after scheme, or amendment after amendment, in the attempt to satisfy such a client when the fee he received would be the same however long it took. Webb's apparent exclusiveness was a matter of reticence on the one hand, and sound common sense on the other.

In the 1850s the Pre-Raphaelite group probably did regard themselves as the artistic elite, but there were other artists and art-lovers, and architects who served them, including E. G. Godwin and Robert Edis.<sup>5</sup> Most



well-to-do Victorian householders bought paintings, partly no doubt because it was fashionable to do so, but also out of genuine interest and admiration. Painting was no longer chiefly done to commission, but for the market place, where it reached a wide and appreciative public. Artists painted what and how they wished, and displayed their work, almost all of it for sale, in well-attended exhibitions, including those of the short-lived Hogarth Club, and in their own studios. In the second half of the century there can have been few architects whose clients were not art collectors at least in a minor way.

Art had become more respectable as well as more commercial, and at these exhibitions, and in the homes of wealthy collectors, and at the Sunday afternoon gatherings at the home Prinsep's parents shared with Watts, Little Holland House, eminent people--poets, writers, musicians, actors, scientists, diplomatists, politicians, industrialists, and men of medicine--from many sections of society rubbed shoulders with painters as equals.<sup>6</sup> This wide and non-exclusive acquaintanceship, which is revealed in contemporary diaries, letters, and recollections, was a relatively new phenomenon; almost all Webb's clients belonged to it, and most of them bought Pre-Raphaelite paintings, but they bought work by other artists, too.

To view Webb as an art-architect whose work was sought partly as an addition to his client's art collections, and partly to display the artistic nature



of the client,<sup>7</sup> carries the danger of his primary message--that architecture is good building--being missed. It also exaggerates the importance of art in the lives of the majority of his clients. They were cultured folk who regarded those lacking an interest in the arts as philistines, and they certainly had a liking for paintings and for beautiful rooms, which in their view Webb provided, in which to hang them, but, except for the painters and major collectors, art was not the pivot of their lives. Detailed study of them, and of their correspondence with Webb, shows that they understood his message and admired his work, and believed he would give them a good-looking building, but also that they went to him because they recognized him as an expert in his field who would fulfill their prime requirement of a sound, durable, and convenient building suited to their particular requirements and way of life or work.<sup>8</sup>

Despite Mark Girouard's amusing description of them as being 'watered by money and manured by Art',<sup>9</sup> not all Webb's clients were wealthy. Hugh Bell and Hale White, for example, were relatively impecunious when they commissioned him. Whatever their financial status, they were good judges of quality, who liked value for their money. In Webb they recognized an architect who provided these things in good measure, an architect whose attention to such matters as the behaviour of a stable door in a high wind was as gratifying as his handling of aesthetic matters.<sup>10</sup> Had

this not been so, his clients would not have returned to him for later work, as many of them did.

Most of them, perhaps all, were enlightened and progressive people, with liberal views regardless of their political allegiance, a sound respect for reason and common sense, and an unshakeable belief in the virtue of work, and a conviction that it was their duty to remedy some of the evils in contemporary life.<sup>11</sup> The medical men improved the lot of many people through their daily work, whilst the artists crusaded for more beauty in everyday life. The others, putting duty before more hedonistic pleasures, set about improving things wherever they could with gusto and considerable enjoyment in their free time. The men became involved in national or local politics, served on councils and as Justices of the Peace, and looked to such matters as a safe public water supply and the welfare of their work-force or the tenants on their estates, or of destitute boys; they helped to set up and support hospitals, schools, colleges, universities, concert halls, libraries, and art galleries. Far more time was spent on such work for the community than on their own modest art collections.

With the exception of Morris's wife who did some work for the firm, Webb's women clients--wives or spinsters--were prevented from undertaking any form of remunerative work by the conventions of their day. One, Mrs Robb, became a keen horticulturalist and intrepid plant hunter, but the rest channelled the

abundant energy remaining after supervising the running of their homes into similar community work, and frequently also into unpaid creative work such as embroidery, photography, or jewellery making.

Although Webb refused to indicate what the character of a proposed building might be, his prospective clients were familiar with his work, or if not, he ensured that they became so before committing themselves,<sup>12</sup> hence they had some idea of what would be the general character of the rooms and finishes. As they went ahead with the commission, they clearly found Webb's work pleasing. Certain factors, of both a personal and a social nature, predisposed them towards this.

As they were all of an independent, individualist temperament, the fact that Webb's buildings were unusual no doubt appealed in itself; however, had they desired an outlandish building they would have approached a designer of flamboyant edifices. Modern buildings in historical styles did not attract them; in many cases, their education was not such as to induce a taste for the classical styles, and, most of them, even those with antiquarian interests, were primarily concerned with the present, so a gothic building had little appeal, and, in any case, by the 1860s many people were finding gothic interiors unpleasantly heavy. Webb's clients wanted a building of their own day. Though some of them shared Webb's hatred of industry and its effects on working men and the



landscape, those who built houses in the country were not governed by the English pastoral dream (which became popular in the last quarter of the century, and remains so today),<sup>13</sup> so much as by an urge to escape with their families from the polluted air of London, or in the case of the industrialists, from that near their own works. By asking Webb to design these rural houses they demonstrated their lack of desire for a quaint rustic cottage.

As Donald Smith has pointed out,<sup>14</sup> the work of the English landscape painters (notably Cotman), popular since the beginning of the century, paved the way for the acceptance of Webb's (and Devey's) vernacular-influenced buildings. To be a good amateur water-colourist was a desirable accomplishment in a Victorian lady, therefore many girls studied under these artists, or worked from their instruction books. George Howard's mother, for example, was a pupil of De Wint, and his aunts of Cotman, whilst Spencer Stanhope's mother studied under Gainsbrough. By the 1850s, through their paintings and teaching, these men had taught their patrons and pupils to perceive and value the beauty of humble vernacular buildings, and their colourful materials. Appreciation of paintings of the English countryside would predispose some people towards a sympathetic reception of Webb's understanding of his duty to the landscape. Appreciation of his use of colour was no doubt also increased by that of many gothic revivalists, and by topographical books

illustrated with colour prints. Another factor leading to the acceptance of vernacular forms was the turn away from the grand and imposing in architecture, noted by Kerr in The Gentleman's House (1864),<sup>15</sup> a change which, though he did not mention the fact, was doubtless partly inspired by the fear of working-class unrest.

The final but not least important predisposing factor was the influence of Ruskin, whose three important early works, Modern Painters, Seven Lamps, and Stones of Venice, were so astonishingly widely read that it can be assumed that all Webb's clients had either done so, or were familiar with the author's main points. In addition, many of the clients (perhaps all apart from those of Webb's last decade in practice) knew Ruskin himself.<sup>16</sup> As Walter Hamilton noted in 1887, Ruskin had opened people's eyes and taught them to think about what they saw, whether or not they agreed with him.<sup>17</sup> To borrow Webb's phrase, Ruskin aroused or deepened their 'natural aptitude for seeing into the heart of things', and instilled or developed their liking for relative simplicity, lasting goodness, and quality against much that in their commercial age was shoddily built or manufactured, and meretricious.

For example, Ruskin's influence on his admirers Hugh Bell and his cosmopolitan second wife Florence Olliffe--who had been brought up in Paris and had many eminent friends in the London literary, musical, and theatrical worlds--largely explains the surprising fact that long after being able to afford something larger,

they were content to live in a very simple Webb house, Red Barns, so small that those friends often had to be accommodated in nearby houses.

Also, Ruskin paved the way for a sympathetic reception of Webb's propaganda on behalf of the SPAB; nine of the architect's major clients became members in its first year.<sup>18</sup> Some of them were inspired to take action to save old buildings even before the founding of the society in 1877; these included Hugh Bell, who in 1871 sought Webb's help in preventing the demolition of the house of Raphael's father in Urbino.<sup>19</sup>

However, despite Ruskin's great persuasive powers, all Webb's clients rejected his demand that modern architecture must be gothic, doing so not in revolt against the taste of their parents as some adherents of the 'Queen Anne' style apparently did<sup>20</sup>--the majority of his clients grew up or lived previously in eighteenth-century houses--but because of their progressive outlook. Also, though it has been suggested otherwise,<sup>21</sup> all Webb's clients did not accept Ruskin's belief that art values were superior to all conventional ones; the artists did, of course, and certainly the others tended to view the painters' flouting of social conventions with some indulgence, and they themselves sometimes ignored the petty conventions of their day, but most of them obeyed the major canons of accepted social behaviour.



## The Identity of Webb's Clients

As well as those who consulted Webb on minor matters such as the soundness of a building which they were thinking of buying, or for whom he designed a minor alteration, piece of furniture, or a fireplace, Webb's clients numbered six painters; three industrialists and eight landowners (from the aristocratic and gentry class) some of whom were also Liberal or Conservative MPs; five military and three medical men; four London solicitors, one of them a Greek, and two other wealthy Greeks, a stockbroker and a diplomatist respectively; an engineer, a printer, and a civil servant and author; a builder, a bank accountant, a church building committee, a town council, and seven women (who commissioned work in their own right). The engineer and two of the artists were also aristocrats, one of whose family owned collieries, as did one of the gentleman landowners.

The painters were William Morris (Red House, 1858-59); Spencer Stanhope (Sandroyd, 1860), the second son of wealthy Yorkshire aristocrat John Spencer Stanhope and his wife Lady Elizabeth, daughter of the Earl of Leicester; Valentine Prinsep (number 14 Holland Park Road, 1864); George Price Boyce (West House, 1868); and George Frederic Watts (The Briary, 1872), who had all been Webb's friends since the mid-1850s; and George Howard (number 1 Palace Green, 1867-68, work at Naworth Castle, 1870s, Four Gables, 1876, Green Lane

House, 1877, and an unexecuted terrace of artisans' dwellings, 1874-75), later the ninth Earl of Carlisle, who became a member of the Pre-Raphaelite circle in the 1860s, but who, like his brother-in-law Lord Airlie (unexecuted scheme for rebuilding Airlie House, 1868-69), possibly met Webb through the Bell family.<sup>22</sup>

(Sir) Lowthian Bell and his son Hugh were Webb's most important industrialist clients (enlargement of Washington Hall (1860s), Rounton Grange, village school and various estate buildings including the farm and terrace of farmworkers' dwellings (from 1872) for Lowthian; Red Barns (1868) for Hugh; and for Bell Brothers, a clock tower (1867), and blowing engine house (1873), works offices (1875), and main offices (designed 1881-83)); they were friends of Hogarth Club member Vernon Lushington (by whom Burne-Jones had been introduced to Rossetti), and friends and patrons of Boyce, but they probably went to Webb on Ruskin's recommendation.<sup>23</sup> The third industrialist was the Conservative MP Edward Greene (enlargement of Nether Hall, 1874) a successful brewer who possibly met Webb through a fellow MP, perhaps Howard's father, or through fellow East-Anglian landowner Sir Willoughby Jones (enlargement of Cranmer Hall, 1864-67).

The latter, Jones, who was Webb's first aristocratic client, was a cousin by marriage of his first landowner client Francis D. P. Astley (Arisaig House (1863) and Borrodale Farm (1864)), who also owned coal-mines, and was a member of the Hogarth Club and a

friend and patron of the painter Henry Tanworth Wells, the brother-in-law of Webb's close friend Boyce.<sup>24</sup> With Sir Willoughby and Lord Airlie, the other aristocrats were: the Honourable Percy Wyndham (Clouds, 1877-80) who was a Conservative MP, younger son of the first Lord Leconfield (of Petworth), a cousin by marriage of Spencer Stanhope, and a friend and patron of Watts and Burne-Jones,<sup>25</sup> and Lord Fitzhardinge (work at Berkeley Castle, 1874-80) of whose first meeting with Webb nothing is known. The same is true of Adam Steinmetz Kennard (two unexecuted designs for Thurstaston Church, 1868-70), one of the three remaining gentlemen landowners; the others were Charles North (unexecuted scheme for rebuilding Rougham Hall, c. 1870-72), who may have met Webb through Sir Willoughby, and the Conservative MP John Reginald Yorke (rehabilitation and enlargement of Forthampton Court, 1889) who was introduced to Webb by Wyndham after having inspecting Clouds on hearing of it as one of 'best modern houses in England'.<sup>26</sup>

The military men, all retired officers, were: Major William Gillum (gardener's cottage, 1860, shops and dwellings at numbers 91-101 Worship Street, 1861, Church Hill House, 1868, and farm school buildings 1860s-70s), an amateur painter, member of the Hogarth Club, and pupil of Ford Madox Brown; Major Arthur F. Godman (Smeaton Manor, 1876), Lowthian Bell's son-in-law; Lt.-General Augustus Henry Pitt-Rivers (Rushmore Lodge: alterations, unexecuted gatehouse, and



entrance gates, 1882-85), the archaeologist and ethnographer, on whose behalf his brother-in-law George Howard first approached Webb; Captain John C. F. Ramsden (Willinghurst, 1886), who probably heard of Webb through the Wyndhams, and Captain Edward W. D. Baird (enlargement of Exning House, 1894) who was introduced by Yorke.<sup>27</sup> The men of medicine were, first, (Sir) John Tomes (Upwood Gorse, 1868), the Queen's dental surgeon, who probably met Webb through the second, (Sir) William Bowman (Joldwynds, 1870-71), Tomes's colleague at King's College Hospital, and consultant ophthalmologist to the Queen, and to Watts and Rossetti of whom he was an early patron; and, third, Webb's brother, Dr Harry Speakman Webb (New Place, 1877-78).

The solicitors were Leonard Rowe Valpy (number 19, Lincoln's Inn Fields, 1868), who acted for Ruskin, and was a patron of Rossetti and Boyce; Alexander Cassavetti (enlargement of Fairfield Lodge, 1876), whose mother was a Webb client and patron of Burne-Jones; and James S. Beale (Standen, 1891). Beale was a friend of Webb's other Greek clients, the brothers Constantine and Alexander Ionides, patrons and friends of Rossetti and Burne-Jones (for Constantine, stockbroker, Webb altered number 8 Holland Villas Road, 1870, 1879, and enlarged number 23 Second Avenue, Hove, 1889, and for Alexander, merchant and Greek Consul-General, he altered and enlarged number 1 Holland Park, 1879-83, 1887-90). The engineer was Lord Sackville

Cecil (Oast House, -1872), a younger son of Robert Cecil, second Marquess of Salisbury by his second wife, and the printer was George Eyre (enlargement of Warrens House, 1897) of Eyre and Spottiswoode, printers to the Queen; it is not known how these two clients met Webb. Wickham Flower (enlargement of Tangley Manor, 1885, 1891, 1893), member of the SPAB and friend of Boyce, was the wealthy antiquarian and collector. The civil servant and author was William Hale White (number 19 Park Hill, Carshalton, 1868), who wrote under the name Mark Rutherford, and who went to Webb on Ruskin's recommendation, and the builder was White's brother-in-law William Chisholm (numbers 2-4 Redington Road, 1876). William Thomas Tate (Hill House, 1883), an acquaintance of Lowthian and Hugh Bell, was the bank accountant. The committee clients were Newcastle City Council (unexecuted scheme for offices in Grainger Street, 1866-67) of which Lowthian Bell was a member, and the Church Building Committee, Brampton, which, preferring a local man, reluctantly commissioned Webb to design St. Martin's church (1874-75) when George and Rosalind Howard made this a condition of their large donation.<sup>28</sup>

The women clients were: Mrs Euphrosyne Cassavetti (alterations and enlargements, Fairfield Lodge, 1871), a relation of the Ionides; Miss Mary Ewart (Coneyhurst, 1883), Webb's friend, and daughter of a Liverpool merchant; Miss Agneta Cocks (Hurlands, 1897), an acquaintance of Miss Ewart; Mrs Mary Anne Robb

(Goldenfields, 1890-91), who may have met Webb through their shared interest in plants; Miss Constance Astley (Arisaig Village Hall, 1891-93), daughter of F. D. P. Astley; William Morris's sister, Mrs Isabella Gilmore, principal of the Rochester Deaconess Institution (chapel, 1896), and his wife Jane (Morris Memorial Cottages, 1899-1900).<sup>29</sup>

In all, these forty-five clients commissioned six studio-houses (of which 1 Palace Green was also a London mansion), eleven country houses (nine were executed), ten smaller houses, a pair of semi-detached houses, a pair of memorial cottages, two churches and two chapels (one of each were executed), a terrace of offices in Newcastle, two office buildings (in London and Middlesbrough), three terraces of dwellings (two were executed, one of which contained workshops and shops), two farms, a village school and a village hall, buildings for an iron-works (a clock-tower, a blowing engine house, and works offices), numerous estate cottages, work on three ancient castles, and thirteen enlargements (several of which were further extended later). This was a far smaller number of buildings than most of his peers designed. This was not because Webb did not work as hard or as long as they did, however, but because he painstakingly and slowly designed every detail of each building himself.

#### Webb's Relationship with his Clients

It has been noted already that Webb's experience of



working for committee-clients was unfortunate; his relationships with his individual or married-couple clients, who were roughly his own age, apart from one or two who were a generation older or younger, were far more felicitous. As 'lover of Jesus' he believed that all men were equal, and treated his clients accordingly, regardless of their wealth or status, a matter in which, as Lethaby noted, he was helped by the knowledge that he was going to give more than he received.<sup>30</sup> Where there had been no previous acquaintance, the relationship began fairly formally but almost invariably friendship had been struck by the time the building was finished. He rarely had a serious disagreement with a client. When he did, it was because his professional expertise had been questioned or slighted (as by George Howard at Naworth Castle), or because the client had interfered on site. To avoid any confusion Webb insisted that all instructions were given to the builder by himself (by word, letter, or on a drawing). Watts, hoping to pacify those who were offended by the appointment of a London builder, ignored this and employed local labour at The Briary without consulting him; when problems arose because of this after the building was completed Webb withdrew from the job after arranging for an independent architect to prepare a report and supervise the remedial work.<sup>31</sup> Something similar happened in 1874 at the Oast House; perhaps Lord Sackville Cecil, who a considerable inventor, interfered with the design

of some practical details.<sup>32</sup> In such cases Webb refused to take any part of the fee that was his due.

In 1872 when Herbert Fletcher--a mine owner who possibly met the architect through fellow-owner Lowthian Bell--sent a smaller amount than was due with a comment that Webb had not done enough to justify more, the furious architect burnt the cheque, and did so again with a second one even though that was accompanied by an apology, Fletcher having forgotten that Webb had visited the site.<sup>33</sup> In 1876, when W. A. Cardwell, the son-in-law of Sir Benjamin Brodie (for whom Webb had done minor work at Brockham Warren, Surrey, in 1872), refused to pay for an abandoned house design for which the details and bill of quantities had been prepared, Webb, extremely angry and bitterly upset by having to claim his just dues, took the matter to court, unsuccessfully in the event.<sup>34</sup> Tardy payers usually responded to a reminder, sent after two months, that Webb's account was due for payment. When Lord Fitzhardinge failed to do this, Webb, reminding him again, commented:

If this present letter is not acknowledged, I shall suppose that your Lordship is unwilling to pay me for my work, and shall not again press the matter upon your attention.<sup>35</sup>

The bill was paid immediately.

On their part, from the first the clients treated Webb as a respected professional man. There was no element of patronage--in the sense of conferring a favour--in their attitude to him. This was not unusual as, by the 1850s, architects in general had achieved

this status. An instance of this is that in her diaries Ada Godman referred to her architect as 'Mr. Webb', though she had known him for years and was his friend, but to William Morris--with whom she was also well-acquainted but who, despite his renown as a poet, was regarded as a shopkeeper--merely as 'Morris!'.<sup>36</sup>

As noted already, many clients valued Webb's opinion on matters other than architecture, enjoyed his company, and invited him to their homes more often than he accepted. With some he became so intimate a friend that opinions were exchanged on highly personal matters. His letters to the Howards, for instance, which begin on a fairly formal if friendly business footing in 1867, show that by 1870 frank views were being exchanged on many subjects.<sup>37</sup> The letters display a wry humour, with much poking of fun at his own expense. Webb joked about architects as the 'enemies of mankind', and confessed that, though they should know best on building matters, sometimes, as he knew from personal experience, they only pretended to do so.<sup>38</sup> In one letter of 1872 to Mrs Howard he advised her always to be absolutely honest because this 'became' her; asked if she found it 'as difficult to be sure' of what she disbelieved as of what she believed, and suggested she excuse herself for not proselytizing her agnosticism by saying that she did not wish to lead others into the same uncertainty; and sympathized with her attempts to teach her son that 'injuring live things is not beautiful' when 'the love



of injury is deeply ingrained in humanity', and admitted that he had a 'strong natural bent' for shooting animals, which he had learned to regard with disgust.<sup>39</sup> In 1877 Webb began a letter addressed to both Mr and Mrs Howard with a sketch showing himself, nude but for a fig-leaf, being tempted back into their Eden--Naworth Castle--by George Howard dangling money-bags and by Rosalind waving hearts symbolizing loving friendship.<sup>40</sup> Clearly, their relationship was refreshingly free from the stifling petty conventions of the day.

Some clients, including the Howards, became close enough friends to tease Webb about his deepest ideals. One evening in 1878 after he, Morris, and their friend the artist Walter Crane (1845-1915) had dined at Lady Stanley's, they were entertained by a performance of Florence Bell's operetta 'The Votaries of Art', which, three years before the highly popular Gilbert and Sullivan opera 'Patience' on the same theme, satirized the Aesthetic Movement which had developed from the attempts to improve design with which Morris and Webb had been deeply involved through their firm.<sup>41</sup> The operetta, as Lyulph Howard reported to his sister Rosalind Howard, was performed by members of the Stanley, Bell, and Olliffe families, wearing gowns of 'artistic coloured Bolton sheeting fashioned like Crane's Bluebeard pictures &c' and accompanied on the piano by Florence Bell; the 'artists enjoyed it very much'.<sup>42</sup> When Webb became a dedicated and active

socialist in 1883, his major clients the Bells, Howards, and Wyndhams were not in the least perturbed; henceforth they seized every chance to pull his leg about it, with high good humour on both sides.<sup>43</sup>

At the Design Stage

If he suspected that the client's means were very limited, Webb explained that a building of better construction and a more 'careful arrangement of plan & proportion' would cost more to build and would not be 'so easily let or sold for its cost value' as one from the 'ordinary run of suburban buildings'.<sup>44</sup> The higher cost would be due to 'departure from routine' and to sound construction with the use of good materials, and the building, if good from the 'art part of the matter', would be unlikely to sell well because the 'popular idea' was for 'much show at little cost', whereas the 'art value' depended upon considerations which had 'no market value'.<sup>45</sup>

When he judged this advice unnecessary, or after it was decided to go ahead, Webb noted the accommodation required, inspected the site or the existing building in the case of enlargements, and reported on the feasibility of the proposal. Occasionally he was consulted about the purchase of the site; where this was so, as at Coneyhurst for instance, he considered its suitability, ensured that all boundary matters were firmly settled, and ascertained that a well sunk on the site would produce an adequate supply of pure water,



and that cess-pit drainage was practicable.

Before designing began, Webb required the client to accept the 'Statement of Business Arrangements' which--realizing he could not afford to spend time making any more drawings for which he would not be paid--he had drawn up after the unfortunate Cardwell case. That which the Trustess of the Naworth Estate accepted before Webb undertook to act as consultant for Naworth Castle read:

That all drawings, whether of works done or only proposals, shd. be my property (This not to exclude my providing the trustess with the necessary plans &c for their future use after any works, to wh. such drawings referred, were done). That my payment shd. be at the rate of 5 per cent on the cost of all works done under my direction, and further payment of travelling expenses for myself and assistants. That if plans in whole and in detail are prepared by me ready to be laid before contractors, and the works shd. not be carried out, two and a half per cent on my estimated cost of the execution of the works be paid to me. That if only preliminary sketches and plans be made, one and a quarter per<sup>46</sup>cent on my estimated cost be paid me for the same.

Common sense had again prevailed, even if at the possible cost of clients thinking Webb a trifle mercenary so early in the transactions. The scheme was successful, and the only problem Webb had in the future was to pacify those clients who, despite frequent warnings, had failed to appreciate the amount that unforeseen contingencies and their requested extras would add to the builder's final account.<sup>47</sup>

This important matter settled, a rough plan, based on Webb's first view of the site, was produced in order to force the client to make decisions on rooms sizes and their relative positions.<sup>48</sup> Whilst they did this,



Webb began his painstaking investigation of every detail of the site, of local materials, in brickyards, quarries, and old buildings, noting local usages and ashlar finishes, and the effects of weather and lichens. He checked whether or not brickmakers and quarrymen could maintain an adequate supply of material, and he had small samples of sands and cements sent to his office for testing. If the site was large he had a survey made which included the type, position and diameter of every tree so that he could position the building in such a way that none had to be felled.

Some clients asked for a larger building than their pocket could support; once this was apparent, with great patience and good humour Webb repeatedly reduced and amended his scheme, or started afresh with a new one. For example, a scheme that Miss Ewart favoured could not be cut down without being spoiled, so Webb offered to start afresh though he would then have been the loser; she rejected his offer, and when the selected builder's price proved even higher than expected (partly because the number and quality of the built-in cupboards, and the improved and Bower-Barffed waterpipes specified), Webb, anxious that she should not overspend, reminded her of the cost of making the garden and of his own fee--he assured her the latter could 'remain over'--and offered to reduce the scheme after all.<sup>49</sup> However, when Ramsden, having already asked for seven more rooms at no extra cost once the scheme had been agreed, requested major changes after

the building had been pegged out on site and many drawings had been prepared, Webb could no longer contain his annoyance, and advised him to go to another architect.<sup>50</sup> Ramsden's reply proposed even more radical changes, and provoked the following indignant response:

. . . I have never before taken so much time and trouble in sifting the arrangements of a house before the definite plans were proceeded with, as I have with this of yours. I do not in any way complain of this, indeed I congratulated myself in thinking that whatever time & trouble had been bestowed upon the plans before the final drawings were made, so much time would be saved in the long run. . . . I feel very doubtful whether your confidence in me as an Architect is such as to make it reasonable for me to undertake fresh plans for you; for, from several criticisms on my character of design made verbally here & at some note in your letters with regard to my having run into expensive roofing for insufficient cause, make me hesitate in any way to lead you to repose further confidence in my experience and ability as an Architect. . . . I would seriously urge upon you whether it would not be better that the proposed redistribution of the arrangements of the houses were<sub>51</sub> undertaken for you by some other architect, . . .

However, Ramsden and his wife--the only clients who may have valued the cachet of the architect's name more than his actual work--were determined to have a house by Webb.

Antagonism such as this was extremely rare between Webb and his clients even though, in the belief that his innate creative power reinforced by training and experience gave him the right to be sole arbiter of design, he brooked no dictation from them in this matter. They, of course, possessed the ultimate veto of rejection, but probably only Cardwell used it. Few of them tried to interfere; when they did, Webb



listened, courteously to their suggestions before explaining why his own design was preferable.<sup>52</sup> On minor matters, he occasionally adopted their suggestions, such as the oriel windows suggested by Madeline Wyndham for the first design for Clouds, and very rarely he gave way on a matter he did not consider vital, for instance he deferred to Godman's wish to have walls not fences flanking the entrance gates at Smeaton Manor.<sup>53</sup> If the client was stubborn, Webb sometimes enlisted the aid of the clerk or works and the builder in persuading a client that a particular feature, such as the covered way across the moat at Tangley Manor, was vital to the successful appearance of the building.<sup>54</sup> Sometimes he was able to get his way by pointing out the extra cost of the client's alternative idea, but occasionally, for example with a conservatory proposed by Mrs Ramsden, he was so appalled that he 'sat upon the idea flat, without mercy, & likened the thing to a Brixton villa'.<sup>55</sup> When he failed in his attempt to persuade Pitt-Rivers that the latter's heraldic design would be too obtrusive and trying if placed above a fireplace, he refused to supervise the making of the plaster model and the carving of the marble.<sup>56</sup>

On all practical matters, however, including the final choice of brick or stone,<sup>57</sup> Webb consulted the client fully. He took the greatest pains to make sure each client understood and was happy with the plan,<sup>58</sup> and even after construction was well advanced he



willingly made minor adjustments--to the position of an internal door, for example--at the client's suggestion if doing so improved convenience.

When designing a house, Webb tried to make all its rooms beautiful, not through decoration but in essence, through their proportions, shapes, and natural lighting.<sup>59</sup> Despite their liking for relative simplicity, even Webb's clients expected somewhat finer finishes in their own rooms than in those of their servants, but by ensuring that all parts were equally well-crafted, and by avoiding luxurious or showy materials and details, Webb was able to keep the difference between the family and staff rooms far from extreme. He rejected a plan suggested by Pitt-Rivers because amongst other deficiencies its long corridor would have been a dark and weary way for the servants, and, as George Jack recalled, if a client objected to commodious kitchens and offices, Webb would offer to cut down the size of the drawing-room.<sup>60</sup> In fact, most of his clients were anxious to provide good working and living conditions for their servants. At Hurlands, for instance, Miss Cocks herself asked Webb to enlarge the maids' sitting-room.<sup>61</sup> That the quality of the staff accommodation in a Webb house was indeed above average was discovered by the Wyndhams when a disastrous fire forced them to live in the servants quarters during rebuilding.<sup>62</sup>

Webb made no presentation drawings or perspective views for his clients. Designs were discussed with the

aid of 1/8" to 1'0" scale preliminary drawings, explanatory sketches made on the spot, and sometimes with tracings which could be placed over the original drawings to show suggested alternatives.<sup>63</sup> When Ramsden tried to soothe Webb by describing his drawings as 'beautiful' Webb replied that they were 'only plain straightforward "working" drawings, made without the waste of useless labour on them whatever'.<sup>64</sup> Once the design was agreed, the preliminary working drawings became the contract drawings from which the bill of quantities was prepared and the builder's price was estimated. As he prepared these Webb made rough working drawings to ensure that the scheme was 'practicable and workmanlike' and to help the quantity surveyor (whom Webb advised to charge 1% of the estimated cost if the project was abandoned and 2% if it was built).<sup>65</sup> Webb then prepared the specification' and 'Conditions' which were usually but not invariably signed by himself and the contractor before work began on site.<sup>66</sup>

Whilst all this was taking place Webb would have been investigating possible builders, inspecting their previously completed buildings, seeking references from architects for whom they had worked, and visiting their yards to inspect timber stocks, to see whether too much reliance was placed on machines, and to watch their craftsmen at work. He preferred to negotiate a price based on a bill of quantities with an approved local builder, preferably one whose work was well-known to

him, rather than to use direct labour, or to seek competitive tenders. Rounton Grange (1872) was built by direct labour, probably at Lowthian Bell's insistence, but the repeated demands for higher wages by the stonemasons, the extra responsibility placed on the clerk of works, and the difficulty of arriving at a just figure for his own fee,<sup>67</sup> turned him against this. Deciding which method to adopt was always a problem; as Webb explained to Miss Ewart; though it was a 'real advantage to employ a known responsible builder of the close neighbourhood', it always resulted in 'higher prices being charged' than if the work was 'put out in competition before several builders', whilst the latter course meant 'one man bidding against another', and if the work was 'taken at a lower price than a paying one, the loss must come out of the building, however careful the Archt. may be in watching the work'; yet again, accepting a higher tender did not guarantee good work.<sup>68</sup> Because of the building's great size and the unusual amount of interior ornament and joinery consequent upon its scale, Webb advised the Wyndhams, who wished to have a country builder, that however good, the latter 'would be unable to compete with Smiths' in fineness of material & perfection of execution of Joiners' work';<sup>69</sup> in the event, Smiths, the London contractor chosen by Webb, were unable to do the job because of unforeseen legal complications, and he had to spend a great deal of time and effort in finding a provincial firm capable of doing the job



well.

Webb summoned the carefully selected contractors or the chosen builder to his office where he explained his scheme in detail; then he directed them to inspect the site, and, if unfamiliar with his work, to see examples of it in order to fully appreciate the high standard he required before preparing their price.<sup>70</sup> If the job was large enough to warrant one Webb appointed a clerk of works, who was paid, according to his ability and experience, between £3-£4 a week by the client, but who worked to the architect's instructions. Webb preferred to have a clerk who had worked for him before and so knew his standard, in particular the Yorkshireman John Hardy, who was clerk of works for Smeaton Manor, Willinghurst, Forthampton Court, and Standen. If this was impossible, he sought recommendations from fellow architects. For some of Webb's houses or enlargements his assistants acted as part-time clerks, their wages paid half by Webb and half by the client; William Weir acted in this capacity at Exning House. For the rest, including Warrens House where George Jack was the man concerned, the builder's foreman, supplemented by Webb's assistant at vital points in the construction, had to suffice.

#### During Construction

Clients' participation did not cease when construction began. Webb consulted them about all finishes and fittings, and sometimes adopted their

suggestions, but where he judged it necessary, he insisted that he knew best, even for example on such a point as the right amount of space in the hay loft, though his client, Godman, was a keen and knowledgeable horseman and about-to-be horse breeder.<sup>71</sup> He encouraged clients to meet him on site, though he insisted on making his detailed inspection with the clerk of works and the builder or builder's foreman only. He usually managed to disguise his feelings when clients irritated or appalled him by their foolish suggestions. This was the case even with the most troublesome of them all, Mrs Ramsden, whom in letters to George Jack he termed the 'dragon', 'she-confusion', 'auld cat', and 'auld betch'; on one occasion, talking to Mrs Ramsden's supposed friends on site, Webb asked Lady Spencer of Althorpe whether she did not think that 'good architects must have the best of tempers to undergo whimsical clients', to which she replied "and they so ignorant too", to which Webb added 'and so old and incapable of mending'.<sup>72</sup> On such occasions he took snuff in great quantity; when the Beale's house was finished they gave him a silver snuff-box inscribed 'When clients talk damned nonsense I take a pinch of snuff' as a token of their gratitude.<sup>73</sup>

Webb visited the site at all crucial stages in the work, such as the laying of foundations and placing of floor and roof timbers; this worked out at roughly once a month.<sup>74</sup> With the builder he decided the best place for the latter's plant and materials, and made final

adjustments to the position of the building after it had been pegged out. If stone was used, he decided from which bed in the quarry it should come, and he instructed his clerk of works to ensure that the right stone was delivered by regularly visiting the quarry. Sample walls were built and rebuilt until the result satisfied Webb, who told the clerk of works to allow the masons to do only 'plain work' until they had got 'their hand in'.<sup>75</sup>

During construction, working drawings--numbering several hundred for large buildings--for every part and detail of the building were produced as necessary at 1/2" and 1" to 1'0". Because so few workmen could 'use materials with the simplicity and directness' of their medieval counterparts,<sup>76</sup> the size and position of every stone had to be indicated and, in all but the most straightforward walling, every brick. Full size scale drawings were made for all details, even for the stops which held the ridge tiles of hipped roofs at the eaves, and (in order to avoid those of 'modern fanciful and bad design' which were commercially available) for the chimney-pots.<sup>77</sup> As noted already, Webb, to the aggravation of the builder and clerk of works, was seldom quite up-to-date with these drawings.<sup>78</sup> He made rough drawings to scale to determine the design of each part or feature, then his assistants, after adding to and completing them, made tracings of them for the builder. Webb (who could not afford to spend time training a pupil from scratch and therefore never took



one) expected an assistant to be of 'fair education' and to have already 'laid the foundation of his knowledge of the building arts in a practical way in a good businesslike office'; to be 'anxious to extend his knowledge and give the use of his head and hands in an energetic way to the practical work' which went on in Webb's office; and to have a 'natural turn for construction' and a willingness to 'master the difficulties which occur in adapting construction to art matters in various kinds of buildings'.<sup>79</sup>

In short, having proven their competence, Webb's assistants were given considerable responsibility for the construction of buildings. Also, they measured and prepared drawings of existing buildings, and, if the job involved only repair work, were sometimes allowed them to handle it themselves.<sup>80</sup> However, they were not permitted to design even minor details. George Jack, whose opinion on design matters was valued by Webb even though he deplored his tendency towards the 'architecturallooral', and who managed the practice so capably during Webb's illness and absence in Italy, was occasionally permitted to design items such as fireplaces at times when rheumatism made it impossible for Webb to draw, but they had to meet with the latter's approval.<sup>81</sup> Assistants made site visits between Webb's own, when they helped the contractor to peg out the building, for instance, and were allowed and expected to demand the replacement of poor materials, but Webb himself made all decisions on matters of design and,

when necessary, gave instructs for the pulling down of bad work.<sup>82</sup> Sometimes an assistant spent some weeks acting as clerk of works, as already noted, and in the case of Clouds--and possibly other large buildings--one of them worked full-time in the quantity surveyor's office to facilitate the preparation of the bill of quantities.<sup>83</sup> Webb took care not to place responsibility for any worrying affairs such as cracked walls on his assistants,<sup>84</sup> and he himself inspected and approved all such items as boilers, cooking stoves, parquet flooring, and light fittings, and--most efficiently--made detailed records of work done and of the account of the clerk of works, and prepared the interim payment certificates for contractor and tradesman.

Having carefully chosen his builders, with whom he usually had excellent relationships, and having ensured efficient supervision, Webb found that in most cases construction progressed smoothly and was well done. When difficulties did arise, he dealt with them firmly and justly. When at Willinghurst they were caused by a clash of temperaments between the clerk of works and the foreman, he rebuked each man privately, urging the foreman to respect--as he did himself--the clerk's judgement and experience, and to work peaceably with him for his, Webb's, sake as the architect bearing 'heavy responsibility', and reminding him that it was his personal rule and pleasure to work to the utmost of his ability 'in a perfectly friendly way with all

classes of working men', and requesting the clerk to help him for the sake of the client by narrowing the cause of the differences.<sup>85</sup> Webb treated all the workmen on his sites with consideration and respect unless they proved unworthy of it, encouraging them by giving praise wherever it was due, and no doubt delighting them by ensuring that they received a suitable gratuity from his client when the roof timbers were in place.<sup>86</sup>

If a contractor failed to ensure that the work was done in a 'sound and workmanlike' way--a phrase which occurs repeatedly in Webb's letters to builders--he received one of the architect's 'stiff' letters. In one of these Webb instructed the builder of Boyce's West House to be present on site the next working day to receive instructions through Webb's assistant to demolish work not done according to the drawings; 'unless the works proceed in a better way than they have done', he added, 'I shall stop them altogether'.<sup>87</sup> The work improved.

On the rare occasions when he judged that a mistake or failure to spot substandard materials was his or his clerk's fault, Webb insisted on paying for it to be put right. To perfect the water-supply at Clouds, for instance, he paid for an additional cistern, even though at £70 it bade fair to bankrupt him,<sup>88</sup> and though the sum would have been almost negligible to Wyndham who was paying around £80,000 for the house.

Before his clients moved into the building Webb



made a last minute examination of every detail, and ensured that all services were working efficiently. Because of its great size, he stayed with the Wyndhams during their first two days at Clouds in order to explain its arrangements to the family and their servants.<sup>89</sup> Once a building was complete he ensured that all drawings apart from a minimum necessary for future maintenance were returned to himself. Finally, twelve months after work was completed he made a last detailed inspection before releasing the certificates authorizing final payments, and submitting his own account. In the case of houses, however, this was seldom the end of his involvement as almost every client consulted him about the furnishing and decoration of their new or newly enlarged homes.

#### Furnishing, Decoration, and Garden Design

As Webb recommended that a house should not be decorated until two to three years after completion,<sup>90</sup> the matter of its furnishing occurred first. Except for the artists and furniture collectors such as Wyndham, his male clients evinced much less interest in this than they had taken in the size, orientation, and arrangement of the rooms, and in finishes such things as tiles and grates for the fireplaces, and hardwood for the staircase, though some of them, including Greene and Lowthian Bell, commissioned Webb to design large pieces such as sideboards. One or two asked his advice as to which furniture from their present house

was suitable for the new one,<sup>91</sup> and for some Webb sought and bought paintings, pieces of furniture, and sets of old tiles, but, as he told Boyce, he had to stop doing this because as the years went by he increasingly found himself left with items on his hands.<sup>92</sup> Occasionally he designed decorations for a specific piece of furniture, such as a piano, but when Pitt-Rivers asked him to do this for a certain hall table, Webb refused on the grounds that the article was 'rather worthless'.<sup>93</sup>

In the case of a married couple, according to the convention of the time the man appeared as the client in all records, but it is abundantly clear from Webb's letters that their wives were as much his clients as were their spouses. The wives played an equal part in determining the sizes, relative positions, and fittings of rooms, and, with Webb's help, they took a greater part in deciding the number of cupboards, larders, sinks, and cooking stoves, and in furnishing the house. Webb consulted them scrupulously on all these matters, and, if they wished to retain a favourite but huge piece of old furniture, he changed the position of fireplaces or doors to accommodate it.<sup>94</sup>

Almost all the men except the painters, left the decoration of their homes entirely to their wives, who sought Webb's help in choosing carpets, fabrics, wall-papers and paints. He accompanied them to showrooms--to that of the Firm in particular of course, though with his customary fairness he also recommended

well-designed products by other establishments--or, if they preferred to choose in his office or at their homes, arranged to have samples of fabric and paper sent there, with boards painted to match the colour of the backgrounds of suitable papers.<sup>95</sup>

Webb was always paid for specially commissioned designs for furniture and decorative items but, because he failed to request it, he was seldom recompensed for the time he spent advising about furnishing and decoration.

As already noted, Webb, who had become a knowledgeable and experienced gardener at his brother's house New Place, had strong views about the gardens around his houses. Most of his clients accepted his advice about the position of the kitchen garden, which was decided well before the house was complete so that its Webb-designed walls could be constructed by the same builder, and most of them consulted him on the design of the pleasure gardens; here, too, the women usually took more interest than their husbands. Madeline Wyndham, having bowed to Webb's liking for the south front of his houses to be unencumbered with flower beds and shrubberies, failed to adhere strictly to the uncommissioned design he had prepared for the garden on the east front; attempting to persuade her to reconsider, and to dissuade her from what he regarded as further disasters, he wrote:

With regard to the East Garden, I should naturally have an opinion, as the whole surroundings of the house have been under my consideration for some years, and as I have had experience of many



failures happening from want of careful attention to all circumstances I arranged my plan with such knowledge and taste as I had. . . . Would it not be well to defer fitting up the little garden house . . . till things are more settled? It should be a handy and tidy place and wd. be very convenient. I say this because of the rather wild suggestion to turn it into a dirt hole of a mushroom house. . . . care will have to be used with them [suppliers of glasshouses] or you will be fitted with work at great cost and which would ruin the appearance of the most lovely place in England. . . . it would not do to put the greenhouse on the East side of the gardener's house as<sup>6</sup> it wd. be in full view of all who come to Clouds.

He mitigated these strictures somewhat by providing the names of suppliers of various types of plants and trees, and giving his blessing to whatever Mrs Wyndham decided to do within the kitchen garden.

#### The Final Verdicts of Webb and his Clients

Webb was rarely satisfied with the appearance of his buildings which in his view never fulfilled his potential, as he explained to Boyce--in an attempt to cheer this discouraged friend--in 1884:

. . . 'tis some years past now that I gave up all hope in my own work and was sad in the extreme for some time and, indeed, great sadness has possession of me in whiles even now, but I ceased to be troubled with my disappointment at finding I was not what I at times thought I was, and barring the times when my soul is in the pit, I am merrier mostly now than I ever used to be for, I have not yet ceased to believe that I have within me<sup>7</sup> what I shall certainly never be able to bring out.

He advised Boyce to take consolation as he did himself from the world's 'exquisite beauty and thousands of lovely beasts' and the 'infinite joys' of 'history, love, [and] glorious appreciation of all that noble souls have conceived'.<sup>98</sup>

In after years he never regretted that a scheme had

been aborted. 'If my best efforts were not carried out (they were always the best) it was all the better,' he explained to George Jack, 'as they would remain in my mind as darlings, without the risk of proof.'<sup>99</sup> The proof of his design for Rounton Grange, for instance, disappointed him so much that, as he told Boyce, he 'longed to be a stonebreaker rather than a setter-up of stones'.<sup>100</sup> Sometimes he found that a building improved on acquaintance; with Willinghurst he thought this was in part due to the trouble he and George Jack had taken in fitting it into its site.<sup>101</sup> With others, for instance Coneyhurst, he expected to be better pleased when the newness of their walls had become veiled by climbing plants.<sup>102</sup>

However, it must have been a great consolation to know that from the point of view of convenience and sound, well-crafted construction and finishing his buildings could not have been improved. Despite disenchantments, he remained convinced that his ideas about good appearance were the right ones, and he continued to enjoy his work, whilst regretting that a lack of sympathy with his aims on the part of clients prevented them from enjoying its results.<sup>103</sup> 'I find it very general that so soon as I have walled a man in, he walls me out of his esteem', Webb told George Howard wryly in 1875.<sup>104</sup> However, in the last two beliefs he was mistaken.

Though some failed to completely sympathize with or understand his aims, particularly as to what



constituted simplicity, all Webb's clients--even the most 'exacting' such as the 'auld betch' Mrs Ramsden, and the 'petticoated burr' Miss Cocks<sup>105</sup>--were ultimately well pleased with their new buildings or extensions. This was not surprising, as in every case Webb had fulfilled Ruskin's recommendation of him to Hale White as an architect who would provide 'perfectly sound and noble work for absolutely just price'; and, except when clients themselves called for changes which exceeded it, he had done this within the agreed budget and almost always by the appointed date of completion. His clients told Webb of their satisfaction, though in muted tones in view of his extreme dislike of praise. 'Influential people are putting it about that this [Clouds] is the house of the age,' Wyndham wrote, for instance; 'I believe they are right.'<sup>106</sup> With the sole exception of St. Martin's Church, Brampton, where he believed the opposite applied, Webb was consoled by the fact that his clients liked his buildings more than he did, and, as he told the Godmans, when in addition to his fee he received a 'thoughtfully kind letter of thanks' it made him feel almost over-paid.<sup>107</sup>

Clients recommended Webb to their friends, but because his slow rate of designing meant that he could only handle two or three jobs at one time, some of the resulting commissions had to be turned down, especially during the years 1877-86 and 1889-92 when he was designing, supervising, and, after the fire, rebuilding Clouds. The fame of this house reached America, but



the droves of would-be clients forecast by Wyndham did not materialize, presumably because admirers, including the 'Souls' (a group of cultured and intellectual aristocrats for whom the house became a focal point),<sup>108</sup> assumed that so renowned an architect would be far too busy or too important to undertake anything less than another Clouds; they went instead to Webb's disciples. Paradoxically, the house which brought him to the height of his fame both in and outside his profession almost ruined him, and in his last few years in practice he had to take more or less what came his way. Fortunately, there was enough of this to prevent him from having to sink his pride by actively seeking work.

## PART 3: BUILDINGS

### CHAPTER 1: THE STUDIO-HOUSES

With his first two buildings, Red House and Sandroyd, Webb introduced a new building type, the English studio-house, just when artists, because of the change in patronage, were needing--and were beginning to be able to afford--a combined dwelling and place of work in which to receive prospective patrons and show their wares, and which would itself demonstrate their success.<sup>1</sup> As these two buildings, like Webb's later examples, were well-known to the members of the Hogarth Club and the Little Holland House circle, not surprisingly many artists were soon employing other architects to design studio-houses.<sup>2</sup>

More pleasing than most precedents by Butterfield and Street, and devoid of their overt gothic detail, Red House proved Webb to be a master of the parsonage style. His later studio-houses revealed the development of his own manner, as he began to use fewer pointed arches, to introduce some horizontal emphasis, to adopt 'multiplication of detail', to admit English Baroque influence, and to reflect the local vernacular. Certain factors characteristic of his work, and his liking for some regularity, were evident from the start. For example, he expressed the plan externally only when doing so helped the composition (the Red House studio could be mistaken for two rooms, for

instance), and he designed a building as a whole, with all fronts of equal importance, and based the design on common sense and practicality. He made an occasional feature out of a necessity (such as the well at Red House) but depended for effect chiefly on composition, <sup>pl.</sup> 20 proportion, and 'movement', with repeated windows, large chimney-stacks strategically placed on prominent roofs, and dynamic diagonal lines (provided by gables, and hips). He employed segmentally-arched sashes (with white-painted frames and sloping cills), he experimented with bay-windows and oriels<sup>3</sup>--traditional English elements--and he clothed his new walls with climbing plants. His rooms were well-lit and of pleasing variety of size and shape, with upper ones partly in the roof.

#### Red House, Upton, Bexleyheath (1858-59)

The early history of Red House has been covered already. Webb designed the building between late autumn 1858 and April 1859; by summer the following year it was finished, after initial delays on the part of the builder, William Kent of Bermondsey, had resulted in the first of Webb's stiff letters.<sup>4</sup> Morris's dream of a community of artists had been realized on a part-time basis. It seemed about to become a full-time affair in 1864 when Webb designed a partly timber-framed extension (which would have further enclosed the well court) to make a permanent home for the Burne-Joneses; however, the project



foundered through lack of funds.<sup>5</sup> After an illness the same year, Morris found the daily journey to London, where he had been working on the affairs of Morris and Company since 1861, too exhausting; as he was beginning to need income from the firm to support his family, he reluctantly sold Red House in 1865 and moved back to the city.<sup>6</sup> Always having had appreciative owners, the building remains almost as he left it.<sup>7</sup>

It has long been recognized that the appearance of Red House owed much to the parsonage style, but the remarkable similarity of its plan to that of Butterfield's Alvechurch rectory, with which Webb was familiar,<sup>8</sup> seems to have been missed. As Red House was slightly smaller, Webb was able to place the passages along outside walls, thus introducing the L-shaped, room-and-a-passage plan which was to be used in several Arts and Crafts houses.<sup>9</sup> Presumably to protect their proposed decorations from sunlight, the major rooms were located in the north-facing wing. Because of its central role in the life envisaged there, the studio --which faced east and south, the advantage of north light not yet having been appreciated--was on the same floor as the drawing-room: the first floor for optimum light. The stair-hall, though not the first of its kind, was a great contrast to the narrow, cold, and dark entrances of the majority of middle-class houses of its time;<sup>10</sup> it provided extra living space on the ground floor, where the bedroom for bachelor friends

pl.  
18

was also located, undoubtedly to prevent late-night revels from disturbing the sleeping household. The house had no central heating and no bathroom--both, then, were considered unnecessary luxuries--but it did have concrete foundations, and three water-closets (WCs).<sup>11</sup>

Externally, the building combined influences from fourteenth-century English manor houses, from old houses of Northern France, and from Butterfield. Beautifully composed and proportioned, with steep tiled roofs--a mixture of gables, hips, and half-hips--deep porches, pyramid-roofed stair-turret, and conical well-head, Red House embodied the vigorous 'barbaric element' that Webb admired. It was surprisingly assured for a young architect's first building: even the problem of scale presented by the large studio windows was solved satisfactorily by combining two sashes of normal domestic size under a relieving arch which had a circular light as its tympanum. Something more flamboyant might have been expected in a first building by an architect in need of commissions,<sup>12</sup> but Webb had taken heed of the warning in The Ecclesiologist against 'excessive originality'. Furthermore, he despised self-advertisement, deplored the lifelessness and wrong use of contemporary ornament, and liked simplicity. A small stable, in the same materials as the house, accommodated two horses and a covered wagonette made to Webb's design.<sup>13</sup>

Inside, in the medieval manner but without gothic

embellishments, the house had arches, corbelled hearth supports, and fireplaces in exposed brickwork, exposed roof timbers and door lintels, red clay floor tiles in the hall and ground-floor passages, and, in some south-facing windows, stained glass by Webb, with simple bird and flower designs on a clear ground.<sup>14</sup>

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Webb provided a fairly plain background for the decorative schemes prepared by Morris but which were never fully completed. Against the custom of the day, the rooms were not to be wallpapered but were to have embroidered hangings or murals. Bedroom embroideries had simple floral patterns, whilst those in the dining-room had large figures and trees; Burne-Jones was to have painted the legend of Troy (with the heroes in medieval dress) on the walls of the hall but did not even begin, and he completed only three of the intended seven panels illustrating the romance of Sir Degrevant in the drawing-room.<sup>15</sup>

Geometric patterns were pricked into some ceilings so that they could be painted by inexperienced hands. Morris was displeased by the readily available products, so eastern rugs were used throughout the building, and oak tables, chairs, cupboards, fire-dogs and grates, copper candlesticks, and table glasses, were made to Webb's designs.<sup>16</sup>

In the drawing-room, to gain access into the roof, Webb installed Morris's huge settle-cum-cupboard and added to it an open stair and a 'musicians' gallery' which was the forerunner of the galleries in the London studio-houses designed

pl.  
23



by himself and by other architects.<sup>17</sup>

Though not typical of Webb's work, Red House was an influential building. An early example of the new middle-class dwelling made possible by railways, the small house in the country, it introduced another building type, the studio-house. As noted already, decorating and furnishing it inspired or at the least encouraged the founding of Morris and Company, which subsequently had a wide influence on interior design. The ideals behind it--the re-uniting of architecture with both the fine and decorative arts, and the creation of a community of artists--became, in the first case, the governing principle of the Arts and Crafts movement (though it was Webb's later houses which influenced its architecture), and in the second, presaged the communes established in the Cotswolds by Gimson, and by Ashbee. Its garden, which Morris--possibly assisted by Webb--based on those in medieval illuminated manuscripts, had rose-covered trellises, wattle fences, and low hedges enclosing plots of old-fashioned flowers; with Webb's subsequent gardens, it influenced those of Arts and Crafts houses, several of which exhibited variations on the bold timbering and tiled roof of Webb's wells (here and at Sandroyd), and of some of his later porches and covered ways.<sup>18</sup> Finally, though Muthesius was mistaken in believing the building to be revolutionary in style and material, through his description and illustration of it in Das englische Haus,<sup>19</sup> Red House influenced the devel-

opment of the Modern Movement and that antithesis of Webb's philosophy, the International style.

Sandroyd, Cobham (1860) (Benfleet Hall)

John Roddam Spencer Stanhope was the pupil of Watts, who lived with Thoby and Sara Prinsep at Little Holland House where Stanhope encountered Rossetti, through whom he met Webb.<sup>20</sup> Stanhope had much in common with the architect, with whom he struck a close friendship, including a love of wildlife and old buildings. Requiring a more suitable dwelling than his London rooms after he married, Stanhope bought a large site on a well-wooded hillside at Fairmile near Cobham in Surrey, and in 1860 commissioned Webb to design a studio-house, on which construction by John Tyerman of Kennington began in August 1860, and which cost around £1,860.<sup>21</sup> In 1864 Webb enlarged the offices, and in 1870 he substantially increased the accommodation by doubling the thickness of the building at its north-west corner; soon afterwards, the house had to be sold because of Stanhope's illhealth, and, with its name changed to Benfleet Hall, it became a school.<sup>22</sup> After temporary dereliction in the 1950s caused by a fire, it narrowly escaped demolition;<sup>23</sup> subsequently the house was converted into a cottage and three apartments, with some of the interior fittings removed, but the exterior almost untouched, and the stables were made into a house.

Webb exploited the possibilities of the site--which

sloped steeply to the north and west, in which directions it had fine views--and kept costly excavation to a minimum, by making the house tall and narrow, with the cellars partly above ground under the drawing-room, by using the rising ground to shelter and partly enclose the entrance court, and by placing the stables on flatter ground below the house, where they did not obstruct the view. To obtain the best prospects, and no doubt to protect their decoration, pl. 25 the dining-room faced west, and the drawing-room west and north; east light also was gained in the drawing-room by making the building one room deep at its north end. A large stair-hall reduced passage area, and provided an extra living-room. It improved upon that of Red House by having a sitting area on the outside wall, directly lit and well-sheltered from draughts by the inset closed porch; derived from medieval great halls, and preceded by the revivals of these in a few country houses, it was unusual in a house of this size.<sup>24</sup> As Mrs Stanhope did not work in the studios there was no need for them to be near the drawing-room, so Webb created a suite of waiting-room, models' dressing-room, and two studios connected by double doors, on the second floor.

Sandroyd was a three-storeyed building, with the offices, servants' quarters, and first-floor nursery suite in a lower part at its south end. Its forms and details were similar to those of Red House. The chief exception to this was its major feature, the large pls. 26, 27



timber-framed, brick-nogged gable on the east front, which resembled that by Butterfield at Alvechurch;<sup>25</sup> it housed the main studio window, disguising its scale, and attracted attention to the entrance beneath it. The 1870 addition destroyed the initial simplicity of the west front, making it ponderous; this probably evoked Ian Nairn's unfair accusation that, despite being a 'splendid composition', the building exhibited graceless utilitarianism; Burne-Jones, remembering it as first built, more aptly described it as 'just a little over-severe'.<sup>26</sup>

The interior details were similar to those of Red House. The fireplaces, which were not as pleasing as those of the earlier House, had wrought-iron grates by Webb and--some of them--tiles by William De Morgan; at the foot of the main staircase, which had a simply-boarded oak balustrade, was an oak screen with stained glass by Webb in its upper panels.<sup>27</sup> As Mrs Stanhope left the decoration and furnishing to her husband, and it is known that he loved bright colours, and later filled his Italian villa with paintings, hangings, and embroideries, and furniture designed and painted by himself, the whole a mass of brilliant hues of pink, rose, gold, and azure blue, it is almost a certainty that the interior of Sandroyd was as rich as that of Red House.<sup>28</sup> Burne-Jones described the house as 'somewhat gloomy', aptly in view of the lack of south light, but it must have been a vibrant gloom.<sup>29</sup>

Elements of Sandroyd which became characteristic of

Webb's work included the cloak-room off the hall, the garden-porch off the dining-room, and the dentilated barge-boards of the studio gable. Having come to regard it as dangerously picturesque, doubtless in part because of Shaw's cavalier exploitation of it, Webb never used timber-framing so prominently again.

No. 1 (now 14) Holland Park Road, Kensington (1864)

In 1864, Valentine Cameron Prinsep took a lease on a large plot near Little Holland House, and asked Webb, whom he too had met through Rossetti, to design a studio-house, which he did that year; it was constructed in 1865, at a cost of around £2,120, and Prinsep lived in it for the rest of his life.<sup>30</sup> Enlargement was envisaged from the start, and took place in two stages, both designed by Webb, in 1876-77, and 1892-93; for all three stages, a chosen London builder, different in each case, was invited to submit an estimate after Webb had satisfied himself as to his stocks of plant and materials, financial reliability, and quality of work.<sup>31</sup> In the twentieth century, the house has suffered many amendments, including being denuded of Webb's interior fittings, and being divided into flats.

As Prinsep's resources were limited, Webb kept costs low by making the house compact, with the basement kitchen and offices in the traditional London manner, dispensing with a drawing-room, and grouping the major ground-floor rooms, which over-looked the

pl.  
30

large garden, round a central hall. The studio which, with its WC and models' dressing-room, occupied the whole of the first floor, and had a gallery from which Prinsep could paint the upper parts of his customarily large works. The plan exhibited what was to become an anomaly in Webb's habitually considerate attitude to the welfare of servants: in their staircases, he indulged his penchant--which stemmed from his love of castles--for spiral or tightly winding stairs, clearly not appreciating what an obstacle they were to long-skirted maids carrying heavy loads.<sup>32</sup> In 1876, at minimum expense, Webb created a drawing-room by turning the guest-room into a dining-room, and the dining-room into a drawing-room, and added two second-floor bedrooms, and, by throwing an arch over the 'area' below, a second studio, linked to the first by double-doors; the floor of the gallery rose to permit the transfer of pictures from one to the other.<sup>33</sup> His last extension almost doubled the size of the house, Prinsep having<sup>pl. 32</sup> become wealthy through success and marriage.<sup>34</sup>

Before its enlargement, the exterior of the house was extremely simple, with gables but no hips, only one relieving arch, and an open porch which extended to the pavement edge (Webb liked to provide this protection whenever possible). He made no attempt to disguise the size of the main, pointed-arched windows in the<sup>pl. 31</sup> studio,<sup>35</sup> which were at the rear of the building; each in its own gable, they too demonstrated Webb's ignoring of the expression of the plan. New elements, all



adapted from old English buildings, included the slab-like chimneys with angled brick string courses and tall red pots, the combined string-course-cill, the simple pilaster-strips of the oriel, and the polygonal bay-window with a gabled roof (which was added to the dining-room during construction.<sup>36</sup> Webb heated the studio with a gill stove, but installed central heating in the rest of the building; it proved inefficient, and by 1880 had been abandoned in favour of coal fires, which, by then, Webb had concluded were the healthiest form of domestic heating when well managed and in efficient enclosed grates.<sup>37</sup> The plenitude of servants made it possible for him to restrict central heating to the circulation areas in most of his later houses. However, his extensive use of floors constructed of iron beams set in concrete in the 1892 extension showed that he had not rejected technological developments.<sup>38</sup>

Inside the house, internal arches were plastered, except in the basement, and doors had simple architraves. Morris and Company papers and curtains were used in almost every room, and the dados and door panels of major rooms, and boarded balustrade of the main staircase, were covered in Japanese 'leather-paper'; the woodwork was painted brown, except in the dining-room, where it was dark green as a foil to Prinsep's collection of blue-and-white china.<sup>39</sup> This decoration, and the Chippendale furniture, suited Webb's original fittings, but the opulent adornments which reflected the real taste of Prinsep and his wife,

and which Webb added reluctantly in the early 1890s, were ill-suited to those which remained.<sup>40</sup>

Prinsep's originally simple house and the more imposing one next door, also designed in 1864, by George Aitchison for Frederick Leighton--which both derived from Red House and Sandroyd, and were alike in being of red brick, and in having galleried studios as the major room--set the pattern for the studio-houses of the artists' colony which developed in the area, with Watts at its centre, during the next fifteen years.<sup>41</sup> In the twentieth-century such 'studios' became popular with the lay public, presumably because of their bohemian associations and the welcome contrast of their spaciousness to the small, low-ceilinged rooms typical of the period.

#### No. 1 Palace Green, Kensington (1867-8)

In 1867, George James Howard and his unconventional young wife the Honourable Rosalind Stanley--who fully supported his aim of becoming a successful painter--asked Webb to design a combined London mansion and studio-house, which would be shared by George's father, the Honourable Charles Howard, MP.<sup>42</sup> Webb had not yet built a large house in England, but the Howards had inspected Prinsep's house, knew of his work for the Bells at Washington Hall, and doubtless also of Arisaig House, as Astley was a friend of the Stanleys.<sup>43</sup> After inspecting it with Webb, Howard bought a lease on a site in Kensington from the Crown



in March 1867; in August, Webb invited tenders from six reputable London builders, and submitted his design for the necessary approval of James Pennethorne, architect to the Commissioners of Woods and Forests.<sup>44</sup>

Pennethorne, a classicist to whom Webb's large gable facing the street in the medieval manner was pl.  
34 anathema, found the proposed building 'perfectly hideous' and 'far inferior' to houses already erected on the estate; Webb countered that no intimation had been given of the need to adopt the 'disgracefully heterogeneous forms and colours' of these in a building which sought to respect the true character of the neighbourhood, and, in words already quoted, he insisted that his choice of materials was the best for use in London, and cited the work of Wren and his colleagues in support of his windows.<sup>45</sup> Called in as referees, Salvin and Thomas Henry Wyatt supported Pennethorne so, early in 1868, Webb redesigned the gable, added more Portland stone dressings, and enlarged the porch; Pennethorne then demanded that a dominant stone cornice should replace the parapet, but Webb, considering the latter the 'chief' and 'most necessary' feature, one which helped to create a 'consistent whole', refused, and asked Howard to inform Pennethorne that no architect worthy of the name would 'allow his work to be mutilated by irresponsible hands'.<sup>46</sup>

With the reluctant agreement of the Howards (who by then regarded their architect as their 'personal



friend'), Webb asked Butterfield to design a new scheme; however, believing that Webb had been treated unjustly, and not wishing to 'put himself under the control of Pennethorne's taste', Butterfield refused.<sup>47</sup> Eventually, after Charles and George Howard had sought help from Charles Gore (the First Commissioner who also supported Pennethorne), and after Webb had an interview with Wyatt, the design was approved on 30 March 1868.<sup>48</sup> Building began in June, only to be stopped at ground level by the new Metropolitan Board of Works; however, the problems caused little delay as Webb had learnt the value of tact.<sup>49</sup> He handled equally well the third source of interference new to him, a client's wife with as keen an interest in the building as her husband. He stood up with spirit to Mrs Howard's domineering manner, but consulted her about interior details, and fulfilled her requests whenever he considered them wise.<sup>50</sup>

Construction, by Richard Ashby and Sons of Bishopsgate, was finished by 1870, Pennethorne's interference having raised its cost by about £1,300 to a total of around £10,700.<sup>51</sup> In 1873-74 Webb created a large school-room in a gable on the south front by bridging the deep recess above the first-floor conservatory.<sup>52</sup> The Howards were pleased with their house, and they subsequently commissioned work in Cumbria, and in 1875 tried unsuccessfully to persuade Webb to design or alter a villa in Italy.<sup>53</sup> After her husband's death in 1911, Lady Howard sold the lease,

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and the house became a furniture store; narrowly escaping demolition in 1922, it was converted into flats in 1957, with the original fittings removed and the fenestration of the north front altered.<sup>54</sup>

To create as large a 'garden' as possible for the children, Webb made the building tall and compact, pl. 33 with basement kitchens and first-floor drawing-room in the London manner, and with the carriage-way running through the building to the stable-yard at the rear. The studio was placed on the third floor to gain the best light, and had its own WC, and a balcony for taking the the air or smoking. The plan had unconventional features, the most notable being that the main staircase only served the first floor, that servants shared the generous secondary staircase, and that the nursery suite was next to the main bedroom.

The height of the house, considerably greater than neighbouring buildings, was accentuated by the large pl. 34 chimney-stacks which defined the perimeter of the walls above roof level, the three-storeyed bay-window, and the tall, pointed-arched recess, probably inspired by those of fifteenth-century Hermitage Castle.<sup>55</sup> Despite the parapet, the overall effect was not quite that of a 'consistent whole', partly because of the observer's inevitable association of pointed arches with gothic styles. The building revealed Webb's burgeoning interest in symmetry, in reflecting local character, and, in part because of this, in the work of English Baroque architects, and, to some extent unwittingly stimulated

by Pennethorne, in the blending or 'shading' of different materials. The parapet, false in parts, showed that visual satisfaction was more important to Webb than structural truth, whilst the overall design, even before amendment, demonstrated that he had become convinced of the need for 'multiplication of detail'. In putting the latter into practice, he revealed his great mastery of materials, exploiting and contrasting their various qualities in inventive details, as he did again in London in the office building he designed in 1868 for Leonard Valpy at Number 19 Lincoln's Inn Fields.<sup>56</sup>

According to one observer,<sup>57</sup> Webb achieved unity in the interior, which had similar details throughout, and Morris and Company fabrics, carpets, and wall-papers, and antique furniture that Webb helped to choose. The dining-room, which, like the drawing-room, had a grate of the Red House design, was unusual and striking; the deep frieze was painted by Burne-Jones, above white-painted panelling, the upper row of which was patterned in red and silver on a gold ground by Morris, who lettered verses from his poems in gold on the rail below, and painted flower and foliage designs on the ceiling and beams in soft colours.<sup>58</sup>

The important role of this house in the development of the 'Queen Anne' style has been noted. Its innovative design, in general and in detail, and its lack of grandeur and pretension, made it outstandingly different from the majority of London houses of its



date. Thirty years later, in a lecture on the 'Tendencies of the Modern School of Architecture', it was cited by Professor Beresford Pite as an excellent example of the art of Webb, whose work he commended to those who sought "encouragement" from current buildings of real life and progress'.<sup>59</sup>

#### West House, Chelsea (1868)

George Price Boyce left architecture for painting in 1849, supported by his wealthy father, and encouraged by David Cox and Henry Tanworth Wells; by 1868, when he had to leave his London rooms, he was enjoying a modest success, so he purchased the lease on part of the garden of the Chelsea Rectory, and asked Webb to design a studio-house.<sup>60</sup> He had lodged in the same house as Burges for some years, but clearly he preferred Webb's simplicity to Burges's gothic fantasy.<sup>61</sup> The drawings were completed in October, construction, again by John Tyerman, began the following spring, and in March 1870 Boyce moved into his house which had cost about £2,440, and to which Webb added a small extension in 1876.<sup>62</sup> After Boyce's death, the house was sympathetically extended to the north, and various changes were made to the interior; in the 1980s some of it was returned to its original condition.

To retain as large a garden as possible, the house, like Prinsep's, was built on the street boundary, and given basement offices. The dining-room and parlour on

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the ground floor faced west into the garden; most of the first floor was occupied by the studio which had a small balcony for fresh air, and a gallery that improved on Prinsep's by being at right angles to the chief light source. The models' dressing-room was approached by the backstairs in what had become the approved manner.

The house, set in the angle of L-shaped Glebe Place, faced south down one leg of it, the part <sup>pl.</sup><sub>39</sub> fronting the rector's garden being windowless for privacy. In appearance it was as unpretentious, wholesome, and quietly dignified, as the neighbouring Queen Anne houses which it reflected but did not copy. Its wall-planes were modelled by rubbed and gauged brick string-cills and cornices, and recessed panels. All the windows except the 'bull's eye' of the WC, had segmentally-arched sashes without relieving arches; and the chimney-stack on the south front had angled flues derived from sixteenth-century examples. Repeating a feature of Church Hill House, designed earlier the same year, Webb extended the landing over the porch, creating a gracious resting place inside, and adding 'movement' to the elevation;<sup>63</sup> the hipped roof of the porch echoed that of the main roof. The large segmentally-arched windows of the studio, in two of the <sup>pl.</sup><sub>40</sub> triple gables on the north front, had a more domestic air than those of Prinsep's house, and gave the now appreciated shadowless light, but, in not being continued on the adjacent elevation, the unifying

string-cill beneath them ultimately mitigated against overall unity.

On the west front, the two-storeyed bay-window, its upper part inventively supported on lengths of gas-pipe like that under the studio balcony, was one of the most idiosyncratic of Webb's experiments.<sup>64</sup> Later examples were more restrained, Webb obviously having decided that here 'multiplication of detail' had gone too far. The interior of the house was reputedly a 'delight to the eye', with Boyce's collections of simple old furniture and china (much of it blue-and-white), silver, etchings, and ancient and modern paintings.<sup>65</sup>

The 1876 extension, occasioned by Boyce's marriage, and added to the blind part of the entrance front, consisted of a dressing-room above an open, brick-vaulted passage (over the housekeeper's external staircase). It had hefty pediments sitting awkwardly over the pointed arches of the passage and, a detail probably suggested by the roofs of Border peles, twin gables behind a stone-capped parapet with blind crenellations.

In its early days, West House played a part in the development of the 'Queen Anne' style, but, because some observers--including Frederick White--misunderstood Webb's approach, its later influence was towards the neo-Georgian style.

#### The Briary, Freshwater (1872)

On learning that Little Holland House was to be

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pl.  
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demolished, George Frederic Watts decided to build a studio-house by Webb for the senior Prinseps and himself in the Isle of Wight, on the outskirts of Freshwater near the homes of Tennyson, and Mrs Prinsep's sister, the photographer Julia Margaret Cameron.<sup>66</sup> Webb designed the house--named The Briary after the roses in near by hedgerows--in early 1872, construction began in the summer, and was completed by autumn 1873 at an unknown cost.<sup>67</sup> After Thoby Prinsep died in 1878, it was let for a time, before again becoming a focal point for the Prinsep family and friends under the proprietorship of Mrs Herbert Somers Cocks, Mrs Prinsep's niece and Watts's adopted daughter to whom he gave the house.<sup>68</sup> In 1934 it was destroyed by fire, and was subsequently rebuilt to another design.

To ensure good craftsmanship, Webb employed a London builder--John Tyerman, who had constructed Sandroyd--but to pacify disgruntled islanders, Watts also used local workmen, without Webb's permission or agreement, and, as already noted, in 1874 this led the architect to sever all connection with the building, and to refuse any fee for its design and supervision, which put great strain on his finances as he had done likewise with Oast House the previous year.<sup>69</sup> He remained on cordial terms with Watts, to whom, ultimately, he owed the commissions from Stanhope, Prinsep, and the Greek families, but not surprisingly, Watts, on finding it necessary to have a studio-house

in London for the summer months, asked another architect to design it.<sup>70</sup>

The Briary consisted of a three-storeyed, south-facing family block, entered at its narrow end pl. 43 like Waterhouse's Easneye (1867),<sup>71</sup> through a gabled and glazed porch, with two parallel, contiguous ranges at the rear, one containing the vast studio, the other occupied by the kitchen, the butler's and housekeeper's rooms, and, on the first floor, the servants' bedrooms. Prinsep was by then ill and almost blind, but his room was the place where family and friends gathered each evening, so Webb created a ground-floor invalid suite, which could be shut off when necessary by merely closing a door, with its main room in the south-west corner of the house where it received maximum sunlight. The drawing-room and dining-room also faced south in what was becoming Webb's customary manner. The large living-hall, a welcome item in a house always full of guests, ensured a compact plan, which, with the relatively simple roofs, kept down costs, an important factor as Watts was paying for the house by painting portraits, an activity he disliked.<sup>72</sup> His studio had an area below the gallery which could be curtained off to form a private sitting-room, a tall west window for the egress of large paintings, protected from glare by deep eaves, and a huge north window.

Surrounded by lawns and tall elms, The Briary was described in 1897 as one of the most interesting and attractive houses in Freshwater.<sup>73</sup> Webb reflected the

local vernacular by using local bricks and roof tiles, and covering the gables and dormers with white-painted weatherboarding, but he ignored what was in his view the archaic thatch of nearby cottages. He continued his experiments with symmetry, and with rows of identical gables which had begun with the pair on Prinsep's house; here he used triplets on the servants' wing. By roofing the bay-windows on the south front with a continuous, deep lean-to, he created a verandah, perhaps at the request of the Prinseps who had been accustomed to them in India, which allowed the major rooms to have south light without risk of damaging their furnishings. As the studio windows could not be seen in conjunction with those of domestic scale, their size presented no problem. The house was furnished with the Prinseps' collection of antiques, paintings, and china, much of it brought from India.<sup>74</sup>

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As The Briary was known to a large number of people from many fields, including architects, artists, writers, poets, politicians, many of the 'Souls' (of which group two of Mrs Prinsep's granddaughters were prominent members), and American visitors seeking Tennyson's haunts, it probably increased the popularity of verandahs, as well as enlarging Webb's renown.



## PART 3: BUILDINGS

### CHAPTER 2: THE COUNTRY HOUSES

Only five of the nine country houses designed by Philip Webb were centres of large estates; these were Arisaig House, Rounton Grange, Smeaton Manor, Clouds, and Willinghurst. Of the other four, Joldwynds and Standen were large examples of the weekend house in the country, complete with stable block and cottages, whilst Hurlands and Church Hill House were the permanent residences of their owners and, in the case of the last, also the centre of a farm school.

Twentieth-century social changes--the reduction of wealth, increased cost of maintenance, the difficulty in obtaining servants, and the rise in their wages--were responsible for the tragic subsequent history of most of Webb's country houses. Arisaig House was destroyed by fire, and rebuilt on a smaller scale; Church Hill House, Joldwynds, and Rounton Grange were demolished; and Smeaton Manor, Clouds, and Willinghurst were reduced in size. Mercifully Standen survived intact and became a National Trust property, open to the public for much of the year. Fortunately, the generous, well-planned cottages designed by Webb for coachmen, grooms, and gardeners, required only the insertion of a bathroom to become highly-prized middle-class dwellings.

It is clear from his sketches that, after absorbing

the brief and becoming familiar with the district, Webb conceived the overall layout, and the particular 'Idea' which loosely governed the form of each house, on the site rather than in his office. He designed all his houses primarily as buildings in which to live rather as buildings to be admired from without, and his country house drawings show that he was as much concerned with the science as the art side of his work, as keen to achieve good ventilation in kitchens and major rooms, for example, as to provide a pleasing approach, or handsome entrance. As already noted, apart from some early inconveniences in servicing dining-rooms, and an awkward scullery at Church Hill House, his plans were well arranged. Few clients made changes, and those who did made only minor ones to less important rooms.

Webb's open-minded national vernacular approach produced great differences in external appearance, but all the houses evinced his excellent handling of composition, proportion, scale, 'movement', and contrast. His interiors were always interesting, sometimes dramatic, with effective contrasts of natural lighting. His fittings, and the furnishings and decorations with which he usually became involved, were not grand, exotic, or formal, but pleasantly comfortable and pleasingly and harmoniously colourful.

Like his studio-houses, Webb's country houses became widely known without any effort on his part. Many of the owners were acquainted with one another, Webb's

architect friends knew them through drawings--his office was also his living-room--and in the 1880s and 1890s his buildings were sought out by his admirers.

#### Arisaig House, Arisaig (1863)

Webb designed his first country house for Francis Dukinfield Palmer Astley, an adventurous man, who in 1855 sailed his yacht to the Crimea with a cargo of medical supplies for Florence Nightingale.<sup>1</sup> In 1863, having rejected a scheme by the London architects Stevens and Richardson,<sup>2</sup> Astley took a chance on Webb, who had only two relatively small houses (Red House and Sandroyd), a gardener's cottage and a terrace of combined shops and dwellings to his name, by asking him to design a house for his Arisaig estate in the Highland Region of Scotland. The existing house<sup>3</sup> had been built in a dark, damp situation, taking no advantage of the beautiful scenery, in which hills backed by mountains rose from the sea-loch from which Prince Charles Edward landed in 1745.

Astley accepted Webb's design, and construction--under the supervision of Webb's English clerk of works John Smith, and with James Connell of Glasgow as chief contractor--began in October.<sup>4</sup> At a cost of almost £11,000, the house itself was finished in a year, a remarkable achievement as many materials had to be shipped in by sea, the local stone was extremely difficult to work, and Webb had trouble making his wishes understood by the gaelic-speaking workmen.<sup>5</sup>



Fortunately, because it took so long to reach the site, he stayed several days each time, and was able to spend many hours on site.<sup>6</sup> In 1864 Smith superintended the construction by direct labour of the bothy for bachelor gardeners, various farm buildings incorporating the stables, and the rebuilding of Borrodale Farmhouse, all to Webb's designs.<sup>7</sup> Gutted by fire in 1935, the main house was rebuilt to a different design, but the farm and its buildings were not altered.<sup>8</sup>

In contrast to the rejected scheme in which the house stood starkly and unimaginatively on an excavated plateau, Webb skilfully exploited the 'possibility' of the site to achieve an unobtrusive and sheltered house yet one which had fine prospects. He tucked the house into the side of the hill on a shelf of rock, with the major block facing the beautiful views to the east over the valley (above steep gardens with the bothy at the corner), or south over a terrace and lawns to the sea. Two service wings, one cutting into the hillside, enclosed a north entrance court, beyond which the main drive continued to the farm in the valley; agricultural traffic used a direct access from the road, and the tradesman's drive approached the kitchen-yard unseen from the house.<sup>9</sup>

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To ensure compactness, the kitchen and servants' hall were placed in the basement, the interconnecting major rooms--all with direct access to the gardens--were grouped round a central galleried living-hall, and the bachelors' bedrooms and the

billiard-room, with a south-facing balcony on which to smoke and take the air, and--an unusual feature that Webb repeated at Joldwynds--an adjacent bedroom,<sup>10</sup> were located on the second floor. The hall, a combination of Smythson's Wollaton and Barry's gothicized cortile at Highclere Castle,<sup>11</sup> was lit by clerestory windows in the gables of its roof, and a large window on the landing of the main staircase off its north side. The 'screens passage' made the study a good business-room by providing direct access from the entrance lobby. The kitchen and the servants's hall were above ground on the east side and, like the kitchen at Red House, enjoyed the same view as the dining-room, an extremely rare facility at the time. The position of the kitchen under the dining-room carried the risk of undesirable cooking odours reaching the latter. Food was conveyed by lift to the dining-room. The basement was connected to the minor offices in the west wing and the kitchen-yard by a glass-roofed passage below the north front. A large number of bedrooms was provided because of the remoteness of the house: all guests had to stay for several days. Heating was by open fires and partial central heating, and there was one bathroom and an exceptional number of WCs.

Ignoring historical associations, the baronial style, and the publicity value of ostentation, Webb made the house an unassuming affair of walls, gables, roofs, and plain chimney-stacks, braced against the hill on the east side by a buttressed and battered

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plinth. With its local stone and grey slate, the building reflected the rocky terrain, and appeared, as it was in fact, strong enough to withstand extreme weather.<sup>12</sup> Webb exploited the characteristics of two types of local stone, using the hard blue-grey basalt, which could only be roughly shaped, for random-rubble walling in the traditional manner,<sup>13</sup> and a more easily worked dark brown stone for the dressings. The forms resembled those of some of Butterfield's small vicarages in stone, but by employing vigorous modelling and, on the south and east fronts, a strong pattern of repeated windows, Webb transferred them to to a building of larger size with considerable success.<sup>14</sup> Except on the porch--an inventive amalgam of the well-cover at Red House and the studio gable at Sandroyd--and the bell-turret,<sup>15</sup> woodwork was sensibly kept to a minimum in a wet climate with salt-laden winds.

The dark lobby opened into the two-storeyed, well-lit living-hall, which had an arcade of pointed arches on the first floor, and an immensely high pl.  
49 sloping ceiling with painted figures in its panels and gilded patternwork on the exposed roof timbers.<sup>16</sup> Drama in the more orthodox major rooms was provided by the magnificent views, which were hidden on the approach to the house. The drawing-room and dining-room had bay-windows (with pointed stone arches pl.  
50 to support the upper walls, window seats, and white coved, match-boarded ceilings), white beams, and deep



wall-papered friezes above wainscott that probably also was painted white, or a pale shade to match the background of the paper;<sup>17</sup> if so, Webb introduced his light-coloured interiors here not in Howard's house. The drawing-room fireplace surround, into which Webb inserted one of his Red House grates, and plain white tiling, came from the old house.<sup>18</sup> It became Webb's habit to use one or two worthy items from demolished buildings in their successors.

The bothy, in the same materials as the house, was connected to the potting-shed by an open porch and wet-weather work place with a lean-to roof supported on bracketed posts. This was the first of many covered ways designed by Webb and his disciples. Another example connected the two dwellings which he created in the rebuilt farmhouse, retaining the original spiral staircase, and the white-washed walls which he repeated in the farm buildings, whose most striking feature was the great roof of the steading, reminiscent of a medieval tithe barn.<sup>19</sup>

Arisaig House was a praiseworthy first country house, particularly as Webb had gained no experience with houses of its size whilst with Billing and Street. No doubt if Muthesius had known the building, its lack of external ornament would have caused it to join Red House as a 'source' of the Modern Movement. It was not without influence, however. Its living-hall--a useful everyday room, not one for use only on important occasions, and a room in which men and women could

meet without incurring opprobrium in houses otherwise divided by propriety into male and female zones--was adopted, and adapted, by Shaw<sup>20</sup> and later by several Arts and Crafts architects. Arisaig would undoubtedly be known, at least by drawings and verbal accounts, to Webb's and Astley's fellow-members of the erstwhile Hogarth Club, one of whom, Colonel Gillum, commissioned Webb's second country house.

#### Church Hill House, East Barnet (1868) (Trevor Hall)

In 1860-61, for Major (later Colonel) William James Gillum who had retired from the Army after losing a leg at the siege of Sebastopol, Webb designed a gardener's cottage (a pyramid-roofed, white-washed building, with shuttered casements and a central chimney-stack, built in the grounds of the Moated House, Tottenham, and demolished in 1966), the Worship Street shops in London, and several pieces of furniture.<sup>21</sup> In 1860, at Church Barnet, now East Barnet, in Hertfordshire, then some nine miles from London, Gillum founded an establishment for the training of destitute boys in agricultural skills, the Farm Home School, with the buildings of which Webb was involved in the 1860s and 1870s.<sup>22</sup> There, in 1868, Gillum and his wife decided to build a small country house to a design by Webb, which was known as Church Hill House until Gillum sold it in 1894, and on which construction by Sharpington and Cole began in October 1868; it was finished by 1870.<sup>23</sup> In 1869 Webb

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designed the stable block, which included cottages for the coachman and gardener, and the lodge; the total cost of these buildings and the house was around £12,100.<sup>24</sup> The house, but not the other buildings, was demolished around 1966.<sup>25</sup>

The site was on high ground in open country. Webb placed the subsidiary buildings near the roadside, but set the house well back from it, facing south-east over fields towards the farm school and the village church.<sup>4</sup>

The house was a square block, with major offices in the basement, and second-floor bedrooms in the attics; a single-storey range of minor offices sheltered the entrance on the north-east front. It had a double pile plan with a two-storeyed, galleried living-hall, lit by windows in the inset porch and in the gable above it, in the middle of the north-east front, and the drawing-room and Gillum's ground-floor suite--necessary because of his disability--on the south-east side. His closet, though the actual fitting may have been of the earth type,<sup>26</sup> predated twentieth-century central services by many decades. As was usually the case in Webb's country houses, it was ventilated by a flue in a chimney. Gillum also had a study, and a smoking-room which, having direct access from the lobby, doubled as a business-room. The dining-room and the drawing-room were basically the same size and shape, but, by using recesses and bay-windows, Webb achieved the variety which then was considered desirable. The dining-room bay was shared by the serving closet. The latter was

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awkwardly positioned on the basement stairs, the scullery was extremely inconvenient, and the butler, who had no view of the approach to the house, had a tortuous route to the front door. The only reason for employing basement offices on this site must have been to leave as much money as possible for the school, which Gillum financed unaided until 1875.<sup>27</sup>

The house, in which Webb continued his experiments with bay-windows and repeated gables, had strongly modelled, basically symmetrical elevations on three sides, with much emphasis of diagonal lines. Its red bricks, white-painted weather-boarding (on the porch gable and small, hipped dormers), tile-hung gables, dentilated barge-boards, and pleated brick chimney-stacks,<sup>28</sup> reflected both the local vernacular and the difference in climate and materials between south-east England and north-west Scotland. There was no need to limit external woodwork, so Webb panelled the porch --the extended walls of this concealed the basement 'areas'--and, for chiefly visual purposes, gave the north-west front a balcony with turned balusters, above a deep plastered cove.<sup>29</sup> Ground-floor sashes were set in recessed pointed-arched panels. Those on the first-floor, above a bold brick string-cill on three elevations, were flanked by brick pilasters; they had lintels hidden in the eaves, a detail which, like the artificial eaves--bands of tilted tiling--carried across the base of the gables, were to re-appear often in Webb's later houses.

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The interior had Morris and Company wall-papers, many paintings including works by Rossetti, Boyce, and Madox Brown, and the furniture that Webb designed for the Moated House: a round table, piano, dining-table, sideboard, wash-stands, dressing tables, towel-horses, and a wardrobe and chest of drawers of which more than one of each may have been made.<sup>30</sup>

The stable block, in the same brick and tiles as the house, had at each side of its round-arched entrance a six-roomed cottage, unusually commodious for their time, each with its own yard and WC. The four-bedroomed lodge, in the same materials, had identical gables on each side, a cruciform ridge, and a central chimney-stack, an arrangement that Webb was to repeat on a larger scale at Four Gables. One corner was cut away to form an open porch; the roof above it was supported by a polygonal oak post with finely moulded capital, similar to those supporting the gallery in the main house, and characteristic of Webb's work from the late 1860s.

All the buildings were unassuming, pleasing, and convenient (apart from the basement offices). The Gillums lived in Church Hill House, without making any alterations, until driven by the infirmities of age into a smaller house in London, which Webb altered to suit them.<sup>31</sup> His connection with these buildings was forgotten in the first half of the twentieth century, but in the 1870s the house would be known to the members of the erstwhile Hogarth Club, and later in

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that century it was sought out by some of his admirers including Charles Winmill.<sup>32</sup>

#### Joldwynds, Holmbury St. Mary (1870-71)

William Bowman (1816-1892), the distinguished eye surgeon and ophthalmic research scientist, who was created baronet in 1884, had a country house in Surrey at Holmbury St. Mary, a village in which, owing to the recent extension of the railway to Shere and Gomshall four miles away, it was possible for successful London professional men to live at weekends.<sup>33</sup> Webb, who had designed a small unidentified item, advised on decoration, or inspected a property for Bowman two years previously, visited the house at the end of 1869 with a view to making alterations; however, as it was a poor quality eighteenth-century building with an amazingly ugly, polychromatic brick addition of 1860, he probably advised rebuilding,<sup>34</sup> which Bowman decided to do. The new house was designed between 1870-71, and the builder, William Shearburn of Shere, began work in March 1872; the coach-house and entrance gates, designed in 1875, were built by direct labour organized by Robert Baker, clerk of works for the house, because Shearburn had let Webb down by not completing some alterations to the London house of a Dr Dowson; the total cost of house and stables was around £11,900.<sup>35</sup> In 1888 Webb designed a large library (built in 1891-92) and inserted steelwork to halt the spreading of the billiard-room roof.<sup>36</sup> Under new



ownership in 1930, the house was demolished to make way for an International style house by Oliver Hill,<sup>37</sup> but the coach-house and view house--a garden pavilion--were retained.

At Joldwynds, as usual, Webb exploited the possibilities of the well-wooded site, which was sheltered to the west but had fine views to the south and north. In plan, the coach-house, walled orchid-house garden,<sup>38</sup> and main block of the house were three squares, stepped transversely down the slope. The drive passed the coach-house, passed between this walled garden and an angled wing--which met the main block at its north-west corner, and sheltered the entrance--to the doorway on the west front, then continued south towards the view house, behind which it swept round and up to the coach-house again.

Webb tucked the house into the hillside, as at Arisaig, and again used basement offices which, because of the slope, were largely above ground. The prospects and orientation of the rooms were good, and their arrangement round the central hall was convenient, except that food had to be carried across the hall from a serving passage.<sup>39</sup> Variation in size and shape between the dining-room and drawing-room was again achieved by recesses and a bay-window, the latter a deep extension which spoilt the clarity of the plan on paper but was not obtrusive in reality because a bank of mature trees and shrubs, and a new wall,

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concealed it from the drive. Bedrooms were on two floors with access from the galleries of the hall. There were two bathrooms, one, with a WC, en suite with the major bedroom.

The house, in the design of which Webb experimented with repeated circles, semi-circles, triangles, and squares, had near-identical fronts on the main block at the upper levels, each with large triple gables. Handsome brick chimney-stacks provided important vertical accents in a composition of strong diagonals and horizontals; at their centre the lantern of the hall was surmounted by a wind-vane supported by a cage of curved wrought iron. The block was roofed in red tiles, and built in brick, faced on the basement and ground floor in a stone which varied between buff and grey, and had attractive iron staining, and on the first floor with scalloped tiles; the gables were weatherboarded in oak. The wing was brick at first-floor level on the drive side, and timber-framed and brick-nogged on the kitchen-yard front. False eaves again crossed the base of gables, protecting the windows below from rain and midday summer sun, modelling the elevations and increasing the contrasts of light and shade.

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By setting some windows in recessed brick panels, Webb reversed the classical tradition of brick with stone dressings. First-floor sashes had lintels and relieving arches hidden behind wooden triangular hood-moulds which formed a stop to the tiling. The



drawing-room bay-window had three extra tall, small-paned lights. The gables bore no relation to the plan, some bedroom walls on the second floor having angled walls to retain the regularity of fenestration. The balconies on the roof of the drawing-room bay-window and above the entrance porch were visual elements, not intended for use except as fire-escapes, as the wide spacing of their balusters indicates.

No interior photographs of the finished interiors have been discovered, but Webb's drawings and a photograph taken during construction, show that the central hall, with its central octagonal space, three tiers of round arches, and pyramid roof-lantern, was one of the most bold, unusual, and exciting Victorian rooms.<sup>40</sup>

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The later library, connected to the north-east corner of the house by a pyramid-roofed stair-turret, had windows on each side, one being a lunette that followed the curve of the concrete and iron vault. The brick view house had one room, reached by a spiral stair, a semi-circular stone archway, a half-hipped roof; on the first floor it had white-painted boarding, and windows wrapping the corners like those of twentieth-century International style and Art Deco houses. The coach-house, dateless in appearance, was a U-shaped building with brick and stone lower walls, the slope being used to gain basement workrooms off one of the orchid-houses. The first floor, containing flats for the gardener and coachman, was weatherboarded, and

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chiefly painted white.

By 1871, Webb's national vernacular approach was fully developed. The 'Idea' which governed Joldwynds was clearly to create a truly English villa, with four identical fronts, by combining an adapted Palladian plan with traditional gabled Cotswold houses, several of which had identical elevations, using the building materials of Surrey. This early example of a weekend house was well-known and influential. Henry Tanworth Wells built a house near by at the same time; after staying with Wells, Street did likewise; and during the next two decades, Shaw, Waterhouse, Champneys, Lutyens, and Voysey, designed houses in the village for clients; in the 1880s and 1890s Joldwynds was sought out by Webb's young admirers including Winmill, Lethaby, and Gimson.<sup>41</sup> Influences from the house, notably triple gables, the sensitive blending of brick and stone, and walled gardens with borders of shrubs and herbaceous plants, appeared in many Arts and Crafts houses.<sup>42</sup>

Both Webb's Joldwynds and Hill's replacement of it have a place in the history of English architecture, the one a celebration of Englishness blending perfectly with its surroundings, the other a pristine white sculpture, without national or local links, standing out sharply against them, and both functional according to the needs of their different times.<sup>43</sup>

#### Rounton Grange, East Rounton (1871-72)

Isaac Lowthian Bell, one of the foremost

nineteenth-century industrialists, who received a baronetcy in 1885, was a well-educated iron manufacturer, who wrote seminal books on the chemistry of the smelting processes, and who accepted the obligations of wealth and position.<sup>44</sup> He and his son Hugh did much for local government and educational opportunities in the North East of England; their family firm, Bell Brothers, supported colleges, churches, and schools, even when profits were too low to pay a dividend.<sup>45</sup> A mutual respect developed between these men and Webb, hard-working experts in their fields, a respect so great that the architect put aside his hatred of the effects of heavy industry, and designed buildings for their works.

In 1870 Lowthian Bell bought an estate at East Rounton in North Yorkshire, and asked Webb--who had already extended Washington Hall for him and designed Red Barns for his son--to improve the domestic offices of the existing house, a building of little merit.<sup>46</sup> By October the following year Webb's design for doing this, and an alternative one for rebuilding the house, were being considered; persuaded by Hugh, and by an improvement in trade prices, Bell eventually decided upon the latter.<sup>47</sup> The final design drawings were prepared by the end of 1872, and construction by direct labour under a clerk of works began early the following spring, and was completed in late summer 1876.<sup>48</sup> With ancillary and village buildings, including a terrace of dwellings for farm-hands, the project cost Bell over

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£33,000; he had envisaged spending £800 on the improvements.<sup>49</sup> In 1896 Webb inserted a new servants' hall into the west archway of the kitchen court; after Webb retired, George Jack added a large common-room at the north end of the ambulatory (in 1905-07).<sup>50</sup>

Soon after the First World War, the social changes mentioned in the introduction to this chapter led to the house being used only in summer and at Christmas; it was abandoned in 1926, and demolished in 1954, but the other buildings were retained.<sup>51</sup>

The flat site was surrounded by mature trees, with one gap through which the the Cleveland Hills were visible to the south. A tree-lined drive led to the old lodge (which Webb improved), where it bifurcated, one arm continuing to the coach-house, a square brick and pantiled building with a spacious three-bedroomed, first-floor flat for the coachman over its bold archway; the other arm curved east to the house which occupied the position of its predecessor,<sup>52</sup> and had the same orientation as Jolwynds: entrance on the west front, offices to the north, and major rooms facing east and south. The 'Idea', suggested by the need for a tall house from which the hills could be seen above the surrounding trees, that governed Webb's first scheme was obviously a Border pele, though on a larger scale; it consisted of a tall tower topped by a belvedere, with ground-floor kitchens, major rooms round a central hall on the first-floor, and a 'barmkin' of offices at its side.<sup>53</sup> The final design

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retained this basic form, but combined it with inspirations from a castle of the fourteenth-century, corner-towered Northern type, almost certainly Lumley in County Durham, which had been refenestrated by Vanbrugh.<sup>54</sup>

The tower had a fourth-floor picture gallery instead of a belvedere, ground-floor major rooms round <sup>pl. 71</sup> a two-storeyed, galleried hall on the west front; all the offices were in the 'barmkin', the first floor of which was occupied by family rooms, with cubicled dormitories for the servants in the attics.<sup>55</sup> The corner turrets, which Webb termed 'pavillions' [sic], reflected the plan only on the upper floors, on which the two on the south front were occupied by large bedrooms with ventilated closets.<sup>56</sup> As in the Howards' house, the primary staircase served only the first-floor; the secondary one was of the form which had become characteristic of Webb's stairs (except those for servants): an open newel-stair with oak posts, usually polygonal, rising from floor to ceiling on each storey, doubtless inspired by Elizabethan examples such as that of Burton Agnes. An ambulatory ran from the dining-room bay-window along the east front through the the base of the clock-tower to the range of glass-houses, at right angles to the north end of the house; this was backed by the heated plunge bath, aviary, engine house, and potting-sheds, and had at its centre the large conservatory or palm house, with a pyramid roof of glass supported by curving <sup>pl. 77</sup>

wrought-iron trusses, and surmounted by a louvred lantern.<sup>57</sup>

The plinthless tower, with its pyramid-roofed pavilions, serried ranks of chimney-stacks with fluted <sup>pl.</sup> 73 tops, and its graceful wind-vane, seemed not to sit upon the ground but to rise out of it, an effect Webb probably sought.<sup>58</sup> The entire house, apart from some brick-nogged timber-framing in the kitchen court, was built of warm ochre sandstone from the nearby hills, <sup>pls.</sup> 73 - 76 smoothly finished and randomly coursed, and roofed in the local farmhouse manner with red pantiles but edged at the eaves with slates instead of stone tiles.<sup>59</sup> The broad areas of plain ashlar, the segmental and triangular hood-moulds, and the proportions of the sashes gave the building a classical air, but Webb ignored the rule of void over void, and many of his details, notably those of the porch, the hall windows above it, and the oriel of Bell's 'own room' or business-room, were free adaptations of medieval elements.<sup>60</sup> The details were as inventive and restrained, as well-suited to the sandstone, and as beautifully crafted as those of the many Early English abbeys in the region.

The interior, furnished and decorated almost entirely with Morris and Company products, enhanced by <sup>pl.</sup> 78 Bell's collections of blue and white china and modern paintings, was comfortable rather than grand or luxurious.<sup>61</sup> In the drawing-room, the wainscotted dado was painted a soft dark-green, the walls and <sup>pl.</sup> 79

upholstered sofa and chairs were covered in blue and pink silk, and carpet--specially designed by Morris--had a blue ground patterned in parchment-white, greens, and blues, with touches of crimson; the ceiling and frieze had similar colours on a parchment ground.<sup>62</sup> The dining-room had a similar ceiling--both were designed and painted by Morris--and, above unvarnished oak panelling, a frieze designed by Burne-Jones with help from Morris and Webb, and embroidered by Lady Bell and her daughters.<sup>63</sup> The handsome oak sideboard, designed by Webb in 1877, had a delicacy that was characteristic of all his furniture except the early pieces for Morris; its trellised back panels were like those employed by Webb on staircase balustrades in the early 1880s, preceding Mackintosh's exploitation of this feature by about twenty years.<sup>64</sup>

Rounton Grange, which in the 1980s was described as a beautiful house by all who remembered it, was well-known, though not published until 1911.<sup>65</sup> Unlike the edifices built by some of Bell's fellow ironmasters,<sup>66</sup> it was an unostentatious building, with a strength and vigour suited to the North East, and a form and details which reflected its architectural heritage.

#### Smeaton Manor, Great Smeaton (1876)

After he left the army and in anticipation of his marriage to Lowthian Bell's daughter Ada, Major Arthur Fitzpatrick Godman (1842-1930), son of a Surrey

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landowner, bought land at Great Smeaton in North Yorkshire, a few miles from Rounton Grange, on which to set up a horse-breeding establishment.<sup>67</sup> As the old manor house in the village was too small for their needs, he decided to build a house and stable complex nearer the centre of the estate, and asked Webb to design it. Webb inspected the site in October 1876, by the following July tenders had been received from local builders; that of J. W. and M. Mackenzie of Darlington was accepted, the contract was signed in August, and in April 1879 the Godmans moved into their new home, which had cost around £11,660, and with which they were delighted.<sup>68</sup> Unfortunately, financial problems caused them to have to lease the house for all but a few years until 1923, when, long after Mrs Godman's death in 1900, it again became the family home.<sup>69</sup> The estate was sold in 1956, and the new owner made changes to the house; more were made after it changed hands again in 1980, when the second-floor was converted to commercial office accommodation; the stable block remains almost unchanged.<sup>70</sup>

The chosen site was a wide meadow sloping gently southwards to the highway and open country, sheltered by mature trees to the west and north. Webb placed the house--his first real longhouse--across the slope, with the stables to its west; carriages approached from the south, swung west to the north entrance court, and continued to the stables and adjacent farm buildings which also had their own lane from the road. The

stable block, in the same red bricks and pantiles as the house, had a clock-tower over an idiosyncratic archway,<sup>71</sup> and an open central yard with cottages for the coachman and groom on the south side overlooking the walled kitchen-garden, between which and the house was Mrs Godman's flower-garden with an arched arbour in its north wall (Webb's garden walls were always handsome, and these were particularly pleasing examples). From the south front of the house, lawns sloped down to a lake created from the pit from which clay for the bricks had been dug; east of these were rose, alpine, and wild gardens.

As well as the Vanbrugh-influenced cross-passages, which preceded Shaw's at Bryanston by over a decade, interesting features of the plan included the porch, which extended to meet carriages; the cloak-room, heated by the dining-room fire, and secondary-glazed to give the butler easy access to the front door; the main bedroom with its en suite bathroom and dressing-room; and adjacent stairs to the nurseries on the second-floor of the central block). Webb observed accepted notions of propriety indoors by keeping the bachelors', male servants', and maids' bedrooms well segregated, but ignored them outside by taking the drive past the service quarters.

The central block of the house had a great hipped roof, with three slab-like chimney-stacks, similar to those of Wren's Winslow Hall, which continued the spine wall above the ridge. It was flanked by gabled wings,



set-back on the south front, and projecting on the north. On the south front, an arcade of segmental arches, three of them containing bay-windows under herring-bone brickwork tympana, the other forming blank recesses, were roofed by a tiled lean-to, much less deep than that of The Briary. The walls facing the gardens were trellised, as were those of the garden porch, which had round arches and an unusual butterfly roof; the round-arched doorway of the entrance porch on the north front had another tiled lean-to, above which peeped a small pediment that was actually the raised coping of the porch roof.<sup>72</sup> The central gable, flanked by single-flue stacks, and obviously inspired by pinnacled gables of some sixteenth-century houses, was added during construction to gain height in the nursery bathroom and pantry (a kitchen), and enable them to be heated.<sup>73</sup> A small lead-covered structure, which most gothic-trained architects would have been unable to resist making into a feature, had to be added to gain access to the west-wing attics.<sup>74</sup>

The interior had Morris and Company wall-papers, fabrics, carpets, and furniture, supplemented with some simple country pieces from local farm sales.<sup>75</sup> The interiors were lighter in effect than those of Rounton. The panelling round the windows was painted white or a pale colour. The dining-room fireplace had side panels of Morris tiles with white backgrounds, and, in the tympanum and spandrels of its arch, embroidered panels designed by the Godman's friend Thomas Rooke,

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depicting the birds and animals which frequented the garden.<sup>76</sup> The drawing-room had hand-painted patterns on the soffits of its arches, and possibly on the ceiling also, but its chief feature was the hangings, which covered the walls from floor to picture rail, and were designed by Morris for Mrs Godman and embroidered by her in blue, brown, green, and pink wools on ivory linen.<sup>77</sup> To emphasize them, the curtains were plain and light-coloured, and this fireplace had light-coloured Morris tiles and a white-painted overmantel.<sup>78</sup> The latter, like all the fireplaces, had a Longden grate, possibly designed by Webb, and a brass fender which he helped to choose; the simple band of ornament under the mantelshelf presaged his more intricate fretwork at Clouds.<sup>79</sup>

The single-storeyed hall had many doors and windows, so it was not wainscotted, but papered, the newel and balusters of the spiral staircase--which Webb persuaded his clients to have after the contract was signed, and to which, the family jokingly attribute the death of several members--being painted a light colour to match the ground.<sup>80</sup> The large wooden balls of Jacobean inspiration on the landing newels were typical of the way Webb occasionally exaggerated such items, a device, like that of turning clay-pits into lakes, which Lutyens adopted.

The 'Idea' which governed Smeaton Manor was clearly a traditional English manor-house, combining features from medieval and late-seventeenth-century houses, and

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also reflecting the eighteenth-century farmhouses which dominated the local vernacular.<sup>81</sup> The taste of the Godmans, coupled with their limited resources, accorded perfectly with Webb's desire for simplicity. The result was a warm and friendly house, of dateless but decidedly English appearance<sup>82</sup> and much invention and charm, entirely suited to the Godmans' way of life. As with West House, however, careless observation and failure to understand Webb's aims led to its ultimate influence<sup>83</sup> being towards the neo-Baroque and neo-Georgian styles, which must have saddened Webb because of the consequent limiting of originality and ingenuity.

## PART 3: BUILDINGS

### CHAPTER 3: 'THE COUNTRY HOUSES' (continued)

#### Clouds, East Knoyle (1877-80)

Percy Wyndham (1835-1911) approached Webb about designing a large country house for his new estate, Clouds at East Knoyle in Wiltshire, in December 1876.<sup>1</sup> Two years earlier, Webb had advised him about the possible alteration of another house and, through Morris and Company, had designed a chimneypiece and cupboards for his London house.<sup>2</sup> Wyndham, 'an irascible but respected 'character' who 'gargled into his finger-bowl at dinner, shared with Webb a keen sense of duty, a respect for hard work, and a love for old buildings; in 1860, having previously served in the army, he became MP for East Cumberland, a district he was to represent for twenty-five years, and he married Madeline Campbell, a talented amateur artist with fine sense of colour, who in 1872 was a co-founder of the Royal School of Needlework.'<sup>3</sup>

In December 1876, as requested, Webb showed examples of his work in drawing form to the Wyndhams, with whom he inspected the proposed site; he submitted a rough plan the following month, by which time he was beginning to fear that the accommodation envisaged by his clients, who liked to dispense boundless hospitality on a grand scale, would exceed the budget of £75,000 for house and stables.<sup>4</sup> In August, he



produced an improved, slightly smaller plan which, after a minor reduction, was accepted by Wyndham, who had inspected Rounton Grange that summer (1877) clearly to make sure that he liked Webb's work.<sup>5</sup> In May 1879, the London firm of George Smith and Company (which, unfortunately in the event, Webb insisted on employing because he believed that provincial builders lacked the experience, expertise, and stocks of sound timber for a house of such size and quality), submitted an estimate based on a bill of quantities, but it was too high.<sup>6</sup> Between July and November 1879, Webb produced a new design in which, for economy, the central courtyard was replaced by a central hall; however, as the Wyndhams had ignored his warning that the number and size of rooms must also be reduced, again Smith's estimate was too high.<sup>7</sup>

Webb suggested trying a smaller house, perhaps by another architect, but after slight reductions a revised price was accepted in June 1881.<sup>8</sup> Legal problems, which made it impossible for Smiths to undertake the work, then intervened; Wyndham decided to seek tenders from provincial builders, and, after Webb had investigated the reputation, resources, and work of several firms, the tender of Albert Estcourt of Gloucester was accepted in October that year.<sup>9</sup> Construction, with James Simmonds as clerk of works, began the next month, and ran smoothly; in autumn 1885 the family moved into the house, which was finished the following year at a cost of around £82,000 plus Webb's

fee, Estcourt having proved that his firm's work could equal Smith's, though not at a cheaper rate.<sup>10</sup> On the night of 5-6 January 1889 the main block was gutted by fire, but, as it had already endeared itself to the Wyndhams, it was reinstated almost without change, a great testament to Webb's skill in meeting his clients' needs.<sup>11</sup> In 1933, after less than fifty years as the family seat, it was sold, and subsequently the tower, turrets, and north range of the main block (and most of the offices) were demolished.<sup>12</sup>

Webb placed the house on the site of an existing dwelling, at the head of a narrow valley, backed by moorland, sheltered by trees to east and west, but with fine views southwards.<sup>13</sup> He adopted a similar arrangement to that of Joldwynds, with a drive approaching from above and passing between the house and the stable block (which, as at Rounton, contained a first-floor flat for the coachman). At an early date Webb resolved to use the service wing, like the glass-houses at Rounton, to shelter an east garden; this had the added advantages of economy--the office range could be of simpler treatment and cheaper materials than the main block--and of ensuring greater privacy for the Wyndhams' guests (this was a major concern, as John Brandon-Jones has pointed out, because many of them were important statesmen who would be discussing national and international affairs).<sup>14</sup> The main block was aligned almost due north-south, with the service wing (at a lower level because of the sloping

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site) joined to its north-east corner at right angles by a tower.

The position of the house on the site, and the location of the major rooms, were the same in both the 1877 plan and the final scheme, with the entrance on the north front sheltered by the hillside and, in the executed design, by the tower and short projections containing the smoking-room and serving-room. The final plan had fewer ground-floor bedrooms, and in it the first-floor passages round the courtyard became the galleries of the hall, which served suites of bedrooms. The entrance axis extended through the block to the drawing-room balcony, meeting that from the west doorway at the centre of the large living-hall.<sup>15</sup> To retain warmth in the centrally-heated galleries, Webb enclosed them with latticed windows, which admitted ample light from the three lanterns of the hall, and ensured greater privacy for occupants of that room. On the south front, the drawing-room and east drawing-room, or library, could be thrown together to provide a room almost eighty feet long, and the considerable distance between this and the dining-room provided that desirable feature, a long 'dinner-route'. The Wyndhams' ground-floor bedroom suite, over-looking the east garden, was an unusual element in a Victorian country house.

The brick service wing was vigorously articulated on its south front to make it unobtrusive when seen from a distance and from the family rooms. To keep

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cooking odours from the dining-room, the kitchen, a square room, open to the roof and vented at its apex in the medieval manner; other offices were placed well away from the main block, and linked to it by passages which enclosed the 'walnut-tree court', on to which faced the large servants' hall.<sup>16</sup>

Clearly, the 'Idea' behind the 1877 design was an English medieval courtyard house, such as Compton Wynyates--a cluster of walls and long roofs, linked by a crenellated parapet, and articulated by turrets, gables, small dormers, gables, and chimney-stacks, and a projecting porch--which Webb much admired.<sup>17</sup> The final design combined this 'Idea' with the greater symmetry, regularity of fenestration, and repeated gables of some Elizabethan houses. The three identical gables on the south front were reminiscent of Joldwynds; there were four similar ones on the entrance front, and slightly smaller examples on the other two elevations. The walls were of local green sandstone, the lighter shade being reserved for dressings and the unifying parapet which, like that of the Howards' house, was false in parts. The warmth of Compton Wynyates was reflected in the predominantly red attic floor, which had roof tiles made to match those from the old house.<sup>18</sup> The upper parts of the gables were boarded in oak, but in their lower walls, and in the tower, Webb blended stone and red bricks by using them in alternate courses.

Most of the windows were tall sashes, similar in

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detail to those of the 1877 scheme. On the west front, the mullioned casements of the main staircase, though attractive in design and execution like all the details of the building, seemed slightly out of scale, an extremely rare defect in Webb's work.<sup>19</sup> The bay-window experiment on the east front, like several of Webb's other bays, was illogical in that it provided no view to right and left, but it modelled the elevation and created external and internal interest. The balcony on the south front had a fine wrought-iron balustrade, and was fitted with canvas sun-blinds. Webb insisted that the terrace along this front was edged with white palings, similar to those he had used near the entrance at Rounton.<sup>20</sup>

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Round arches, externally and internally, and barrel-vaulted passages, revealed the influence of Vanbrugh and Hawksmoor, but in the hall, the inobtrusive stone arches which supported the handsome teak lanterns had a gothic air.<sup>21</sup> At Clouds, where many rooms were not wall-papered, the light interiors of Smeaton became predominantly white ones, with small areas of intense colour, chiefly blue, provided by Morris and Company carpets, hangings, and fabrics, and by embroideries.<sup>22</sup> Contrasts of pattern and texture were provided by the geometrical panels of Webb's white ceilings, some of which were edged with lace-like bands of foliate ornament, and the similar bands of ornament carved in oak above the dining-room wainscott, the gallery windows, and the arched screen

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at the head of the main staircase.<sup>23</sup> The rooms were furnished with antiques and paintings collected by the Wyndhams over many years.<sup>24</sup> In Wilfrid Scawen Blunt's view, the main bedrooms, with built-in cupboards, wash-basins with hot and cold water, and easy access to bathrooms, were 'perfect in form, decoration, and above all in comfort and convenience'.<sup>25</sup>

Clouds, the largest of Webb's executed schemes, was probably the only nineteenth-century house of its size to have every detail designed by one man.<sup>26</sup> It rapidly became famous for its architecture, in the United States as well as Britain.<sup>27</sup> Shaw admired it, as did Lethaby, who found that it took time to fully appreciate Webb's combination of 'houseness, modernism, tradition, invention, science, and poetry'.<sup>28</sup> Because of Webb's way of working, Clouds could never have made his fortune, but it certainly increased his renown, apparently, as noted already, with the unfortunate effect of leading his admirers to believe that so great an architect would be too busy or too grand to undertake anything less.

#### Willinghurst, Shamley Green (1886)

John Charles Francis Ramsden (1835-1910), a retired Royal Artillery officer, and his wife Emma would undoubtedly have heard of Webb's renown through Ramsden's cousin with whom the Wyndhams often stayed in Cumbria; early in 1886 the Ramsdens asked the architect to design a country house for their Sparelands estate



on the wooded south slope of Winterfold Heath near Shamley Green in Surrey, a few miles from Coneyhurst and Joldwynds.<sup>29</sup> Their unbridled ambitions and indecision caused Webb to produce four schemes and countless amendments (and, as noted already, to twice urge them to appoint another architect) before the fifth design, of July 1886, was accepted; this too was to be amended more than once.<sup>30</sup> In March 1887, tenders based on a bill of quantities were sought from three local builders; the lowest one, from Mitchell Brothers of Shalford, was accepted, and the contract was signed on 16 June 1887.<sup>31</sup> John Hardy, who had held the post at Smeaton, was appointed clerk of works.<sup>32</sup>

In early summer 1888, whilst Webb was recuperating on a farm near Cranleigh--from which he frequently walked to Willinghurst to monitor progress--George Jack, in charge of the office, designed a few details for the house.<sup>33</sup> When Mrs Ramsden rejected his designs for bedroom fireplaces, Webb promised to tell her what she would be losing 'in the way of "prentice" work'--a pretty compliment referring to the fifteenth-century apprentice at Rosslyn Chapel whose skill was greater than his master's--and told him to 'play high jinks' in turning recesses in a bedroom into

. . . love cupboards, for visitors to peep in when they go to bed, and find the most lovely store of French<sup>34</sup> stories, not otherwise obtainable in the house.

The 'auld betch' would not have approved.

Despite Webb's illness, and the threat of disruption caused by the cocksure young foreman (which,

as explained previously, was averted by Webb's tact) the house, named Willinghurst after much vacillation, and the stables, designed in 1888, were completed in 1890 at a total cost of of £12,134.<sup>35</sup> Two identical lodges, and a gardener's cottage, dated in pargetting 1897, 1899, and 1900 respectively, were built to Webb's designs.<sup>36</sup>

In the mid-twentieth century, the central block of the house was demolished to create two separate dwellings,<sup>37</sup> and a small part of the stables was pulled down to make a second pair. One of the lodges was altered slightly, and the gardener's cottage considerably.

Webb placed the house on a plateau half-way up the hillside, with a north entrance court between it and the stable block.<sup>38</sup> The drive climbed up from the road, passed through the court, veered round the kitchen garden east of the house, and down to the road again. The building, a tripartite Webbian longhouse, ran east to west across the slope, with low office ranges round a yard at its east end, Ramsden's ground-floor bedroom and bathroom (it is thought that he had been wounded in the Crimean War), the butler's pantry, and housekeeper's room in the three-storeyed central section, and major rooms in the two-storeyed western block. The north wall of the garden, with glass-houses on its south side, continued as a screen in front of the offices.

In the same arrangement as Rounton Grange, the

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dining-room, drawing-room and study--all with magnificent views to the south or west--were grouped round a living-hall, here single-storeyed. Contrast in shape between the drawing-room and dining-room was achieved by using a deep bay-window to make former L-shaped, and by making the latter D-shaped by the cutting off the south-east corner of the west block, device which gave south-east views to the dining-room and the major bedroom. A glazed passage along the exposed west front protected the drawing-room and study, and provided garden access.<sup>39</sup> There were nineteen bedrooms all told, ten of them served by a cross-passage on the first floor of the two main parts.

The house was built of red brick, with blue-grey headers, faced on the lower north and south walls of west block with a warm cream stone quarried on the estate,<sup>40</sup> and on the first-floor with red tiles except over the entrance. The four large gables of the central block, tiled on the north front and weather-boarded on the south, added 'movement', broke up the length of the house, and helped the chimneys to visually anchor it to the hillside. The entrance, with Webb's interpretation of a Perpendicular hood-mould, diapered in red and blue headers, was combined with the windows of the luggage entrance and hall under a coved and plastered cornice, similar to that of the bay-window on the west front; though seemingly illogical on a such an exposed site, both have survived a century without deterioration.<sup>41</sup> The cornice of the

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entrance was supported at either side of the bow-window by two characteristic corbels; its mouldings demonstrated Webb's liking for contrasting big with small, and the minuscule dentils of the fascia echoed the small timber and large brick dentils of the main string-course. The unattractive casements--which, as always, were pleasing in the interior--above the entrance seemed to reflect Webb's frustration at repeatedly having to re-design this part of the building to please the Ramsdens.<sup>42</sup> Strangely, Webb, who normally liked to model his wall-planes, made most of his casement windows flush with the wall surface, here and elsewhere. On the south front, a first-floor balcony with a simple white-painted balustrade linked the three parts of the longhouse, as at Church Hill House and Joldwynds, a visual rather than a practical element. The venetian shutters on the exposed south and west fronts, not initially intended, were added by Webb during construction.<sup>43</sup>

The low-ceilinged porch under the half-landing opened into the charming single-storeyed hall, which had a window-seats in the bow set behind a handsome three-centred arch, and a fine staircase with white panelled balustrades, rising from one of Webb's beautiful and characteristic polygonal posts.<sup>44</sup> The fireplaces in the drawing-room and dining-room had well-designed foliage designs carved on their marble architraves, with, respectively, fretwork and carved designs in pine below their mantelshelves.<sup>45</sup> The

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dining-room grate, which was repeated in similar form at Forthampton and Standen, had a 'scoured iron' plate-warming rack above the fire.<sup>46</sup> The dentils of the exterior were repeated on the cornices, fireplaces, and the ceiling lights of the large lantern above the first-floor cross-passage in the main block. In revealing contrast to Shaw's miserable first-floor light-shaft at Cragside, Webb made this necessary item into one of the most attractive elements of the interior. Nothing is known of the original decoration, but as the Ramsdens admired Clouds,<sup>47</sup> it probably involved a great deal of white and light coloured paint, and Morris and Company products.

The pleasing subsidiary buildings were constructed of the same bricks and tiles as the house, and had pl. 111 similar details. The stables, with which an old timber-framed cottage was incorporated as the coachman's dwelling, had a delightful pyramid-roofed pl. 112 archway.<sup>48</sup>

Though to some extent Willinghurst lacked the immediate attractiveness of those Webb houses governed by a strong 'Idea', its external details, and its rooms, were just as pleasing and interesting as those of these other buildings. Despite the early troubles--the similarity of the final scheme to the sketch plan<sup>49</sup> made on his first visit to the site shows that these were not due to Webb misinterpreting his clients' needs and wishes--the house satisfied the Ramsdens, whilst Webb, disgusted by finding the

hillside near Coneyhurst 'blasted by a beast' of a large new house', found with relief that his 'simple and unostentatious' house had 'all the advantages of sufficient view' without being an 'eyesore to all the country around'.<sup>50</sup>

Standen, near East Grinstead (1891)

The successful London solicitor James S. Beale (1840-1912) and his wife Margaret (1847-1936) were familiar with Webb's work for Alexander Ionides, and probably also with Upwood Gorse, the home of another friend, and, as Beale's brother was one of Bowman's physicians, would know of Joldwynds.<sup>51</sup> In 1890 they bought a small estate which was in beautiful, undulating countryside near East Grinstead in West Sussex, and for which, in March the following year, they asked Webb to design what was to be a full-scale country house, although intended only for weekends, holidays, and entertaining.<sup>52</sup>

Webb's first plan, of May-June 1891, established the basic layout and orientation but underwent several reductions and changes before the final design of September that year.<sup>53</sup> A price was requested from a selected builder, but it proved too high; that of Webb's second choice, Peter Peters of Horsham, was favourable, and Peters began work at his own risk before it had been formally accepted, and before the contract was signed in October 1892.<sup>54</sup> With John Hardy again clerk of works, construction went well, and was



finished in July 1894, at a total cost of £18,065.<sup>55</sup>  
In 1896, Charles Rice of East Grinstead built a pair of  
three-bedroomed semi-detached cottages--designed in  
1895-96--near the house, and in 1898 constructed a  
bay-window in the hall, a second seating-recess in the  
billiard-room, and a garden shelter, all to Webb's  
designs.<sup>56</sup>

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The Beales' granddaughter has recorded that they  
made few changes to their 'most delightful house',  
Standen, which 'ran so smoothly and luxuriously, yet  
unpretentiously', and 'was wonderfully comfortable',  
because 'they loved it as it was'.<sup>57</sup> At the bequest of  
their unmarried daughter Helen, it and much of its  
original furniture became the property of the National  
Trust in 1972.

Clearly, Webb again turned to English fortified  
houses for the 'Idea' for Standen, one which suited the  
topography of the site and size of the house.<sup>58</sup> He  
bent his longhouse plan at the junctions between parts  
so that, with the help of rising ground and the  
stables to the north, and a rock outcrop to the west,  
the main block and the central portion--the east  
wing--enclosed a north entrance court, whilst the minor  
offices helped an old barn and the old Hollybush  
farmhouse (which was incorporated with the stables) to  
partly enclose a grassed forecourt or bailey known as  
Goose Green.<sup>59</sup> The incorporation of the farmhouse has  
led some observers into the misconception that Webb was  
trying to disguise Standen as a cottage.<sup>60</sup> He

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carefully preserved the identity of the farmhouse whilst linking it to the east wing of the house by the handsome entrance court archway. The country lane approached from the north, passed his attractive cottages, which were in the same materials as the house, and expressed as a whole rather than two dwellings, before swinging east past the stables into Goose Green, then west into the entrance court, an approach which evoked an agreeable sense of mystery and expectation, intensified by all the house not being in view.<sup>61</sup>

The plan of the main block was to have been almost a repeat of that of Smeaton, complete with a central porch and flanking wings (but with a single-storey top-lit billiard-room replacing the business-room wing) in the north entrance court, three major rooms in a projecting south front, a conservatory in the same position as the garden porch, and--here on two floors--a cross-passage lit at each end.<sup>62</sup> Reductions called for by the Beales obscured this similarity, and the clarity of the ground-floor passage.<sup>63</sup> The central library on the south front was omitted, the staircase was transferred from alongside the porch to behind it, the dining-room was turned on its axis, and the billiard-room became part of the block itself. There were thirteen first-floor bedrooms in the two major parts, with others for children and maids on the second floors.<sup>64</sup>

Red sand-faced roof and wall-tiles, hand-made red

bricks, pink to grey Horsham stock bricks (with dark stretchers forming subdued stripes); creamy-yellow stone quarried from the outcrop next to the house, and dressed like that of an old wall in East Grinstead,<sup>65</sup> grey Portland stone and leadwork, brown to silver oak boarding, off-white or ivory rough-cast, and white-painted woodwork combined with hips, gables and tall plain stacks to produce a subtly coloured, richly textured tapestry. All the brickwork was to have been red like Compton Wynyates, but perhaps because he found Coneyhurst too uncompromising in colour, Webb changed to the stocks after building began, and reserved red bricks for dressings.<sup>66</sup>

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From all viewpoints, the tower, the height of which was determined by Webb when the rest of the building was well advanced,<sup>67</sup> was an important element in the composition, with a unifying and anchoring role. Although rough-cast because of the exposure of its upper walls,<sup>68</sup> it resembled the corner tower of Compton Wynyates but was surmounted appropriately by a belvedere not battlements; placing the strong-room in its base was a felicitous notion. The tall arches flanking the stone centre-piece on the north front were derived from those of Webb's hall fireplace at Forthampton, and the striking brick arch of the porch was similar in form to the external stone arches of the thirteenth-century great hall at Penshurst Place.

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On the south front--in fact the building was aligned a little west of south--the handsome round-

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arched arcade made the conservatory and garden-house--a more pleasing version of the Joldwynds' view house, included from the start as a definite stop to the elevation--into integral parts of the building.<sup>69</sup> The row of five gables, resembling those added to Knole in 1603-08, repeated the rhythm of the arcade, and protected the bedrooms below from the hot summer sun that was so disliked by Victorian women. The deeply eaved bay-window of the drawing-room, an all-year, all-weather alternative to the canvas-roofed balcony at Clouds, shaded adjacent windows for much of the day. Webb was gratified to note that even on a blazing summer day Standen was 'delightfully cool'.<sup>70</sup>

The sequence of varying ambiances of the approach continued inside the building, where they depended more on contrast of natural lighting and prospects than on geometry, with cool rooms looking out on to the sunlit entrance court contrasting with the relatively dark passage and the brightly lit south-facing rooms with their open aspects. Twin round arches pierced the load bearing wall at the foot and head of the staircase which had oak balusters like Windsor chair splats, and the flat handrail Webb often employed in the 1890s. The bay-window in the dining-room was fitted with oak sideboards as a breakfast alcove similar to the smaller one he added to Nether Hall. The fireplace in this room had a Hoptonwood surround, a panelled overmantel with a band of fretwork, painted dark-green like the wainscot, a plate-rack, and scoured iron inner surround

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embossed with a simple curvilinear design; like several others in the house, the chimney-breast was corbelled to support the hearth above, a feature re-introduced from Red House, though these later corbels were coved not straight or stepped. The drawing-room fireplace also had a stone surround, but<sup>pl. 122</sup> had jambs of copper embossed to Webb's design--a more elaborate foliate design as befitted the softer metal--by John Pearson, who also made the drawing-room light scones discussed earlier.<sup>71</sup> Webb customarily used wide jambs, usually tiled, to produce with enclosed-grates the agreeable proportions of the old open-grate chimney-pieces. Most of the wall-papers and fabrics (which were chosen with Webb's help), and the rugs and carpets, and much of the furniture came from Morris and Company.<sup>72</sup>

Webb's inventive adaptations of English Baroque details, such as the arch of the hall fireplace, were<sup>pl. 123</sup> continued by his admirers, and his use of embossed and fretted metalwork, and fretted timber increased the popularity of these crafts.<sup>73</sup> Some thirty years after he designed them, several of the chimneypieces, and the morning-room bookshelves, from Standen were<sup>pl. 124</sup> cited and illustrated as excellent examples of architectural joinery.<sup>74</sup>

In 1900 Standen was used by Halsey Ricardo as an example of an ideal country house, praise which Lawrence Weaver reiterated in 1910.<sup>75</sup> It is extremely fortunate that Standen has survived unspoilt, for it is

one of Webb's most beautiful houses, in which his mastery of a wide variety of materials is displayed, and in which--as indeed in all his houses--he achieved his aim of creating buildings which, whilst clearly of their own time, would look well for many decades. Through Miss Beale's generosity, Standen is now protected, and can be enjoyed and studied by architects, historians, and the lay public.

#### Hurlands, near Puttenham (1897)

Philip Webb's last country house, Hurlands, was commissioned in January 1897 by Miss Agneta Henrietta Cocks who, like her friend Miss Ewart of Coneyhurst, did not purchase her site--near Puttenham in Surrey--until Webb had inspected and approved it.<sup>76</sup> Miss Cocks accepted Webb's first scheme, presented on 27 February, subject only to some small reductions and on condition that the estimate of William and George King of Abinger Hammer was within her means, and that a successful well was sunk on the site; if King's figure was too high Webb was to begin again on a smaller scale.<sup>77</sup> All went well however, and after their estimate had been informally accepted, construction began in May, though the contract was not signed until January 1898; by July 1899 Miss Cocks was living in her new house, which had cost £8,552 plus Webb's fee but including the stables.<sup>78</sup> The latter, envisaged from the start but not designed in detail until late 1898 or early 1899, were constructed in 1899 by Charles



Rice, builder of the Standen cottages.<sup>79</sup>

In 1960 Hurlands became a County Council children's home; a small cottage was added to its west end for the matron. After 1978, more living accommodation was created in the stables, and the house itself was divided into three dwellings, with little change to the exterior apart from the insertion of a couple of unsympathetic windows and doors, the alteration of the french window on the south front, and the loss of the stone columns of the garden porch. Unfortunately, the previous owner removed many of Webb's fittings.<sup>80</sup>

Hurlands was another longhouse, stretching almost due east-west across the site,<sup>81</sup> overlooking pleasant open farmland to south and west, and backed by gently rising, well-wooded ground. The drive approached from the north-west, then turned east to run between a pyramid-roofed well-house and the house to the U-shaped stable block which was open on its east side, and built of the same materials as the house with some oak boarding. It had a flat for the coachman over the coach-house, and a gardener's cottage in its south wing; as at Willinghurst, it sheltered the garden south of the house, and was connected to the latter by a high wall from its north-west corner.<sup>82</sup>

The 'Idea' for Hurlands seems to have been a free English interpretation of a classical villa, complete with a distyle in antis portico on the south front, and a pavilion--the stables--connected by a (blind)

colonnade. Perhaps suggested by Lethaby's example at Avon Tyrell (1890-92),<sup>83</sup> the living-hall, large enough not to run the risk of later extension, extended through the main block. It was flanked at its south end by the indentically sized, D-shaped dining-room and drawing-room. Placing the porch, with the main staircase behind it and half-landing above it in the Willinghurst and Standen manner, at the side of the hall caused the staggering of the symmetrical parts of the north and south fronts. On the ground floor, the cross-passage ended in the study, but on the first-floor it extended through the block from east to west, lit at each end, and widening briefly at the stair head.<sup>84</sup> A change in notions of propriety was revealed by Miss Cocks's insistence that the WC door be moved into the hall from its discreet position in the passage;<sup>85</sup> another change was evinced by the smaller area needed for offices by 1897 in a country house within reach of local dairy, laundry, and butchery services. This reduction led to some merging of the central and eastern parts of Webb's longhouse arrangement. Hurlands had ten bedrooms on two floors in the main block.<sup>86</sup>

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The house was roofed in red tiles and built of multi-hued but predominantly bright-red bricks, faced on the ground floor--except on the entrance front of the main block--with inset panels of random rubble Bargate stone finished like the old garden walls at Great Tangley Manor, a building only some ten miles

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away with which Webb had been involved between 1885-93; the brick arches of the 'colonnade' wall were also filled with this stone. The upper walls were rough cast, primarily because of their exposure, as Webb told Powell, but clearly Webb liked its contrasting colour and texture; between the panels and the rough cast was a deep, projecting cement-rendered string course, painted off-white and tiled on top, which protected the ground-floor windows.<sup>87</sup> The balcony was supported on typical Webbian polygonal columns in Portland stone,<sup>pl. 130</sup> but the east garden porch had Tuscan columns and a lead-covered dome. However, during construction the dome was changed to a tiled roof, and the lead-covered parapet and segmental 'pediment' over the balcony was replaced by a simple brick parapet, presumably because Webb decided that they were too derivative. As at Willinghurst, he probably added the external shutters during construction. The main entrance on the north front was a modern version of the triple gables of the<sup>pl. 129</sup> ancient timber-framed Great Tangley Manor. An enduring effect of his gothic revival training was revealed by his refusal to allow the symmetry of this part of the elevation to dictate the use of a smaller hall window than was internally desirable.

The interior was comfortable, with the simple but pleasing elegance common to all Webb's houses after the early 1860s, and with characteristic round and segmental arches over doorways and niches, and attractive fitted cuboards, some of them glass-fronted.



The hall had a segmental plaster vault rising from a bold corbelled and plastered brick cornice, and a french window to the verandah, and the staircase had a plain balustrade with a flat oak handrail, and, at its head, a simple oak screen which repeated the pendant arches of the balcony. Webb designed the Hoptonwood stone fireplaces in the dining-room and drawing-room to fit old brass fenders owned by Miss Cocks,<sup>88</sup> setting them within panelled surrounds as usual. Judging by the contemporary photographs of her hall and Miss Ewart's drawing-room, the two women shared a liking for plain walls in light shades, plain fitted carpet, thin transparent summer curtains, antique furniture of the simpler type, and good paintings and ceramics.

Despite some disunity between the south and north fronts, and a lack of rhythm at the east end of the latter, Hurlands was an attractive and unusual house. Though it and Willinghurst lacked some of the charm of Standen, which stemmed largely from the exploitation of possibilities offered by its more interesting site and its greater size, they did not exhibit a waning inventive power as has been suggested.<sup>89</sup> Webb's Site Book for Hurlands shows that his interest in the science side of architecture, in matters connected with drains, septic tanks, grease traps, limes, mortars, and timber shrinkage, and in climbing eighty feet down the well to check its construction, was as keen as ever.<sup>90</sup>

'A Hurlands increased the popularity of rough cast, within a year or two of its designing domed or tile-roofed porches with Tuscan columns were being used by Webb's admirers,<sup>91</sup> and many suburban houses of the following two decades revealed the influence of its red brick entrance.

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## PART 3: BUILDINGS

### CHAPTER 4: SMALL HOUSES

It is not generally appreciated that Philip Webb designed more small houses than country houses. Having introduced a new type of house for artists by adapting the parsonages of Butterfield, Street and White, with Upwood Gorse and Red Barns in 1868 he developed his own studio-houses into a new type of unassuming, astylar, vernacular-influenced house for a new category of client, the middle-class professional or business man and his ilk.<sup>1</sup> Ironically in view of his hatred of nineteenth century commercialism, Webb's small houses in the country or on the outskirts of country towns were made possible not only by his design philosophy--which was applicable to houses of any size--but by the economic success of the middle-classes and the spreading of the railway network.

These small houses received the same painstaking care as Webb's country houses. All had the same three commodious major rooms (drawing-room, dining-room and study or library) as the latter, and interior fittings of a similar quality, the chief difference being in the number of bedrooms and offices, and, if the smaller buildings had them at all, the size of coach-houses and stables. With the large houses, the smaller ones demonstrate that Webb understood the needs of widely varying ways of life, and thus was able to cater



equally well for them all. None of his clients or the people who lived in his cottages had cause to complain of awkward planning or inadequate storage facilities. Webb houses of near date often had similarities of plan and detail; these did not stem from lack of effort but from continued experiments with a particular inspiration.

The major ecclesiological architects had shown that small schools, vicarages, and allied cottages were within an architect's province. Webb's small houses reiterated this message but secularized it,<sup>2</sup> in time for the last two decades of the century when large country house commissions declined sharply in number, and interest in garden suburbs and working-class housing developed. Without his design philosophy and example, Arts and Crafts architecture--the so-called English Domestic Revival<sup>3</sup> through which English architecture influenced the Western world--would not have been as successful, as Ruskin and Morris offered ideals not actual aesthetic guidelines, and Shaw's example was not based in a firm ideology. Because they were not the pathfinders, Voysey, Lutyens, Baillie Scott, Mackmurdo, Maclaren and their fellows were able to apply Webb's philosophy in a less serious and earnest a manner to produce buildings which sometimes had more immediate attraction than his.

Henry-Russell Hitchcock noted the similarity between Webb's Upwood Gorse and the American 'shingle' style, but concluded that this was a coincidence.<sup>4</sup>

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However, Webb's smaller houses were known to his architect friends, and in the 1880s and 1890s were sought out by his young admirers, and there was considerable interchange between architects across the Atlantic, with American architects keeping in touch with English developments. Webb's small houses, with their emphasis on simple geometrical shapes and dominant roofs, and considerable unity of colour and material probably did influence this American style, and the interest in barns which developed in the United States in the 1880s.<sup>5</sup>

Webb's small houses, founded on practicality but displaying both invention and ingenuity, made convenient and comfortable homes of character, as Hale White attested in 1877, an affirmation confirmed by late-twentieth-century owners.<sup>6</sup> Despite necessary limitations of economy, Webb's smallest cottages, for working-class tenants, were planned and detailed with the same care, with generous rooms and storage facilities, and well made though simpler fireplaces and dressers. They joined the country houses and small houses in demonstrating Webb's sympathetic understanding of widely differing needs.

Nos. 91-101 Worship Street, London (1861)

Major Gillum owned six dilapidated houses, with eight miserable cottages behind them, in Worship Street in Shoreditch, London, an insalubrious district of mixed dwellings and trades; in 1851 this property

housed a hundred and two people, probably at a density of one room to each family.<sup>7</sup> In late 1860, Gillum, partly from necessity but clearly also as a benevolent experiment, decided to demolish the cottages and rebuild the houses to provide workshop, shop, and living accommodation for six families; he asked Webb, who had recently designed the cottage at the Moated House, to design them.<sup>8</sup> Webb must have been delighted; the job would keep him in practice a little longer,<sup>9</sup> and the new buildings would enable a few people to experience a full life with creative handicraft integrated with everyday living. The fact that rent of each house would increase--in the event, from £20 to £75 a year--and that most of the inhabitants would be forced into even worse slums<sup>10</sup> must later have caused him some qualms.

The drawings were ready by January 1861, and by late summer 1863 the buildings had been completed by Edward Robinson and James Browne at a cost of around £1,883 plus Webb's fee.<sup>11</sup> For over a hundred and twenty years they have remained in tenancy, chiefly being used as intended.<sup>12</sup> They survived bomb damage in the Second World War--a testament to their architect's skill and care--since when there has been some demolition and modification to the rear workshops, but the buildings facing the street remain substantially unchanged.<sup>13</sup>

The new houses were three-storeyed, with two-storey ranges behind, containing WCs and first-floor



sculleries, and rear yards with outside WCs, and workshops above open work-sheds (except number 91 whose ground-floor workshops, which included a forge, were also enclosed). All but one house had a cellar store-room, ground-floor shop, first-floor living-room<sup>pl. 134</sup> and kitchen, two second-floor and two attic bedrooms; number 91, which was wider than the others because of the coach-way to its yard, had a smaller shop, a ground-floor kitchen and scullery, a living-room and two bedrooms on the first floor, four small second-floor bedrooms and two attics, and an office between the house and workshops. The projecting shop windows were made as wide as possible by making one entrance serve house and shop.

The houses were built of yellow London stocks and roofed in 'common flat tiles';<sup>14</sup> their chimney-stacks<sup>pl. 135</sup> had tall plain pots not the shaped stone tops of the drawings. The shop windows formed a tiled lean-to which, like the main roof, would have been continuous but for the dividing walls projected above the roof to meet the building regulations.<sup>15</sup> Beneath these oak-framed windows were coal cellars with iron grilles<sup>pl. 136</sup> (an early instance of Webb's liking for simple grids), whilst above them were canvas sun-blinds in recesses; side cases held wooden night shutters.<sup>16</sup> Except for number 91, the windows were flanked by deep porches with an angled side walls to direct customers inside. The upper wall was supported on the ground floor by wide segmental arches.

The upper walls constituted a mingling of brick and stone which predated that of number 1 Palace Green by <sup>pl.</sup> 135 six years. Stone bands at cill and second-floor lintel level, and a third at the base of the parapet, formed horizontal lines interrupted only by the handsome rain-water heads and pipes. Further horizontal emphasis was contributed by the regular second-floor sashes, the lead-covered parapet, and the first of Webb's cornices with brick dentils or 'blocking'; timber eaves were forbidden by the building regulations.<sup>17</sup> Stone also capped the dividing walls, and the brick mullions between the first-floor sashes under the pointed relieving arches, 'an idiosyncratic detail that Webb used again, at Standen for instance, but with segmental arches. Large French-influenced dormers added vertical accents, and, with the porches and paired sashes, expressed each unit within a consistent whole.

Whether to replace an existing feature, or as a practical symbol of Gillum's philanthropy, Webb employed a drinking fountain as a stop to the east end of the terrace. An early instance of Webb's habit of simplifying his designs, its gable was less elaborate <sup>pl.</sup> 137 than that of the first drawing.<sup>18</sup> Neither classical nor gothic in style, its polygonal column with finely moulded capital was the first of many in Webb's work, both large and small in scale, sometimes in stone as here, but also in timber. The Red Peterhead granite was 'rubbed perfectly smooth but not polished' accord-

ing to Webb's command, and before the gable finial was carved, he insisted on seeing a model of it, in 'wet clay' for ease of modification.<sup>19</sup>

The rear elevation had similar details to the front. The workshops were framed in oak, with brick <sup>pl.</sup> 138 nogging, and long strips of casement windows which predated Voysey's and Lloyd-Wright's by three decades. The interior fittings were similar to those of Red House and Sandroyd.

These buildings demonstrated Webb's beliefs that all elevations had equal importance, and that humble dwellings were as worthy of care as houses for gentlemen. Despite the pointed relieving arches, the block strongly resembled a Georgian terrace that had been modified to escape window tax.<sup>20</sup> This resemblance would undoubtedly foster the developing interest in late seventeenth century buildings of Webb's architect friends. Perhaps it was under the influence of Worship Street that even the arch-goth Burges became briefly less gothic and flamboyant at St. Anne's Court, Soho (1864-65).<sup>21</sup>

Despite the belief expressed in The Builder in 1863 that 'the degree of rudeness in the fittings' might make the properties difficult to let at an economic rent, three were tenanted by the end of that year, and all by 1864.<sup>22</sup> The experiment was an economic success for Gillum and--for those who were lucky enough to be able to afford the rent and obtain a tenancy--a social success.



East Rounton and Brampton Terraces (c. 1874-76)

Webb's next terrace, the unexecuted scheme for offices and shops in Newcastle, contained no living accommodation.<sup>23</sup> Between 1873 and 1877, probably in 1874, for Lowthian Bell he designed a row of five cottages for farm workers at East Rounton,<sup>24</sup> a cheerful, pleasing, and robustly textured red-brick and pantile block, with herringbone tympana under segmental relieving arches; single sashes on the ground floor, paired ones above, and flat-topped dormers. The extra bedroom in the attic was an unusual provision in such habitations at the time. The cost averaged £205 a unit, but the east-end cottage, for the farm manager, was larger than the others.<sup>25</sup> The terrace remains, in excellent condition.

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The row of 'artisans' stone cottages that he designed in 1874-76 for the Naworth Estate, and which was to have been built at Brampton in Cumbria, had a steeply sloping site, so he gave each unit a gable to the street to avoid a 'stepped uniformity'.<sup>26</sup> These cottages, which in the first instance included a boarding house for unmarried man and an entrance archway, would have had similar accommodation to those at Rounton, but the project was abandoned, apparently because of cost.<sup>27</sup>

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No. 19 Park Hill, Carshalton (1868) (Wensum Lodge)

William Hale White had a dual career as a civil

servant with the Admiralty and, under the pseudonym Mark Rutherford, as a journalist, novelist, biographer, and translator.<sup>28</sup> He had strong views on the sanctity of home life, and believed that a house should impart a sense of comfort as well as express something of the particular family's life. Having moved his family from several unsatisfactory houses, in 1865 he was annoyed by Ruskin's assertion in The Daily Telegraph that people were happy with their speculatively built 'blotches'.<sup>29</sup> White wrote to the editor, recounting his search for a good house, describing the discomforts of the best he could find at an annual rent of £40, and asking whether Ruskin could say whether it was possible to build a 'solid and plain' house near London, 'fit for a human being to live in?'.<sup>30</sup> Correspondence between White and Ruskin followed, and in October 1867 Ruskin recommended Webb to White as an architect who would give 'perfectly sound and noble work for absolutely just price'.<sup>31</sup> A meeting between White and Webb took place, which resulted in the commission to design a small house for a site on Park Hill in Carshalton in Surrey (now in Greater London), and to a life-long close friendship.

Webb probably began work on the house in 1867 as the final drawings were produced in February 1868.<sup>32</sup> As Webb was extremely busy in 1868, and as he took no fee, construction was almost certainly supervised by C. G. Vinall.<sup>33</sup> White lived in the house from its completion in 1868 until 1889, when his wife's illness



necessitated a house with a ground-floor bedroom.<sup>34</sup> In 1896 rooms were built over the scullery range, but otherwise, apart from the removal of the external shutters and the throwing together of the hall and parlour, the house remains almost unchanged.<sup>35</sup>

The narrow site rose steeply from the road, ensuring privacy from people passing the house, which faced east to the road, and was placed close to the north boundary so that the drawing-room--at the rear of the building for privacy--could have both a west and south window. Because of White's obsessions against noise and draughts, internal walls were of 9" brickwork, ground-floor windows had solid external shutters, there were no second-floor bedrooms, and no doors between the drawing-room and dining-room, and there was an outer and an inner porch, and, between the kitchen and dining-room, a lobby and three doors, and the parlour, where White probably worked, was as far as possible from the scullery. The latter was in a single-storey range behind the house. Doubtless because of White's claustrophobia, the four bedrooms were extremely well-lit and had high ceilings, partly in the roof; they had fireplaces but were also warmed from the hall fire through a well in the passage floor. For maximum warmth, fireplaces were on internal walls, and had convected warm air grates (which, like those of Red Barns, were probably designed by Webb and made by Longdens). The upstairs WC, served from a rain-water tank in the roof, and the linen cupboard, were warmed

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by the kitchen flue. As usual in Webb's houses that had no well, rain-water was also collected in a cistern in the yard, from which it was pumped to the scullery. The vent pipe from the external WC was taken up the scullery chimney-stack like a flue, as was Webb's usual habit with internal WCs.

Today, because of the ubiquitous twentieth-century semi-detached houses, the twin gables of White's house make it look like two dwellings. The gables were to have been hipped but were changed by Webb, perhaps to gain greater volume in the main bedrooms. Stock bricks varying from yellow to grey, tiles weathered to dark brown on the roof and upper walls but bright red in the gables, and white window-frames and shutters, gave the building a warm, reassuring appearance. Inside, the fireplaces had simple stone surrounds, on the ground floor with timber outer surrounds and bracketted mantelshelves. Nothing is known of the original furniture, except that one bookcase was designed by Webb, and that wall-papers and fabrics were probably from Morris and Company.<sup>36</sup>

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White was delighted with the house, and described his success in finding such a real home in The Daily Telegraph in 1877.<sup>37</sup> The house was never published, but it was known to White's many friends (several of whom were artists including Arthur Hughes), and to his brother-in-law, who was sufficiently impressed to build a rather similar house in the same road and, later, to commission Webb to design numbers 2 and 4 Redington

Road in Hampstead.

Upwood Gorse, Caterham (1868)

John Tomes (1815-1895) was one of the first eminent dental surgeons; it was largely his efforts, for which he was knighted in 1886, which changed dentistry from a trade into an honourable profession.<sup>38</sup> He enjoyed designing and making furniture as well as dental instruments, and was an expert wood-turner. Brought up in the countryside, he shared Webb's love for trees and plants, and for paintings and music. In 1868 he decided to build a house in the country near Caterham in Surrey, probably initially for use at weekends but with retirement in mind, and commissioned a design from Webb; they had probably met through his Tomes's professional colleague William Bowman, or through Tomes's father-in-law, the architect Robert Sibley.<sup>39</sup> The contract was signed by the builder Morris Regis on 28 July 1868, and the building was finished the following year at a cost of £3,320 plus Webb's fee.<sup>40</sup>

Around 1873 Webb added a north range of offices; in 1876 the porch was extended, the original offices were enlarged, and two floors--which included a billiard-room--were built above them by C. E. Scrivener of Caterham Valley to Webb's designs of the previous year.<sup>41</sup> At this time the covered way or conservatory was rebuilt with a tiled roof, and extended at both ends.<sup>42</sup> In 1888-89 Webb added a large bay-window to the drawing-room, and extended the study and main

bedroom above it north-eastwards.<sup>43</sup> In 1894 he designed a coachman's cottage, for which the drawings are missing; Tomes postponed the project, but, the cottage at the entrance to the site, which, though altered and extended, retains many Webb characteristics, was probably built to this design by Tomes's widow.<sup>44</sup> In the 1960s the house was divided into four dwellings, later amended to three, with minimal disturbance to Webb's work and fittings, and the coachman's flat and coach-house were converted to a single house (part of the stables was demolished).

The exposed site consisted of a plateau--on which Webb placed the house--with further ground sloping rapidly away to the south and west. He sheltered the house from the north and east with an L-shaped stable and coach-house block (which had a typical Webbian first-floor flat for the coachman or groom, with generous, sunny rooms off a northerly passage). The drive ran between the north-west boundary and this block, passed through a simple archway at the end of the latter, turned south-east to the house, before swinging round into the stable-yard. By judicious placing of walls, hedges, and shrubs, Webb and Tomes created a garden with some sheltered parts whatever the wind direction.

The hall and major ground-floor were arranged as in Hale White's house, with the staircase in the  
north-west corner of the main block, out of sight at  
Tomes's request, beyond which the kitchen and scullery

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occupied a single-storey range which had lesser offices round a small yard at its end. The dining-room, which faced north-east, and the south-west facing drawing-room shared the glazed covered way, which provided the necessary sheltered access to the garden, and presaged the similar element at Willinghurst. Only the kitchen fireplace was on an outside wall; Webb used it to warm an external seating recess (clearly a successful experiment as he repeated the feature in the 1881 extension to Red Barns). There were four bedrooms and two dressing-rooms on the first floor, and two maids' bedrooms and a large room for bachelor guests in the attics.<sup>45</sup>

The red-brick house had a dominant pyramid roof topped by large plain chimney-stacks and covered in flat red tiles. First-floor walls were tile-hung, except for the projecting stair-turret, which had a circular window; originally the turret had a hipped roof below the height of the main eaves.<sup>46</sup> The dormers, probably adopted from Fenton House (1693) in Hampstead,<sup>47</sup> resembled ears from the south-east because they were partly roofed by sideways extensions of the adjacent roof slope; Webb also employed them at Church Hill House and West House. The projecting porch had Webb's first executed round-arched main entrance; the 1876 porch extension had a flat roof supported on slender timber columns, an unusual groin-vaulted plaster ceiling, and a dentilated cornice (the added bay-window and the main bedroom extension were to

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receive similar cornices). The service range, and the rebuilt covered way (to which Voysey's large bay-window at the Cottage (Bishop's Itchington, 1888) was almost identical),<sup>48</sup> had rows of contiguous casements.

In the interior, the 1888 bay in the drawing-room was a particularly interesting item, which had window <sup>pl.</sup> 150 seats above timber radiator grilles, a china cupboard of unusual plan, a coffered ceiling with the shallow square panels characteristic of Webb's bays in the late 1860s and early 1870s, and thin timber multi-centered arches under the lintel, which gave an impression of greater stability but which were obviously not load-bearing, and which Webb frequently employed externally and internally, and sometimes on furniture and in iron, on fire-grates, from about 1868 (he used them here on the 1868 coach-house). Nothing is known of the original decoration.

During almost twenty years of retirement from practice Tomes constantly entertained his friends at his unpretentious house, from which he conducted his campaign to improve dentistry.<sup>49</sup>

#### Red Barns, Coatham, Redcar (1868)

Before joining the family iron-manufacturing firm, Thomas Hugh Bell received a sound science-based education in Newcastle, Scotland, Germany, France, and Scandinavia.<sup>50</sup> In 1867 he married Mary Shields, who shared his 'zeal for liberalization and progress' and 'taste for art and literature',<sup>51</sup> and started married

life in his parents' home, Washington Hall, which Webb had already extended. In 1868 Bell commissioned Webb to design a house for a two-acre site in Coatham,<sup>52</sup> a fishing village near Redcar, in what was then Yorkshire and is now Cleveland, and from whence Bell would be able to travel by rail daily to the firm's offices in Middlesbrough, and frequently to London.

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The house, Red Barns, which cost £1,560 plus Webb's fee, was ready by mid-1870.<sup>53</sup> Sadly the sea air did not improve Mary's delicate health as had been hoped, and she died there in 1871, leaving Bell with two children.<sup>54</sup> In 1876 he married Florence Olliffe, a talented musician, playwright, and writer, who was to be created a DBE for her public works, and who is chiefly remembered today for her pioneering study of the lives of iron-workers' families.<sup>55</sup> As she gave him three more children, a school-room wing became necessary. It was designed by Webb in 1881, and built the following year, and was connected by a two-storeyed laundry to the stable block (with a first-floor flat for groom and gardener) which he had added in 1875.<sup>56</sup> The 1881 design also included a small servants' hall with bedroom above on the street front, and, off the Bell's own bedroom, a dressing-room and bathroom (the latter were constructed in 1881).<sup>57</sup> Webb's last contribution was to add a larger bay-window to the drawing-room in 1897.<sup>58</sup> The builder of the original house is not known, but Thomas Davison Ridley of Middlesbrough was responsible for all the additions.<sup>59</sup>



Bell moved to Rounton Grange in 1905, after inheriting his father Lowthian's baronetcy the previous year. Red Barns was let to cousins until 1920 when it was sold to the governors of Sir William Turner's School (subsequently Coatham School), who converted the domestic offices and stables into a boarding house accommodation, and constructed further sympathetic additions to the west.<sup>60</sup> In the 1970s the property was sold again, and became, as it remains, a private hotel. Fortunately, the original family quarters, having been the headmaster's residence and being now the owner-proprietor's house, are almost unchanged.<sup>61</sup> Externally the children's wing is also much as Webb designed it apart from the loss of its central stack.

The site had open countryside and the Cleveland hills to the south. As the district suffers from bitter north and north-east winds, Webb placed the house on the long north boundary flanking the new road, Kirkleatham Street, to create as large and sheltered a garden<sup>62</sup> as possible between it and the railway which bounded the site to the south, leaving room to the west for the later stables. He extended the porch as a covered way to the pavement edge.

The ground-floor plan was similar to that of Upwood <sup>pl. 151</sup> Gorse, but with room usages exchanged, a two-storeyed stair-hall (too small to be a living-room), and better use of southerly aspects. The position of the study was doubtless determined by the need to gather all WC drains in a yard on the south front where they joined

the main outlet to the cess-pit in the south-west corner of the site<sup>63</sup> (in 1868 it was considered unseemly to have the drawing-room near the cloak-room; Webb used a bay-window to admit evening sunlight to the drawing-room). There were six bedrooms on the first floor, served by a long passage that was a precursor of the cross-passages of Webb's later country houses, and three generous attic bedrooms.<sup>64</sup> The children's wing had a semi-basement play-room, and a school-room (linked to the hall by a play-passage),<sup>65</sup> two first-floor nurseries, and two attic bedrooms.

Red Barns, being less gaunt, was more attractive than Upwood Gorse, but its attraction depended upon its materials, proportions, and basic forms not upon features such as the balconies with white-painted balustrades that were popular for 'Queen Anne' style sea-side houses. A deep angled-brick string-cill, in the same multihued local bricks (which varied from bright red to dark purples and browns) provided the only decorative element, and it too had a functional role. The roofs were covered in the bright red pantiles which had replaced thatch in this district in the previous century. They were too robustly profiled to be entirely successful on the small pyramid-roofed dormers, which Webb did not repeat at Rounton and Smeaton. On the north front, the inset entrance--flanking the hipped stair-turret with circular window, which resembled that of Upwood Gorse--had a simple ledged, braced, and battened door

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with no architrave. The bay-window on the east elevation was similar to that of Prinsep's house, but the long bay on the south front was blank in the centre<sup>pl. 152</sup> and had sashes wrapping its corners as the casements were to do in the View House at Joldwynds. Presaging those of Smeaton Manor, trellises for climbing plants were fixed to the east and south walls..

The additions were in the same materials as the original house, with some half-timbering on the west wall of the stables, and a rough-cast gable on the 1897 bay-window. Different window and wall details revealed<sup>pl. 154</sup> the children's wing as an addition. Its pyramid roof echoed those of the dormers at a much larger scale, and joined those of Upwood Gorse, the Moated House gardener's cottage, and the Rounton lodge, in demonstrating Webb's disregard for architectural hierarchy, whilst the play-passage--and the 1868 combination of circular and sash windows in the upper hall--revealed his ignoring of external expression of the plan. Part of the passage was inside the square block and fenestrated like the school-room, but the rest had a long row of casements. Re-use of a WC seat in the new cloak-room indicated Webb's care for his client's money.<sup>66</sup> The 1897 bay, which was to house a grand piano, had sashes flanking a square central light which, doubtless to hide the ankles of lady pianists, had a high cill.<sup>67</sup>

The galleried stair-hall, the staircase and gallery balustrades were simply boarded in oak, and had plain



newel posts, but the oak flooring in the dining-room, inlaid with ebony strips, was more sophisticated (Webb repeated it in the chapel at Castle Howard in 1872). The drawing-room had a Webb convected warm air grate by Longden in a characteristic Webb surround, and a glass-fronted wall-mounted bookcase by the architect; all the fabrics were from Morris and Company: blue silk damask fabric in the 'oak' pattern on the walls, blue 'peacock and dragon' woollen material for curtains and upholstery, and the hand-knotted Hammersmith 'Redcar' carpet, with an ivory background and chiefly blue pattern, designed by Morris for Lowthian Bell c. 1879 probably as a wedding present for Hugh and Florence. Many other products from this firm were used throughout the house, with paint colours chosen to match them by Morris himself.

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pl.  
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pl.  
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Red Barns was obviously a dwelling, but, as its name--one of the earliest farm-associated house names--revealed, it reflected local farmsteads not farmhouses (which it resembled in colour and materials only). Charming, unassuming, and dateless, it was the antithesis of the imposing Gothic-Italianate ornamented villas, perched above basement kitchens, envisaged by the land owner. Like Upwood Gorse, Red Barns was a most unusually simple house which reflected the taste of its owner not his social or economic status.

Oast House, Hayes Common (1872)

Lord Sackville Cecil (1847-1898) was an atypical

Victorian aristocrat. A younger son of Robert Cecil, second Marquess of Salisbury by his second wife, Cecil derived from his father a keen interest in engineering, mechanics, and building.<sup>73</sup> After Wellington and Cambridge, he trained as a railway and a telegraph engineer, then served as chief electrician for the laying of the telegraph cable between Marseilles and West Africa before becoming a railway manager, and finally a director and chairman of submarine telegraphy companies.<sup>74</sup> In 1872 he commissioned Webb to design a house in Kent, on the site of two old cottages in an orchard which had been enclosed from the surrounding Hayes Common in 1773.<sup>75</sup> Cecil might have been expected to get on well with Webb, with whom he had in common a great capacity for conscientious work, and a sympathy for those in difficulties.<sup>76</sup> However, during construction in 1873, Webb resigned from the job, declined to accept 'any remuneration whatever' for the work, and later returned Cecil's cheque.<sup>77</sup> It is likely that the cause was an attempt by Cecil to follow his father's example of directing all the building work on his estates, which Webb, of course, would regard as an insult to his experience and skill.<sup>78</sup> Completion of the building was supervised by Vinall.<sup>79</sup>

Cecil was obviously pleased with the building, Oast House, which cost around £4,360 and from which he travelled daily by rail to London, as he lived in it for the rest of his life.<sup>80</sup> His heir sold it in 1920; the new owner added a balcony to the south front, and

registered the stable block as a separate dwelling (it has been altered since, particularly inside).<sup>81</sup> In the 1950s, a subsequent owner subdivided the house, but with little external change apart from the lowering of some office window-cills, the insertion of a bow window into the erstwhile kitchen store; internally, hall and dining-room were thrown together, and kitchens and bathrooms were inserted into the service quarters.<sup>82</sup>

Webb positioned the house to preserve as many old fruit trees as possible, and to create a large garden to the east and south. The minor offices were at the north end near the road, at a lower level than the main block because of the rising ground. The drive ran between them and the coach-house, the groom's cottage in the east end of the latter doubling as a lodge. At the south end of the house, the major rooms had the same arrangement as those of Red Barns, but the hall was smaller and not galleried and had the porch--suitably overlooked from the butler's room--on its west side. Beneath the study was Cecil's brick-vaulted laboratory (for electrical and mechanical experiments), with access from the hall and the garden; another cellar was provided for the gardener's use. Including those for the servants, there were four large and four small bedrooms, and one dressing-room; as these were partly in the roof there were no attic bedrooms.

The exterior effectively combined features from traditional fifteenth-century Wealden timber-framed

pl.  
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houses (which had prominent hipped roofs and a great chimney-stack astride their ridge), and gabled stone houses of the same date (which had a central hall flanked by gabled projections, with a porch in the angle of one of them). The massive half-hipped roof of the main house, covered with small red tiles and extending as a catslide on the east front, reflected Kentish barns. The walls, with their subtle and pleasing blending of colour and texture, were of local squared ragstone rubble, roughly finished except for the quoins, with dressings and some patches of walling in red brick. The two projecting gables on the west front, and four large dormer-gables on the east side, had characteristic Webb barge-boards with small dentils, and some white-painted boarding. The gables and dormers, and the four powerful red stacks with corbelled tops, gave an appearance of high-level symmetry.

The side of the flat-roofed porch was seen on the approach to the house, so, to avoid an unwelcoming appearance, Webb gave it open trellis-work upper walls like those of the ancient Bell House at East Bergholt church in Suffolk.<sup>83</sup> Some ground-floor windows had casements with uncharacteristic curved upper panes at the corners; the staircase windows had fixed lights of many panes, the upper row of which were individually arched. The two bay-windows on the south front had projecting brick mullions similar to the stone examples at Rounton Grange of the same date, and, presumably at

Cecil's request, casements not sashes in their central lights.

The L-shaped lesser offices were roofed in red pantiles with small tiles edging the eaves, and, on the side facing the kitchen yard, had a typically Webbian covered way supported on bracketed wooden posts; the wall flanking the drive had no openings, and was faced with tarred weather-boarding, a traditional material for Kentish farm-buildings. The coach-house had the same roof tiles as the main block, and similar chimney-stacks, but was built of London stock-bricks. On its east front, a white-boarded gable was supported at its corners by angled walls echoing the mullions of the bay-windows of the house; under it, a small bay-window overlooked the entrance and the drive but was blank on its central side to give privacy to the groom and his family. pl. 162

In the hall of the main house, the staircase had one of Webb's fine oak 'stair-story' posts, and plain square-sectioned balusters and newels. Perhaps at Cecil's suggestion, the entrance door was diagonally boarded on the inside, with separate tongues in the grooves, and the floor boards in this and the major rooms were given steel tongues to prevent draughts, and three inches of plaster was used as sound insulation in the bedroom floors<sup>84</sup> (Webb employed this again, at Rounton Grange for example). The Tudor-arched stone fireplaces in the drawing-room and dining-room are not characteristic but their many dentils

suggest that they were designed by Webb, and his dining-room fireplace at Washington Hall had a similar arch. Their integral brass screens, which pull down to control the draught, or as screens in summer, are believed to have been Cecil's invention.<sup>85</sup> Nothing is known of the original decoration and furniture.

A small house suited Cecil's needs, as he was a bachelor whose pedigree made it unnecessary for him to demonstrate his social status with a mansion. In the 1880s his house was probably as well known as Webb's other houses south of London. The four gables of Voysey's Walnut Tree House (1890), for instance, strongly suggested an acquaintance with it, as did the corbelled stacks of Lutyens' Fulbrook (1897), and the dormer-gables of Lloyd Wright's Nathan G. Moore house (1895).<sup>86</sup>

Nos. 2 and 4 Redington Road, Hampstead (1876)

In 1876 William Chisholm, Hale White's brother-in-law, asked Webb to design a pair of attached houses to be built in Redington Road, Hampstead, one of them being for his own use.<sup>87</sup> As Webb did not supervise the construction (by Ashby Brothers, the firm which built Howard's and extended Prinsep's houses), he charged no fee.<sup>88</sup> Supervision was almost certainly undertaken by Vinall.<sup>89</sup> Number 4 remains almost as Webb designed it, but its pair has been altered somewhat in recent years, when some of his fireplaces were removed.



With these south-facing, identical but handed houses, Webb experimented freely with the plan and form of small hip-roofed Queen Anne houses with four-square plans and five windows about a central door. Doubtless because the building regulations required the dividing wall to project on the elevations and above the roof, they were expressed as two units, not as a single building like the Standen cottages. Each had a dining-room, drawing-room, study, and kitchen in the four corners, and a central entrance and hall. The drawing-rooms--which projected beyond the basic squares --and staircases (with cloak-rooms and WCs under their half-landings) were on the perimeter of the block for maximum quietude within it. Four first-floor bedrooms, a dressing-room, WC, and bathroom surrounded a spacious landing, and there were four further bedrooms, a lumber-room, and a tank-room in the attics.

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The houses stood above the road on its north side. They were built of London stock bricks, tile-hung on the first floor, and shared a hipped roof covered in small red tiles, and had tall chimney-stacks with finely moulded brick tops. Unusually for a Webb building, the walls had a plinth, which had an angled top without a drip, like those of sixteenth-century houses. Generous, inset porches, with three concentric, unchamfered round arches in brick, replaced the ornamented central door of the eighteenth-century houses. The porches were flanked by bay-windows: twin-sashed, flat-roofed rectangular ones to the

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dining-rooms, and wider, white-pedimented bays to the drawing-rooms, the brick side walls and mullions with corbelled tops having a pilaster-like effect. The ground-floor WC under the half-landings of the staircases, had circular windows but, for the sake of regularity, those on the first-floor had sashes. As at Smeaton, a small wooden cornice broke round the brick pilasters which flanked the first-floor sashes to give a good stop to the tiling. The stair windows were similar to those of Oast House, with arched upper panes; attic windows were dormers with tiled gables. The single-storey office ranges at the rear were in the same brick as the main block, but, like those of Oast House, had pantiled roofs edged in small tiles.

Nothing is known of the original decoration and furnishings, but undoubtedly some Morris and Company products would be employed.

These houses, which were quieter but no less inventive than the 'Queen Anne' style buildings erected nearby, would be known to the many architects working in Hampstead at the time, including Shaw, Blomfield, and Champneys, and, around 1900, Voysey, and Charles Quennell.<sup>90</sup> The central round-arched porches of Chisholm's houses undoubtedly helped to popularize the form, which was adopted by Voysey, and which remained in vogue for suburban houses until after Second World War.

### PART 3: BUILDINGS

#### CHAPTER 5: SMALL HOUSES (Continued)

##### Four Gables, near Brampton (1876)

In September 1875 George Howard, on behalf of the trustees of the Earl of Carlisle, asked Webb to design a new house for the agent to the Naworth estate, John Grey.<sup>1</sup> Webb inspected the site in November,<sup>2</sup> and designed the building early the following year. In July 1876 Warwick, clerk of works to the estate, submitted an estimate of £4,500 for the construction of the house without its stables; Webb considered this a 'most extravagant price', so competitive tenders for the separate trades were requested by advertisement, and were received in early December.<sup>3</sup> Despite Grey's fears that individual contractors would not 'pull well together', Webb accepted tenders totalling £3,002. 7. 0 (the major one being that of Sproats of Talkin for the masonry) but inserted contractual clauses requiring all trades not to hinder one another, and the weekly submission of to him of daily records of work done, materials used, and all extras.<sup>4</sup>

By the time the contract was signed in March or early April, Warwick had permitted work to begin on the walls before Webb had inspected the foundation trenches, and had passed inferior bricks and allowed the damp proof course to be laid in a careless manner.<sup>5</sup> Grey told Richard Du Cane, the superintendent of the



Naworth Estate expenditure, of his belief that Warwick was causing trouble and delays in order to bring the cost nearer his own figure.<sup>6</sup> Apparently Warwick was dismissed, as a new clerk of works to the Estate, William Marshall, had been appointed by early September.<sup>7</sup> In October, and again in November, a gable, negligently left unsupported whilst drying, was blown down during a gale, after which construction proceeded smoothly; it was completed by June 1879 for £3,626. 7. 3, including extras but not Webb's fee.<sup>8</sup> In February that year Webb prepared the drawings for the stable block, which he estimated would cost £500.<sup>9</sup>

At Webb's suggestion, the house was named Four Gables, without the addition of 'house' as in his view such a definition of purpose denoted a failure on the architect's part.<sup>10</sup> In the twentieth century the house was sold, to become a private residence, and such it remains, almost unchanged. The stable block has been converted sympathetically into a separate dwelling.

The Cumbrian site, in high, open Border country near Brampton, presented Webb with a more suitable opportunity than Rounton Grange for a pele-inspired design. Accordingly, he placed the family and guest rooms in a square tower block, and the domestic offices and servants' quarters in a lower wing or barmkin, flanked by a kitchen yard, to the north, with a stable block further north still. For the sake of elevational regularity, he positioned the porch in the centre of the west front, creating a staggered entrance off which

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was a cloak-room and WC. The bay-windowed dining-room faced east, the drawing-room east and south, and the parlour south and west; the door to the latter was immediately inside the hall, making the room convenient for occasional business use. There were three bedrooms, a dressing-room, WC, bathroom, and two servants' bedrooms on the first floor, three guest-rooms and a tank-room in the second-floor of the tower, and an attic drying-room above the washhouse and dairy.

The whole, including the stable block, was built in the beautiful local red sandstone, and roofed in green Cumbrian slates. As the name signified, the dominant elements of the house were the four gables of the tower block; these created a cruciform roof which was surmounted by a massive rectangular chimney-stack, not by a belvedere as in the Rounton pele scheme. Windows of habitable rooms were sashes, with segmental hood-moulds on the first floor, and horizontal ones above the paired sashes in the gables. A string course, echoing the horizontal hood-moulds, ran above the square projections which, with their square modillions, suggested battlemented turrets. The deeply projecting spouts above them, functional in heavy rain, were overt pele elements. The handsome round arch of the porch, springing from kneelers, was inspired by a niche in Naworth Castle courtyard.

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The family rooms were well-proportioned and well-lit as usual but the house had some 'pig's ears'

resulting from a combination of Webb's gothic revival training and his liking for regularity. On the south front for example, the inner ceiling of the porch rose sharply to avoid obstructing the window and, as noted previously, the half-landing ran across a sash, and a bedroom wall was built at an angle to allow the window over the porch to light the landing.

Webb was not disturbed to find that through 'want of aesthetics' the new agent, C. Stephenson, disliked the house; if he wished, Webb opined, Stephenson could '"grain" it from top to bottom--at his own expense'.<sup>11</sup> Instead, Stephenson had the woodwork painted white or pale colours to match the backgrounds of the Morris and Company wall-papers which were chosen by himself and approved by Webb.<sup>12</sup>

Undoubtedly the Howards would take pride in showing Four Gables, which was one of Webb's most attractive and charming houses, to their many illustrious guests. It exemplified Webb's free and inventive adaptation of an 'Idea'; a true pele had only two gables, for instance, and of course none had a bay-window. As Sir Nikolaus Pevsner noted, its many unusual details were all well integrated, the modillions being typical of Webb's 'faith in the elementary'.<sup>13</sup>

The Vicar's House, Brampton (1877) (Green Lane House)

In 1877 a new vicarage was required for Brampton.<sup>14</sup> The Trustees of the Earl of Carlisle, doubtless at George Howard's prompting, decided to build one by



Webb, who had become official architect to the estate in February that year, on part of Town Foot Farm near the new church then being built to his design.<sup>15</sup> He inspected the site in June, secured approval for his scheme from the Revd Henry Whitehead and his wife, and Du Cane, by early August, and later that month prepared the contract drawings.<sup>16</sup> Beatty Brothers, the contractors for the church, prepared a bill of quantities, and in late October submitted an estimate of £2,333 for building the house without its stables (these were not designed until late 1879).<sup>17</sup> After Webb had inserted clauses into the contract stipulating no extras and that the work be done to his own satisfaction, the estimate was accepted by Du Cane in November.<sup>18</sup> Construction of the house was completed in 1879, having run smoothly under the supervision of Marshall, the estate clerk of works, despite several requests for changes from Mrs Whitehead, which were resolutely refused by Webb.<sup>19</sup>

The agent Stephenson rightly feared that because of the high cost of Webb's work--due to its quality--a realistic rent would be beyond the means of future vicars, though he hoped Mrs Whitehead would be 'happier and more reasonable' in her fine house.<sup>20</sup> The house never again served as a parsonage after the Whiteheads left Brampton in 1884. Eventually it was sold, and in the 1980s, after many years as a private residence, it became a retirement home, with some internal but few external alterations apart from the substitution of a

french window for a south-front sash, and the conversion of the outbuildings and stables into further living accommodation and a bungalow.

The house was aligned east to west near the north boundary of the site, with room for a semi-circular drive between it and the road, and with the kitchen yard, outbuildings, and stables at its east end. The kitchen, dining-room, and drawing-room were on the south front, and the entrance, study, and 'parish room'--with its own entrance to avoid disturbance to the family--were on the north side. There were five first-floor bedrooms, two dressing-rooms, a WC, and, above the parish room, a large bedroom for maids, all served by a passage partly in the eaves like those of several of Webb's flats for coachmen. pl.  
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Webb provided the accommodation Whitehead requested but in a less imposing building than Four Gables,<sup>21</sup> doubtless to his wife's chagrin. A pele-inspired dwelling suited the commanding site and the role of the agent as guardian of the estate; for the parsonage, Webb took as his 'Idea' a typical long, low farmhouse of the district, an inspiration suited to its site and to Whitehead's role as shepherd of the parishioners. Farmhouses had catslides at the rear; Webb employed one over the entrance, with a long dormer to light the staircase. This front was basically symmetrical but he did not hesitate to lose this effect by placing the parish room in the most sensible position. The long south front was relieved by an almost-central pl.  
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pl.  
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idiosyncratic bay-window; the bay-window on the west front was a variation upon that of Four Gables.

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Though Green Lane House,<sup>22</sup> as it is now named, lacked the harsh muscularity of some of Street's and Butterfield's vicarages, it can look gaunt and plain in monochrome photographs. In reality, however, the Cumbrian red sandstone and green slates having been given full play, it is warm, colourful, and friendly, and must have reassured timid parishioners, and made their vicar approachable.

#### New Place, Welwyn (1877-78) (New Place House)

In 1877-78 Webb designed a house for his bachelor brother Henry Speakman Webb (1826 or 1827-1911), known as Harry, who was a general practitioner in Welwyn in Hertfordshire, where he had lived with their two unmarried sisters since 1864.<sup>23</sup> Webb surveyed the site in July 1877, produced a scheme late that year or early the next, and by mid-1878 had amended it into the final design, which was built in 1879-80 by a local builder, William Lawrence of Datchworth.<sup>24</sup> Intending to employ separate tradesmen, Webb obtained from Lawrence a price for the brickwork only.<sup>25</sup> As it was higher than he expected, and fearing that if the other quotations were likewise the total cost would be prohibitive, he requested a second price for all the work in the hope this would be cheaper.<sup>26</sup> A sum of £2,403, which may not have included the stable block (with coachman's cottage), was finally agreed.<sup>27</sup>



By 1881 Dr. Webb, and the sisters, were established in the house--New Place--with a cook-housekeeper and a housemaid.<sup>28</sup> He lived there, without making alterations, until he retired almost twenty years later.<sup>29</sup> In the early 1970s houses were built in the grounds, and a few years ago the house was divided into two by simply blocking the ends of passages and without any external alteration; many Webb fireplaces and fittings remain, though not the organ case.

The L-shaped house consisted of a short wing housing the south-facing drawing-room and the cloak-room, with a longer wing at right angles, running east-west, and containing the dining-room and study at the east end, the kitchen at the west end, and the stair-hall and surgery in the centre. Three lean-tos against this wing housed, respectively, the scullery and main entrance porch, the inner porch and hall passage, and the garden and surgery porches. Knowing the value of long vistas in small houses from his bedroom passage at Red Barns, Webb aligned the dining-room door to create a sun-lit enfilade running the full east-west length of the house. There were four first-floor bedrooms and, in the roof of the north wing, two large bedrooms for servants.<sup>30</sup>

For greater security, the surgery was approached through the kitchen yard.<sup>31</sup> As Dr Webb saw his more prosperous patients in their own homes, his surgery was chiefly an office and dispensary from which their servants collected medicines, and a large waiting-room

was unnecessary. The proximity of the gentlemen's EC to the drawing-room ignored accepted propriety. It may seem surprising that a house designed in 1877-78 for a doctor should have ECs and no bathroom. However, many people still preferred hip baths, and though WCs were efficient, drainage was not yet always safe. Webb disliked cesspools because with them it was 'impossible at times to avoid a bad smell', whereas properly managed ECs did not smell, were believed to be safe, and were welcomed by keen gardeners as a source of manure.<sup>32</sup>

New Place was red: red brick walls, red tile roofs, red brick chimney-stacks with hipped and tiled tops and tall red pots. Contrast was provided as usual by white-painted woodwork and plaster coving, and, unusually, by a terrace balustrade in reconstituted stone.<sup>33</sup> It was a robust, well-balanced composition of gables, roofs, tall plain chimney-stacks, and bay-windows. To give the south gable the visual strength to balance the high roof of the long wing, Webb carried it above the roof, and gave it buttresses, a device that he had used previously at number 1 Palace Green, number 19 Lincoln's Inn Fields, and Rounton Grange, and which was derived from the east gable of the church of Lindisfarne Priory.<sup>34</sup> The chimney-stack on the the west gable was horizontally haunched for greater visual strength.

Webb had intended to repeat Smeaton Manor's spiral stair at New Place but his second thoughts produced a

more interesting staircase, one clearly conceived as a structure in space rather than a wall-hung element. Four flights surrounding a square open well were supported at the corners of the square by oak newels extending from the hall floor to the ceiling of the upper hall. Rectangular and unmoulded, the posts were a proliferation and a simplification of his customary polygonal 'stair-story' posts.

The case he designed for the organ in the dining-room was much admired by Lawrence Weaver, whom <sup>pl.</sup> 182 it reminded 'how much modern furniture design' owed to Webb.<sup>35</sup> In 1922 it was illustrated and discussed by Charles Quennell for whom the 'simple lines of its panelled framing, combined with the delicacy of the moulded architrave surrounding the upper grilles' created a 'very charming whole', with the charm coming from its austerity.<sup>36</sup> This case and other hardwood in the house was left natural, but most of the woodwork was painted white like the ceilings, friezes, passages, and back staircase, or pale colours to match the wall-papers, most of which were by Morris and Company.<sup>37</sup> The furniture was apparently a mixture of this firm's products and family pieces, much of it from Dr. Webb's previous Welwyn house.<sup>38</sup>

The compact massing, simple geometry, robust detailing, and emphasis of texture of New Place ensured that despite its undoubted Englishness it possessed a <sup>pl.</sup> 181 'barbaric element' akin to that of small Byzantine churches. Webb probably tried harder than ever to



preserve the anonymity of this house, his own weekend home, but the similarity of the coving above the porch to that of Lutyens's entrance arch at The Salutation (1911) suggests a wider renown than simply amongst Webb's friends.<sup>39</sup> Its greatest influence, however, was exercised indirectly through Coneyhurst, which Webb designed five years later and which certainly was known to his admirers. pl.  
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#### Hill House, Greatham (1883) (Briarmead)

William Thomas Tate (1843-1921) was a bachelor and bank accountant who worked for the National Provincial Bank in West Hartlepool in County Durham (now Cleveland).<sup>40</sup> As the son of a master mariner and ship-owner, and as a high-ranking Freemason and a trustee of the local Athenaeum, he would certainly know Lowthian Bell, MP for West Hartlepool in 1875-80, and his son Hugh, who were much involved with the business, political, and social life of the town.<sup>41</sup> In 1883, probably at their suggestion and because he admired their houses, Tate asked Webb to design a house for a site he had leased on the outskirts of nearby Greatham village.<sup>42</sup> Webb, who would have inspected the site whilst in the area on Bell business, sent the design to Tate in June 1883.<sup>43</sup> Its execution by an unidentified builder was supervised by a local architect, James Garry.<sup>44</sup>

In 1901 another local architect, W. H. Linton, added a hip-roofed kitchen porch, and a detached

range.<sup>45</sup> Tate and his unmarried sister lived in the house, Hill House, until their deaths in the 1920s, after which Webb's connection with it was forgotten until 1980 when the building--unchanged but in need of attention--was discovered by the author whilst researching for the present work.<sup>46</sup> Its repair was undertaken in 1981,<sup>47</sup> the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Webb's birth. Hill House is now a family home known as Briarmead; Linton's range is in separate ownership.

The commanding but exposed site, on the brow of a hill, faced west over open countryside. This view and the frequency of bitter winds off the North Sea determined the arrangement and the plan of the house. Webb erected a low wall topped by a high close-boarded fence on the east boundary alongside the road, and placed the house parallel to it but set back to allow it to be sheltered by the small stable block. The south wall of the stable was extended to screen the kitchen yard and to support a covered way from the road to the porch, and its east gable was extended to encompass a cave-like doorway at the roadside before merging into the boundary wall. On the west front, a short loggia hid the terrace from the kitchen window, and sheltered the terrace and the dining-room french window which, for protection during westerly gales, had an additional, solid door. Other ground floor windows on this front had strong internal shutters.

On both the ground and the first floor,

cross-passages divided non-habitable rooms on the cold east side of the house from the living-rooms, kitchen, and bedrooms on the west front. The kitchen and scullery were placed at the north end of the building, and the drawing-room--which had direct access to the dining-room to avoid the chilly hall in winter--in its south-west corner. The main bedroom was placed over the kitchen for maximum warmth; there were three further first-floor bedrooms, and three attic bedrooms.

Also because of the exposure of the site, the red-brick walls were rough cast (though this was not a local material) as weather-tiling was not a sensible proposition, the roof was simple, and woodwork was kept to a minimum. The roof and the four gables--two on the block parallel to the road, and a wider one facing it on the stub wing, and the east gable of the stable--were the dominant elements. The stable was also rough cast, and roofed with the same local pantiles as the house but where the gables of the latter had stone copings and adaptations of the local kneelers, its east gable was crow-stepped. All the rough cast, including that of the boundary wall, was colour-washed a rich shade of cream<sup>48</sup> which, with the red pantiles, gave a warm, unified appearance.

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Apart from a small south-facing stone-roofed oriel in the drawing-room, windows of habitable rooms were vertical sashes, those in the drawing-room and dining-room being grouped into two bay-windows under a continuous lean-to roof like that of The Briary. Other

pl.  
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windows were the horizontally sliding sashes known locally as Yorkshire slides, some of them taller than traditional examples. The two small dormers in position in 1980 were probably poor replacements of Webb's originals.<sup>49</sup>

Inside as well as out, Tate followed Webb's advice and avoided ornament.<sup>50</sup> The major rooms had typical Webb fireplaces with bracketed mantelshelves and pl.  
187 panelled overmantels, and his Longden grates.<sup>51</sup> As usual in his houses, attic fireplaces had simple painted stone surrounds. The staircase rose through three storeys, its bottom flight being free-standing, and had the square balusters and knobbed newels often used by Webb from the mid-1870s for smaller houses. Nothing is known of the original decoration but, in view of the Bell influence, it would doubtless include Morris and Company products.

Compact and well-balanced from all angles, anchored to the ground by gables and stacks, Hill House looked--and was--proof against the fiercest gales. Its freshness and simplicity must have been startling in 1883, and its striking similarity to houses by Voysey, Baillie Scott, Robert Lorimer, James MacLaren and Mackintosh suggests a wide renown. In a sudden change of style in the mid-1880s Voysey introduced the rough-cast houses that became his trademark, and, probably under his influence, Baillie Scott began designing similar houses in the late 1890s.<sup>52</sup> Possibly Hill House partially inspired Scott's new style, as in

the 1880s there was wide interest amongst younger architects in Webb's work. Perhaps Hill House influenced Lorimer, who set up practice in 1892 after working for Webb's friend Bodley; and MacLaren, who joined the Art Workers' Guild in 1886; and perhaps also Mackintosh, who was introduced to the ideas and ideals of Webb and the Arts and Crafts movement in the early 1890s by Francis Newbery, a member of the SPAB.<sup>53</sup>

Coneyhurst, Ewhurst (1883) (Coneyhurst-on-the-Hill)

Mary Anne Ewart (d. 1909), a well-to-do unmarried granddaughter of a Liverpool merchant and daughter of a Liberal MP of renown, was a supporter of better education for women; she was a governor of two London schools for girls, a member of the councils of Bedford College, and of Newnham College to which, and to Somerville College, she gave generous financial support.<sup>54</sup> In 1883 she asked Webb--whom she had certainly known since 1877 when she became a member of the SBAB, and with whom she shared a great interest in plants and gardening<sup>55</sup>--to design a house for a site on the southern escarpment of the Hurt Wood near Ewhurst in Surrey. Webb inspected the site in July; his first scheme proved too costly but the second, sent to his client in September, was accepted, and in January 1884 a price was sought from the builders William and George King of Abinger Hammer.<sup>56</sup> The figure was higher than expected but because of increases in prices, the above average number of fitted cupboards, and the specific-



ation of Bower-Barffed pipes, it was pronounced fair by Goodman, the quantity surveyor, and accepted by Miss Ewart.<sup>57</sup> The final cost of around £6,500 plus Webb's fee included the gardener's cottage and the stable block with coachman's flat, which were envisaged from the start but not designed until late 1885 and early 1886 respectively.<sup>58</sup>

The contract was signed in May 1884; construction proceeded rapidly and well under Holt, the builder's foreman (no clerk of works was employed), and in September 1885 Webb told Boyce that: Miss Ewart had moved into her house, and seemed 'to like it well enough'.<sup>59</sup> She named it Coneyhurst, and persuaded Webb against his rule to allow his name to appear on it, inscribed on a brick in the porch.<sup>60</sup> In recent years the house has been made into two dwellings, with only minimum changes externally and internally, and the loss of the climbing plants.<sup>61</sup> The gardener's cottage has been extended into the outer porch, and the stable block has been made into a house.

The site sloped steeply from south to north, and a little less so from west to east. Webb's wish to make a balanced composition of the buildings as a whole governed the layout.<sup>62</sup> He placed the stable east of the house, at a higher level near the road where it served as a lodge. In a development of the arrangements of New Place and Hill House, he made the main porch a part of the gardener's cottage, and linked <sup>pl.</sup> it to the house by a long entrance passage against the <sub>188</sub>



kitchen wing. From one or other of the ancillary buildings the whole site was overlooked, giving Miss Ewart security but also a private terrace on the south front.

The plan was similar to that of New Place.<sup>63</sup> The chief differences were that the dining-room took the position of the surgery, a morning-room of equal size to the drawing-room was provided in lieu of a study, and the hall was greatly enlarged, galleried, and lit by a wide two-storey bay-window instead of a dormer. Miss Ewart evidently wished to entertain on a considerable scale; by using double doors between the living-hall and the dining-room and drawing-room, Webb provided an extendable area of unusually large size for a relatively small house before the advent of open planning. There were four bedrooms, a WC, bathroom, and a maids' bedroom on the first-floor, and another bedroom and a studio on the second floor above the hall and dining-room. As Miss Ewart was an amateur artist, no waiting-room, models' changing-room, or separate entrance was provided, therefore Coneyhurst was not a true studio-house.

The house and gardener's cottage had red roof tiles and red brick walls, weather-tiled on the first floor. The stable block had the same roof tiles but was linked visually to the upper levels of the house by the white weatherboarding of its walls which repeated that in the apexes of most of the house gables. Aiming as always for unobtrusiveness, Webb divided the roof into three

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pl.  
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parts: a dominant and stabilizing central ridge, gabled at each end and running east-west across the hillside, with lower roofs at right angles to north and south, each consisting of twin ridges. Those on the south front ended in gables above the bay-window projection which buttressed the building against the hill. Miss Ewart's utilitarian but pleasing brick-pillared balcony reflected the developing preoccupation of the time with healthy living. A less attractive feature was the plaster cove on the west wall of the inner porch; it had been successful over the void of the New Place porch but here suggested that the wall below it was a later infil.<sup>64</sup>

The interior offered dramatic spatial contrasts. The outer porch began as a dark burrow, then became cloistral at its lower level<sup>65</sup> where it was open to the west lawn; the enfilade widened a little in the inner porch, then narrowed again in the lobby before opening into the large, galleried hall. The staircase, with its upper flight suspended in space, white trellis-work balustrade panels, and oak newels rising the full height of the hall, was a dynamic hollow sculpture.

The decoration was unusually plain and simple for its time. Pale distemper or small-patterned Morris and Company wall-paper (chosen by Miss Ewart and Webb in 1889) covered the walls, making a good background for the client's collection of water-colours; ceilings and woodwork were white or light coloured.<sup>66</sup> A medium-toned carpet was fitted throughout the ground-floor and

pl.  
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pl.  
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on the staircase, and was occasionally relieved by Eastern rugs; the drawing-room had internal shutters and floral muslin curtains, and the hall was curtained in a heavy woven wool fabric by Morris and Company.<sup>67</sup>

pl.  
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Though designed for a woman, there was nothing specifically feminine about Coneyhurst; its plan was developed from New Place which was designed for a bachelor, albeit one who shared his home with sisters, and its external appearance had a similar general character to that of other brick houses by Webb.<sup>68</sup>

As John Brandon-Jones pointed out, it was from Smeaton and Coneyhurst that the 'younger generation learnt to respect Webb for the freshness and common sense of his approach to building'.<sup>69</sup> Influences from the house appeared in several turn-of-the-century houses. For example, the courses of horizontal tiling of the gardener's cottage reappeared at Lutyens's Tigbourne Court (1899), and at New Place (1897) Voysey used similar bracketed gables, and extended the wall planes as Webb had done on the north gable of Coneyhurst as a stop to the tiling on adjacent walls (Voysey, unlike Webb, treated the extensions as battered them as buttresses).<sup>70</sup> By the 1880s two-storeyed living-halls were unfashionable for country houses; that of Coneyhurst helped to popularize them for small houses in the country, such as Voysey's Norney (1897) and Baillie Scott's Blackwell (1898).<sup>71</sup> Staircases winding round an open well with floor to ceiling newels were used by many architects,



including Voysey at Broadleys, Lutyens at Littlecroft (1899), and Mackintosh, who also made a feature of lattices in fittings and furniture, for instance in the hall at Hill House (1902).<sup>72</sup> The enfilade entrance passage of Lutyens's Deanery Garden (1900) almost certainly derived from those of Webb's New Place and Coneyhurst, and in turn it (according to James Kornwolf) was probably the source of those of Baillie Scott, for instance at Springcot (1903).<sup>73</sup>

Goldenfields, Liphook (1890-91) (Lychgates, et alii)

Mrs Mary Anne Robb (1829-1912), daughter of the engineer Matthew Boulton, and widow of a naval officer, was an amateur horticulturalist and gardener of some renown.<sup>74</sup> Sometime before 1890 she bought an estate, Chiltley or Chiltlee Place at Liphook in Hampshire, on which she created fine gardens.<sup>75</sup> She exchanged rare specimens with leading gardeners, and brought plants back from expeditions to the Near East, including that which bears her name, euphorbia robbiae, but was known also as 'Mrs Robb's bonnet' because it travelled in her hat-box.<sup>76</sup> 'Beware of the Lycopodium', the notice which kept local boys out of her garden, signified her keen sense of humour.<sup>77</sup>

Webb--whom she possibly met through the more famous gardener Gertrude Jekyll--visited the estate in July 1890, when he measured the existing Georgian mansion (in which one of Mrs Robb's sons was to live) and took the brief for a new house.<sup>78</sup> Subsequently he prepared

a preliminary<sup>78</sup> plan for a new house for Mrs Robb, and designed a cottage for her gardener.<sup>79</sup> The price of the house--£3,000<sup>80</sup>--being apparently beyond her means, Mrs Robb decided to build the cottage, suitably extended, for her own use. Its cost (about £1,400 including Webb's fee) was more than the estimate because after the builders--who again were W. and G. King--had started work, Mrs Robb requested another bedroom.<sup>81</sup> The house was finished in the autumn of 1892,<sup>82</sup> hence its name, Goldenfields.

In 1905 the house was enlarged by the architect Owen Little to accommodate some of Mrs Robb's family; at a later date further additions were made by another architect, Inigo Triggs.<sup>83</sup> In 1951 the house was divided; the service quarters and clock tower became another dwelling which retained the appellation Goldenfields; the remainder took the name Lychgates.<sup>84</sup> In 1983 the new Goldenfields was made into four dwellings.<sup>85</sup> Mrs Robb's original living-rooms, bedrooms, and clock-tower survived all the changes almost unscathed.

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The gardener's cottage was to have been an almost square, two-storeyed block. Setting it well back from the road bounding the site to the south-east but parallel with it, Webb enlarged it on that side to provide Mrs Robb with a drawing-room and a dining-room facing north- and south-west over the gardens, and probably a study, and a main bedroom with a balcony and dressing-room, two further bedrooms, an EC, and a

pl.  
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bathroom.<sup>86</sup> From the north-east front he extended a narrow wing, parallel to the road, which contained the two-storey gallery requested by the client.<sup>87</sup> At the end, this wing returned as a stub wing facing away from the road; in the angle Webb created a loggia,<sup>88</sup> and above the junction of the wings he added a clock-tower, set at forty-five degrees like the loggia. Beyond this was a yard with outbuildings. pl.  
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As the site was well above sea-level and considerably exposed, the upper walls of the red-brick house were rough cast, weather-tiled, or, like the tower, boarded in oak.<sup>89</sup> The red-tiled roofs were a mixture of gables and hips, and the plain chimney-stacks had tiled hips. The balcony had sturdy oak balusters and bracketed posts, and was supported by the oak mullions of the deep bay-window which Webb added to the gardener's drawing-room. In the north-west wall of this room he inserted a large oak-mullioned window similar to those he employed in the added wing. Some of the small casements of the original scheme were retained but french doors were inserted into the long casement window of the dining-room. pl.  
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Under its lean-to roof, the loggia also had bracketed posts. The square tower rose in three tapering stages; the first housed the clock mechanism, the second had the clock-face (on a diamond-shaped mount characteristic of Webb), and the third was an open belvedere topped by pyramid roof. Mrs Robb could see the clock from the gardens, and the gardens from pls.  
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the belvedere. Locally the tower was believed to have been based on Sussex windmills, but it was probably suggested by the unique fifteenth-century clock-tower at Arley Hall in Cheshire.<sup>90</sup>

Goldenfields was a particularly unpretentious house, suited in type and size to a lady more interested in her gardens than her house, and whose adult offspring had left home. Mrs Robb enlarged only when she needed help and companionship in old age. At the turn of the century her house would be known to other gardeners, such as Gertrude Jekyll and the curator of Kew Gardens, but by the mid-twentieth century, Webb's connection with it was only remembered locally.<sup>91</sup>

#### Morris Cottages, Kelmscott (1899-1900)

In the summer of 1899 Jane Morris (for whom he had already designed Morris's tomb in Kelmscott churchyard)<sup>92</sup> asked Webb to design a pair of cottages which were to be her major memorial to her husband. On 6 June Webb measured the field--Crook's Close in the village of Kelmscott in Oxfordshire--from which the site was to be taken, and eight days later he sent her his first and ultimately final scheme.<sup>93</sup>

In a letter<sup>94</sup> which accompanied the design he explained his thinking. He had positioned the cottages at the north end of the field, bordering the village street, because there the old boundary wall would fix the width of the plot, and in itself would help to

assimilate the cottages with the village. Feeling that the 'broader in effect the 2 cottages could be made, the less of upstart in character would be the result', he did not express them individually. He made them identical but handed, under 'two simple gabled roofs crossing each other' and one of the wider gables facing the road, an arrangement which was also economical. He placed the entrances at opposite ends of the block to best 'keep the peace of the place', and, to avoid contamination from the ECs at the rear, sited the wells in the front gardens. pl.  
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To give the families 'breathing space', he provided each cottage with a single living-room--the 'keeping room'--instead a small one and the 'usual little waste room' (a parlour), and made it large enough to allow three bedrooms upstairs. He believed the keeping-rooms should face the road but, for sunlight, gave them an east and west window respectively, set in a recess (created by large pantry) for a 'work table'. Each cottage had a large washhouse off the hall but Webb also provided a yard with sheds and a covered way in which the mother 'could do good deal of wet work out of doors', and safely air 'her pots and pans as well as her children'. Finally, he suggested that, if a 'sign' was desired, it should be placed between the upper windows in the north gable, and take the form of a 'rudimentary tree and a couple of birds, to signify, to those who cared, "the town of the tree"' from a Morris pl.  
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poem. 95



Webb's fears that Janey would shake his 'remaining sand of time' in wrath after seeing the design proved groundless.<sup>96</sup> By May 1900 the working drawings were completed, and a price had been requested from builder Joseph Bowley of Lechlade.<sup>97</sup> Webb instructed George Jack in writing<sup>98</sup> to explain to Bowley the quality of work required, and to make the thorough investigation that he had hitherto undertaken himself. Jack was to inspect the quarries from which would come the various types of stone (paving slabs, roofing slates, rough stone for yard walls, and ashlar for the cottages), and to note the tools used for finishing. Webb ordered that plain ashlar 'should be axed, and only shaped work should be chizelled'. Examples of the ashlar finish that he required must be sought amongst old local buildings and shown to Bowley, to whom Jack must explain precisely how the stones in the various parts of the walls and chimneys were to be laid. Jack must also explain that the stones, and the bricks of the inner leaf, were to be particularly well-bedded in lime mortar to prevent the escape of the 'Blue Lias lime concrete' which (because of the porosity of the limestone) was to fill the cavity to waterproof the walls, and that the grouting was to be done in the old local manner which left little of the porous stone exposed.

Bowley's joiners' shop and timber stocks were to be inspected, together with the sources, characteristics, and quality of the proposed bricks, limes, cement, and damp-proof course materials. Samples of these mater-



ials were to be secured, and old buildings in which they had been used were to be sought. 'All local materials fit for their purpose, if good, would be preferred', Webb stated.<sup>99</sup>

Bowley's price was too high, as was the one then requested from another Lechlade builder, but Bowley's second estimate--of £900--was accepted in early June 1902.<sup>100</sup> Construction, supervised by Jack who also carved Webb's design for the memorial tablet, was completed in October 1903, extras having added £87.19.11 to the cost.<sup>101</sup>

Once again, through careful design, observation, investigation, and insistence on exactly the type and quality of finishes he had specified, Webb succeeded in his aim of making his houses--these were his final ones--an inconspicuous and harmonious part of their surroundings without copying old buildings. He disliked memorials because they were 'too apt to perpetuate the weakness of the doer' as well as the strength of the person they honoured.<sup>102</sup> Morris, however, would surely have been delighted with this memorial which was a testament to his own belief in the value of craftsmanship, and to the philosophy and expertise of his good companion Webb.

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## PART 3: BUILDINGS

### CHAPTER 6: ALTERATIONS AND EXTENSIONS

In his first enlargement--of Washington Hall--Webb applied the policy which he later imparted to the SPAB: that new work must be harmonious with the old yet obviously of later date, and with old buildings, must be designed in such a way that it involved no damage to the existing fabric, and could be removed without trace. He refused to be hurried with such work, and considered it his duty to be dictatorial on matters to do with the welfare of the ancient building.<sup>1</sup> 'I will do what I think right and as little badly as possible', he told George Howard when designing for Naworth Castle, 'but I will mind your objurations no more than the braying of your peacock.'<sup>2</sup> However, as he demonstrated at Forthampton Court, he had no compunction in removing later work which was inharmonious, inconvenient, or of poor quality.

Through the SPAB, Webb's later enlargements were as well-known as his complete houses. They encouraged others to rescue old houses rather than rebuild them, and his fine internal fittings in timber at Forthampton Court and Tangley Manor influenced those of several Arts and Craft Movement architects. Through leading the unwary to assume that in the 1890s Webb had espoused the classical styles, his additions to Exning House and Warrens House joined Smeaton Manor in

encouraging the early-twentieth-century turn to inventive classicism. In fact, as Standen, Hurlands, and the Kelmscott cottages revealed, Webb's design philosophy was based on the gamut of the national vernacular to the end of his career.

#### Washington Hall, Washington (c.1864-67)

Webb's first commission from Lowthian Bell, received in 1863-64, was for an extension to Washington Hall in County Durham (now in Tyne and Wear), a 'Jacobethan' house designed in 1854 by Alfred Burdakin Higham of Newcastle upon Tyne who had died in 1862.<sup>3</sup> As noted already, Bell probably approached Webb on the recommendation of Ruskin who had stayed at the Hall the previous year.<sup>4</sup> The enlargement evidently pleased Bell, as within a few years of its completion he instigated Webb's involvement with the design of the new street for Newcastle, tried to obtain for him the valuable Middlesbrough Exchange commission, and requested designs for a clock-tower for his Port Clarence works and a second extension to the Hall.<sup>5</sup>

In 1889 Bell gave the Hall to Miss Emma Watson for use as a home for the destitute boys in memory of his wife.<sup>6</sup> After some changes of use, it is now an independent school for maladjusted boys. Inevitably, slight alterations were made, chiefly to the interior. Most of Webb's work remains but an unfortunate window has been inserted into his entrance front.<sup>7</sup>

Webb's additions consisted of a Turkish bath suite,



study, entrance porch, lobby, WC, store-room for Mrs Bell, and large extension to the conservatory, with three first-floor bedrooms and a WC at the north-east corner of the house, and a new dining-room and entrance (with WC)--with two first-floor bedrooms and dressing-rooms and a second-floor flat (a sitting-room and two bedrooms)--at the south west corner of the house.<sup>8</sup> The new conservatory (a simple structure in comparison to Higham's ornate octagonal) provided access through the billiard-room from the family quarters to the new ground-floor rooms. The first extension was designed in 1864-65, and the other in 1866-67.<sup>9</sup> Probably whilst one of them was being built, Webb designed a more domestic upper stage to replace Higham's spire.<sup>10</sup>

Webb made his additions harmonious with Higham's house by using the same bricks and Welsh slates, and by employing stone dressings and casements, and making his roofs less dominant than usual. On the south front he kept the same wall and ridge lines,<sup>11</sup> and repeated Higham's first-floor windows and diapering but gave the dining-room a large window with stone mullions and transoms, and used an angled buttress instead of quoins; another buttress concealed the join between old and new brickwork. The main entrance porch was the most overtly gothic Webb ever designed, with a pointed arch in stone, a ribbed brick vault with ribs, and narrow buttresses denoting its internal width. He re-used a traceried windod by Higham in the hall. Tall stacks, with stone tops and beautifully crafted fluting

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in angled bricks, lead-covered gables with bold horizontal roll joints like those of the of the bothy at Arisaig, and stone dressings blending into the walling, were common to both extensions. The new pitch-roofed tower top, a celebration of the decorative and textural possibilities of bricks, had a characteristic small lead-covered bell-turret and diamond-faced clock.<sup>12</sup>

pl.  
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The dining-room had a panelled dado, a built-in sideboard (with a coved top, a main shelf supported on turned posts, and bracketed display shelves), a narrow plaster cornice of low relief leaves and flowers, and a fireplace which was plainer than usual and lacked an overmantel.<sup>13</sup>

#### Cranmer Hall, Sculthorpe (1864-67)

In 1864-67 Webb enlarged Cranmer Hall (1721) near Sculthorpe in Norfolk for Sir Willoughby Jones, a cousin by marriage of Astley of Arisaig.<sup>14</sup> In red brick to match the existing building, Webb added a wing which had triple gables with windows of a classical air set in projecting brick surrounds, the central square, the others oval.<sup>15</sup> He also built a tall clock-tower with an immense flying-buttress and a clock-face with a golden sun and moon.<sup>16</sup> As the total cost of Webb's work was around £6,720 plus his fee, it is probable that it included the brick and pantiled stable block.<sup>17</sup>

The major apartment of the new wing was a

drawing-room with a plaster barrel-vault ornamented with birds and arabesques in relief, and a single pillar in front of a recess behind it, a forerunner of that in the dining-room at Clouds.<sup>18</sup> Webb also inserted a new chimney-piece and panelling in the dining-room (in a wing added in 1840) and had a set of chairs made for the room to his design.<sup>19</sup>

In 1929 Jones's grandson--to whom Webb was a 'vandal' who had 'disfigured' the original house and humiliated its 'Georgian moderation and restraint'--stripped most of his finishes from the new wing, including the vault of the drawing-room which he turned into a bland Georgian pastiche.<sup>20</sup> He sold the house in 1948; the purchaser demolished most of the tower and the entire 1840 wing.<sup>21</sup> The main house is still a private residence.

Cortachy, Berkeley, and Naworth Castles.

In 1868 Webb inspected Cortachy Castle in the Tayside Region of Scotland preparatory to advising Lord Airlie and his wife (Rosalind Howard's sister) whether it was better to enlarge it or to build an entirely new country seat.<sup>22</sup> Webb concluded that the ancient tower was worth saving but not the castellated gothick wing, and that it would be extremely costly to massively extend the former.<sup>23</sup> A new house was decided upon and designed by Webb in 1868-69 but by the end of the second year the project had been abandoned.<sup>24</sup> The following year the Scottish architect



David Bryce began to enlarge Cortachy Castle,<sup>25</sup> probably at the suggestion of Webb, who felt uncomfortable when depriving local men of jobs, and who probably refused the new commission because it went against his advice, and because it included alterations to the ancient tower. It is possible that the upper room in the tower was renovated and re-roofed under Webb's direction, and that fittings to his design were installed in this room and the adjacent gothick library.<sup>26</sup> The effectiveness of harling at keeping wind-driven rain out of the tower walls doubtless convinced Webb that the rough cast of his native Oxfordshire was not only a legitimate material in its own right but also a most useful one.

Perhaps initially through Morris and Company, Webb was involved with Berkeley Castle in Gloucestershire, the seat of Lord and Lady Fitzhardinge, from 1874-80.<sup>27</sup> In 1874-75 William Cuthbert installed wainscot and bench seats in the fourteenth-century Great hall to Webb's designs; surprisingly, the architect allowed the bench ends to remain though they had been made without his drawings, because he was so pleased with the simple and direct way in which they had been done.<sup>28</sup> Webb retained the fireplace which was later in date than the hall but had it painted 'gold on a dark ground' by Morris and Company to 'soften' its incongruous parts.<sup>29</sup> To Webb's instructions, this firm re-glazed the windows of the hall in 1877-80, replacing the heraldic glass but setting it in plain quarries, and substituting

plain quarries for the 'discordant' coloured glass in a window on the Great Oak Staircase.<sup>30</sup>

Webb redecorated Lady Fitzhardinge's bedroom and the Prince's Room in 'flatted' white as the best background for its tapestries, and installed oak-framed windows into existing openings in the small drawing-room.<sup>31</sup> He repeatedly urged the setting aside of well-seasoned oak for roof repairs which would soon become necessary, and the removal of gas lighting from the hall before it damaged the fourteenth-century timber roof.<sup>32</sup>

Naworth Castle near Brampton in Cumberland (now Cumbria) was reinstated by Salvin after a major fire of 1844 in time to become the country home of George Howard and his bride in 1864. Webb's first visit to the castle, in 1868, was as their friend but, having failed to persuade Howard to go to a local man, from 1873-79 he was involved with it on a professional basis, from 1877 as the official architect to the estate.<sup>33</sup>

He installed a diamond-faced clock in the central courtyard in 1873-74, and between 1874-79 converted the Moat or 'Bote' House--a detached building jutting into the dry moat--into a studio.<sup>34</sup> In 1878 he added a wainscoted sitting-room for Rosalind Howard to the top of Salvin's Morpeth Tower, panelled the adjacent passage, inserted a staircase to give access to it, added another in the east range to give a more convenient approach to the major bedrooms, and also

various fireplaces and grates including those in the nurseries which had Morris and Company tiles.<sup>35</sup> It was probably at this time that he inserted double doors with high-level glazing in Belted Will's Room.<sup>36</sup> In 1878 he designed bookcases for the small library or music-room, which were made and installed by the estate joiners under William Marshall, and fittings for the large library, which included two coved galleries with narrow spiral staircases, and the chimney-piece.<sup>37</sup> Into the latter was set 'Flodden Field', the bas-relief drawn by Burne-Jones with Webb's help (presumably with the horses), modelled in plaster by Sir Edgar Boehm, and coloured by Burne-Jones.<sup>38</sup>

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Webb made these additions without disturbing the ancient fabric. For example, in the studio he inserted lights into the roof--which required replacement anyway--instead of cutting new openings, filled a redundant doorway with latticed glazing not masonry, supported an old defective lintel on an oak post, and installed a gill-stove with a stone-encased external flue that was not bonded into the wall.<sup>39</sup>

In 1879, whilst inspecting the site for a large new wing which he had agreed to design, Webb found that a doorway had been cut in the old walls without his knowledge.<sup>40</sup> He was both furious and distressed, having believed that Howard understood and shared his 'oft-repeated' wish to keep the ancient fabric sacrosanct; instead, Howard had allowed 'forever irreparable' work to be done without 'so much as "by



your leave".<sup>41</sup> After cooling his temper for a few days, Webb still found it necessary to resign from his official post; at his suggestion Charles J. Ferguson of Carlisle was appointed in his stead.<sup>42</sup> Webb remained the Howards' friend, however, and continued to design memorials for their family, and to superintend any renovation and redecoration of their London house.<sup>43</sup>

The castle is still the seat of the Earl of Carlisle, though part of it has been converted into flats. Webb's work remains.

No. 8 Holland Villas Road, Kensington (1870, 1879)

The first commission Webb received from the wealthy Greek coterie in Kensington came from Constantine Alexander Ionides (1833-1900) who, like the rest of his family, was a patron of artists in the Rossetti circle.<sup>44</sup> In 1870 Webb altered and extended Ionides's home, the speculatively-built number 8 Holland Villas Road in Kensington.<sup>45</sup> The result must have pleased Ionides as Webb enlarged the house further in 1879-81.<sup>46</sup> The first extension cost around £920, the second about £2,350 but Webb was responsible for only £980 of the latter.<sup>47</sup>

No. 23 Second Avenue, Hove (1889)

In 1889 he enlarged number 23 Second Avenue, Ionides's house at Hove in East Sussex.<sup>48</sup> The extension, built in 1890-91 by William and Thomas

Garrett of Brighton for a total cost of £2,703.14.7 plus Webb's fee, consisted of a ground-floor picture gallery above an iron-and-concrete vaulted basement.<sup>49</sup> The gallery was an elongated octagon, thirty-seven feet by eighteen feet, with two coffered octagons surmounted by large lanterns in its roof which also was of iron and concrete construction. The room had fitted bookshelves below picture height, a marble fireplace with embossed and silvered iron jambs, a 'fret-frieze', and hangings in silk and in wool chosen by Webb and made by Morris and Company.<sup>50</sup> Both Ionides's houses exist but have been divided into flats. The picture gallery at Hove is a snooker-room.

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Fairfield Lodge, No. 6 Addison Road, Kensington (1870s)

After the death of her wealthy husband (a cotton merchant), Mrs Euphrosyne Cassavetti left Athens with her daughter Mary and son Alexander to join the Greek coterie in London, where she became a generous patron of Burne-Jones with whom Mary had a near-disastrous love affair.<sup>51</sup> In 1871 Webb designed alterations and extensions to the figure of around £4,780 for her Kensington house, Fairfield Lodge (number 6 Addison Road); nothing more is known of this work, except that it included a 'beautiful studio'.<sup>52</sup>

He enlarged the house further in 1876 for Alexander (born 1851), a solicitor of whom Prinsep was a client.<sup>53</sup> This second alteration was executed by Ashby Brothers, the firm which at the time was altering

Prinsep's house; it was completed by early 1878 for the sum of £5,160, which included the cost of the stable block.<sup>54</sup> Cassavetti's astonishment at this figure infuriated Webb who had explained the cost of each extra as Cassavetti ordered it, and that making the drainage system safe would be far more expensive than even the expert Rogers Field had envisaged.<sup>55</sup>

Fairfield Lodge was demolished in the late 1960s, and all Webb's drawings for his work there are missing. Judging from the one photograph so far discovered, Webb added a second floor and a side extension, as well as the stable block and Cassavetti's extras (wide stone steps into the garden from the new dining-room, a large bow-window, and more costly staircases than those stipulated in the contract).<sup>56</sup>

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Nether Hall, Pakenham (1874)

Edward Greene (1815-1891) was Conservative MP from 1865 until his death for Bury St Edmunds in Suffolk where he had a successful brewery; he was a considerate employer who paid good wages and housed his employees unusually well, and served on the influential Select Committee on Artisans' and Labourers' cottages in 1866.<sup>57</sup> In 1874, wishing to further his interest in horses and innovatory agricultural practices, he consulted Webb about the purchase of the Nether Hall estate in the village of Pakenham five miles from the town, and having bought it, commissioned him to alter and enlarge the house.<sup>58</sup> The work cost about £2,540,



plus Webb's fee (which included £90 for work on farm buildings on the estate).<sup>59</sup>

In the 1890s Nether Hall was altered and extended by an unidentified architect for Greene's son, since when there have been few changes apart from minor ones necessary to fit the house for use as a country club in 1974.<sup>60</sup> Webb's connection with the house was lost sight of by twentieth-century owners but almost all his work remains, apart from the minor offices. Nether Hall is once again a private residence.

Old prints reveal that Nether Hall was a fifteenth- or sixteenth-century timber-framed house, with four parallel gabled roofs, which was encased in brick and given sash windows probably in the early eighteenth century.<sup>61</sup> Apart from rebuilding the chimney-stacks, Webb left the south front as it was. To the west front he added two two-storeyed bay-windows, each surmounted by a gable with a single-flue chimney-stack at the apex and flanked by angled and pinnacled buttresses; these features and the heavily corbelled tops of Webb's major stacks and water-tower reflected, without copying, those of sixteenth-century East Anglian great houses. (These remain but the 1890s architect replaced Webb's windows with further-projecting mullioned and transomed bays; he also crenellated Webb's tower and refenestrated the south front).

Webb created a new entrance court on the north front, sheltered by garden walls and his new two-storeyed service wing which was in red brick like

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the old house. His round-arched porch, one of the finest he designed, returned to the single round arch of Joldwynds after the duality of the Rounton Grange. He weatherboarded the gable of its roof and the three remaining gables of the main roof. On the east front he added a small bay-window to form a breakfast table recess in the dining-room (the passage to the 1890s study encased this within the building).

Webb panelled the dining-room in oak and installed a handsome oak sideboard, a development of that at Washington Hall, with a serpentine main shelf, china-display shelves with characteristic flattened arches and a coved canopy, supported on octagonal posts, which returned at the sides over the flanking doors. Also notable were his fireplaces in the dining-room, drawing-room,<sup>62</sup> library, and original study, all with Morris and Company tiles (in the library these included Webb's raven, rabbit, and cockerel tiles). The Webb grate with turned iron and brass posts in the drawing-room was similar to those of Red House, Arisaig, and number 1 Palace Green. These features remain, together with several bedroom fireplaces.

No. 1 Holland Park, Kensington (1879-83, 1887-90)

In 1879 Alexander Alexander Ionides (b. 1840), diplomatist and younger brother of Constantine, commissioned Webb to add a staircase extension--the constriction of which was supervised by Vinall--to

number 1 Holland Park in Kensington to which Thomas Jeckyll had already added a billiard-room.<sup>63</sup> Ionides was a friend of both these architects, and a collector of paintings by the Pre-Raphaelite circle artists. A garden house designed by Webb in 1888 may have been abandoned in favour of his 1889 scheme for a smoking-room above a loggia, which was built by Carey and Company for about £2,000.<sup>64</sup>

pls.  
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By the time the house was demolished by the London County Council in 1953 nothing remained of Webb's or Jeckyll's fittings.<sup>65</sup> Fortunately, however, the influential interior decoration was fully described in the 1890s in The Art Journal, The Studio, and The Architectural Review, to which the reader is referred for details of the Morris and Company decoration.<sup>66</sup>

The major features of Webb's 1879 addition (which was at the rear of the house) were: the segmentally vaulted porch with wrought iron gates and grilles, and wall and ceiling tiles by William De Morgan; the oak staircase with steeper steps for Ionides's bronze sculptures under the flanking handrails; the mosaic pavement on the main landing with a scroll-patterned central portion in green to match the woodwork, and white borders diapered at intervals in black and orange; and 'The Forest' tapestry by Morris and Company of which animals designed by Webb formed the major feature.<sup>67</sup> The fireplace, in sober Purbeck marble as a foil to the old Persian tiles in its jambs, and the 'sideboard'--a canopied recess built out from the

pl.  
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pl.  
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wall--in the dining-room were also notable.<sup>68</sup> Walter Crane decorated this room with elaborate silvered and clear-lacquered gesso work which would not have been to Webb's taste.<sup>69</sup>

In a masterly handling of material in the smoking-room, Webb demonstrated how richness could be achieved in a more sophisticated manner by exploiting the characteristics of English marbles. Clerestory windows revealed its semi-translucency in the projecting cornice below them, wall-panels exploited its several colours and beautiful markings, whilst carved alabaster capitals on the marble columns of the recess, and the upholstered settee with a gridded back --another precursor of Mackintosh's furniture--added subtle contrasts of colour and texture.<sup>70</sup>

#### Rushmore Lodge, Tollard Royal (1882-5)

In 1880 Lieutenant-General Augustus Henry Pitt-Rivers (1827-1900), the celebrated soldier, anthropologist, and archaeologist, inherited Rushmore Lodge, an undistinguished house of 1760 at Tollard Royal in Wiltshire.<sup>71</sup> In December 1881, after his brother-in-law George Howard had made the first approach, he asked Webb to alter the house.<sup>72</sup> Without binding himself to do the work, the architect, busy with Clouds, agreed to inspect, advise, and recommend, and did so the following month.<sup>73</sup> On 4 May 1882 the tender of builder A. H. Green of Blandford, Dorset was accepted for panelling the main or 'Great' corridor to

pl.  
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Webb's designs and specification.<sup>74</sup> In late summer that year, the dining-room was redecorated by Morris and Company to the cheaper of two designs prepared by Webb, and the following winter and spring Webb designed a new fireplace for the entrance hall and superintended the removal of an old fireplace from number 21 Pennyworn Road in London, and its installation at Rushmore.<sup>75</sup> Proposals for redecorating the billiard-room, altering and extending the office wing, and building a large family room were abandoned.<sup>76</sup> In 1885 Webb designed an entrance arch with lodges but it was rejected in favour of his design for wrought-iron gates with brick posts.<sup>77</sup>

By coincidence, in 1940 Sandroyd School, which had begun life in Spencer Stanhope's old house, Sandroyd by Webb, moved to Rushmore Lodge, where it and Webb's work remains.<sup>78</sup>

Webb floored and panelled the 'great corridor' in oak, pedimenting the door cases and setting thirty-two brackets for bronzes or china objects along the top of the panelling where the objects would be seen to advantage against the white frieze.<sup>79</sup> Pitt-Rivers, a difficult client who clearly considered himself as good a planner and designer as his architect, was pleased with this room but disliked the wall-paper Webb employed in the dining-room.<sup>80</sup> The architect would have preferred patterned hangings as a background to the pictures in this room but Pitt-Rivers found them too expensive.<sup>81</sup> A protracted battle of wills was caused

by Pitt-Rivers' wish to have a marble panel incorporating his initials with a stork and fox--until 1880 his name was Lane Fox--over the hall fireplace.<sup>82</sup> Having failed to persuade him that in this position the device would be tiresomely obtrusive, and that the best place for it was in the carved cresting under the coved hood of the chimneypiece, Webb suggested that Pitt-Rivers himself should superintend the making of the plaster model to his own design; eventually, however, Webb designed a simpler panel.<sup>83</sup> Disturbed by criticism of the fireplace, Pitt-Rivers proposed removing the projecting central panel over the fire-opening; Webb pointed out that this item in golden Sienna marble blended the grey and white marbles of the remainder with the oak panelling, and suggested that instead of undertaking so troublesome and costly a task Pitt-Rivers should re-read the fable of the miller, his son, and their ass.<sup>84</sup>

It is regrettable that Webb's powerful arcaded and parapeted gatehouse, which included a pair of pl.  
221 three-bedroomed lodges with polygonal stair-turrets, was not built. Its great round arch with alternately emphasized voussoirs gave it a suitably martial and distinctly Vanbrughian air. The angled gateposts which superseded it had niches, modillioned cornices and pyramid tops with ball finials.

Great Tangley Manor, near Guildford (1885, 1891, 1893)

In 1884 the dilapidated Tangley Manor, a moated



house reputedly of Anglo-Saxon origin near Guildford in Surrey, was bought by Wickham Flower, the solicitor and art collector who had employed Morris and Company to decorate his 1875 London house by Norman Shaw, and who had been a committee member of the SPAB since 1877.<sup>85</sup> In 1885 Flower asked Webb to repair and enlarge Tangley Manor.<sup>86</sup>

The first extension was designed in 1885, and built between November that year and mid-1886 for around £1,000 by William and George King, the firm which was building Coneyhurst.<sup>87</sup> The stables Webb designed in 1886 were not executed; in 1891 he prepared a new design, which included a pair of semi-detached brick cottages, with rough-cast upper walls, for the coachman and gardener, and which was built between July 1891 and May 1892 at a cost of around £2,106 by Mitchell Brothers of Shalford (the firm which had constructed Willinghurst).<sup>88</sup> In 1893 Webb designed his second and last extension to the house, which--because Webb feared expensive contingencies--was built by William and George King for its cost price plus 10% profit.<sup>89</sup> In the event, the final sum of £1,688 was £2 less than the architect's estimate.<sup>90</sup>

Twentieth-century alterations resulted in the demolition of Webb's office range and the conversion of his entrance hall into a pseudo-medieval great hall, but much of his work remains.<sup>91</sup> The house is now two dwellings. The cottages, much altered, are in separate ownership.

pl.  
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The 1885 enlargement included the now demolished office range at the rear of the house, and the entrance hall at the west end of the timber-framed, three-gabled front of 1582. To make the entrance hall unobtrusive externally, Webb placed the bedroom above it in a hipped roof and brought the latter down as a catslide over a loggia; the latter was divided into a porch and a verandah by the wall of the old courtyard garden which fronted the Elizabethan elevation. The open timber, tile-roofed screen with which Webb filled a gap in court wall was removed in the late-1940s but fortunately his timber bridge over the moat--one of the finest features he ever designed--which extended to the porch as a covered way under a continuous roof, supported partly by the old wall and partly on a timber arcade, remains.<sup>92</sup>

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Webb's second extension, added to the east end of the 1582 front, contained a library, new stair-hall, inset rear porch, and on the first floor, two bedrooms and an EC.<sup>93</sup> For the lower walls Webb used local Bargate stone rubble like the old court walls; for the first-floor he abandoned the timber-framing first envisaged in favour of the more subdued rough cast.<sup>94</sup> To keep down the height, he made the new rooms as low as the old, and divided the roof into two parallel ridges. He weather-tiled the side wall like the original wall but at the rear employed a variety of materials and forms to blend the new work with the hotch-potch of ancient walls. Apart from an oval light

pl.  
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which repeated the openings in the court wall, windows were mullioned and transomed in oak. Climbing plants were introduced on all the new work to help to merge it with the old.

The oak beams, wainscot, bookshelves, and fitted cupboards, and the restrained but beautifully proportioned stone fireplaces, were impressive features of the 1893 addition which was carpeted, curtained, and furnished by Morris and Company.<sup>95</sup>

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Even after he persuaded Flower to modify his design for the garden, Webb found it too 'spick and span', as did Morris who aggravated Flower by saying so; in turn, Webb, failing to appreciate their sensitivity on the subject, annoyed the Flowers by making play on their name in the design of a sundial.<sup>96</sup> The rest of his work greatly pleased the Flowers, and Mrs Flower's letter of appreciation began a correspondence with him which lasted until 1911.<sup>97</sup>

Tangley was the first of Webb's buildings to appear in print since the Worship Street shops in 1863, first in two articles in Country Life in 1898, and in the same journal in 1905 in a paper attributed to Gertrude Jekyll, who had known the building since childhood, and who praised Webb's reverence of the ancient fabric and his self-effacing extensions which harmonized with the old building without copying it.<sup>98</sup> Muthesius published two views of the library in Das englische Haus in 1904.<sup>99</sup>



Forthampton Court, near Tewkesbury (1889)

Forthampton Court, an ancient house near the banks of the Severn in Gloucestershire, was the country house of the abbots of Tewkesbury until the mid-eighteenth century, when it became the seat of the Yorke family.<sup>100</sup> When John Reginald Yorke (1835-1916)--a Conservative MP from 1865-86--inherited it in 1889 it was damp, dilapidated, unpleasantly smelly, and hopelessly inconvenient, with only the great hall and chapel surviving relatively intact from the medieval period; a classical entrance front had been added by Anthony Keck soon after 1788 to which Richard Armstrong had added an arcade in 1860).<sup>101</sup> Yorke decided to build a new house, and as already noted, having heard that Clouds was one of the best modern English houses, he inspected it, was introduced to Webb by Percy Wyndham, an erstwhile fellow MP, and commissioned the architect to design the new building.<sup>102</sup>

Within ten days of inspecting the old house, Webb submitted a report recommending its rehabilitation and a sketch plan showing how it could become a convenient home.<sup>103</sup> Yorke accepted his advice, and by October 1889 the drawings were ready.<sup>104</sup> With John Hardy as clerk of works, they--and those for the billiard-room and new stables designed in 1891 and 1892 respectively--were executed between 1889-92 at a cost of £17,232.14.5 plus Webb's fee by Albert Estcourt and Son, the firm which had built Clouds.<sup>105</sup>

The house is still the seat of the family, and

though there have been twentieth-century changes, most of Webb's work remains.<sup>106</sup>

To preserve the 'quality and interest' of the fundamentally medieval building, most evident on its north and north-east sides, Webb kept the entrance on the south-west front, and built the new offices and servants' quarters on the north-west side.<sup>107</sup> A major fault of the existing house was the smallness of its major rooms. Webb created a large drawing-room, with new oak wainscott and a fine medieval roof, in the upper part of the great hall (already subdivided horizontally) by removing existing internal walls.<sup>108</sup> Though not as dramatic as the later reinstatement of the original proportions of this hall, it was spacious yet easier to heat. It was approached by a new main staircase at the end of the hall, a more central position than that of the 1840 staircase, and by a service stair in a new polygonal turret.<sup>109</sup> The old stair-hall became a large dining-room, and on the south-east front, the library and bedroom above it were enlarged by a large rectangular projection with twin gables that echoed those of Webb's adjacent timber-framed and jettied extension to the main bedroom.<sup>110</sup> On the entrance front, he removed the 1840 arcade and Keck's pediment and Diocletian windows, added a wide bay-window to the hall and a timber-framed oriel to his new drawing-room next to the new polygonal stair-turret; he created a business-room--also used as the smoking-room--in the end of the eastern projection

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pl.  
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and built a porch and lobby (with a bedroom over and a heating chamber under)<sup>111</sup> on its west side, and rebuilt the old laundry block to the west side of the opposite projection, adding a triple-gabled storey. Webb had all the walls on this front rough-casted. pl. 231

Notable Webb features in the interior were the hall chimney-piece which incorporated an inscription recording the rehabilitation of the house; the library fittings, including the English fossil marble fireplace with the Yorke insignia (a small jewel-like panel carved by George Jack and gilded by Kate Faulkner to Webb's design) in its overmantel; the main staircase; and the dining-room fireplace with a plate-warming rack similar to that of Willinghurst below an embossed copper plate.<sup>112</sup> Webb first intended to make the chapel into a bedroom but instead made it an intriguing landing screened by a simple oak grid from the beautiful staircase which, with its balustered and gridded balustrade and tall posts mushrooming boldly against the ceiling, had a wide influence on Arts and Crafts Movement architects.<sup>113</sup> All these notable Webb features, and the revolving bookcase made to his design for the drawing-room by the contractors,<sup>114</sup> remain. pls. 233, 234 pl. 235

By a crafty mix of gentle bullying and flattery of her taste, Webb persuaded Mrs Yorke to furnish the house in a simple manner--simple according to the contemporary fashion--and himself chose the hangings for the drawing-room and parlour, and guided the choice of pattern for the drawing-carpet (which was specially



woven by Morris and Company).<sup>115</sup>

Exning House, Exning (1894)

Edward William David Baird (1864-1956), an army captain devoted to horse-racing, purchased the Exning House estate near Newmarket in Suffolk in 1891 to further this interest.<sup>116</sup> In 1894 John Yorke introduced him to Webb whom he commissioned to enlarge the existing house.<sup>117</sup> By the end of 1884 Webb's fourth scheme had been accepted; early in 1885 the contract drawings were prepared, and negotiations were opened with the local builder George Kett but, on finding his work on several Cambridge college buildings unsatisfactory, Webb requested a price from Albert Estcourt and Son.<sup>118</sup> The contract was signed in June and, with Webb's assistant William Weir as clerk of works, the enlargements, which more than doubled the size of the house, were completed a year later at a cost of £15,631.2.6 plus Webb's fee and Weir's salary.<sup>119</sup> Baird retained the house until after the Second World War without further change, though in 1907 George Jack reinstated part of Webb's service wing after a fire.<sup>120</sup> In the late-1940s the house was converted into a retirement home--Glanely Rest--with the minium of alterations.

The original red-brick, stone-dressed house was designed by Andrews Jelfe in 1734. Webb left this building almost untouched, and instead of improving the rooms which had been added at a later date on its north

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side, he persuaded Baird to build a new block as large and fine as the original house, plus new offices and servants' quarters.<sup>121</sup> The block contained servants' rooms in the basement; an inset porch and entrance hall, cloak-room, butler's pantry, servants' hall, and first-floor childrens' suite on the west front; and a dining-room, billiard-room (with its own lavatory and WC), and Mrs Baird's first-floor bedroom, dressing-room, and bathroom on the east front. Beyond it to the north was a new three-storeyed block--housing domestic offices, and guests' and maids' bedrooms--and a kitchen yard and lesser offices.<sup>122</sup>

pl.  
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Webb harmonized his main block with Jelfe's by using similar red bricks and stone dressings materials and sympathetic details but designed it with a vigour and freedom akin to that of the English Baroque buildings. Outside and in, he employed round arches for fanlights, tympana, recessed panels, relieving arches, fireplaces, and--in the entrance hall, porch, and various passages--plaster vaults. The rough-cast upper walls of the service wing reflected local targeted vernacular buildings.

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The billiard-room, which was also the smoking-room, had a large window overlooking the garden to which it had access, high-level windows facing an open court, a raised recess from which to observe play, and a more intimate barrel-vaulted area, with its own casement window, near the fireplace (a re-used one set in a partly-new oak surround).<sup>123</sup> The dining-room had a

pl.  
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built-in sideboard (now missing), and a handsome Hopton  
Wood limestone fireplace with geometric inlay in the  
tympalum, and a panelled oak outer surround with  
radiating panels over the round arch of the stone.  
This fireplace was illustrated in The Architectural  
Review in 1915.<sup>124</sup>

In the entrance and the two-storeyed bay-window at  
the rear, both chiefly in stone to mask the junction  
between old and new brickwork, Webb achieved a  
classical air without using the Orders. These  
inventive and pleasing items suggest that had he  
accepted such commissions, Webb would have produced  
public buildings of a vigour, power, and invention  
equal to Vanbrugh's work. They certainly demonstrate  
that in his last years in practice his design skill had  
not diminished.

#### Warrens House, Bramshaw (1897)

Warrens House at Bramshaw in Hampshire comprised  
two similar villas--the first designed by John Nash in  
1804, the second by an unidentified architect--  
connected by a large conservatory.<sup>125</sup> When George  
Edward Briscoe Eyre (1840-1922), a printer and publish-  
er--inherited it from a bachelor uncle he found it  
too small for the country house of a family man, so he  
asked Webb, whom he may have met through his part-  
ner,<sup>126</sup> to enlarge it. Webb examined the house in  
March 1897, and by November had had his scheme acc-  
epted.<sup>127</sup> In February 1898 he inspected the yard and

previous work of Franklin and Son of Southampton, and, finding everything satisfactory, requested a tender based on the already prepared bill of quantities.<sup>128</sup> The contract was signed in March, and by October 1899, at a cost of around £9,000 plus Webb's fee, the work was completed, though Webb was still designing extra fittings in 1900.<sup>129</sup>

The house remains the country home of the Eyre family but, requirements for these having changed, in 1979 the present owner demolished Webb's block of offices and bedrooms.<sup>130</sup> As Webb intended, it was possible to do this without affecting the two villas.

Though slightly too Italianate for Webb's taste, the two villas were honest brick buildings, with good proportions, ample movement, and good contrasts of light and shade, which presented a homogeneous appearance on the west-facing garden front. The great length of the building made it impracticable for Webb to use his longhouse arrangement as he had at Exning. Instead, he added the desired number of bedrooms, offices, and servants' quarters, whilst leaving the villas almost untouched externally and internally, by creating the required common-room inside the conservatory and adding a new three-storeyed block behind it. This block was the same height as the two-storeyed house, and canted at the north end so that it did not cut into Nash's roof. It contained a new, more central entrance, a butler's suite, servants' hall, and bedrooms (on the first floor for guests, on the second floor for

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Webb turned the servants' hall in Nash's villa into a business-room off the original porch, and retained his staircase but added a secondary stair in the other villa and, behind the common-room, an enclosed service stair (which spiralled round an oak post). He also retained the old kitchen, and added a floor of menservants' bedrooms over the scullery wing and linked it to the new block with a single-storey range. The Eyres had advanced views about the treatment of servants--their generous accommodation included a menservants' study and a large 'occasional room'--but, as the omission of ground-floor WCS for family and guests illustrated, old fashioned notions of propriety.

The only changes Webb made to the garden front were to add a storey to Nash's bay-window (to match that of the other villa), to replace the glazed conservatory roof with a slated one, and to add a central chimney-stack.<sup>131</sup> For the new block Webb used similar fenestration and the same cream bricks and grey slates as the villas except for red-brick lower and rough-cast upper walls fronting the kitchen yard. His new entrance had a round-arched doorway beneath a stone canopy supported on consoles. He gave the scullery wing a triple-gabled roof, and replaced the old octagonal clock turret with a square, white boarded one surmounted by a cupola and wind-vane.<sup>132</sup>

Webb lined the garden-front wall of the conservatory to carry the extra weight of the roof, inserted double doors to Nash's dining-room, and gave the new

pl.  
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common-room a plaster barrel-vault. The frieze, with relief strapwork and foliage ornament in in plaster, was an effective contrast to the plain vault. Curved high-backed bench seats--in oak like the wainscot and derived from the L-plan seats of the abandoned Rougham Hall scheme and the curved screens at Clouds--flanked the fireplace, concealed the service doors, and formed a sophisticated ingle-nook. The fireplace had panels of old Persian tiles behind two beautifully crafted columns with Webb's interpretation of Ionic capitals (compliments to Nash) in Hopton Wood limestone. These and the strapwork of the frieze suggest that when designing the room Webb had in mind the similar combinations found in Elizabethan houses but, of course, he did not emulate their crude versions of the Orders. He chose furniture for this room (which remains, unaltered and much appreciated), and others, from the Eyres' London residence.<sup>134</sup>

With admirable skill, Webb combined the two villas into a comfortable and convenient home whilst leaving them essentially unchanged, and in so doing demonstrating that his planning skills had not diminished. Twentieth-century Eyres forgot his true connection with their house, and it became a family legend (which probably would have delighted him) that 'Mr Webb' had been the master-plasterer.<sup>135</sup>

## CONCLUSION

Webb's passionate love for the English landscape and its ancient buildings governed the whole of his life, work, and thought. Under the influence of Ruskin, his initial dismay at the threat to the landscape posed by industrialism turned into a conviction that great architecture was impossible under nineteenth-century conditions. Commercialism had destroyed the vital stimulus which architects, artists, and craftsmen had received when living and working in a community whose ideas and beliefs they shared, and for which art was apart of everyday life, and it had atrophied craftsmen's creative power and ability to judge quality. He believed that it was useless to hope for good architecture from revivals of past styles and that a totally new style for the industrial age was neither desirable nor possible. Various influences from his background, training, and reading, coupled with his independent and broad-minded outlook, enabled him to find a path out of the seeming impasse, and to evolve a philosophy of design through which to fulfil his aim of 'making modern architecture in some way genuine'.<sup>1</sup>

Pugin had drawn attention to the aesthetic potentialities of materials but, being too immersed in the gothic revival, neither he nor the ecclesiologists had fully exploited them. Harding and Boyce

had opened Webb's eyes to the beauty of humble vernacular buildings such as farmsteads, an appreciation which enabled him to see architecture as good building, not ornamented building as Ruskin and most of Webb's peers believed. Webb concluded (as he was to maintain to the end) that the only hope of good architecture lay in 'putting all the brains into simple but excellent building', founded on common sense and eschewing styles and ornament, and 'fitting for the climate and other characteristic qualities of this garden-like country'.<sup>2</sup> Once architecture was generally recognized as the art of building well rather than of designing according to a particular style or of producing beautiful exhibition drawings, a living tradition would again develop, within which great architecture might be possible.

Love of the landscape led Webb to believe that the architect had three major responsibilities. First, he had to fulfil the needs of the client in a sound, durable, convenient building of suitable and pleasing appearance, with well-lit rooms of good aspect and prospect. Second, he had a duty to respect and protect the landscape, in town or country, by prolonging the life of worthy old buildings and by ensuring that new ones fitted unobtrusively into their sites and surroundings, chiefly by reflecting the character of local buildings and employing the same materials. Third, it was his duty to make ingenious and inventive experiments--such as had always been accepted in traditional



building, and without which architecture would stagnate--using as a basis inspirations from the national and local vernacular.

Respecting the landscape demanded the rejection of ostentation through over-elaboration, stark plainness, or the display of excessive originality, and called for an open-minded approach without preconceived notions of the plan and appearance of the proposed building. It was essential to exploit the possibility of the site, and to achieve good composition and pleasing proportions. Certain factors derived from Tudor, Elizabethan, and seventeenth-century English architecture--namely 'movement', varied skylines, contrasts of colour, texture, large and small elements, light and shade, and line, and of symmetry and rhythm with controlled irregularity--helped towards lively architecture. Retention of the vigorous 'barbaric element' was imperative, but sufficient 'multiplication of detail' was necessary to avoid the barbarous, the primitive, and the plain. All details had to have a purpose, and were not to be added for the sake of fashion, quaintness, or novelty.

A pleasing internal appearance required that a building be conceived as an assemblage of hollow spaces, in which pleasingly proportioned volumes of varying size and shape, and contrasts of light and shade, combined with strictly limited and carefully disposed ornament to create an interesting but not over-stimulating background. Though the building its-

elf had to be entirely real, symbols were permissible in its limited internal decorative work. In Webb's view, good work in the latter depended on close study of plants and animals.

Regarding architecture as the art of good building (in which accepted styles were replaced by the reflection of national vernacular, and by the inherent qualities of materials) required the architect to amass and assimilate a vast store of information on all building matters, in particular on the characteristics and capabilities of materials and the effects on them of tools, processes, time, and weather. This knowledge could only be gained on the site, in builders' yards, joiners' shops, timber and brick yards, and quarries, and through painstaking study of old buildings, concentrating on their structure not their style. The architect also had to keep abreast of technological developments, but only those which improved on older methods were to be adopted. New materials which failed to harmonize with traditional ones were to be rejected, and the use of machines which encouraged bad or careless craftsmanship was to be discouraged.

Creative power alone could not produce good architecture. Painstaking effort was required. As the majority of craftsmen no longer had a sympathetic understanding of materials, the architect had to design every detail of each building, keeping in mind the characteristics of the material and the limited capabilities of the workmen, and the need to inhibit life-

lessness by making repetitive work interesting, and the need to encourage good craftsmanship by showing informed interest and appreciation. Every stage of the construction and finishing had to be supervised, and substandard materials and workmanship rejected. As much attention was required for such matters as the cleanliness of the pebbles for the concrete as for the designing of the main entrance.

Through the SPAB Webb did much to save the architectural heritage, in Britain and elsewhere, by alerting people to the dangers threatening it and by developing practical methods of preserving old buildings. Through intellectual effort and practical experiments he evolved a philosophy of design which escaped from the prevailing concept of 'choice of style' to produce vigorous new houses of national and local character which had links with the past without copying it, and which, in Lethaby's words, were 'among the fine achievements of Victorian intellectual effort'.<sup>3</sup> Webb's national vernacular approach (which will be valid at any time in any country which has traditional buildings) is a challenging one, demanding dedication and considerable self-abnegation. Webb rose to his own challenge magnificently, as did his disciples in the influential Arts and Crafts movement or so-called English Domestic revival, thus fulfilling his deceptively simple aim of making the buildings of his day 'genuine' and 'pleasant without pretences of style'.<sup>4</sup>



NOTES AND REFERENCES

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

|                               |  |
|-------------------------------|--|
| <u>AA J1.</u>                 | <u>The Journal of the Architectural Association.</u>                     |
| AB:                           | Webb's Account Book.   |
| Add.B:                        | Webb's Address Book.   |
| <u>AJ:</u>                    | <u>The Architects' Journal.</u>  |
| <u>AR:</u>                    | <u>The Architectural Review.</u>   |
| <u>Architectural History:</u> | The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain. |
| <u>B:</u>                     | <u>The Builder.</u>  |
| BAL:                          | The British Architectural Library.                                       |
| Bank AB:                      | Webb's Bank Account Book.  |
| BJTP:                         | The Collection of the John Brandon-Jones & Andrew Thorne Partnership.    |
| BL:                           | The British Library: Department of Manuscripts Collection.               |
| <u>BN:</u>                    | <u>The Building News.</u>  |
| BSCNRRC:                      | British Steel Northern Region Records Centre.                            |
| CB:                           | Webb's Certificate Books.  |
| CCRO:                         | Cleveland Country Record Office.   |
| <u>CL</u>                     | <u>Country Life.</u>   |
| County Lists:                 | Webb's personal gazeteer of ancient buildings.                           |
| CRO:                          | County Record Office.  |
| <u>DNB:</u>                   | <u>The Dictionary of National Biography.</u>                             |
| <u>E:</u>                     | <u>The Ecclesiologist.</u>   |
| Howard Papers:                | The Howard of Naworth Papers held by the University of Durham.           |

|                           |  |
|---------------------------|--|
| J22/64, 65:               | Webb Letters in the Castle Howard Archive.                             |
| Kelmscott CB              | Webb's Kelmscott Certificate Book, used later by George Jack.          |
| LB 1 and 2:               | The Letter Books in which Webb copied his business letters, 1874-1888. |
| Morris & Co. AB:          | Webb's Morris and Company Account Book.                                |
| MR10/4-6, 8, 10-26, 28-36 | Webb to William Hale White Letters in the Bedford Library.             |
| NT:                       | The Collection of the National Trust.                                  |
| NYCCRO:                   | North Yorkshire County Council Record Office.                          |
| OEB:                      | Webb's Office Expenses Books.  |
| <u>RIBA Jl.:</u>          | <u>The Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects.</u>       |
| SB:                       | Webb's Site Books.   |
| SPAB:                     | The Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings.                   |
| V&A:                      | The Collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum.                      |

## PART 1: WEBB'S LIFE

### CHAPTER 1: THE EARLY YEARS

1. William Richard Lethaby, The Life and Work of Philip Webb (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1935), reprint edn. with additional material, ed. and introduced by Godfrey Rubens, London: Raven Oak Press, 1979, p. 7. In subsequent notes, references to the first edition are indicated 'Webb (1935)', and to the added material 'Webb (1979)'. The work first appeared as a series of articles in The Builder in 1925 ('Philip Webb and his Work', B, 128, 129 (1925), passim).
2. Lethaby, Webb (1935), p. 7.
3. Ibid., p. 6.
4. Letter, Webb to Boyce, 29 August 1884, BL Add. MS 45354; Lethaby, Webb (1935), p. 10.
5. See n. 33.
6. Lethaby, Webb (1935), 127-28.
7. Letter, Webb to Hale White, 26 July 1911, MR 10/35; e. g., ibid., 18 May 1908, MR 10/30.
8. Lethaby, Webb (1935), pp. 2-3, 15.
9. Mary Lago, ed., Burne-Jones Talking: his conversations 1895-1898 preserved by his studio assistant Thomas Rooke, (London: John Murray, 1981), p. 184; Lethaby, Webb (1979), pp. 250.
10. Letter, Webb to Cockerell, 20 November 1902, published in Viola Meynell, ed., Friends of a Lifetime: Letters to Sydney Carlyle Cockerell (London: Jonathan Cape, 1940), p. 109; Lethaby, Webb (1935), p. 8; Revd Mr Cotes, illustrated by Thomas Bewick, The History of British Birds (London: 1797).
11. James Duffield Harding, Lessons on Art (London: Day & Son, 1849); Webb's copy is in the BJTP collection.
12. Meynell, ed., Friends of a Lifetime, 7 March, 1904, p. 114.
13. Letter, Webb to Rosalind Howard, 7 September 1869, J22/64.
14. Letter, Webb to Hale White, n.d. but soon after 10 February 1899, MR 10/14; see his letter to Rosalind Howard of 17 September 1872 (J22/64) which reveals his uncertainty. He was not an atheist: in 1899 he described the song of the cuckoo as a 'musical mystery of the Creator' (letter, Webb to Hale White, 13 May



1899, MR 10/15).

15. E.g., letter, Webb to Robert Chamberlain, 20 February 1871, in John Brandon-Jones, 'Letters of Philip Webb and his Contemporaries', Architectural History, 8, 1965, pp. 52-72, (p. 57); George Jack, 'Philip Webb', RIBA Jl., 22, 3rd series (22 May 1915), pp. 369-71 (p. 370).

16. Bank AB (the money was paid to 'Miss Webb').

17. Letters about Alice Burbridge, 1874-76, LB 1, fols. 7-8, 10-11, 16, 39-40, 43-44.

18. See letters, Webb to Hale White letters, Bedford Library, and to Boyce, BL. Add. MS 45354.

19. Letter, Mrs Boyce to Cockerell, 25 May 1915, with the Webb to Boyce Letters, BL Add. MS 45354; Lethaby, Webb (1935), p. 195.

20. Letter, Webb to Hale White, 1 March 1888, MR 10/5.

21. Charlotte M. Yonge, The Heir of Redclyffe (London: 1853). Canon Dixon, one of the circle, recorded the adopting of the hero as their ideal (John W. Mackail, The Life of William Morris (London: Longmans, Green, 1899), 2 vols., reprint edn. in The World's Classics series, London, New York and Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1950, 1, p. 43. Webb also fulfilled the ideal of chivalry in Kenelm Henry Digby's The Broad Stone of Honour (London: 1822, rewritten and enlarged 1826-27) a book which Burne-Jones kept beside his bed (Georgiana Burne-Jones, Memorials of Edward Burne-Jones (London: Macmillan, 1904), 2 vols; reprint edn., New York: Books for Libraries, 1972, 1, p. 56). For the chivalric ideal in the nineteenth century, including Digby's influence, see Mark Girouard, The Return to Camelot: Chivalry and the English Gentleman (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981).

22. From Cockerell's foreword, the Warrington Taylor to Webb Letters, 12 November 1915, V&A 86.SS.57.

23. Information kindly provided by Northamptonshire Record Office.

24. Ibid. The school was closed after the headmaster died in 1888, by which time it had only 3 or 4 pupils due to competition from the local National School and nearby Bloxham Collegiate School; few records survive.

25. Lethaby, Webb (1935), p. 8.

26. Letter, Lethaby to Cockerell, 31 July 1915, Meynell, ed., Friends of a Lifetime, p. 134.

27. Letter, Webb to Hale White, 22 January 1910, MR

10/11. Webb's dear old friend Kate Faulkner had died, and, despite not being a lover of poetry in general (see n. 30), he had found solace in Wordsworth's.

28. Letter, Webb to D. G. Rossetti, 21 May 1866, which Sydney Carlyle Cockerell had bound with the Warrington Taylor to Webb Letters and presented to the Victoria and Albert Museum (86.SS.57, fol. 11). 2

29. Ibid.

30. May Morris, 'Philip Speakman Webb', DNB, 1912-21 (1927), pp. 560-562; Lethaby, Webb (1979), p. 245.

31. Letter, Webb to Hale White, 1 March 1888, MR 10/5.

32. Letter, Cockerell to Lethaby, 29 July, and Lethaby's reply, 31 July 1915, Meynell, ed., Friends of a Lifetime, pp. 133. 'Warrington' is the correct spelling of Taylor's name; his first name, which he apparently did not use, was Alphonse. Taylor, who had known Swinburne (who was a member of the Pre-Raphaelite circle) at Eton, had fallen on hard times and was a check-taker at a London theatre when rescued by being appointed manager of Morris and Co.

33. Webb bought Ruskin's The Stones of Venice (London: Smith, Elder, 1851-53) in 1855 before meeting Morris in January 1856 (AB).

34. Lethaby Webb (1979), p. 253.

35. Ibid., pp. 251-253.

36. Letter, Webb to William Hale White, 28 October 1899, MR 10/19.

37. Letters, Webb to Boyce, 21 February 1881, 11 September 1885, BL Add. MS 45354.

38. Lethaby, Webb (1979), pp. 267-68.

39. Webb refers frequently to concert-going in his letters to Boyce, BL Add. MS 45354.

40. In view of Webb's appreciation of friendship, he would surely have kept in touch with any close friends he made at school; not one such comrade is mentioned in his letters or in Lethaby's book.

41. Quoted by Lethaby, Webb (1979), p. 240.

42. Letter, Webb to Cockerell, 10 November 1902, Meynell, ed., Friends of a Lifetime, p. 110.

43. Letter, Webb to Hale White, 20 January 1905, MR 10/24.

44. Letter, Cockerell to Lethaby, 29 July 1915, Meynell, ed., Friends of a Lifetime, p. 133.
45. Letter, Maisie (Mary) Bell to Rosalind Howard, her sister-in-law-to-be, 19 August c. 1874, Castle Howard Archives.
46. Lethaby, Webb (1979), p. 249.
47. Christopher G. Powell, An Economic History of the British Building Industry 1815-1979 (London: Architectural Press, 1980), pp. 9-10.
48. Lethaby, Webb (1935), p. 9.
49. Lethaby, Webb (1935), p. 9; most of the information on the Billings was generously contributed by Mr. H. Godwin Arnold, B. Arch., RIBA, FSA (some of it appears in his booklet Victorian Architecture in Reading (1975)); the rest was kindly provided by the RIBA Library. Miss P. D. Williams informed Mr Godwin of Butterfield's recommendation of Billing c. 1859 for the restoration of St Leonard's Church, Seaford, Sussex.
50. No. 3 Specification Notebook. This contains Webb's notes on specification writing, and his copies of Benjamin Ferrey's specification for Grazely Church (n.d.), Billing's for Sandhurst Parsonage (November 1850) and part of that for Trinity Schools (1852).
51. AB (rear); the testimonial is quoted in full: Lethaby, Webb (1935), pp. 9-10. Webb paid 13/- a week board at 3 Victoria Place, Compton Road (AB).
52. Letter, Webb to George Howard, 29 September 1874, J22/64.
53. Webb noted changes of employment and salary in the rear of his AB; he left Bidlake and Lovatt on 15 May and began at Street's next day, at a salary of £1 a week.
54. For information on these buildings see, e.g., Arthur E. Street, A Memoir of George Edmund Street, RA, 1824-1881 (London: John Murray, 1888); Henry-Russell Hitchcock, 'G. E. Street in the 1850s', Architectural History (USA), 19, part 1/2, pp. 145-171; John Hutchinson and Paul Joyce, George Edmund Street in East Yorkshire (Hull: University of Hull, 1981).
55. AB. Webb does not note his position; Lethaby reports that he was chief clerk by late 1856 (Lethaby, Webb (1935), p. 13).
56. AB. Webb paid his 'Bathing subscription' of 7/6d in September 1854.
57. Ibid.; the subscription of £1.1.0. was paid on 29



June 1856 (the society, initially the Oxford Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture, was founded in 1839); AB.

58. Street, Memoir of G. E. Street, pp. 13, 283.

59. Lethaby, Webb (1935), p. 17.

60. George Edmund Street, Brick and Marble in the Middle Ages: Notes on a tour in North Italy (London: John Murray, 1855).

61. Street, Memoir of G. E. Street, p. 13.

62. Anthea Callen, Angel in the Studio; Women in the Arts and Crafts Movement 1870-1914 (London: Astragal Books, 1979), p. 103.

63. Mackail, Morris, pp. 105-06; Lethaby, Webb (1935), pp. 22, 215.

64. Burne-Jones, Memorials, 1, p. 75.

65. The first biographies of Morris and Burne-Jones--Mackail's Morris and Lady Burne-Jones's Memorials--written with the help people who knew them, are essential material for any study of Webb, Morris, or Burne-Jones.

66. Lethaby, Webb (1935), pp. 18-18. According to Lethaby, Webb visited Morris's earlier home, which the family left in 1847.

67. Letter, Webb to Hale White, 1 March 1888, MR 10/5.

68. Letter, Webb to Hale White, 1 March 1888, MR 10/5.

69. Mackail, Morris, 1, 355-357 and 2, p. 291.

70. Lethaby, Webb (1979), p. 250.

71. Sir Nikolaus Pevsner pointed this out, quoting Morris, in 1957 ('William Morris and Architecture', RIBA Jl., 64, 3rd series (March 1957), pp. 172-75; reprinted in Nikolaus Pevsner, Studies in Art, Architecture and Design, vol. 2: Victorian and After (London: Thames and Hudson, 1968), reprinted 1982, pp. 108-117).

72. Brandon-Jones, 'Philip Webb', Victorian Architecture, ed. Peter Ferriday (London: Jonathan Cape, 1963), pp. 249-65, (p. 260). Webb told Hale White that C. R. Cockerell's Ashmolean and Taylorian Institution (1841), the best Greek revival building he knew, led him, when a young man, to give attention to this manner of building (letter, 29 October 1909, MR 10/33).

73. Letter, Webb to Boyce, 27 August 1881, BL Add. MS 45345.

74. Letter, Webb to Hale White, 1 March 1888, MR 10/5; letter, Webb to Cockerell, 31 May 1900, Meynell, ed., Friends of a Lifetime, p. 104-05.

75. Lethaby, Webb (1935), p. 20;

76. Lago, ed., Burne-Jones Talking, p. 184.

77. Mackail, Morris, 1, pp. 104, 107-108, 113-14. The magazine appeared in 12 monthly issues in 1856, and was produced by the Morris and Burne-Jones circle at Oxford (the Brotherhood) with a couple of friends from Cambridge.

78. Mackail, Morris, 1, pp. 108-09, 112-14.

79. Ibid., p. 110.

80. Webb told Lethaby that Morris gave up architecture because 'he could not get into close contact with it; it had to be done at second hand' (quoted by Lethaby, Webb (1935), p. 122).

81. The Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood was formed in 1848 by the young Royal Academy students Rossetti, William Holman Hunt, and John Everett Millais, who were joined (by invitation) by James Collinson (painter), F. G. Stephens (painter and critic), Thomas Woolner (sculptor), and Rossetti's brother William (critic).

82. George Edmund Street, 'On the Future of Art in England', E, 14, 1858, pp. 232-40 (p. 240).

83. Lethaby, Webb (1979), p. 248.

84. Lago, ed., Burne-Jones Talking, p. 186. On the 24 January 1859 Webb paid 10s.6d for 'Life Study to Feb. 24' (AB).

85. Letter, Webb to Hale White, 28 October 1899, MR 10/19.

86. Letter, Webb to Rossetti, 21 May 1866, in the Warrington Taylor to Webb letters, V&A 86.SS.57.

PART 1: WEBB'S LIFE

CHAPTER 2: THE YEARS IN PRACTICE

1. AB; Andrew Saint, Richard Norman Shaw (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1976), p. 15. On 12 December 1856 Webb paid 10/- 'to Aug. 1857', and 12/- plus another 12/- for the 'show', on 2 December 1858, the 1858 fee presumably paid in arrears as the exhibition was held that year.
2. E, 19, February 1858, p. 46.
3. 'The Exhibition of the Royal Academy', B, 16, 8 May 1858, pp. 305f (p.3-6); 'The Architectural Room at the Royal Academy, 1858', E, 19, 1858, pp. 171-73 (p. 172).
4. DNB, pp. 42-45.
5. Lethaby, Webb (1935), p. 17.
6. Ibid., p. 18.
7. AB, 4 May 1858.
8. Deborah Cherry in 'The Hogarth Club', Burlington Magazine, 1980, pp. 237-44, gives a detailed account of the club. Biographical details of a large number of Webb's London friends and acquaintance can be found in Andrea Rose 's Pre-Raphaelite Portraits (Yeovil: Oxford Illustrated Press, 1981)
9. Ibid., p. 241; AB. Webb paid his subscription, £2, on January 15; being a trustee cost him £5.
10. Rules of the Hogarth Club and List of Membership (London: 1860).
11. Valentine Cameron Prinsep, 'A Painter's Reminiscences', Magazine of Art, 27, 1904, pp. 167-172; Mackail, Morris, 1, pp. 120-33; Burne-Jones, Memorials, 1, pp. 158-68; William Holman Hunt, The Story of the Painting of the Pictures on the Walls and the Decorations on the Ceiling of the old Debating Hall (Now the Library) in the years 1857-8-9 (London: Henry Frowde, 1906), limited edn.
12. Lethaby, Webb (1935), p. 21; Mackail, Morris, 1, p. 129.
13. Ibid., p. 140.
14. Burne-Jones, Memorials, 1, pp. 78, 109, 123. By 1857 Rossetti shared their dream (Lethaby, Webb (1935), p. 28).
15. Burne-Jones, Memorials, 1, p. 196.



16. Lethaby, Webb (1979), p. 26; Mackail, Morris, 1, p. 141.

17. Webb's 1857 Sketch-book (the Godfrey Rubens Collection) and AB. The latter shows that Webb was not paid during holidays or illness; for example, he lost four weeks pay, presumably through illness, in early 1856. In 1865 Webb visited the cathedrals of St. Albans, Wells, Salisbury, and Exeter; in 1857, those of Peterborough, Lincoln, Durham, Carlisle, Glasgow, and Dunblane plus the minsters of Southwell and York, and monastic remains at Roche, Byland, Rievaulx, Kirkstall, Lindisfarne, Kelso, Melrose, Bolton, and Tynemouth, and the castles at Bolton, Conisbrough, and Doune.

18. Mackail, Morris, 1, p. 124.

19. AB.

20. Lethaby, Webb (1935), pp. 23-26.

21. AB. Webb's surviving sketch-books, his notebook of County Lists of Buildings, and many of his letters demonstrate his extensive experience and knowledge of medieval, Tudor and Elizabethan buildings. In France he studied cathedrals in Paris, Amiens, Beauvais, Chartres, and Rouen.

22. Mackail, Morris, 1, p. 144 (the station at Abbey Wood three miles away was served by trains to and from London).

23. Ibid., pp. 142-43; AB. Webb moved to 7 Great Ormond Street on 22 September 1858; Lethaby, Webb (1935), p. 26; Mackail, Morris, 1, p. 148.

24. Mackail, Morris, 1, p. 144.

25. See *ibid.*, pp. 163-66, and Burne-Jones, Memorials, 1, pp. 210-12.

26. AB. On 28 April Webb told Street he wished to leave; he left on 27 May.

27. Ibid. The photograph was possibly of The Death of Chatterton (1856) by Henry Wallis.

28. Ibid.; these two books, which the BL have been unable to identify, were obviously architect's handbooks, probably of much longer full title; John Henry Parker, A Glossary of Terms used in Grecian, Roman, Italian and Gothic Architecture (Oxford: Parker, 1850), 3 vols. (mentioned in AB ('Parker') and detailed in much later letter, Webb to Boyce, 25 May 1884, BL Add. MS 43534). Webb dressed correctly for the occasion at first but usually wore brown tweed in later years (Lethaby, Webb (1935), p. 188).

29. There is no record of a fee for Red House in the AB. If Morris had known Webb's circumstances he would not have borrowed £60 from him in 1869 (AB).

30. AB.

31. AB.

32. AB. In fact, the 'percentage' was not based solely on income, but appears to have been determined partly by the amount of time Jack spent in charge of the office during Webb's absence or illness.

33. AB.

34. AB. Webb had two assistants during many of his years in practice after 1869. George Jack was born in the USA in 1855, and was articled to Horatio K. Bromhead in the early 1870s in Glasgow; he moved to London in 1875 where he worked for C. G. Vinall until he joined Webb. Webb's assistant Buckle later became architect to the Diocese of Bath and Wells.

35. AB.

36. Webb told Wyndham he had refused other work in 1878 (letter, Webb to Wyndham, 19 March 1878, LB 1, fol. 126); he asked for £1,000 on account on 12 August 1881 (ibid., fol. 193).

37. Letter, Webb to Cockerell, 6 July 1900, Meynell, ed., Friends of a Lifetime, p. 105.

38. Letter, Webb to the Surveyor of Taxes, 11 November 1896 (Webb's copy, AB).

39. Lethaby, Webb (1979), pp. 246-47.

40. Bank AB.

41. Morris & Co. AB.

42. Ibid.

43. The circular is reprinted almost in full in Mackail, Morris, 1, pp. 154-57. For the founding of the firm see, e.g., ibid., 1, pp. 148-62, and (the founding plus the early years) Lethaby, Webb (1935), chaps. 3, pp. 31-62.

44. Mackail, Morris, 1, p. 149. Arthur Hughes withdrew soon after the founding of the firm. Marshall, a sanitary engineer, was a friend of Madox Brown.

45. A. Charles Sewter, The Stained Glass of William Morris and his Circle (New Haven and London: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art (London), 1974) pp. 23, 25, 39-40,



71-73. Sewter believes that when Webb ceased to participate actively in designing the firm's glass a 'certain irreplaceable quality was lost', and that his 'pattern-work and borders have a distinction unmatched elsewhere in nineteenth-century stained glass' (p. 73). Charles Sewter's 2nd volume is a useful illustrated catalogue: The Stained Glass of William Morris and his Circle--A Catalogue (New Haven and London: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art (London), 1975).

46. Morris & Co. AB; Lethaby recorded that Webb designed the lettering (Webb (1935), p. 38).

47. E.g. those of c. 1310-20 in the nave aisles of York Minster.

48. Morris & Co. AB. E.g., Webb helped to paint the chancel ceilings of the churches of St. Martin's-on-the-Hill, Scarborough, and St. Michael's Brighton (both buildings were designed by G. F. Bodley).

49. Morris & Co. AB; Lethaby recorded that Webb designed all the heraldic work (Webb (1935), p. 38).

50. Taylor drew interesting pieces of old furniture to Webb's attention, extolling the virtues of that of Queen Anne's day (see the Warrington Taylor to Webb letters, V&A 86.SS.57). Most recent books on 19th-century furniture and interiors illustrate some of Webb's pieces or designs for the firm, e.g., Hugh Honour, Cabinet Makers and Furniture Designers (London: Spring Books, 1969), pp. 247, 249, 251, and colour pl. opp. p. 243; Jeremy Cooper, Victorian and Edwardian Furniture and Interiors, from the Gothic Revival to Art Nouveau (London: Thames and Hudson, 1987), pls. 401, 407, 418-19, 435, 441-44, 438, 447, 452; Charlotte Gere, Nineteenth-Century Decoration. The Art of the Interior (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1989), pls. 333, 336, 338; Oliver Fairclough and Emmeline Leary, Textiles by William Morris and Morris & Co., 1861-1940 (London: Thames and Hudson, 1981), distributed in the USA by Eastview Editions, pl. E1; Linda Parry, William Morris Textiles (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1983) p. 19, 111, 114-15, 140; Jill Lever, Architects' Designs for Furniture (London: Trefoil Books, 1982), RIBA Drawings series, p. 87, pl. 63 (Webb's drawing for a Morris & Co. cabinet). Several other books listed in the bibliography include illustrations of Webb's designs for the firm. For a chair usually attributed to Rossetti (e.g. in Cooper, Victorian and Edwardian Furniture and Interiors, pl. 435) but more likely to be by Webb, see A. R. Dufty, 'Kelmscott: Exoticism and a Philip Webb Chair', The Antiquaries Journal, 66 (1986), part 1, pp. 116-20, and pls. 22-26.

51. Brandon-Jones, 'The Work of Philip Webb and Norman Shaw', AA J1., 131 (1955), pp. 9-21, 40-47 (p. 10).



52. Morris & Co. AB.

53. Letter, Webb to Morris, December 1873, printed in Brandon-Jones, 'Letters of Philip Webb', pp. 62-63. Meetings were held to discuss Webb's proposal during 1874.

54. Mackail, Morris, 1, p. 316-17; Morris & Co. AB. Taylor told Webb by letter of the vote to award him the salary (letter, 17 March 1867, V&A 86.SS.57, fol. 61).

55. Lethaby, Webb (1935) pp. 189-92. A piano decorated by Kate Faulkner to Webb's designs is illustrated in Lethaby, 'Philip Webb and his Work', pp. 672-73. Kate Faulkner also decorated the reredos of the chapel at Whitelands College, King's Road, Chelsea (1886) to Webb's designs (Lethaby, Webb (1835), p. 190).

56. Morris & Co. AB. The firm received these commissions through William Cowper, Commissioner of Works, a frequenter of Little Holland House, whose wife, Alice Tollemache, had been Ruskin's intimate friend since 1840.

57. Lethaby printed extracts from several of Taylor's letters to Webb about the management of the firm and other subjects (Webb (1935), pp. 49-60).

58. The artist and designer Walter Crane (1845-1915) noted perceptively in 1911 that Morris & Co. interiors suited all sizes and types of houses (quoted in Isabelle Anscombe and Charlotte Gere, Arts and Crafts in Britain and America (London: Academy Editions, 1978), p. 14 (this book also has illustrations of Webb designs for the firm (pls. 22, 81, 84-86, 91). Morris & Co. interiors apparently became popular and influential chiefly by example and personal recommendations from satisfied clients but they were illustrated in some late-19th- and early-20th-century books, e.g., W. Shaw Sparrow, Hints on House Furnishing (London: Eveleigh Nash, 1909) which has illustrations of Morris interiors by or influenced by Webb (frontispiece, and pls. opp. pp. 106, 113, 177, 187, 218, 283).

59. Beresford Pite, 'A Review of the Tendencies of the Modern School of Architecture', RIBA Jl., 8 (1900), pp. 77-96 (p. 90).

60. AB; Lethaby, Webb (1935), p. 187; OEB 1885-95.

61. AB; Lethaby, Webb (1935), pp. 86-87. Webb's landlord was Edwyn Jones, Fountain Court, Temple, London EC.

62. Lethaby, Webb (1935), p. 187. Webb's Morris & Co. AB records his purchase of the firm's wallpapers, and also, amongst smaller items, of its Sussex chairs, a

Dutch cabinet and an old French bookcase; judging from his purchases, the bedroom probably had the 'daisy' paper and the sitting-room the blue 'Venetian' paper, with curtains of blue lining material and chintz, possibly used separately.

63. Letter, Webb to Boyce, 20 June 1882, BL Add. MS 45354; Webb's AB records the visits and the cost of returning baskets which he probably brought back full of garden produce and returned full of delicacies from London; information about Webb's clothes kindly provided by John Brandon-Jones. For some years from 1868 Webb probably joined Morris for breakfast at Burne-Jones's on the other Sundays (Burne-Jones, Memorials, 2, p. 5).

64. Webb's Sketch-books. Webb continued visiting these establishments after he retired to Sussex (Lethaby, Webb (1935), p. 226). Morris and Webb were at South Kensington Museum so frequently that Morris said it had been set up chiefly for the benefit of himself, Webb and about four others (ibid., pp. 39-40).

65. Burne-Jones, Memorials, 1, p. 289.

66. Letter, Webb to Howard, 2 October 1872, J22/64.

67. Letter Webb to Howard, 25 April 1886, J22/64.

68. Morris & Co. AB; AB. Several of Webb's letters mention receiving grouse.

69. Letters, Webb to Howard, 13 September 1872, J22/64. On another occasion Webb refused concert tickets from Rosalind Howard only to find them otherwise unobtainable; again he enjoyed the joke (letter, Webb to Rosalind Howard, 11 March 1873, J22/64).

70. Letter, Webb to Mr and Mrs Howard, 19 January 1870, J22/64.

71. Lethaby, Webb (1935), p. 11.

72. Lethaby recorded webb saying this in July 1898 (Webb (1979), pp. 252).

73. Lethaby, Webb (1935), pp. 175, 187.

74. Ibid., pp. 188, 227.

75. See Meynell, ed., Friends of a Lifetime, pp. 133-34 for Webb's suits and boots; his braces design is in his Add.B; the information about the cigars and snuff came from John Brandon-Jones via Emery Walker.

76. Letter, Webb to Rosalind Howard, 10 December 1868, J22/64.

77. Letter, Dame Laurentia to Cockerell, 7 January



- 1920, Meynell, ed., Friends of a Lifetime, p. 259.
78. Letter, Webb to Boyce, 12 October 1881, BL Add. MS 45354.
79. Walker repeated Webb's comment to John Brandon-Jones, who related it to the author.
80. Letters, Warrington Taylor to Webb, n. d., V&A 86. SS.57, fols. 60, 67.
81. Morris's wife is believed to have had a love affair with Rossetti whose wife died suddenly after losing a child at birth, Burne-Jones's passion for Maria Zambaco caused Georgie great distress, Ruskin suffered a humiliating divorce, Taylor's wife absconded with her lover. The Pre-Raphaelite circle's understanding of comradeship (to which Morris, Webb, and Faulkner after they became socialists) did not involve homosexuality as did that of Charles Robert Ashbee, Roger Fry, Edward Carpenter and their followers for whom it formed part of their socialist ideal (see Alan Crawford, C. R. Ashbee: Architect, Designer and Romantic Socialist (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985, pp. 20-21, 56).
82. Letter, Taylor to Webb, November 1868, V&A 86.SS.57, fol. 88.
83. Letters, Webb to Hale White, 13 May 1899, 22 January 1910, MR 10/15 and 10/34.
84. Joyce M. Winmill, Charles Canning Winmill: an Architect's Life (London: J. M. Dent, 1946), p. 37.
85. Rossetti married a shop-girl after training her for some years; Ford Madox Brown's second wife was his erstwhile model, Taylor married a girl from an eel-pie shop, Morris married the daughter of a groom, and Holman Hunt once intended to marry model Annie Miller. Derek Hudson explores this mid-nineteenth-century attraction towards working-class women in Munby: Man of Two Worlds (London: John Murray, 1972); Munby, whose working-class wife chose to be known as his servant, was tutor at the Working Men's College who knew Rossetti, Ruskin and Burne-Jones, and probably Webb.
86. Letters, Taylor to Webb, 26 July 1868, and Webb to Taylor, 27 July 1868, V&A 86.SS.57, fols. 77, 79.
87. Letter, Webb to Frances Hohenthal, 29 April 1873 (BJTP).
88. Letter, Webb to Howard, 17 July 1877, J22/64.
89. Letter, Webb to Lethaby, 1901 (Lethaby, Webb (1935), p. 11. Georgie Burne-Jones later recorded her resentment at being exiled from her husband and his



friends through caring for her baby (Memorials, 1, p. 236). Webb would also have observed that children often caused deep anxiety and even grief: Taylor's child died, as did one of the Burne-Joneses' babies, and Morris's eldest daughter developed severe epilepsy.

90. Webb's Add.B has names of the medical personel he involved in her care, and the firm which supplied him with invalid foods for her. Kate also never married.

91. Letter, Webb to Hale White, 20 January 1905, MR 10/25: 'Two or three Greek women I have known shewed an affectionate nature, for wh. quality I have high regard . . .'

92. Letter, Webb to Boyce, 20 June 1882, BL Add. MS 43534.

93. Lethaby, Webb (1935), p. 86, and letters, Webb to Constance Astley, 21 October 1881, LB 1, fols. 199-200, and to 'Miss Astley', 1 January 1892 (the Miss M. J. Becher Collection).

94. Letter, Webb to Hale White, 19 February 1888, MR 10/4.

95. Letter, Webb to Mrs Howard, 19 August 1869, J22/64. Webb's letters show that he often refused invitations.

96. A typical example is mentioned in Morris's letter to his wife, 14 December 1877 (The Collected Letters of William Morris, ed. Norman Kelvin (Princeton and London: Princeton University Press, 1984), p. 419-20).

97. Information in this paragraph is from: AB, and letter, Webb to Boyce, 26 September 1883; Lethaby, Webb (1935), pp. 47-48; letter, Webb to Howard, 14 August 1871, J22/64; *ibid.*, 1 and 7 October 1875; Lethaby, Webb (1979), p. 246; *ibid.*, (1935), pp. 160-186; 12 letters, 1888, Webb to George Jack, BJTP.

98. Letters, Webb to Boyce, 13 January, 1884, and to George Jack, quoted by Lethaby on the same page as he noted the doctor's order (Lethaby, Webb (1935), p. 161). Lethaby thought this was Webb's fourth trip abroad but apparently it was only his third. For a fuller sccount of Webb's winter in Italy, with many long extracts from his letters, see Lethaby, Webb (1935), chap. 9, pp. 160-86. Lethaby did not always indicate the omissions in the letters he quoted.

99. Letter, Webb to Mrs and Miss Kate Faulkner, 26 November 1884 (Lethaby, Webb (1935), p. 171).

100. *Ibid.*, p. 172.

101. Letters, Webb to Mrs and Kate Faulkner, 7 December 1884 (*ibid.*, p. 175) and to Boyce, 5 January 1885, BL

Add. MS 43534.

102. Letters, Webb to Kate Faulkner, 3 January 1885 (Lethaby, Webb (1935), pp. 175-77), and to Boyce, 5 March 1885, BL Add. MS 43534. Middleton was introduced to Webb by Morris who, on his second trip to Iceland, met Middleton in 1873 (Mackail, Morris, 1, p. 303).

103. Letters, Webb to Boyce, 5 January 1885, BL Add. MS 43534, to George Jack, 5 April 1885 (Lethaby, Webb (1935), p. 163), and to Lethaby, 28 June 1907, (*ibid.*, pp. 223-24).

104. Letter, Webb to Kate Faulkner, 24 January 1885 (Lethaby, Webb (1935), p. 179).

105. Letter, Webb to Jack (Lethaby, Webb (1935), p. 161).

106. Letters, Webb to Boyce, 5 January and 5 March 1885, BL Add. MS 43534.

107. Letters, Webb to Boyce, 5 January 1885, 27 November 1884, BL Add. MS 43534.

108. Letter, Webb to Boyce, 27 November 1884, BL Add. MS 43534. Webb sketched details of buildings rather than the whole, of vernacular houses as well as grander buildings (Italian Sketch-book, BJTP).

109. Letter, Webb to Boyce, 27 November 1884, BL Add. MS 43534.

110. Notes in Webb's Italian sketch-book, quoted by Lethaby, Webb (1935), pp. 161-62, and letters, Webb to Boyce, 5 January and 5 March 1885, BL Add. MS 43534.

111. Letters, Webb to Hale White, 28 October 1899, MR 10/19, and to Kate Faulkner, 24 January, 7 February 1885 (Lethaby, Webb (1935), pp. 179, 180).

112. Letter, Webb to Hale White, 28 October 1899, MR 10/19. Robert Macleod is mistaken in believing that Webb 'gave unqualified enthusiasm to all the work of Michelangelo' (Style and Society: architectural ideology in Britain 1835-1914 (London: RIBA Publications, 1971), p. 46).

113. In a letter to Hale White, Webb explained that whilst there 'doubtless there was artificiality at all times' but that 'from the Renaissance there came the cultivation of it' (November 1899, MR 10/20); letter, Webb to Kate Faulkner, 7 February 1885 (Lethaby, Webb (1935), p. 180).

114. Letter, Webb to Kate Faulkner, 3 January 1885, (Lethaby, Webb (1935), pp. 175-77; letter, Webb to Morris, 25 November 1884, V&A 86.TT.13.



115. Letter, Webb to Boyce, 5 March 1885, BL Add. MS 43534.
116. Ibid., and letter, Webb to Kate Faulkner, 5 January 1885 (Lethaby, Webb (1935), p. 176).
117. Letter, Webb to Giacomo Boni, 21 December 1884, Lethaby, Webb (1935), p. 167.
118. Letters, Webb to Kate Faulkner, 28 March and 4 April 1885 (ibid., pp. 184, 185).
119. Letters, Webb to Mrs and Kate Faulkner, 7 December 1884 (ibid., p. 174), and to Morris, 9 December 1884, V&A 86.TT.13.
120. Letter, Webb to Boyce, 5 January 1885, BL Add. MS 43534.
121. Letters, Webb to Kate Faulkner, 4 April and 28 March 1885 (Lethaby, Webb (1935), pp. 179, 184).
122. Letter, Webb to Boyce, 4 May 1885, BL Add. MS 43534.
123. As will be shown in part 2, Webb believed that only a genius could successfully adapt alien motifs for use in England, and he did not regard himself as a genius.
124. Robert Macleod, Style and Society, pp. 46-47; Brandon-Jones, 'The Work of Philip Webb and Norman Shaw', p. 18.
125. Letter, Webb to Boyce, 5 January 1885, BL Add. MS 43534.
126. Webb's elevation, d. 1883, BAL [36] 3.
127. Lethaby recorded Webb's insisting that 'flat ornament should usually be "a pattern which turned the white ground into a mosaic-like pattern effective at a distance"' (Webb (1935), p. 135).
128. Letters, Warrington Taylor to Webb, c. 1868-89, V&A 86.SS.57, fol. 94, and Webb to Boyce, 29 August 1884, BL Add. MS 43534.
129. Letter, Webb to Frederick Hemings, 6 February 1888, LB 2, fol. 104; Lethaby, Webb (1935), p. 161; ibid., p. 166 and letter, Webb to Boyce, 11 October 1887, BL Add. MS 43534; letter Webb to Hale White, 19 February 1888, MR 10/4; Lethaby, Webb (1935), p. 187-88; letter, Webb to Alfred Powell, 21 October 1901, ibid., p. 216. Webb was a cheerful patient, and when Morris joined him and the nurse for lunch, there was much laughter (Webb (1935), p. 188).



130. For Webb being cared for at Welwyn, see, e.g., letters, Webb to Boyce, 11 September 1885 and 11 October 1887, BL Add. MS 43534; for his stay in hospital see his CB (Standen), fol. 57; his Add.B, and his letter to Hale White, 19 February 1888, MR 10/4.

## PART 1: WEBB'S LIFE

### CHAPTER 3: THE SPAB

1. Benjamin Ferrey, Recollections of A. W. N. Pugin (London: 1861, reprint edn., New York: Benjamin Blom, 1972, p. 93).
2. Letter, Webb to the Committee of the Ruskin Memorial (Westminster Abbey) Fund, quoted by Lethaby, n. d., but it must have been 1900 (Lethaby, Webb (1935), p. 152.
3. John Ruskin, The Seven Lamps of Architecture (London: Smith, Elder, 1849), chap. 6, para. 18.
4. Ibid., paras. 18, 19.
5. John Ruskin, The Opening of the Crystal Palace (London, 1854). In 1855 he suggested to the Society of Antiquaries that a committee be set up to prevent drastic restoration, but no action was taken.
6. George Edmund Street, 'Destructive Restoration on the Continent', E, 18, 1857, pp. 342-45; ibid., p. 345.
7. Philip Henderson, William Morris, His Life, Work and Friends (London: Thames and Hudson, 1967), chap. 9.
8. Mackail, Morris, 1, p. 350. Chapter 11, pp. 348-357 is concerned with Morris and the SPAB.
9. Morris wrote the letter on 5 March 1877 (BJTP), quoted in full: Mackail, Morris, 1, pp. 351-352); Lethaby, Webb (1935), p. 147 (chap. 8 covers Webb's involvement with old buildings and the SPAB).
10. Mackail, Morris, 1, pp. 355-56; letter, Webb to Howard, 22 June 1877, J22/64 (Webb reported that Ruskin was elected despite 'opposition from some who hate him unreservedly').
11. Lethaby, Webb (1935), p. 6.
12. The manifesto appears on all the SPAB's application for membership forms; all new members must sign it.
13. E.g. his refusal to lecture on the Society to students of the Architectural Association (letter, Webb to John Hebb, 10 October 1877, LB 1, fol. 104). Nevertheless Webb did write reports for the society, e. g. Thirteenth Annual Meeting of the Society, Report of the Committee and Paper read thereat by Rev W. Cunningham DD, June 1890 (London: for the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, 1890); Webb's initialled MS is in the SPAB collection.
14. Examples of letters advertising the SPAB to clients: Webb to Lady Fitzhardinge, 10 May 1877, to

Charles Milnes Gaskell, 6 July 1877, to Salisbury Baxendale, 4 February 1878, LB 1, fols. 92, 99, 117.

15. Letter, Webb to Jack, 26 May 1888, BJTP; 'A School of Rational Builders', the catalogue of the 1982 exhibition devoted to the work of the Society 1877-1927 (London: SPAB, 1982), p. 10; letter, Webb to Cockerell, 28 February 1896 (Meynell, ed., Friends of a Lifetime, p. 95).

16. E.g.: Webb's request to Hale White for help in saving the abbey remains in Bedford, 26 July 1898, MR 10/9.

17. Letters, Webb to Cockerell, 25 April 1903, Meynell, ed., Friends of a Lifetime, p. 111; to Hale White, 26 July 1898, and 5 January 1902, MR 10/9, 21; to William Morris, 17 June 1896, V&A 86.TT.13, fol.76 (quoted by Brandon, 'Philip Webb, the William Morris Circle, and Sussex', Sussex History, 2, no. 1, Spring 1981, pp. 8-14 (p. 10); to Cockerell, 20 September 1905, V&A 86.TT.16 (quoted *ibid.*, p. 9).

18. Letter, Webb to Hale White, 19 February 1888, MR 10/4.

19. Letter, Webb to Hale White, 1 March 1888, MR 10/5.

20. Letter, Webb to Weir, July 1900, V&A 86.TT.13.

21. Lethaby, Webb (1935), p. 150.

22. The SPAB records; Lethaby, Webb (1935), p. 158; Webb's letters to many friends, including Hale White, Howard, and Boyce. Webb's AB shows no fees for SPAB work; Webb refused a fee for the repair of East Knoyle church.

23. The Times, 17 April 1878.

24. An example of the SPAB's concern with humble cottages is its repair of cottages at Drinkstone, Suffolk, in 1920 ("A School of Rational Builders", pp. 12-13); another, though unsuccessful, was Webb's and the Society's attempt to save an insignificant cottage attached to the newly discovered Anglo-Saxon church at Bradford-on-Avon, Avon (letter, Webb to Hale White, 5 January 1902, MR 10/21).

25. Ruskin, Seven Lamps, chap. 6, para. 16. Ruskin was probably influenced in this by J. D. Harding (who became his tutor in 1841, and travelled with him to Italy in 1845); Webb, it will be remembered, was influenced by Harding through working from his instruction book.

26. Letters, Webb to Percy Wyndham, 31 March 1882, LB 1, fol. 239, and Charles Milnes Gaskell, 6 July 1877,



LB 1, fol. 98.

27. Letter, Webb to Hale White, 1 June 1908, MR 10/32; In 1900 Webb refused to support the placing of a monument to Ruskin in the Abbey (letter, Webb to George Howard, 29 August 1900, J22/83).

28. Letter, Webb to Salisbury Baxendale, 4 February 1878, LB 1, fol. 117.

29. Rory Spence, 'Theory and Practice in the Early Work of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings' in 'A School of Rational Builders', pp. 5-9 (pp. 7-9). Webb's methods are described in this paper; see also George L. Morris, 'Lake House, near Aymesbury; an account of its sustentation and repair by Mr. Detmar Blow, with the counsel of Mr. Phillip [sic] Webb', AR, 5, 1899, pp. 171-79.

30. Letter, Webb to Boyce, 20 June 1882, BL Add. MS 45354.

31. Morris, 'Lake house'; "A School of Rational Builders", pp. 11-12; Michael Drury, 'The fall and rise of Stonehenge', SPAB News, Autumn 1985, pp. 8-9). Webb designed a kneeling desk and an altar rail for E. Brewis, and roof timbers and chancel furnishings for E. Cummin, BAL [11], [12].

32. Letters, Shaw to Webb, 29 December 1896, and to Ellen Terry, 11 January 1897 (Bernard Shaw: Collected Letters 1874-1897, ed. Dan H. Laurence (London: Max Reinhardt, 1965), pp. 714-19).

33. First letter under 'Must Peterborough Perish?', The Saturday Review, 2 January 1897, p. 7-9 (7-8).

34. On 3 December 1896 (mentioned in letter, Webb to Jane Morris, BL Add. MS 45342, fol. 78).

35. Letter, Webb to George Howard, 9 September 1875, J22/64.

36. Letter, Webb to Sir John Tames, 2 March 1878, LB 1, fol. 121.

37. Letter, Webb to Lt.-Col. Cecil Ives, 15 December 1881, LB 1, fol. 218. This job went no further.

38. Letter, Webb to Rosalind Howard, 10 August 1868, J22/64.

39. E.g. his use of Weir, a fully qualified architect, as clerk of works at Exning House (CB); 'Must Peterborough Perish', p. 8.

40. AB; CB.

41. 'A School of Rational Builders', pp. 3, 6, 11-12.
42. AB; 'A School of Rational Builders', pp. 18-9.
43. Ibid.: Spence, 'Theory and Practice', pp. 6-9, and miscellaneous primary material, BJTP. Mark Swenarton is mistaken in concluding that Blow was articled to Webb in 1894 (Artisans and Architects: the Ruskinian Tradition in Architectural Thought (London: Macmillan Press, 1989), p. 41); Webb's note 'Blow apprenticed here. 1894' refers not to his own office but to the accompanying address in Newcastle upon Tyne.
44. 'A School of Rational Builders', pp. 17-18.
45. Ibid.: Spence, 'Theory and Practice', pp. 6-7.
46. Lethaby, Webb (1935), p. 150 (quoted: Spence, 'Theory and Practice', p. 6).
47. Ibid., p. 156.
48. William Richard Lethaby, 'Ernest Gimson: London Days', Ernest Gimson, his life and work (London, 1924), pp. 2-4, ('A School of Rational Builders', p. 4). Lethaby was the principal of the Central School of Arts and Crafts, and Ricardo was in charge of the architectural classes; for more on Lethaby see Godfrey Rubens, William Richard Lethaby: his Life and Work 1857-1931 (London: The Architectural Press, 1984).
49. 'A School of Rational Builders', p. 3. There is a new challenge today, as urgent as that posed by the ecclesiologist 'restorers': vast numbers of small houses are being 'restored' by owners who do not realize they are ruining the very antiquity they admire and destroying the vernacular heritage. The SPAB runs courses and provides information for architects and owners wishing to learn the best techniques of conservative repair. Perhaps the time has come for the society to take its campaign into Britain's secondary schools, to educate young people about safeguarding their heritage before they become house-owners.
50. Ian Bradley, William Morris and his World (London: Thames and Hudson, 1978), p. 71.
51. Lethaby, Webb (1935), p. 165; 'A School of Rational Builders', pp. 3, 19-20; Das englische Haus (Berlin: Wasmuth, 1904-05), 3 vols., English edn., abridged: The English House, ed. Denis Sharpe (London: Crosby Lockwood Staples, 1979).
52. 'A School of Rational Builders', p. 3.



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### CHAPTER 4: SOCIALISM

1. George Bernard Shaw in May Morris, William Morris, Artist, Writer, Socialist (Oxford: Blackwell, 1936), 2 vols., 2, preface, p. ix.

2. Nineteenth-century reactions to industrialism, and conceptions of the relationships between art and society, are discussed, e.g., in Raymond Williams, Culture and Society 1780-1950 (London: Chatto & Windus, 1958), republished by Penguin, 1963; Herbert L. Sussman, The Victorians and the Machine: the Literary Response to Technology (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1968); Alice Chandler, A Dream of Order (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1971). In the last book the origins and history of nineteenth-century medievalism are investigated (for Morris's part see pp. 184-230), and so too, with the relationship between Morris's medievalism and socialism, in Margaret R. Grennan, William Morris: medievalist and revolutionary (New York: Russell and Russell, 1945), 2nd edn. 1970. Morris's medievalism is also discussed in William Morris and the Middle Ages, the exhibition catalogue ed. Joanna Banham and Jennifer Harris (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984). As Webb shared Morris's beliefs about the Middle Ages, these books provide useful insights into his thinking.

3. Thomas Carlyle, Signs of the Times (1829); William Cobbett, The History of the Protestant "Reformation" in England and Ireland (1824). Passages from Cobbett and Carlyle, and other adverse criticisms of the times, are reprinted in Industrialisation & Culture 1830-1914, ed. Christopher Harvie, Graham Martin and Aaron Scharf (London: Macmillan for the Open University Press, 1970).

4. Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin, Contrasts: or a Parallel between the noble Edifices of the Middle Ages, and Corresponding Buildings of the present Day; shewing the Decline of Taste (Salisbury: for the author, 1836), revised edn., London: Dolman, 1841; The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture (London: John Weale, 1841).

5. Ruskin expounded his views most powerfully on the relation between art and work in 'The Nature of Gothic', Stones of Venice, 2, chap. 6. A copy of this chapter was handed to all those who attended the inaugural meeting of the Working Men's College (established by the Christian Socialists in 1854) as an indication of the calibre of one of its tutors, Ruskin himself (J. F. C. Harrison, A History of the Working Men's College 1854-1954 (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1954), p. 31). Ruskin's view of Renaissance and nineteenth-century craftsmen as slaves was doubtless



influenced by the prevailing concern of the Western world with freedom, including the British anti-slavery movement.

6. Ruskin, Stones of Venice, 3, chap. 4, para. vi.

7. Ruskin's view was in line with the widely known theory of Lamarck (1744-1829) that faculties become atrophied if unused.

8. Webb bought Stones of Venice in December 1855, and Seven Lamps in October 1856 (AB); see, e.g., Lethaby, Webb (1979), p. 253; *ibid.* Mark Swenarton analyses Ruskin's influence on architects, including Webb, in Artisans and Architects (chap. 2, 'Philip Webb: Architecture and Socialism', pp. 32-60).

9. Webb, Thirteenth . . . Report, p. 20 (quoted by Swenarton, Artisans and Architects, p. 54).

10. Letter, Webb to Hale White, 20 January 1905, MR 10/24.

11. *Ibid.*, November 1899.

12. Lethaby, Webb (1979), pp. 247-48. Although Webb criticized Ruskin, he always defended him when others did so (see *ibid.*). 'Indeed it is hard that all thoughtful people are not more drawn by the great good in him', he wrote to Rosalind Howard, 'rather than repulsed by his weaker side, as is often the case' (letter, 25 July 1878, J22/64). Ruskin often called on Morris and Burne-Jones in their Red Lion Square rooms in the 1850s, and it was presumably on some of these occasions that Webb came to know him well. He visited Ruskin at least once at Denmark Hill to see his Turner paintings (Lethaby, Webb (1979), p. 248).

13. Letter, Webb to Boyce, 4 May 1885, BM Add. MS 45354.

14. Letter, Webb to Lethaby, 1901, Webb (1935), p. 11.

15. Lethaby, Webb (1979), p. 244.

16. Despite Darwin's theory of natural selection (published in 1859), Webb continued to believe, as he told Boyce, that man was 'endowed with exceptional faculties beyond the brute beast', and that 'nature' had not stopped at the gorilla but had made man, the 'worst-and-best animal' so that he could 'set things straight and make them plain' (letter, Webb to Boyce, 30 September 1886, BM Add. MS 45354); Ruskin, Stones of Venice, 2, chap. 6, para. xvi.

17. Conditions in London in Webb's day are detailed by Gavin Weightman and Steve Humphries in The Making of Modern London (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1983),

and, in a contemporary account, by Henry Mayhew in London Labour and the London Poor, 4 vols. (London: Griffin, Bohn, and Company, 1861-62).

18. Letters, Webb to Hale White, 30 January 1899, MR 10/12, and to Morris, 28 December 1884, V&A 86.TT.13.

19. Letters, Webb to Lethaby, 1903, Webb (1935), p. 133, and to Hale White, 11 March 1888, MR 10/8.

20. E.g., in 1874 Webb read the essays in which John Stuart Mill analysed Fourier's system of small communes (letter, Webb to Rosalind Howard, 9 November 1874, J22/64); several of his letters contain comments on political affairs.

21. Letter, Webb to George Howard, 19 June 1875, J22/64.

22. Ibid., 22 April 1879. Webb still supported the Liberals the following year (ibid., 2 January 1880).

23. For the Eastern Question Association and Morris's connection with it see E. P. Thompson, William Morris: Romantic to Revolutionary (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1955), New York: 1961, revised edn. London: Merlin, 1977 (1st edn., pp. 239-63).

24. The most exhaustive account, written from an Marxist viewpoint, of Morris's political beliefs and activities is E. P. Thompson, William Morris; May Morris gives a first-hand account in William Morris vol. 2; Jack Lindsay (who is misleading about Morris's influence on Webb) covers politics in William Morris: his Life and Work (New York: Taplinger Publishing Company, 1979); more can be found in William Morris Today, exhibition catalogue (London: Institute of Contemporary Arts, 1984). All these books contain references to Webb but play down his part, presumably because the authors did not appreciate the extent of his influence on Morris. Godfrey Rubens helpfully added Lethaby's memoranda on Webb and socialism to the 1979 edn. of Lethaby, Webb (pp. 239-44). The relationship between Morris's medievalism and socialism is discussed, e.g., by Margaret Grennan in William Morris.

25. This statement was made by Morris to H. M. Hyndman (Lethaby, Webb (1979), p. 241).

26. Lethaby, Webb (1935), p. 18; Morris, William Morris, 1, p. 55, 2, p. 176; Fairfax Murray informed Lethaby of this (Webb (1979), p. 249).

27. Mackail, Morris, 1, pp. 40, 48-49. In homage to Ruskin, and because it 'kindled the beliefs of his whole life', Morris printed 'On the Nature of Gothic' as the fourth product of his Kelmscott Press in 1892 (ibid., 2, p. 289).



28. Burne-Jones told this to Lethaby (Webb (1979), p. 241). Webb abhorred war, which he attributed to greed, and always fervently hoped that international disputes would be settled peacefully; he told George Howard of his hopes that 'cutting and carving of carcasses' would be avoided in France (1877), and that the 'Boer nut' would be 'cracked without more bullets' (1880) (letters, Webb to Howard, 18 June 1877, and another, n. d. but written 1880-81, J22/64);

29. An illustration of Webb's anti-imperialism is his belief that England deserved to be taught a lesson by being beaten, presumably in the war with Afghanistan (letter, Webb to Howard, 9 December 1878, J22/64). He expressed disgust with the jingoism after the relief of Ladysmith, adding that it seemed 'as if there was nothing for the miserable minority owning some common sense but to hide their injured feelings in the study of the ancient arts remaining to us, or we shall die daily--which is nothing less I fancy than life in Hell' (letter, Webb to Cockerell, 4 March 1900, Meynell, ed., Friends of a Lifetime, p. 100).

30. E.g., Webb donated £4 a week to the League between July and November 1888, approximately half his average income (Socialist Archive, Amsterdam, cited by Swenarton, Artisans and Architects, p. 51); quoted by Lethaby, Webb (1979), p. 241.

31. Webb and Morris knew that medieval life was generally uncultured, so, given a theoretical choice of era in which to live, they did not choose the Middle Ages (letter, Webb to Boyce, 1 October 1881, BL Add. Ms 45354; Ernest Belfort Bax, Reminiscences of a Mid and Late Victorian, (London: Allen & Unwin, 1918), pp. 120-21.

32. The theory of Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) that man was a noble savage turned from self-preservation to self-interest through social living influenced many revolutionaries in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries ('A Discourse on the Origin of Inequality', The Social Contract and Discourses (1792), translated by G. D. H. Cole (1913), pp. 144-229.

33. Letter, Webb to Hale White, c. 10 February 1899, MR 10/14.

34. Lethaby, Webb (1979), p. 251.

35. News from Nowhere first appeared in 1890 as installments in The Commonweal, January-October 1890, and in book form in the USA (Boston: Robert Brothers); it was first published in London by Reeves and Turner in 1891, and is included in the useful volume of Morris prose, verse, poems, lectures and essays ed. G. D. H. Cole, William Morris (London: Nonesuch, 1946)



(pp. 3-197); more recently it was reprinted on its own, ed. by James Redmond, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979. Webb doubtless helped Morris to formulate this vision.

36. Letter, Morris to Dr Glasse, 23 May 1887, in E. Page Arnott, Unpublished Letters of William Morris, Labour Monthly Pamphlets, series 6, 1951, 5.

37. Lethaby, Webb (1979), p. 240.

38. Morris, News from Nowhere, Nonesuch edn., pp. 19, 97-121.

39. Letter, Webb to Rosalind Howard, 24 August 1887, J22/64; in an outline paper written about 1885 (Lethaby, Webb (1979), p. 242).

40. Lethaby recalled Webb, in a lecture entitled 'The Source of Capitalism', talking of the 'great written scroll of history' (Webb (1979), p. 242); another indication of Webb's acceptance of Marx's view of history is indicated by his comment: 'What Yorkshire has to show in excuse for the muck she has made of herself I don't clearly know. What I do know, is, that it was to be and so it is so.' (Letter, Webb to Hale White, 1 March 1888, MR 10/5).

41. See letter, Webb to Morris, 28 December 1884, V&A 86.TT.13. Webb told Morris that 'if only the people would appear in the field with questions to be answered' he would be 'more hopeful of the present' (ibid.).

42. Letters, Webb to Morris and to Kate Faulkner, V&A 86.TT.13, 1884-85; Lethaby, Webb (1935), p. 184; ibid., (1979), p. 242 (Webb gave this lecture to the Hoxton socialists in about 1883, according to Lethaby).

43. For a full explanation of the secession see Thompson, William Morris, 1st edn., part 3, chap. 3, pp. 384-421.

44. See Swenarton, Artisans and Architects, pp. 50-51. E. g., the titles of two of Webb's lectures were 'The necessity for Socialism' and 'Foreigners and English Socialism', and he reflected on the past and present in 'Town and Gown' in The Commonweal (2, no. 47, 4 December 1886, pp. 284-85). He told Boyce of giving himself a sore throat for the cause (letter, 11 October 1887, BL Add. MS 45354).

45. See Swenarton, Artisans and Architects, pp. 50-51.

46. See n. 30 and Lethaby, Webb (1979), p. 242.

47. Quoted by Lethaby, ibid.

48. Morris told Dr Glasse on 23 May 1887 of his aims (Page Arnott, Unpublished Letters, p. 5).
49. Webb told Joseph Lane he agreed with most of his anarchist manifesto (letter, 2 May 1887, BL Add. Ms 46354; Lethaby, Webb (1979), p. 242. This refutes the assertion of E. P. Thompson that by this date Webb was active more through loyalty to Morris than conviction (William Morris, 1st edn., p. 610).
50. Hammersmith Socialist Society, Minutes 1890-96, BL Add. MS 45893.
51. Arnott, Unpublished Letters, p. 16; Lethaby noted Webb's pessimism in a letter to Cockerell, 27 April 1916, Meynell, ed., Friends of a Lifetime, p. 136.
52. Letter, Webb to Morris, 28 December 1884, V&A 86.TT.13.
53. E. P. Thompson, who took the view that Webb was a mere follower of Morris, pointed out that Morris was the first creative artist to do this (William Morris, 1st edn., p. 841).
54. Letter, C. R. Atlee to Cockerell, 23 November 1953, Viola Meynell, ed., The Best of Friends: Further Letters to Sydney Carlyle Cockerell (London: Hart-Davis, 1956), p. 227.
55. Letter, Webb to Cockerell, 4 March 1900, Meynell, ed., Friends of a Lifetime, p. 100.
56. 'Webb has taken my place as treasurer as on all hands it was thought necessary to pull up as to money matters' (letter, Morris to J. L. Mahon, 7 February 1886, Page Arnott, Unpublished Letters, p. 127).
57. Webb had many influential friends who would have helped him towards such an appointment had he wished (such as Lyulph Stanley, brother-in-law to both George Howard and Hugh Bell, who was on the London School Board), and his financial situation would have been much improved. For instance, as architect to the LSB E. R. Robson received £1000 a year and was permitted to continue in private practice (Swenarton, Artisans and Architects, p. 40).
58. Webb's difficulties with Newcastle Council are evident from notes in his relevant SB (BJTP), and with Brompton Church Building Committee from his letters to George Howard (J22/64).
59. In 1864 Webb began preparing an entry for the Bradford Wool Exchange competition but did not finish it, doubtless through shortage of time; after this he apparently ignored competitions until in 1886 when he made sketches of a cathedral, probably on hearing of

the Liverpool competition and without any intention of carrying them further (BAL [4] 1-6, and [56] 1-2).

60. Quoted by Lethaby, Webb (1935), p. 11.

61. Minutes of Sub-committee Meeting, 26 January 1865: 'The Secretary . . . is requested to ask Mr Bell to obtain and kindly give the Directors information as to the fee demanded by Mr. Webb.' (BSCNRRC 1066/13/16 Minute Book no. 1). Webb's letter replying to Bell's enquiry has not been found. This information was kindly provided by Mrs Elizabeth M. Green, a BSC archivist, to whom the present author is grateful for help with her research into Webb's work for Bell Brothers; for more about the Exchange see Elizabeth M. Green, 'On Change, Grandeur and Designs: the Early History of the Middlesbrough Exchange', Cleveland and Teesside Local History Society Bulletin, no. 50, (Spring 1986), pp. 71-80).

62. Letter, Webb to Hale White, c. 10 February 1899, MR 10/14.

63. BAL [34], 1886. Charles Handley-Read discussed it in 'Jubilee Pyramid', AR, 137, 1965, pp. 234-36.

64. See letters, W. Taylor to E. R. Robson, 1863-c.1867, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Burne-Jones Papers, xxiii, 3-27A, e.g. 27 October 1866.

65. Letter, Webb to Hale White, 22 January 1910, MR 10/34.

66. Lethaby, Webb (1979), p. 256.



## PART 1: WEBB'S LIFE

### CHAPTER 5: THE LAST YEARS

1. Lethaby, Webb (1935), p. 195.
2. E.g. Henderson, William Morris, His Life, Work and Friends, p. 365.
3. Letter, Webb to Hale White, 13 May 1899, MR 10/15. Careless spelling is rare in Webb letters.
4. Ibid., 30 January 1899, MR 10/12.
5. Lethaby, Webb (1935), p. 201.
6. E.g., 4 October 1899, Webb's memorandum to ask Franklin, contractor for work at Warrens, about any suitable cottages near Southampton, SB 1896-1900.
7. Letters, Webb to Hale White, 10 January 1900, MR 10/12, to Cockerell, 23 December 1898, Meynell, ed., Friends of a Lifetime, p. 99, and to Hale White, 13 May 1899, MR 10/15.
8. Letters, Webb to Hale White, 13 and 16 May 1900, MR 10/15, 16, and Ernest W. Gimson to May Morris, 22 April 1915, BL Add. MS 45347.
9. Lethaby, Webb, (1935), pp. 199, 204, 201-02.
10. Ibid., p. 203. The house, Arncliffe Hall (then known as Ingleby Hall), near Northallerton, was designed by John Carr (1723-1807).
11. Letter, Hale White to Webb, 14 June 1900, (William Hale White, Letters to Three Friends (London: Oxford University Press, 1924), p. 303.
12. For 3 days he searched from a friend's boat on the Stour (probably the Dorset Stour; Lethaby, Webb (1935), p. 205).
13. Neville Lytton, The English Country Gentleman (London: Hurst & Blackett, 1925), p. 238; letter, Wilfrid Scawen Blunt to Cockerell, 16 January 1903, Meynell. ed., Friends of a Lifetime, p. 167; Blunt, diary entry, 26 May 1900, My Diaries: Being a Personal Narrative of Events 1888-1914 (London: Martin Secker, 1919, 1920), 2 vols., 1 vol. edn., 1933, p.368.
14. Elizabeth Longford, A Pilgrimage of Passion: The Life of Wilfrid Scawen Blunt (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1979) Granada edn., 1982, p.330; letter, Lady Anne Blunt to Cockerell, 14 June 1900, BL Add. MS 52760 (quoted by Brandon, 'Philip Webb', p. 8).
15. Letter, Webb to Cockerell, 6 July 1900, Meynell,

ed., Friends of a Lifetime, p. 105-06.

16. Ibid.

17. Ibid., pp. 106-07

18. Lethaby, Webb (1835), p. 205; letter, Webb to Cockerell, 28 July 1900, Meyell, ed., Friends of a Lifetime, pp. 106-07.

19. Letter, Webb to Sidney Barnsley, 10 August 1900, Lethaby, Webb (1935), pp. 206-07; suicide: Longford, Pilgrimage of Passion, Granada edn., p. 330 (the cart-shed had probably already been re-erected at another Blunt cottage (ibid., pp. 330-31)).

20. Letter, Webb to Cockerell, 28 July 1900, Meynell, ed., Friends of a Lifetime, p.106.

21. Letters, Webb to Sidney Barnsley, 10 August 1900 (Lethaby, Webb (1835, p. 207), and Webb to George Howard, 1 September 1900, J22/64 .

22. Caxtons itself, and SB 1896-1900.

23. Ibid., and Webb's drawings: BAL [49] 1-6: preliminary design and working drawings for alterations, September to November 1900.

24. Letters, Webb to Mrs Flower and Jane Morris, 1900, BL Add. MS 45343 and 45355; CB. William Dench was the estate carpenter (ibid.) but Webb noted in his Add.B (February 1901, fol. 111) that Benjamin Payne of Three Bridges did some carpentry at Caxtons; this was probably at Webb's expense.

25. Letter, Webb to May Morris, 1900, BL Add. MS 45343, fol. 11; letter, Cockerell to Webb, 16 December 1900, BL Add. MS 52760.

26. Letter, Webb to Mrs Wickham Flower, January 1901, BL Add. MS 43355; Lethaby, Webb (1935, p. 209; for the animal drawings, see part 3, chap. 6, n. 67.

27. Lethaby, Webb (1935), pp. 209, 219-20, and Virginia Surtees, The Paintings and Drawings of Dante-Gabriel Rossetti (1828-1882); A Catalogue Raisonné (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), pp. 72, 77. Webb's letter to Boyce accepting the Rossetti painting ('The meeting of Dante and Beatrice in Paradise') temporarily but insisting that it reverts to whichever of them lives longest: 18 August 1885, BL Add. MS 45354; his note on the back of the painting says he gave it to Cockerell on 17 December 1900 after Cockerell promised to dispose of it eventually to a national gallery of English paintings; Cockerell presented it to the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge on 3 June 1937. The sofa sketch is in the Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery.



28. For example: in 1905 Webb received interest on £1,442 but by the following year his savings were only £1,219 (Bank AB).

29. This information was kindly provided by John Brandon-Jones who received it from Emery Walker, one of those who deposited money in Webb's account during periods when his mind was confused.

30. Bank AB.

31. Mackail, Morris, 2, pp. 339-40, 345; Daily News, 26 June 1909, Webb's Scrap-book.

32. Bank AB.

33. Letters, Webb to Cockerell, 4 March 1900 and 10 January 1901, Meynell, ed., Friends of a Lifetime, pp. 100, 107.

34. Ibid.; *ibid.*, p. 104.

35. Lethaby, Webb (1935), p. 228; letter, Webb to Powell, *ibid.*, p. 213.

36. See W. S. Blunt to Cockerell, 26 January 1901, Meynell, ed., Friends of a Lifetime, p. 151.

37. Letter, Webb to Sidney Barnsley, 25 June 1901, Lethaby, Webb (1935), pp. 214-215.

38. Letters, Webb to Powell, [January?] 1901, and to Sidney Barnsley, 11 July 1902, *ibid.*, pp. 213, 218-19.

39. Letter, Webb to Cockerell, 10 January 1901, Meynell, ed., Friends of a Lifetime, p. 107.

40. Prefatory note by Cockerell in the bound letters, Webb to Mrs Flower, he gave to the BL (Add. MS 45355) (Mrs Dickinson needed a refuge from her unsatisfactory husband; she found her years with Webb the happiest of her life); Lethaby, Webb (1935), pp. 231, 211-213; information kindly given by Mr F. Hyder, a Worth resident for over 80 years.

41. There is a water-colour by Thomas Rooke of Webb's parlour-study at Kelmscott Manor (The Society of Antiquaries collection).

42. Letters, Webb to Cockerell, 10 January 1901, 30 November 1902, Meynell, ed., Friends of a Lifetime, pp. 107, 110.

43. *Ibid.*, p. 110.

44. Letter, Webb to Hale White, 21 February 1902, MR 10/22.



45. Letter, Webb to Cockerell, 30 November 1902, Meynell, ed., Friends of a Lifetime, p. 110.
46. Letter, Webb to Hale white, 21 August 1907, MR 10/28.
47. Lionel Lambourne, Utopian Craftsmen: the Arts and Crafts Movement from the Cotswolds to Chicago (London: Astragal Books, 1980), p. 22 (caption, fig. 18).
48. Letter, Webb to Sidney Barnsley, 11 July 1902 (Lethaby, Webb (1935), p. 218). As the mace was to be presented by Mrs C. G. Beale, wife of the vice-chancellor, it is possible that Webb's name was suggested by the Beales of Standen who came from Birmingham.
49. Letter, Webb to Powell, 7 March 1902 (Lethaby, Webb (1935), p. 216).
50. Letter, Webb to Hale White, 21 February 1902, MR 10/22.
51. 'Studio-talk: Birmingham', The Studio, 1903, vol. 29, pp. 291-92. Webb's drawings: BAL [63] 1-3, d. January-April 1902.
52. Letter, Webb to Holliday, 11 June 1902 (Lethaby, Webb (1935), p. 217).
53. 'Studio-talk: Birmingham', The Studio, p. 293. The mace is also illustrated in Lethaby, 'Philip Webb and his work', p. 889, and in Webb (1979), pl. 14.
54. Webb's drawing, done on one of Weir's, d. June 1901, BAL [12]; Lethaby, Webb (1835), pp. 214-16. The book-plate designed for Cockerell and Walker may be the one for Herbert George Fordham (illustrated in Lethaby, 'Philip Webb and his Work', p. 888). A print of this book-plate, with another for St John and Cicely Hornby's Ashdene Press which was probably also designed by Webb (dated 19 Novemembr 1901 in pencil) is kept with his letters to Hale White (MR 10/37, 38).
55. Letter, Madeline Wyndham [?] to Cockerell, 15 October 1901, Cockerell Papers, BL Add. MS 52760. The last page is missing but this attribution is almost certain; the writer's suggestion that the design would make a fine book-plate probably led to the commission from Walker and Cockerell.
56. See part 3, chap. 5.
57. Arthur Penn, 'The Building of Saint Martin's Church, Brampton', Papers on the History of Brampton and District, No. 5, 1972, pp. 18, 21-22.

58. Letter, Webb to George Jack, 3 April 1902, BJTP.
59. Letter, Webb to Cockerell, 20 November 1902, Meynell, ed., Friends of a Lifetime, p. 109.
60. E.g., W. S. Blunt to Cockerell, 26 December 1902, Meynell, ed., Friends of a Lifetime, p. 165; Lethaby, Webb (1935), p. 220.
61. Quoted by Lethaby, *ibid.*
62. Webb's Add.B contains names and addresses of dentist, oculist, and optical instrument, all in London, recommended by friends; he certainly visited some of these if not all.
63. Letter, Bell to Webb, 1902 (Lethaby, Webb (1935), pp. 217-18). The Rounton Grange drawings were deposited with the North Yorkshire County Council Record Office by the Bell family a few years ago.
64. Lethaby, Webb (1935), pp. 220-21.
65. Letter, Webb to Lethaby, 9 October 1908 (Webb (1979), p. 263).
66. *Ibid.*, p. 226; letter, W. S. Blunt to Cockerell, 11 June 1913, Meynell, ed., Friends of a Lifetime, p. 181.
67. Letters, Webb to Cockerell, quoted by Lethaby, Webb (1935), p. 220; to Cockerell, 7 March 1904, Meynell, ed., Friends of a Lifetime, p. 114; to Lethaby, 3 July 1904 (Webb (1935), pp. 138-39), 30 August 1906 (*ibid.*, p. 223), and 21 December 1909 (*ibid.*, p. 130).
68. *Ibid.*, pp. 140-141, 233; letters, Webb to Lethaby, 3 July, 5 and 21 December 1904 (*ibid.*, pp. 138, 221).
69. Letter, Webb to Lethaby, 8 February 1908 (Webb (1935), p. 224).
70. Winmill, Winmill, pp. 50, 51. In this exhibition Winmill used a Webb design, probably made years before, for the bow-shaped wrought iron window catches.
71. Letters, Webb to Jane Morris, 12 November 1903 (BL Add. MS 45343), to Mrs Wickham Flower, 4 January 1901 (BL Add. MS 43355), to Cockerell, April 1901 (V&A 86.TT.15), all quoted by Brandon, 'Philip Webb', p. 12.
72. Letters, Webb to Jane Morris, 12 November 1903 (BL Add. MS 45343), to Hale White, Letters to Three Friends, p. 50, both quoted by Brandon, *ibid.*, p. 12.
73. Letter, Webb to Lethaby, 3 July 1904, (Webb (1935), p. 138).
74. 29 October 1909: Hale White, Letters to Three



Friends, p. 355.

75. Letters, Bell to Webb (BJTP); Lethaby, Webb (1935), p. 224. Webb made a plan of one of the cells (undated, BAL [77]), presumably when on a site-visit to Rounton Grange or Smeaton Manor, and gave a little advice about the manor house work but the architect was Ambrose Poynter, son of the painter Edward Poynter (a friend of Hugh Bell).

76. See, e.g., letters, Webb to Hale White, 16 May 1899 (MR 10/16) and to Cockerell, 25 April 1903, 7 March 1904 (Meynell, ed., Friends of a Lifetime, p.111-15); Webb uses a magnifying glass: Lethaby, Webb (1935), p. 126, and Webb (1979), p. 258. Several friends sent postcards, but Cockerell sent one daily when he travelled.

77. Letter, Cockerell to Webb, 14 April 1907, V&A 86.TT.16. (quoted by Brandon, 'Philip Webb', p. 12).

78. Ibid.; letter, Webb to Cockerell, 11 March 1905. For these articles see part 2, chap. 5, n. 96, and chap. 6, n. 92, or the bibliography.

79. Hale White, Letters to Three Friends, p. 372; Wilfrid Blunt, Cockerell (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1964), pp. 88-89.

80. Webb's sketch-books.

81. Letter, Webb to Hale White, 6 April 1909, Letters to Three Friends, p. 350 footnote.

82. Letter, Webb to Cockerell, 7 March 1904, Meynell. ed., Friends of a Lifetime, p. 115.

83. Letter, Webb to Lethaby, 29 May 1906, (Webb (1935), pp. 221-22); *ibid.*, p. 219.

84. Letters, Webb to Hale White, 20 January 1905, 22 January 1910, 2 February 1902, 30 March 1904, 3 February 1905, 29 October 1909, MR 10/24, 34, 22, 23, 25, 33.

85. Letters, Webb to Lethaby and Alfred Powell, 28 August 1901, 7 March 1902 (Webb (1935), pp. 215, 216).

86. Letter, Webb to Hale White, 20 January 1905, MR 10/24.

87. Wilfrid Blunt, Cockerell, pp. 85-6, quoting Cockerell, August 1890; letter, Cockerell to Rooke, 18 June 1898 (Lago, ed., Burne-Jones Talking, p. 190).

88. Letters, Rooke to Cockerell, and Rooke to Webb, 18 June 1898, *ibid.*, pp. 190, 191.



89. Winmill, Winmill, p. 31.
90. Ibid., p. 37.
91. Ibid., p. 53.
92. Ibid., p. 54; Brandon, 'Philip Webb', p. 13; Blunt, My Diaries, p. 520.
93. George Jack, quoted by Lethaby, Webb (1835), p. 228.
94. Letter, Webb to Cockerell, 7 March 1904, Meynell, ed., Friends of a Lifetime, p. 115.
95. Lethaby, Webb (1835), p. 219; letters, Webb to Mrs Flower, BL Add. MS 45355.
96. Letter, May Morris to Lethaby, (Webb (1935), p. 211).
97. Letter, Webb to Lethaby, 2 July 1913, *ibid.*, p. 229.
98. Ibid., pp. 227-28.
99. Letter, Webb to Hale White, 22 January 1910, MR 10/34.
100. Letters, Webb to Lethaby, 5 November 1907, 27 January 1913, (Lethaby, Webb (1935), pp. 223, 229).
101. Letter, Webb to Cockerell, 27 August 1908, Meynell, ed., Friends of a Lifetime, p. 116. A letter in Webb's hand was illustrated as an e.g. of fine handwriting in English Handwriting, SPE Tract no. 23, (Oxford, 1926).
102. Letter, Webb to Hale White, 22 January 1910, MR 10/34.
103. Hale White, Letters to Three Friends, p. 394; letter, Lethaby to Cockerell, 16 December 1914, Meynell, ed., Friends of a Lifetime, p. 131.
104. Ibid.
105. Lethaby, Webb (1935), p. 230.
106. Wilfrid Blunt, Cockerell, p. 89.
107. Ibid.
108. Letters, Lady Burne-Jones to Cockerell, 19 April 1915, Meynell, ed., Friends of a Lifetime, p. 123, and Mrs Flower to Cockerell, 17 April 1915, Cockerell Papers, BL Add. MS 52761.

109. Letter, Lethaby to May Morris, 17 April 1915, BL Add. MS 45347, Morris Papers, vol. 10, fol. 117.

110. Letter, Ernest Gimson to May Morris, 22 April 1915, BL Add. MS 45347, Morris Papers, vol. 10, fol. 118.

111. Winmill, Winmill, pp. 53-4.

112. Wilfrid Blunt, Cockerell, p. 89. Mrs Dickinson returned to service with Mrs Flower (note by Cockerell, 10 April 1920, Webb to Mrs Flower letters, BL Add. MS 45355). Webb appointed Emery Walker executor, and left his meagre estate to his own sisters, Sarah and Caroline, but only the former (the last of the eleven siblings) survived him (Webb's Will, 11 January 1903 (BJTP); letter, Sarah Webb to Cockerell, 30 April 1915, Cockerell Papers, BL Add. MS 52761). George Jack and Winmill stopped Webb from burning his papers on leaving London; Walker allowed the RIBA and the Victoria and Albert Museum to select what they wished, but retained the note and letter books, and the remaining drawings (Brandon-Jones, 'Letters of Philip', 1965, p. 52).

113. Lethaby, Webb (1935), p. 231.

114. Letter, Webb to Cockerell, 20 November 1902, Meynell, ed., Friends of a Lifetime, pp. 109-10.

115. William Richard Lethaby, 'Philip Webb and his Work', B, 128, 129, and Webb (1935).

116. Arthur Kean, 'The late Mr. Philip Webb', letter, RIBA Jl., 22, 3rd series (12 June 1915) p. 395.

117. Edwin Landseer Lutyens, 'The Work of the late Philip Webb', CL, 37 (8 May 1915), p. 618.

118. 'The late Philip Webb', report of a General Meeting, RIBA Jl., 22, 3rd series (8 May 1915), pp. 339-41.

119. *Ibid.*, p. 339.

120. *Ibid.*, p. 341.

121. *Ibid.*, pp. 340-41.

122. *Ibid.*, p. 339.

123. George Jack, 'An Appreciation of Philip Webb', AR, 38 (July 1915), pp. 1-6, and pls. (p. 1), reprinted in Alastair Service, Edwardian Architecture and its Origins (London: Architectural Press, 1975), pp. 16-25.

124. George Jack, 'Philip Webb', RIBA Jl. (p. 369).



## PART 2: PHILOSOPHY, CLIENTS, AND PRACTICE

### CHAPTER 1: WEBB'S NATIONAL VERNACULAR APPROACH (1)

1. The theories of associational beauty, which stemmed in part from the varied buildings introduced into English landscape gardens, posited that an object is perceived to be beautiful because of associations it evokes in the mind of the observer; as the associations vary according to observers' experience and education, there can be no absolute rules of beauty, thus buildings other than classical ones can be beautiful. There is a helpful summary of the origins and effects of the theories in J. Mordaunt Crook, The Dilemma of Style: Architectural Ideas from the Picturesque to the Post-Modern (London: John Murray, 1987), chap. 1; for more detailed information see, e.g., Walter J. Hippie, The Beautiful, The Sublime, and the Picturesque in 18th Century British Aesthetic Theory (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1957).

2. There were exceptions, such as those preferring the French chateaux style. For 19th-century architectural theory, in addition to various other works referred to in these notes, see, e.g., Nikolaus Pevsner, Some Architectural Writers of the Nineteenth Century (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972); David Watkin, Morality and Architecture: the Development of a Theme in Architectural History and Theory from the Gothic Revival to the Modern Movement (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977); and Alf Bøe, From Gothic Revival to Functional Form (Oslo and Oxford: Da Capo, 1957).

3. John Claudius Loudon (1783-1843) probably first recommended the universal adoption of gothic styles, in A Treatise on Forming, Improving and managing Country residences: and on the choice of Situations Appropriate to every Class of Purchasers . . ., (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees and Orme, 1806), 2 vols., reprint edn., Farnborough, 1971. This fact was noted by Georg Germann (in Gothic Revival in Europe and Britain: Sources, Influences and Ideas, translated by Gerald Onn (London: Lund Humphries, 1972) p. 63).

4. Street, 'On the Future of Art', pp. 232-33. For the origins of the gothic revival see, e.g., Terence Davis, The Gothick Taste (London and Vancouver: David and Charles, 1974), James Macaulay, The Gothic Revival 1745-1845 (Glasgow and London: Blackie, 1975), and Michael McCarthy, The Origins of the Gothic Revival (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1987).

5. Pugin, Contrasts. For Pugin see Benjamin Ferrey, Recollections of A. W. Pugin; Phoebe Stanton, Pugin, (London: Thames and Hudson, 1971; A. W. N. Pugin and the Pugin Family, ed. Alexandra Wedgwood (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1985)).



6. Pugin, True Principles, pp. 1-4, 31, 35-36, 52.
7. Ibid., p. 52.
8. For truth and reality as the ecclesiologists' guiding stars see, e.g., the pamphlet published by the Camden Society (later the Ecclesiological Society), A Few Words to Church Builders (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1841), p. 4; as Stefan Muthesius noted in The High Victorian Movement in Architecture 1850-1870 (London and Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1972), p. 1.
9. Anon, 'Schools', E, 7, Series 19, January 1847, pp. 1-6.
10. Muthesius, High Victorian Movement, chap. 1.
11. George Gilbert Scott, Remarks on Secular and Domestic Architecture, Present and Future (London: John Murray, 1857), pp. 261-62; G. E. Street, An Urgent Plea for the Revival of True Principles of Architecture in the Public Buildings of the University of Oxford (London: Parker, 1853), p. 4.
12. Robert Kerr, The Gentleman's House, or How to Plan English Residences from the Parsonage to the Palace (London: John Murray, 1864), 3rd edn., 1871, pp. 61-62. In Kerr's view, these best qualities were the 'grandeur, refined balance, and repose' of the classical styles and the 'piquant utilitarianism' of gothic.
13. Thomas Harris, Victorian Architecture: a Few Words to show that a National Architecture adapted to the Wants of the Nineteenth Century is attainable (London: Bell and Daldy, 1860), pp. 4-5, 5-6 (all Harris could suggested in the practically line, however, was that churches should be an eclectic mixture of gothic styles and that houses should have flat or segmental openings); in a lecture given at the Architectural Exhibition (Revd John Louis Petit, 'On the Revival of Styles', B, 19, 1861, pp. 350-52, 369-72).
14. John Pollard Seddon in a lecture to the AA, cited by Peter Collins, Changing Ideals in Modern Architecture, 1750-1950 (London: Faber and Faber, 1965); reprint edn., 1971, p. 143. Seddon himself was a gothic revivalist at the time.
15. After Webb moved to London he knew Seddon well, but not in 1850.
16. In his testimonial (7 May 1852) Billing affirmed that in 'the best class of drawing and designing Mr. Webb has been very successful, particularly in the several Gothic styles' (quoted in full: Lethaby, Webb (1935), pp. 9-10).

17. Webb, Thirteenth . . . Report, p. 10.
18. Ibid., p. 11 (quoted by Swenarton, Artisans and Architects, p. 54).
19. Ibid., p. 11 (quoted by Swenarton, ibid., pp. 53-54).
20. Lethaby, Webb (1935), p. 120.
21. Letter, Webb to Hale White, 29 October 1909, MR 10/33.
22. Discussing 'art imagination' in painting (the same to him as invention or design in architecture) Webb told Hale White: 'However high the imagination may be, it must "be planted on the Earth"--indeed the Earth (we would say the universe) supplies the only symbols by which the imagination can work' (letter, c. 10 February 1899, MR 10/14). Webb was not 'unwilling to divorce himself entirely from the past' as Peter Davey has suggested (Arts and Crafts Architecture: The Search for Earthly Paradise (London: Architectural Press, 1980), p. 34): he believed it was impossible to do so.
23. Lethaby, Webb (1935), p. 18 (the phrasing is Lethaby's).
24. Ibid., p. 144.
25. Ibid., p. 120 (the quoted phrase is Lethaby's).
26. Letter, Webb to Percy Wyndham, 16 August 1886, LB 2, fol. 62.
27. For papers and publications on Brampton Church see part 3, chap. 5, n. 15. Webb's unexecuted designs for the chapel at Arisaig House and Thurstaston church were also idiosyncratically gothic.
28. A note on Webb's 1875 working drawing reads: 'Note The S.W. & S.E. ROOMS [in the corner turrets or 'pavilions'] to have a dummy beam to correspond with trusses in other pavilions.' (Rounton Grange Drawings, NYCCRO, ZFK 2, as yet incompletely catalogued). Butterfield, too, used sham structural features for visual reasons (see Paul Thompson, Butterfield (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1971), p. 170).
29. Bell Brother's Offices are discussed by the present author in Rosemary J. Curry and Sheila Kirk, Philip Webb in the North (Middlesbrough: Teesside Polytechnic and RIBA Teesside Branch, 1984), pp. 41-43 (the arch is illustrated on p. 41).
30. Letter, Webb to George Jack, 23 May 1888, BJTP.
31. Street sought contrasts of light like those of a

woodland path (G. E. Street, 'The True Principles of Architecture and the Possibilities of Development', E, 13, 1852, pp. 247-62 (p. 256). Eastlake noted that Street was one of the first revivalists to show how effective gothic could be when it depended solely on 'artistic proportion' (Charles Eastlake, A History of the Gothic Revival (London: 1872) 1970 edn., introd. J. Mordaunt Crook (Leicester: Leicester University Press), p. 323). Henry Stuart Goodhart-Rendell drew attention to Webb learning the value of unbroken surfaces, long roof-lines and the 'skilful concentration of emphasis at some important point' ('The English Home in the 19th Century', AJ, 11 and 18 November 1948, pp. 469-70 (p. 470)).

32. E. g., by John Hutchinson and Paul Joyce, (G. E. Street in East Yorkshire, p. 9). For more on Street see A. E. Street, Memoir of G. E. Street.

33. Laverstoke Parsonage is illustrated, e.g., in Nikolaus Pevsner and David Lloyd, Hampshire and the Isle of Wight (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1967), Buildings of England Series, fig 86.

34. Lethaby, Webb (1935), p. 10.

35. Ibid., p. 67.

36. Ibid., pp. 122-23.

37. There are sketches of Butterfield's schools at Great Bookham and the 'house at Highgate' in one of Webb's sketch-books (BJTP); Butterfield's Alvechurch and Baldersby buildings are the only contemporary buildings in Webb's County Lists (BJTP). The Highgate house is not mentioned in Thompson's Butterfield. Having worked on Street's buildings, Webb had no need to sketch them.

38. See 'Number 1 Palace Green' in part 3, chap. 1; letter, Webb to C. J. Faulkner, 26 May 1873 (Brandon-Jones, 'Letters of Philip Webb', p. 61). The schools were designed in 1876 by Thomas Graham Jackson.

39. Letters, Webb to Butterfield, 27 November 1869, and Butterfield's reply, 11 December 1869, ibid., pp. 53-54.

40. The manner was also adopted by William White (1825-1900), but there is no indication in letters or sketch-books that Webb admired his work.

41. The need for low maintenance was pointed out in a description of Ewan Christian's Goldhanger rectory, Essex (1851-2) by the anonymous author of Villa and Cottage Architecture (London: Blackie & Son, 1871), p. 50. Christian, too, adopted Butterfield's manner.



42. Those who did know these buildings referred to them as being in the 'farmhouse' style (see, e.g., BN, 12, 1865, p. 657) but apart from the fact that they lacked ornament this was not very apt as, with their component parts carefully articulated to express the plan, they resembled few English farmhouses. Paul Thompson noted that scarcely any of Butterfield's secular buildings were published, and suggested that as admirers such as Webb had to seek them out they perhaps valued them the more highly (Butterfield, pp. 355-56).

43. Lethaby, Webb (1935), p. 136. However, Webb knew that even his early work did not 'properly come under the category of the "Gothic Revival in England", as he explained to Eastlake when refusing the latter's request for examples to include in his History of the Gothic Revival (letter, Webb to Eastlake, 14 March 1870 Brandon-Jones, 'Letters of Philip Webb', pp. 66, 71 (fig. 4)).

## PART 2: PHILOSOPHY, CLIENTS, AND PRACTICE

### CHAPTER 2: WEBB'S NATIONAL VERNACULAR APPROACH (2)

1. 'Common sense is our only ware', Webb told Lethaby (Webb (1935), p. 136). In the general field Webb probably accepted the Scottish philosophy of common sense (the official philosophy of France from 1816-1870) whose thinkers considered that the excessive stress placed on ideas by Hume and Berkeley, following Descartes and Locke, had reduced their premises to absurdity (see J. McCosh, The Scottish Philosophy (1875)).

2. Ruskin, Seven Lamps, preface to 2nd edn., section 4; letter, Webb to Lethaby, 1903 (Webb (1935), p. 132).

3. James Fergusson, The Illustrated Handbook of Architecture, 2 vols. (London: John Murray, 1855), 1, introd., p. 28.

4. Pugin, True Principles, p. 1. Ironically, this rule came from eighteenth-century theory of design in the classical style.

5. Letter, Webb to W. T. Tate, 13 June 1883, LB 2, fol. 13. The sort of contemporary houses Webb deplored can be seen, e.g., in C. J. Richardson, Picturesque Designs for Mansions, Villas, Lodges, &c. (London: Atchley & Co., 1870).

6. Webb, Thirteenth . . . Report, p. 20 (quoted by Swenarton, Artisans and Architects, p. 53).

7. Lethaby, Webb (1935), p. 119.

8. Ibid., p. 122.

9. Letter, Webb to Constance Astley, 10 February 1904, BAL LeW/2/1 (quoted by Swenarton, Artisans and Architects, p. 56).

10. Ruskin, Stones of Venice, 2, chap. 6, paras. xix-xxv.

11. Letter, George Jack to Lethaby, n.d. given, Webb (1935), p. 137.

12. Letter, Webb to I. L. Bell, 4 April 1877, LB 1, fol. 78.

13. For a memorial cabinet Webb provided two sheets of sketches of the periwinkle plant so that in 'repeating the pattern' James Forsyth, who had worked for many distinguished architects, could 'avoid slavish copying' of Webb's leaves, though the 'general disposition of the sprays and leaves' was to be as shown (notes on

Webb's drawing (BAL [51] 1-4, (1), illustrated in Jill Lever, Architects' Designs for Furniture, p. 88). Speaking from experience, George Jack found Webb's drawings for woodcarving so well done they were 'rather an embarrassment to the carver' ('Appreciation', p. 4),

14. Webb's drawing: (BAL [42] 59). Pearson was one of the original members of C. R. Ashbee's Guild of Handicraft.

15. Laurence Turner, author of Decorative Plasterwork in Great Britain, 1927, usually made the models, e.g., those for the hall capitals at Clouds.

16. Letter, Webb to George Howard, n.d. [c. October 1867], J22/64; Lethaby, Webb (1935), p. 135.

17. Letters, Webb to Hale White, 20 January 1905, MR 10/24, and to Lethaby, 18 January 1905 (Webb (1979), p. 261). Webb preferred to use synonyms for 'beauty', because he thought the quality itself could not be defined, only its many manifestations, one of which was a well laid out drainage system (*ibid.*, p. 251; (1935), p. 123).

18. Letters, Webb to Lethaby, 14 April 1905 (*ibid.*, (1979) p. 262), and to Hale White, 13 May 1899, MR 10/15.

19. Letter, Webb to Lady Lady Fitzhardinge, 25 July 1876, LB 1, fol. 41.

20. Letter, Webb to William Morris, 17 June 1896, V&A 86.TT.13, fol. 76 (quoted by Brandon, 'Philip Webb', p. 10).

21. See, e.g., Hugh Honour, Romanticism (London: Allen Lane, 1979) republished: Penguin Books, 1981, chap. 3.

22. Letter, Webb to Sidney Barnsley, 28 November 1900 (quoted: Lethaby, Webb (1979), p. 258).

23. Letter, Webb to Hale White, 5 January 1902, MR 10/21. Webb often used this or similar terms for those without a real understanding of or feeling for art. Morris, like Webb, believed that one art was lessened by being described in the terms of another (see e.g. Aymer Vallance, The Life and Work of William Morris (London: George Bell and Sons, 1897); reprint edn., London: Studio Editions, 1986), pp. 136-37).

24. See, e.g., letter, Webb to Frank Faulkner, 24 January 1887, LB 2, fols. 79-80. In 1891 architects were divided about the proposal to make architecture a closed profession; Webb thought it should remain an art, so he signed the letter of protest (published: The Times, 31 March 1891).



25. Letter, Webb to Hale White, November 1899, MR 10/20.

26. Lethaby, Webb (1935), p. 125-26, 194; ibid., (1979), p. 253. Webb believed that everyone has creative power to some degree, and that geniuses have most of all and can produce great work (with strenuous effort) without the stimulus provided by the shared faith and hopes of a community; he felt that in decadent times geniuses were 'flames of light to the world' but also that genius had often 'helped on corruption by its power of doing splendidly', Michelangelo being a case in point (letters, Webb to Hale White, c. 10 February, 28 October, November 1899, MR 10/14, 19, 20). His thinking combined three different theories of art: art as the expression of the individual, as the expression of the unconscious folk-spirit, and as the product of the artist's expertise and experience.

27. Peter Davey contended that Webb deliberately employed 'allusions' to spark off a memory in the mind of the observer and add something to the 'meaning' of what he sees' ('What does architecture talk about?', number 9, AR, 161, no. 962, April 1977, pp. 197-99 (p. 99)). This is often the effect of Webb's designs, but that it was not deliberate is supported by the fact that Lethaby did not include 'meaning' in his list of Webb's aims (Webb (1935), chap. 7, pp. 119-142).

28. Morris, too, avoided and was bored by 'modern symbolism in design' (May Morris, William Morris, Artist, Writer, Socialist, 1, p.36 n.).

29. Lethaby, Webb (1935), p. 104; Ruskin, Seven Lamps, chap. 4, section 3). This (drawing-room) chimneypiece has been removed; Webb's drawing for the bird surrounded by foliage is reproduced in Margaret Richardson, Architects of the Arts and Crafts Movement (London: Trefoil Books and the RIBA, 1983), RIBA Drawings Series, p. 19, fig. 10.

30. Lethaby, Webb (1935), p. 135; Pugin, True Principles, pp. 22-24.

31. Lethaby, Webb (1935), p. 135.

32. Letter, Webb to Hale White, November 1899, MR 10/20. Webb found Wordsworth's poetry consoling but was bored by his 'philosophizing', whereas he admired Scott wholeheartedly; if he had been deeply influenced in this matter by Wordsworth, as Trevor Garnham suggests ('Crafts and the Revival of Architecture' in Neil Jackson, F. W. Troup, Architect, 1859-1941 (London: Building Centre Trust, 1985), pp. 75-90 (pp. 86-88)), Webb would have told Hale White so when congratulating him on his book about the poet (letter, 21 August 1907, MR 10/28).

33. Quoted: Lethaby, Webb (1979), p. 251.
34. Ruskin, Stones of Venice, 2, chap. 6, para. vii.
35. Letter, Webb to Lethaby, Webb (1935), pp. 132-33. In Webb's opinion the 'barbaric' in English gothic lasted from 1200-1350 (ibid., 17 September 1903, p. 130).
36. Letters, Webb to Hale White, 11 March 1888 (MR 10/6), and to Lethaby, 1903 (Webb (1935), pp. 133-34).
37. Pugin, True Principles, p. 53-54.
38. Lethaby, Webb (1935), p. 135; ibid., letter, Webb to Lethaby, 17 September 1903, p. 131. Webb's expressed liking for a 'gaunt church' (ibid., pp. 24-25) seems to contradict his views on detail, but his own church at Brampton shows that to him gauntness meant not stark plainness but a bold, uncluttered structure, in John Brandon-Jones's words 'simplicity on a grand scale' ('Philip Webb', in Victorian Architecture, ed. Ferriday, p. 261).
39. Lethaby, Webb (1935), pp. 133, 132.
40. No. 19 Lincoln's Inn Fields is illustrated, e.g., Girouard, Sweetness and Light: The Queen Anne Movement 1860-1900 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), p. 24, fig. 13; for Bell Brothers' Offices and Brampton Church see part 2, chap. 1, n. 30 and part 3, chap. 5, n. 15.
41. Letter, W. Taylor to E. R. Robson, n.d. [1860s], Fitzwilliam Museum, xxiii (25); Ruskin, Stones of Venice, 2, chap. 6, para. cxl.
42. Letter, Taylor to Robson, xxii (29). Mark Girouard quotes from these letters in Sweetness and Light, pp. 15-16.
43. Ibid., p. 25.
44. B, 21, 1863, p. 620; Lethaby, Webb (1935), p. 136; anon, 'Schools', E, pp. 5-6.
45. In 1868 he exposed a flange in the ceiling of the major bedroom at Red Barns.
46. E.g., Edward Schroder Prior gave The Barn (Devon, 1895), exaggeratedly random rubble walls, and Ernest Gimson roofed Happisburgh Manor (Norfolk, 1900) with thatch (illustrated, e.g., in Gavin Stamp and André Goulancourt, The English House 1860-1914: The Flowering of English Domestic Architecture (London and Boston: Faber and Faber, 1986) pp. 120-121, 118-119),
47. Lethaby, Webb (1935), p. 191. Webb told William T.



Tate that Longden's could supply grates to his design (letter, 13 June 1883, LB 2, fol. 13). Closed grates were developed by Count Benjamin Thompson Rumford (1753-1814) in the 1790s.

48. 'Oh! those stone mullioned houses--so like enchantment to this poor penman': letter, Webb to A. H. Powell, 7 March 1902 (Lethaby, Webb (1935), p. 216).

49. Letter, Webb to James Pennethorne, 18 October 1867 (Webb's copy, Castle Howard Archives, J22/65).

50. By Peter Davey, Arts and Crafts Architecture, pp. 34, 35.

51. Lethaby, Webb (1935), p. 137.

52. Macleod, Style and Society, caption to fig. 3.4 (the Webb drawing illustrated, a detail for Clouds (BAL [24] 71), shows one of Webb's characteristic flattened arches and a diagram for setting it out; Webb's drawings for the bridge at Great Tangley Manor and Standen Cottages (BAL [43] 19 and [42] 75) are good examples and are reproduced in Richardson, Architects of the Arts and Crafts Movement, pp. 18, 21, figs. 9, 13.

53. Lethaby, Webb (1935), p. 136.

54. Letter, George Jack to Lethaby, n. d., *ibid.*, pp. 136-37.

55. *Ibid.*, p. 137. The project of rebuilding the hall (c. 1870-72) was abandoned because of the cost of educating a large family (letter, Mrs Pamela S. North to the author, 19 June 1984; there are sketch plans and elevations in the BJTP).

56. Shaw told Lethaby that Webb was a 'very able man indeed, but with a strong liking for the ugly' (Webb (1935), p. 75). E. B. Lamb and others favoured a muscular manner known as 'GO' which some regarded as a deliberate attempt to shock through ugliness (see, for e. g., J. Mordaunt Crook's William Burges and the High Victorian Dream (London: John Murray, 1981), 'GO versus Gothic', pp. 123-128, and Dilemma of Style: pp. 133-148). For Webb's work being the 'starting point' for Shaw's town houses see Saint, Shaw, p. 137.

57. Letter, Webb to George Howard, 18 August 1875, J22/64; Lethaby, Webb (1935), p. 230.

58. Letter, R. N. Shaw to J. D. Sedding, 20 November 1882 (quoted: Lethaby, Webb (1935), p. 219).

59. 'We have kicked the "Gothic Revival" out from under our feet and we are doing "the English Renaissance", which in its turn we shall kick away too', Shaw told



Lethaby in May 1910, demonstrating his style-based outlook (Webb (1935), p. 77). Andrew Saint pointed out that Nesfield, like Webb and Devey, was a proud innovator (Shaw, pp. 314-15).

60. Brandon-Jones, 'Philip Webb', in Victorian Architecture, ed. Ferriday, p. 261.

61. E.g., as Christopher Hussey noted, J. C. Loudon, maintained in A Treatise that the character of a new house should be taken from its previously chosen site, and he advised architects to study landscape painting in order to improve their ability to intensify its character in their buildings (Christopher Hussey, The Picturesque: Studies in a Point of View (London: Putnam, 1927); reprinted: Cass, 1967, p. 222). However, as Hussey also pointed out (p. 206), Uvedale Price, in Essays on the Picturesque, recommended that when designing new estate villages, existing cottages should be retained and should determine the character of the new ones; Webb would almost certainly be familiar with Price's book.

## PART 2: PHILOSOPHY, CLIENTS, AND PRACTICE

### CHAPTER 3: WEBB'S NATIONAL VERNACULAR APPROACH (3)

1. It is possible that Webb was also influenced by William Wordsworth's protests against unsuitable buildings in A Guide through the District of the Lakes in the North of England . . . (Kendal and London: Hudson and Nicholson; Longman & Co., Moxon, and Whittaker & Co., 1835): as this was the most popular guidebook by 1859 when Webb visited the Lakes, he would almost certainly have used it.

2. Lethaby, Webb (1935), p. 127; see, e.g., Webb's letter to George Howard of 6 February 1875 in which he urges him to pay attention to the local vernacular when improving an Italian villa (J22/64).

3. Letters, Webb to George Howard, 7 September 1867, J22/64, Jane Morris, 12 November 1903, BL Add. MS 45343 (quoted by Brandon, 'Philip Webb', p. 12), and to George Jack, 17 and 27 May 1888 (BJTP).

4. William Gilpin, Remarks on Forest Scenery (1791) (the section in which this occurs is included in John Dixon Hunt and Peter Willis, eds., The Genius of the Place: The English Landscape Garden 1620-1820 (London: Paul Elek, 1975), 2nd edn., Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1988, pp. 338-341 (p. 339); Uvedale Price, Essay on Architecture (1798), 1842 edn., p. 368 (quoted by Hussey, The Picturesque, p. 211).

5. Letter, Webb to Boyce, 26 September 1883, BL Add. MS 45354.

6. See, e.g., Webb's letter to George Howard of 1 October 1875 in which he informed Howard that he (Webb) 'must see the site of the Agent's house' before he could decide 'what should be the shape and make of the house (J22/64); see also part 3, chap. 3, n. 4.

7. Letter, Webb to Lethaby, 21 December 1909, Webb (1935), p. 130.

8. Webb probably did not read the work of the spokesman of the scholastic theory, St. Thomas of Aquinas (c. 1227-74), until 1869 at Warrington Taylor's prompting, but undoubtedly he would have had it explained years before by Burne-Jones, who was considered on authority on the subject as an undergraduate (see letter, Taylor to Webb, August 1869, V&A 86.SS.57; Taylor told E. R. Robson of this reputation of Burne-Jones's (by letter, [9 December 1865], xxii (22)).

9. For more on the scholastic theory see, e.g., Edward de Zurko, Origins of Functionalist Theory (New York:



Columbia University Press, 1957), pp. 38-43.

10. Letter, Webb to Lethaby, 14 April 1905, Webb (1979), pp. 262-63). Webb told Hale White (letter, 1 March 1888, MR 10/5) that

English mediaeval work, in comparison with that of other European countries, is singularly various in character. French work is more magnificent, more skilfully built, and in many ways more beautiful, but it is not so startling in the difference between one building and another as English work is. In the county of York alone there is very great variety.

11. Ibid., 11 March 1888, MR 10/6.

12. Letter, Webb to Hale White, 11 March 1888, MR 10/6.

13. E.g., Joseph Clarke, Oxford diocesan architect for schools in the 1850s, recommended the use of local materials (in Schools and Schoolhouses: a series of Views, Plans, and details for Rural Parishes (London and Oxford: Joseph Masters (London), J. H. Parker (Oxford), 1852) and used them himself (Webb would know this book, as Clarke was a diocesan colleague of Street, who was also a friend of the publisher Parker); Scott recommended the use of local traditional styles for small buildings but only with modifications to make them suitably neo-gothic (Remarks, pp. 128, 136).

14. Lethaby, Webb (1935), p. 122. Webb told Hale White that thirty years earlier he could 'always find some man who had the traditional method of doing this or that piece of work' but in 1888 he could 'almost never find this help' (letter, 1 March 1888, MR 10/5).

15. Letter, Webb to Powell, 28 March 1894 (Lethaby, Webb (1935), p. 123).

16. See, e.g., Crook, Dilemma of Style, pp. 134-36. It is not known whether Webb admired any of Lamb's work, but there are affinities in their handling of local materials; two Lamb buildings whose design was affected by local materials (both in North Yorkshire, 1857 and c. 1856) are illustrated in Villa and Cottage Architecture, pls. 26, 62).

17. For Devey see W. H. Godfrey, 'George Devey, FRIBA: A Biographical Essay', RIBA Jl., 3rd series, 13, 1906, no. 19, pp. 501-25, and 'The Work of George Devey', AR, 21, 1907, pp. 23-30, 83-88, 293-306, and Girouard, The Victorian Country House (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1971, revised and enlarged 1979), pp. 83-85, 213-223. Webb and Devey had much in common, including living for their work, refusing publicity and uncongenial commissions, and avoiding professional institutions and the seeking of patronage.



18. Arthur E. Street recorded that Boyce served his articles with 'Mr. Little' in his paper 'George Price Boyce, R.W.S.' (AR, 5, February 1899, pp. 151-160 (p. 152)), but when it was republished with slight abridgements in The Old Water-Colour Society's Club Nineteenth Annual Volume (London: 1941), pp. 1-8, the name had been corrected to 'Mr. Devey' (p. 2). John Brandon-Jones pointed out that Devey used local materials and methods, and hand-made bricks before Webb did so, and raised the question as to whether or not Webb knew Devey's work ('The work of Philip Webb and Norman Shaw', p. 12),

19. E.g., in E, 16, 1855, a vaulted church was declared to be an 'organic whole' (p. 45), and the Crystal Palace, a compilation of uniform parts, was denounced because it was not an organic whole (p. 269). The term, first used by Charles Bonnet (1720-93), the Swiss philosopher and naturalist, was first applied to architecture in 1809 by the German Alois Hirt (1759-1839) who contended that the proportions of an organic building must depend on construction, function, and appearance, and must also relate to those of the human figure; the ecclesiologists rejected the second part of his contention. For the organic analogy see, e.g., Geoffrey Scott, The Architecture of Humanism (London: Constable, 1914, reprinted Architectural Press, 1980), chap. 6; Peter Collins, Changing Ideals in Modern Architecture, chap. 14; and Germann, Gothic Revival, passim.

20. Webb explained this to George Howard (letter, 3 March 1868, J22/64). Morris used the term: e.g., in a lecture of 1891 he contended that the architecture of the future must be organic, and as one organic style can only spring from another, it must therefore be a developed form of gothic (Gothic Architecture: A Lecture for the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society (London: Kelmscott Press, 1893)).

21. E.g., Lethaby, Webb (1935), pp. 130, 196.

22. Ibid., p. 111.

23. See, e.g., Muthesius, High Victorian Movement, chap. 4, pp. 59-92, and Germann, Gothic Revival, passim. Owen Jones's most famous book was The Grammar of Ornament (London: Day & Son, 1856), reprinted London: Omega Books, 1986. Benjamin Webb set out his thoughts on the use of Italian gothic elements in other countries including Britain in 'On Pointed Architecture as adapted to tropical climates', Transactions of the Ecclesiological Society (Cambridge: for the society, 1845), pp. 199-218.

24. Pugin's brick buildings include the Bishop's House, Birmingham (1841) and the houses he built for his own

use, St. Marie's Grange (1835) and The Grange (1843); they are illustrated. e.g., in Stanton, Pugin, pp. 15-17, 137, 165, figs. 1-4, 100, 143-44.

25. See n. 23.

26. Letter, Webb to Butterfield, 27 November 1869, (Brandon-Jones, 'Letters of Philip Webb', p. 54).

27. Lethaby, Webb (1935), pp. 10, 134.

28. Ibid., p. 118.

29. Webb gave as an additional reason for not allowing his work to appear in Eastlake's History of the Gothic Revival that to do so would break his self-imposed rule never to make his work 'unnecessarily public' (letter, Webb to Eastlake, 14 March 1870 (Brandon-Jones, 'Letters of Philip Webb', pp. 66, 71)).

30. Lethaby, Webb (1935), p. 125.

31. Letter, Webb to Hale White, 21 February 1902, MR 10/22. In this, Webb concurred with Pugin, who maintained in True Principles (p. 1) that 'designs should be adapted to the material in which they are executed'.

32. John Piper noted Harding's enthusiasm for beauty in decay in Buildings and Prospects (London: Architectural Press, 1948), p. 95, (cited by Donald Smith, 'The work of Philip Webb', Peter Floud Memorial Essay for the William Morris Society, 1961, unpublished, p. 16 f.n.); Ruskin, Seven Lamps, chap. 6, section 16. George Hersey describes this worshipping of beauty through decay, of appreciating an ancient edifice as a 'tortured love object', as sadomasochism (George L. Hersey, High Victorian Gothic: a study in Associationism (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972), pp. 53-60). Webb admired weathered materials for their intrinsic not associational beauty, and old surfaces as proof of authenticity against the falsehoods of modern imitations.

33. In a slightly changed position or aspect, or when combined with new materials, re-used materials would have created an unreal effect, so Webb seldom used them; for this reason he advised J. C. Ramsden against re-using roof tiles as weather-tiles at Willinghurst (letter, 6 June 1887, LB 2, fols. 94-94).

34. On 25 July 1898 Webb made a note to instruct that the finial was not to be 'aged' (SB 1896-1900).

35. He chose large glasshouses for gardens from the catalogues of horticultural engineers such as W.G. Smith & Co. of Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk.

36. Webb appears to have first used iron-rod king-posts



in his second extension to Washington Hall (1865) for Lowthian Bell.

37. The floor-stiffening rods at Smeaton (which was designed for Lowthian Bell's daughter and her husband) were found during recent alterations, and kindly drawn to the author's attention by Clive Cruddas of Dennis Lister and Associates.

38. Webb's drawings: V&A E.110-113--1916. These are undated, but letters in the BJTP indicate an early 1870s date.

39. In the 1870s Shaw collaborated with the builder Lascelles in the development of concrete building blocks faced to imitate weathertiling and supported on a timber frame (Saint, Shaw, pp. 165-171); they were used by a subsequent owner on an extension of Hale White's Webb house, 19 Park Hill, Carshalton.

40. The ceiling at 23 Second Avenue, Hove is mentioned in Webb's CB; the Standen ceiling appears on an early plan (collection of the National Trust, at Standen). The Marsh Court ceiling is illustrated in, e.g., David Dunster, ed., Architectural Monographs 6: Edwin Lutyens (London: Academy Editions, 1979), p. 54, pl. 5. W. B. Wilkinson patented reinforced concrete beams in 1854, and used them to construct a cottage in Newcastle upon Tyne c. 1865 (demolished 1954), but reinforced concrete construction only became truly practicable in the 1880s when stronger, more reliable cements were introduced (see, e. g., Kenneth Hudson, Building Materials, Industrial Archaeology Series, No. 9 (London: Longman, 1972), pp. 54-56).

41. George Jack, 'Appreciation', p. 5.

42. See Webb, Thirteenth . . . Report, p. 11; letters, Webb to the Dean and Chapter of Peterborough Cathedral, 24 March 1883, and The Revd Newman, 7 August 1883; and his 'Note on the Steeple of Irthlington Church', 19 June 1884 (all in the SPAB collection; Mark Swenarton quotes from some of them in Artisans and Architects, p.53).

43. Lethaby, Webb (1885), p. 83.

44. George Jack, 'Appreciation', p. 5; letters, Webb to Hale White, 13 and 16 May 1899, MR 10/15, 16.

45. Disgusted by finding too many machines and much poor craftsmanship in the yard of Peters, who built Standen, Webb resolved to write him a 'stiff letter' on the matter (5 April 1893, SB 1892-96).

46. Tudor-Elizabethan style houses are illustrated in, e.g., Henry-Russell Hitchcock, Early Victorian Architecture, reprint abridged edn. (New York: Da Capo,



1976), and in Jill Allibone, Anthony Salvin: Pioneer of Gothic Revival Architecture (Cambridge: Lutterworth Press, 1988).

47. Charles Roberts, The Radical Countess: the History of the Life of Rosalind, Countess of Carlisle (Carlisle: Steel Bros., 1962), p. 36. The original verse, with slightly different wording, first appeared in The Quarterly Review, June, 1826.

48. Letter, Webb to Howard, 7 September 1867, J22/64.

49. Letter, Webb to Pennethorne, 18 October 1867, Castle Howard Archives, J22/65. The King's Gallery block of Kensington Palace (designed and supervised by Wren with Hawksmoor as clerk of works, 1695-96) is illustrated, e.g., in Geoffrey Beard, The Work of Christopher Wren (Edinburgh: John Bartholomew & Son, 1982), pl. 41.

50. Lethaby recorded that this house became a 'pattern-book' of "features" for those who designed by compilation from cribs' (Webb (1935), p. 88).

51. Girouard, Sweetness and Light, p. 1. Webb's pioneering role is fully covered in this detailed study of the style.

52. Lethaby's belief that Webb reintroduced rubbed brick dressings was mistaken (Webb (1935), p. 88): James Wild used them in 1849 on his yellow-brick Northern Schools (London, demolished).

53. Girouard, Sweetness and Light, chaps. 2-3. In the 1860s Bodley, Shaw, and Nesfield were in close touch. The 'Queen Anne' version developed for London's Board Schools in the early 1870s by Champneys, Robson, and Stevenson revealed Webb's influence. For primary sources see, e.g., Edward Robert Robson, School Architecture (London: John Murray, 1874), John James Stevenson, House Architecture (London: Macmillan, 1880), 2 vols., and Thomas Graham Jackson, Modern Gothic Architecture (London: King and Co., 1873). In the last, Jackson recommended eclecticism as a guard against medievalist purism.

54. Nesfield's Temperate House Lodge is illustrated, e.g., Saint, Shaw, pl. 31. Andrew Saint pointed out that Nesfield was the best of them at fusing disparate elements into a coherent style (*ibid.*, p. 45).

55. St. Martin's vicarage is illustrated in Girouard, Sweetness and Light, pl. 26; for correspondence between Webb and Bodley about the Malvern Link houses see Brandon-Jones, 'Letters of Philip Webb', pp. 63-65. These houses are illustrated in Stamp and Goulancourt, The English House, pp. 66-67.

56. Comment by a Mr Cabot during a debate held by the Boston Chapter, 1877, (The Architect, 24 March 1877, p. 202).

57. Letter, Webb to Percy Wyndham, 20 July 1886, LB 2, fols. 60-61.

58. Letter, Webb to Hale White, November 1899, MR 10/20.

## PART 2: PHILOSOPHY, CLIENTS, AND PRACTICE

### CHAPTER 4: WEBB'S NATIONAL VERNACULAR APPROACH (4)

1. For the division into these categories see, e.g., Ronald W. Brunskill, Illustrated Handbook of Vernacular Architecture (London: Faber and Faber, 1971), 2nd edn., 1978, p. 22.
2. Despite what some observers have suggested, the buildings of the last two groups provided inspiration only for Webb's small cottages (see part 3, chap. 3, n. 61).
3. Webb's County Lists. Taylor reported discoveries in his letters to Webb, e.g. 13 November 1866, 6 March 1867, V&A 86.SS.57, fols. 28.
4. Letter, Webb to Lethaby, 3 July 1904 (Lethaby, Webb (1935), p. 138 (quoted by Macleod, Style and Society, p. 50)).
5. Letter, Webb to Hale White, 28 October 1899, MR 10/19.
6. Letter, Webb to Hale White, November 1899, MR 10/20.
7. Letter, Webb to Hale White, [c. 10 February 1899], MR 10/14.
8. Letter, Webb to Lethaby, 1903, Webb (1935), p. 133.
9. Ibid., p. 141.
10. For Snape, see Giles Worsley, 'Snape Castle, Yorkshire', CL, 179, 6 March 1986, pp. 570-75. Bolton Castle is illustrated, with its plan, e.g., in Charles Kightly, Strongholds of the Realm: Defences in Britain from prehistory to the twentieth century (London: Thames and Hudson, 1979), p. 45). Cecil rebuilt Snape at the time his father was building the great Elizabethan house, Burghley.
11. John Clayton, Plans, Elevations and Sections of the Parochial Churches of Sir Chr. Wren (London: Longman, 1848-49). A small number of neo-Baroque buildings followed, e.g. John Shaw's Wellington College, (Berkshire 1856-59), but the style did not become popular until the end of the century.
12. It is clear from Webb's letter to Gertrude Astley that he considered all buildings dating from before the accession of George I as 'ancient', i.e. as living architecture not exercises in a style (21 October 1881, LB 1, fol. 199).
13. Morris, Collected Works, 22, p. 208 (quoted: Paul Thompson, The Work of William Morris (London: William



Heineman, 1967), Quartet Books edn. 1977, p. 62).

14. Letter, Webb to Hale White, 28 October 1899, MR 10/19; letter, Webb to Lethaby, 3 July 1904 (Webb (1935), p. 138).

15. As Charles Winmill, who often accompanied Webb to St Paul's, recorded (Joyce Winmill, Winmill, p. 31-32; Jack, quoted by Lethaby, Webb (1935), p. 228).

16. 'Ashburnham House', B, 14, 2 July 1881, pp. 30-31. The question of the architect--now known to have been John Webb--likely to have designed this house had been raised.

17. Letter, Webb to Percy Wyndham, 17 July 1886, LB 2, fol. 58.

18. The extent to which Renaissance architects believed in and obeyed absolute laws of proportion is controversial, but see, for e. g. Rudolf Wittkower, Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism (London: Warburg Institute, 1949), 4th edn. London: Academy Editions, 1973, passim.

19. John Betjeman, 'Honour Your Forebears', a talk given to the RIBA, 5 January 1954, (RIBA Jl., January 1954, pp. 87-91 (p. 88)).

20. Ruskin, Seven Lamps, chap. 4, sections 26, 28.

21. Letter, Webb to Lethaby, 8 April 1904 (Webb (1935), pp. 139-40). Lethaby had suggested importing Eastern craftsmen; Webb feared this would lead to the copying of alien strains rather than the reviving of craftsmanship as Lethaby hoped.

22. Corner fireplaces were probably first introduced by Inigo Jones in the Queen's House (the plan is illustrated, e.g., in Campbell, Vitruvius Britannicus, 1, pl. 14.

23. The Prairie houses (from 1901) are illustrated, e.g., in Henry-Russell Hitchcock, In the Nature of Materials: 1887-1941: The Buildings of Frank Lloyd Wright (New York: Duell, Sloane and Pearce, 1942).

24. 'In my own buildings, the kitchen chimney always struck me as having the finest touch of genius it int!', Webb told Sidney Barnsley (letter, 1 May 1904, printed in Lethaby, Webb (1979), pp. 259-60).

25. For quotations from these admirers of Vanbrugh see, e.g., Hussey, The Picturesque, pp. 188-190, 193, 198 (Hussey believed that Adam's definition of 'movement' and praise of Vanbrugh was the beginning of English picturesque architecture); Kerr regretted the costliness and pretension of English Baroque archi-

itecture, and its inconvenient plans and wastefulness of space, but he praised Vanbrugh's 'remarkable vigour of design' (The Gentleman's House, pp. 45-47).

26. Vanbrugh's Castle and the Royal Arsenal block are illustrated, e.g., in Geoffrey Beard, The Work of John Vanbrugh (London: Batsford, 1986), pls. 100, 142; letter, Vanbrugh to the Earl of Manchester, 9 September 1707 (quoted by Kerry Downes, Sir John Vanbrugh, a Biography (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1987), pp. 276).

27. Vanbrugh's liking for castles is obvious from the many features in his buildings derived from them; Kerry Downes suggested that Vanbrugh admired Elizabethan great houses for their dramatic massing, visual associations with castles, their 'manly beauty', rationalistic plans and elevations, their Englishness, and pointed out that his buildings depend upon a similar movement, repetition of groups of windows, and varied skylines for their effect. (ibid., pp. 333, 337).

28.. Bell Brothers Works Offices are discussed and illustrated by the present author in Curry and Kirk, Philip Webb in the North, pp. 38, 39.

29. See Beard, Vanbrugh, p. 55; e.g., the height of the eaves on the tower at Standen (see notes on Webb's drawing: BAL [42] 39).

30. John Brandon-Jones recorded that Webb studied Vanbrugh's work in Colen Campbell's Vitruvius Britannicus (London: 1715-25) at the South Kensington Museum, and that he made sketches of it and copied out the plan of King's Weston (Webb sketch-book, BJTP) in 'Philip Webb', Victorian Architecture, ed. Ferriday, p. 257-58)).

31. The windows for Castle Howard were designed and made between 1872-74 (Morris & Co. AB, fols. 57, 61, 67).

32. Letter, Webb to George Howard, 7 October 1875, J22/64.

33. For the plan of Wollaton see, e.g., Mark Girouard, Robert Smythson & the Elizabethan Country House (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1983), p. 98.

34. Street, An Urgent Plea, p. 14.

35. The figure quoted in the news item 'From Scotland: The House o' Airlie', B, 3 October 1868, p. 738.

36. Mr D. L. Laird, Lord Airlie's factor, most kindly ascertained that the drawings are not in the estate archives.



37. For the plan of Chiswick House see, e.g., David Watkin, English Architecture: a Concise History (London: Thames and Hudson, 1979), The World of Art Library series, p. 126.

38. These halls are illustrated, e.g. in Beard, Vanbrugh, pls. 64, 111, 118 (pp. 123, 155, 160).

39. Webb's plan was also affected by the client's initial intention to retain the major service rooms of the old house.

40. This, and the fact that the H-plan was largely ignored for over 50 years after Harlaxton was pointed out by Jill Franklin (The Gentleman's House and its plan 1835-1914 (London, Boston and Henley: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981), pp. 175, 177).

41. For the plan of King's Weston see, e.g., Campbell, Vitruvius Britannicus, 1, pl. 47 (reprint edn., 1 vol., introd. John Harris (New York: Benjamin Blom, 1967)).

42. As shown in photograph by Ada Godman shows (collection of Mrs. F. H. Towill).

43. The property of the National Trust, kept at Standen. Unfamiliarity with the early drawing can mislead scholars into believing that the plan was irregular from the start (see, e.g., Franklin, The Gentleman's House, p. 170).

44. E.g., by Roderick Gradidge in Dream-Houses: the Edwardian Ideal (London: Constable, 1980), p. 61.

45. The term 'Progressive Eclecticism' was introduced in 1858 by Benjamin Webb, the Ecclesiological Society's Secretary and popularized by Beresford Hope, the Society's President (see Crook, Dilemma of Style, chap. 6).

46. B, 34, 1876, p. 18 (quoted by Crook, Dilemma of Style, p. 164).

47. Henry Stuart Goodhart-Rendel, English Architecture Since the Regency (London: Constable, 1953), p. 150 (quoted by Crook, Dilemma of Style, p. 171).

48. In view of his interest in philosophy, it is possible that Webb's respect for practical, well-designed architectural elements regardless of their age, which resulted from his open-minded investigation of old buildings, was confirmed by the French philosophy of Eclecticism, propounded in the 1830s, which suggested that each thinker should decide what philosophical premisses (or architectural facts) were appropriate to the present, and then respect them wherever they appear.



49. E.g., Peter Davey referred to 'Webb's Georgian days' (Arts and Crafts Architecture, p. 119), and Roderick Gradidge asserted that Webb would design in either stage to suit his clients whims (Dream-Houses, p. 60).

50. AB; see Lethaby, Webb (1935), pp. 115-16. White was a cement manufacturer and well-known connoisseur of 18th-century furniture.

51. Ibid.

52. See Saint, Shaw, pp. 243-50. Bolney House, Shaw's earlier neo-Georgian London house, is illustrated *ibid.*, p. 244, pl. 183. White's sketches survive at the Royal Academy.

53. Letter, Webb to the Librarian, Trinity College, Cambridge, 15 December 1902 (quoted by Lethaby, Webb (1935), p. 220). Webb had such an intimate knowledge of gothic buildings that he could date mouldings to within a year or two.

## PART 2: PHILOSOPHY, CLIENTS, AND PRACTICE

### CHAPTER 5: CLIENTS, COMMISSIONS, AND CONTRACTORS

1. Letter, Rossetti to C. E. Norton, January 1862 (quoted by Lethaby, Webb (1935), p. 27).
2. E.g., by Mark Swenarton, Artisans and Architects, p. 48.
3. Letter, Webb to Wyndham, 20 July 1886, LB 2, fol. 61.
4. Letter, Webb to W. Tatham, 25 July 1874, LB 1, fol. 6.
5. For the artists' houses in Tite Street, London, by Godwin and by Edis, see Girouard, Sweetness and Light, pp. 177-185.
6. The Greek families, notably the Ionides, delighted in entertaining such gatherings; see, e.g., the diaries of Gladstone's daughter, which also illustrates the prominent role of art exhibitions, artist's studios, and paintings (Lucy Masterman, ed., Mary Gladstone (Mrs Drew), her Diaries and Letters (London: Methuen, 1930)).
7. As Mark Swenarton apparently does (Artisans and Architects, p. 41-42).
8. E.g., when asking Webb to design a clock tower for his ironworks, Lowthian Bell had suitability not a work of art in mind; 'We have no wish to make the affair an expensive one', he wrote, 'but I wish to avoid making it ridiculous' (letter, 7 June 1867, BJTP).
9. Girouard, Sweetness and Light, p. 19.
10. Letter, Webb to W. Flower, 20 July 1886, LB 2, fol. 59.
11. Mark Swenarton's assertion (Artisans and Architects, p. 37) that 'only a few shared Ruskin's social concerns', wrongly suggests, intentionally or not, that they had no social concern.
12. See, e.g., letter, Webb to W. A. Cardwell, 11 October 1876, LB 1, fols. 35-38.
13. See, e.g., Paul Rich, 'The Quest for Englishness', History Today, 37, June 1987, pp. 24-30, and further reading list.
14. Donald Smith, 'The Work of Philip Webb', p. 17.
15. Kerr, The Gentleman's House, p. 51.

16. Ruskin was a member of the Hogarth Club, and had an extremely wide acquaintance.
17. Walter Hamilton, The Aesthetic Movement in England (London: Reeves and Turner, 1882), reprinted Ames Press, New York, 1971, p. 15.
18. Taken from Swenarton, Artisans and Architects, p. 39.
19. Letter, Hugh Bell to Webb, 25 October 1871 (BJTP).
20. Ruskin, Stones of Venice, 3, chap. 4, paras. xxxv-xxxvi; see Girouard, Sweetness and Light, p. 5.
21. By Mark Swenarton (Artisans and Architects, p. 37).
22. Howard and Airlie married daughters of the 2nd Baron Stanley of Alderley, who, with some of their siblings, were close friends of the young Bells by the mid-1860s (see letters, Lyulph Stanley to Rosalind Howard, Castle Howard Archives).
23. Ruskin stayed at Washington Hall with the Bells on 8-9 August 1863 before lecturing in Newcastle upon Tyne (see Van Akin Burd, ed., The Winnington Letters (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1969) p. 413)).
24. The fathers of Mrs Astley and Sir Willoughby Jones were brothers.
25. Watts knew the Wyndhams by 1866 when he proposed beginning Madeline's portrait; he began it 1867, but it was not exhibited until 1877 (Mary S. Watts, George Frederic Watts (London: Macmillan, 1912, 3 vols. (1, pp. 239-40))). However, they may have been introduced to Webb by Spencer Stanhope whose wife (Elizabeth Wyndham-King, widow of Captain Dawson) was Wyndham's cousin and spent much time at Petworth (see A. M. Wilhelmina Stirling, Life's Little Day: some Tales and other Reminiscences (London: Thornton Butterworth, 1924), pp. 133, 135, 143).
26. Yorke told Emery Walker (Lethaby, Webb (1935), pp. 105-06)).
27. Mrs Pitt-Rivers was Rosalind Howard's sister; for Howard approaching Webb see letter, Webb to Pitt-Rivers, 12 December 1881, LB 1; Ramsden's cousin was a close friend of the Wyndhams, and through him they would undoubtedly hear of Webb (Mark Swenarton concluded from comments in the Wyndham-Webb letters that they were introduced to Webb by the Wyndhams, and this may have been the case but the Ramsdens did not see Clouds until after commissioning Webb (Artisans and Architects, p. 35, and letters, Wyndham to Webb, 2 April 1886, and Webb to Wyndham, 9 July 1886 in the Clouds Correspondence: 2 bound vols. of transcribed



letters (BJTP)); a note in Webb's Add.B reads: 'Baird, Capt. . . . Introduced to me by Mr. York [sic] of Forthampton'.

28. Council Minutes; Howard recorded this in a letter to Thomas Forster, 31 August 1879 (Howard Papers, C575/4/f; quoted in full by Penn, 'The Building of Saint Martin's Church', pp. 15-16).

29. Facts attesting to Miss Ewart's friendship with Webb and Boyce: Webb referred to her by name in letters to Boyce, and was able to drop in on her for lunch without warning (letters, Webb to Boyce, 26 September 1883, BL Add. MS 45354; to George Jack, 23 May 1888); Miss Ewart probably met Webb through her friendship with Mrs Anne Thackeray Ritchie (like herself a shareholder of Newnham Hall, later College), the close friend of Florence Bell; as Miss Cocks discussed financial matters with Miss Ewart, they were clearly well-acquainted (SB 1896-1900, 27 February 1897).

30. Lethaby, Webb (1935), p. 111.

31. See part 3, chap. 1, n. 69.

32. Letter, Webb to Lord Sackville Cecil, 11 September 1874, *ibid.*, fol. 9. Webb refers to his (missing) letter of 16 April 1874 in which he explained why he returned the first cheque.

33. Letters, Webb to Fletcher, 1872 (BJTP). Fletcher was a friend of Canon Rawnsley (a founder of the National Trust), and was involved in philanthropic work in London; he possibly met Webb through fellow colliery owners, Astley, Lowthian Bell, and George Howard.

34. Letters, Webb to W. W. Cardwell, 19 April, 11 October 1876, LB 1, fols. 33-38, 46-48. Brodie, a distinguished chemist and son of the famous surgeon, probably met Webb through Tombs or Bowman; that Cardwell was Brodie's son-in-law is recorded in Webb's Add.B. The solicitors who handled Webb's case were Brooksbank & Galland, 14 Gray's Inn.

35. Letter, Webb to Lord Fitzhardinge, 4 May 1877, LB 1, fols. 89-90.

36. Ada Godman Diaries (the collection of Mrs F. H. Towill).

37. There are some 148 letters from Webb to George and Rosalind Howard in the Castle Howard Archives (J22/64, 65, 83, 96).

38. Letters, Webb to Rosalind Howard, 19 August 1869, 30 September 1871, J22/64.

39. *Ibid.*, 17 September 1877.

40. Ibid., 12 September 1877.
41. Letter, Lyulph Stanley to Rosalind Howard, 1 February 1878, Castle Howard Archives.
42. Ibid.
43. See, e.g., Lethaby, Webb (1935), p. 194.
44. Letter, Webb to Lucy Orrinsmith (sister of Webb's close friends Kate and Charles Faulkner), 22 February 1876, LB 1, fols. 31-32.
45. Ibid.; letter, Webb to Frank Faulkner (brother of Charles Faulkner, Webb's friend and a partner in the Firm), 24 January 1887, LB 2, fols. 78-80.
46. Letter, Webb to Richard Du Cane, 17 February 1877, Howard Papers, C575/7. See also Webb to Wyndham, 28 December 1876, LB 1, fols. 50-52.
47. For an example of this see letter, Webb to Alexander Cassavetti, 23 February, *ibid.*, fol. 118.
48. See, e.g., letter, Webb to Wyndham, 14 February 1877, *ibid.*, fol. 64.
49. Letters, Webb to Miss Ewart, 14 September 1883, 28 February, 4 or 5 March 1884, LB 2, fols. 17-18, 29-31, 33.
50. Letters, Webb to Ramsden, 25 May, 17 November 1886, *ibid.*, fols. 49-51, 65-67.
51. *Ibid.*, 26 November 1886, fols. 68-71.
52. E.g., Webb told Wyndham that he had designed some 'medieval' buttresses as Wyndham wished, but that buttresses of his, Webb's, preferred design would cast less shade, and would look right for a garden wall whereas the others would look as if they should be helping to support a roof (letter, 1 July 1884, *ibid.*, fols. 38-39; Wyndham capitulated).
53. Letter, Webb to Wyndham, 20 November 1879, LB 1, fol. 158 (these windows were not used in the final scheme); letter, Webb to Godman, 12 November 1878 (quoted in full by John Brandon-Jones in 'Notes on the Building of Smeaton Manor', Architectural History, 1 (1958), pp. 31-58 (p. 47)); Webb averred that to look right a 'wall should be attached to something more than the gate alone'.
54. Letter, Webb to Flower, 11 September 1885, LB 2, fol. 48.
55. Letter, Webb to George Jack, 26 May 1888 (BJTP).



56. Letters, Webb to Pitt-Rivers, 15 December 1882, 2 January 1883, LB 2, fols. 5-6, 7.
57. See, e.g., letter Webb to Wyndham, 18 June 1877, LB 1, fol. 97.
58. Ibid., 18 April 1877, fol. 83.
59. See, e.g., ibid., 29 January 1877, fols. 58-59.
60. Letter, Webb to Pitt-Rivers, 9 April 1883, LB 2, fols. 7-9; George Jack, 'Appreciation', p. 5.
61. Memorandum, SB 1896-1900, 17 September 1897.
62. See Edith Oliver, Four Victorian Ladies of Wiltshire (London: Faber and Faber, 1945), pp. 85-86.
63. See, e.g., letter, Webb to Miss Ewart, 14 September 1883, LB 2, fols. 16-17.
64. Letter, Webb to Ramsden, 28 November 1886, ibid., fol. 71.
65. Ibid., fol. 69; see, e.g., letter, Webb to T. W. Goodman (quantity surveyor, Clouds), 6 January 1879, LB 1, fol. 139.
66. E.g., pleased with the same builder's earlier work at Coneyhurst, Webb allowed this at Hurlands.
67. Letters, Webb to George Howard, 28 August 1875, J22/64, and to Lowthian Bell, 4 April 1877, LB 1, fol. 79. The stable block at Joldwynds was built by direct labour at about the same time.
68. Letters, Webb to Miss Ewart, 28 February, 4 or 5 March 1884, LB 2, fols. 30, 32.
69. Letters, Webb to Wyndham, 7, 10 June 1881, ibid., fol. 177, 178.
70. See, e.g., letter, Webb to Ramsden, 14 April 1887, ibid., fol. 87.
71. Letter, Webb to Godman, 27 February 1878 (quoted in full by Brandon-Jones, 'Notes on the Building of Smeaton Manor', pp. 35-36).
72. Letters, Webb to George Jack, 10, 15, 17, 30 May 1888 (BJTP).
73. This is now owned by John Brandon-Jones.
74. As the CBs and OEBs reveal.
75. Letter, Webb to James Simmonds (clerk of works,



Clouds) 14 January 1882, LB 1, fol. 226.

76. Webb, Thirteenth . . . Report, p. 10 (quoted by Swenarton, Artisans and Architects, p. 54).

77. Letter, Webb to A. Estcourt (contractor, Clouds), 14 January 1882, LB 2, fol. 258.

78. As Webb's letters to them reveal (LBs 1 and 2).

79. Having set down these requirements, Webb took Sedger's brother Thomas into his office on a month's trial, but he proved to be insufficiently trained for the work; Webb advised him to work in a big office where there would be tasks within his present capabilities (letters, Webb to G. Sedger, 14 February, 20 March 1882, LB 1, fols. 232-33, 237-38).

80. See, e.g., letters, Webb to Wyndham, 11 October 1877, and to Mrs Bouverie Pusey, 20 August 1877, *ibid.*, fols. 105, 103.

81. Webb expressed this opinion to Flower (letter, 11 September 1885, LB 2, fol. 48); Jack designed such items for Willinghurst (letters, Webb to Jack, 10 May-1 June 1888 (BJTP)), including some gables that Webb found 'architecturalooral' (*ibid.*, 15 May). Both Webb and Morris applied this Dickens term (Great Expectations, chap. 27: 'it is there drawn too architectorooralooral') to pretentious or elaborate modern buildings.

82. See, e.g., letters, Webb to W. & G. King (contractors, Coneyhurst), 18 March 1884, LB 2, fol. 34, and to James Simmonds, 17 August 1882, LB 1, fol. 250.

83. Letter, Webb to J. W. Goodman (quantity surveyor, Clouds), 6 January 1879, *ibid.*, fol. 139.

84. See, e.g., letter, Webb to George Jack, 15 May 1888 (BJTP), in which Webb expresses his desire not burden Jack with the repairing of a cracked church wall.

85. Letters, Webb to Edwards (foreman of the works, Willinghurst) and John Hardy (clerk of works), 3 September 1887, LB 2, fols. 97-99.

86. He reminded Miss Ewart, e.g., of the customary giving of gratuities (letter, 31 July 1884, *ibid.*, fols. 41-43).

87. Letter, Webb to John Tyreman, 2 September 1876, LB 1, fols. 46-46.

88. Letter, Webb to Wyndham, 17 July 1886, LB 2, fols. 56-58. In another instance Webb paid half the cost of replacing the ceiling in the studio of Edward

Dannreuther (his friend, a renowned pianist, married to one of the Greeks) because he believed its failure was partly his fault (letter, Webb to Dannreuther, 15 January 1877, LB 1, fol 56).

89. Letter, Webb to Boyce, 23 November 1885, BL Add. MS 45354.

90. See, e.g., letter, Webb to Ramsden, 17 November 1886, LB 2, fol. 66.

91. Webb dined with George Eyre and his wife in order to select furniture from their London house for Warrens House (SB 1896-1900, 8 August 1898).

92. Letter, Webb to Boyce, 28 November 1881, BL Add. MS 45354; e.g., Webb sought out furniture for the Wyndhams (see letter, Webb to Wyndham, 14 May 1879, LB 1, fol. 146).

93. E.g., Webb designed the decoration (executed by Kate Faulkner) for A. A. Ionides's piano (Lethaby, Webb (1935), p. 189; letter, Webb to Pitt-Rivers, 9 April 1883, LB 2, fol. 9).

94. Letters, Webb to Mrs Beale, 11, 12 January 1894 (BJTP).

95. See, e.g., memorandum about meeting Miss Ewart at the Firm's premises, SB 1877-92, 9 February 1889, and letters, Webb to Miss Astley, 29 November 1882, LB 2, fols. 1-2, and to Mr and Mrs Yorke, 18 November 1890 (quoted in full by Helen Smith, 'Philip Webb's restoration of Forthampton Court, Gloucestershire', Architectural History, 24, 1981, pp. 92-102, pl. 35 (pp. 98-99)).

96. Letter, Webb to Madeline Wyndham, 30 August 1884, LB 2, fols. 43-45. According to Wilfrid Scawen Blunt, Alfred Parsons was commissioned to design the garden, probably to keep the peace between Webb and Mrs Wyndham; his design was decidedly Webbian, with rectangular flower-beds surrounded by grass and enclosed by yew hedges (Blunt, 'Clouds, Salisbury, the Residence of the Hon. Mrs. Percy Wyndham', CL, 16, 19 November 1904, pp. 738-48 (p. 740)).

97. Letter, Webb to Boyce, 29 August 1884, BL Add. MS 45354.

98. Ibid.

99. Letter, Webb to George Jack, 1 June 1888 (BJTP).

100. Letter, Webb to Boyce, n. d., BL Add. MS 45354 (quoted by Lethaby, Webb (1935), p. 93, with the date 15 February 1877).

101. Letter, Webb to George Jack, 21 May 1888 (BJTP).
102. Letter, Webb to Boyce, 11 September 1885, BL Add. MS 45354.
103. Letter, Webb to Hale White, 30 January 1899, MR 10/12.
104. Letter, Webb to George Howard, 6 February 1875, J22/64.
105. In 1899 Webb termed one of his two 'exacting' clients thus: it could only have been Miss Cocks (letter, Webb to Hale White, 16 May 1899, MR 10/16).
106. Letter, Wyndham to Webb, 18 July 1886 (private collection, collection (quoted by Swenarton, Artisans and Architects, p. 46)).
107. Letters, Webb to Boyce, 9 September 1879 (BL Add. MS 45354), and to Godman, 10 December 1879 (quoted in full by Brandon-Jones, 'Notes on the Building of Smeaton Manor', pp. 55-56).
108. Letter, Wyndham to Webb, 18 July 1886 (Clouds Letters; quoted by Swenarton, Artisans and Architects, p. 46); see Jane Abdy and Charlotte Gere, The Souls (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1984), pp. 82-92. The Wyndham daughters were prominent Souls.



## PART 3: BUILDINGS

### CHAPTER 1: STUDIO-HOUSES

1. Only one of Webb's studio-houses, the Briary, was paid for entirely out of income from planting. For artists' houses in London, see Mark Girouard, 'The Victorian Artists at Home', CL, 152, 16 and 23 November 1972, pp. 1278-81, 1370-74, and F. H. W. Sheppard ed., Survey of London, vol. 37: Northern Kensington (London: Athlone Press and the University of London for the GLC).

2. Designers of studio-houses included Bodley, Burges, Edis, Seddon, Shaw, Stevenson, Street, and Waterhouse.

3. Webb's first experiment on the theme, the oriel at Red House, resembled that of Butterfield at Alvechurch rectory (illustrated, with ground-floor and roof plans, photograph, and three elevations, in Thompson, Butterfield, figs. 21, 147-151 (fig. 148)).

4. Morris bought the site in autumn 1858, and by late October already had his wife and her sister stitching embroideries for the house (letter, William Allingham to Mr and Mrs Robert Browning, 23 October 1858, printed in the Supplement (p. 6) to Helen Allingham, ed., Letters to William Allingham (London: Longmans, Green, 1911); letter, Webb to William Kent, Builder, Bermondsey, 16 June 1859 (in the back of Webb's Add.B); Webb's drawings: V&A E.58-64--1916 (site plan: 58, contract drawings: 59-64). Nos. E.59-61, and E.63 verso are reproduced in Peter Blundell Jones, 'Red House', AJ, 183, 15 January 1986, pp. 36-51, 54-56 (pp. 40-41, figs. 14, 16, 18-20).

5. Webb's drawings: V&A E.65-71--1916; Burne-Jones, Memorials, 1, pp. 227 (nos. E.65-67 and part of E.68 are reproduced in Jones, 'Red House', pp. 48-49, figs. 36-42). Morris's studio would have become the Burne-Joneses' drawing-room. The Morris and Company works were to have been moved to Upton but, after illness, and the death of their second child, the Burne-Joneses could not afford to build their wing, so the project was abandoned (Memorials, pp. 282-83).

6. Mackail, Morris, pp. 168-70.

7. Some ceilings, doors, and architraves retain their decoration, three figures by Burne-Jones remain on the drawing-room wall, and some windows retain Webb's stained glass.

8. John Brandon-Jones pointed out in 1955 that Red House could easily have been designed by Street ('The Work of Philip Webb and Norman Shaw', AA J1., 131, 1955, pp. 9-12, 40-47 (p. 10)); the Alvechurch plan is illustrated in Thompson, Butterfield, p. 108, fig. 21.

9. Peter Davey noted the popularity of this plan for Arts and Crafts houses, and pointed out the similarity to it of Lethaby's the Hurst (Arts and Crafts Architecture, pp. 32, 60 (plan: p. 61, fig. 45)) but in view of the resemblance of the Red House plan to that of Alvechurch, his assertion that Webb's plan was revolutionary is an exaggeration (p. 30). The plans of Voysey's Walnut Tree Farm, Perrycroft, and Broadleys, and his first plan for Moor Crag, all resemble that of Red House (illustrated in Duncan Simpson, C. F. A. Voysey, an architect of individuality (London: Lund Humphries, 1979) figs. 9c, 14a, 29c, 30a).

10. Precedents include those of Pugin's the Grange, Butterfield's Coalpitheath parsonage, and Waterhouse's Hinderton Hall (1856-59).

11. As was then customary, the gentlemen's was on the ground floor, the ladies' on the first, and the maids' in the kitchen yard.

12. Robert Macleod pointed out that Red House could not have been more self-effacing, and that in it Webb made no attempt to demonstrate what in 1859 were the two chief criteria of merit: profound archaeological knowledge and a capacity for invention (Style and Society, p. 41).

13. The stable is illustrated, e.g., in Lawrence Weaver, Small Country Houses of Today (London: Country Life, 1922, p. 11. fig. 9; for the wagonette, see May Morris, William Morris, 1, p. 365.

14. Some of this glass is in the Fitzwilliam Museum (illustrated in Duncan Robinson and Stephen Wildman, Morris & Company in Cambridge (Cambridge, London, and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1980), p. 19, pl. 12).

15. For the dining-room embroideries, see Emmeline Leary, 'The Red House Figure Embroideries', Apollo, 113, 1981, pp. 255-58 (the three finished panels were made into a screen (the Castle Howard Collection, illustrated in Linda Parry, William Morris Textiles fig. 22); the doors from the settle-gallery, painted by Rossetti, were removed in 1865, and made into a screen (the National Gallery of Canada, Ontario, No. 6750). Burne-Jones's panels remain in the drawing-room. A description of the interior, based on notes by someone who knew it in Morris's time, is in Vallance, William Morris, pp. 49-53. Red House has been illustrated and discussed briefly many times; longer, informative discussions include Mark Girouard, 'Red House, Bexleyheath, Kent', CL, 127 (16 June 1960), pp. 1382-385; J. W. Blake, 'Red House, or the Towers of Topsy', unpublished BA thesis, School of Architecture, University of Newcastle upon Tyne, 1974; Elisabet



Stavenow, 'Vallfart till Red House', Arkitektur (Stockholm), 59 (1959), pp. 261-64; and Jones, 'Red House'.

16. Mackail, Morris, p. 147; the settle, sideboard, and a bedroom cupboard are illustrated, e.g., Girouard, 'Red House', CL, 127, pp. 1383, 1384, 1385, figs. 3, 7, 8; a round table is at Kelmscott Manor (illustrated, e.g., in William Morris & Kelmscott (London: The Design Council, and West Surrey College of Art and Design, 1981), p. 72); a candlestick and some of the glasses are in the Victoria and Albert Museum (illustrated, e.g., Gillian Naylor, The Arts and Crafts Movement: a study of its sources, ideals and influence on design theory (London: Studio Vista, 1971), pls. 13, 14,). Morris also had furniture by Ford Madox Brown at Red house (illustrated in Cooper, Victorian and Edwardian Furniture and Interiors p. 166, figs. 422-24). The grate in the drawing-room was designed by Webb for the house (his drawing: BJTP); it is now in Kelmscott House, presumably having been taken there by Morris.

17. Illustrated, e.g., *ibid.*, p. 5, fig. 1.

18. It is described in Burne-Jones, Memorials, 1, p. 212. For the development of the 'old-fashioned' garden, see, e.g., Girouard, Sweetness and Light, pp. 152-59.

19. Hermann Muthesius, Das englische Haus, 1, pp. 104-07, figs. 66-70.

20. Dr Henry Acland persuaded Watts--against his rule--to take Stanhope as a pupil, which he did in 1850, after he himself had been inspected by Stanhope's mother, and pronounced respectable (A. M. Wihelmina Stirling, A Painter of Dreams, and other Biographical Studies (London: Bodley Head, 1916), p. 297, and The Letter-bag of Lady Elizabeth Spencer-Stanhope, Compiled from the Cannon Hall Papers, 1806-1873 (London: John Lane, 1913, 2 vols. (2, p. 259)).

21. Stanhope married Elizabeth Wyndham-King, widow of Captain Dawson and cousin of Percy Wyndham; two schemes exist: the first undated (drawing: V&A E. 93-94--1916), the second d. June 1860 V&A E.95-96--1916 (s. as part of the contract on 17 August 1860); Burne-Jones, Memorials, 1, p. 261. The cost has been calculated, like all those in this work for which no precise figures and reference are given, from Webb's fee (AB).

22. Webb's drawing: V&A E.97--1916; the drawings for the 1870 enlargement are missing; Stanhope found relief for his asthma near Florence, where in 1884-85 he was visited by Webb, with whom he always spent time when in London, and whom he kept informed of threats to old Florentine buildings; various additions were built, including a dormitory block (demolished) and two



cottages.

23. It was saved by being 'listed' (Grade 11).

24. Passage area was much less than at Red House where Morris may have requested wide ones. Webb did not invent the living-hall, which was probably first employed at Mentmore in 1850 (see Franklin, The Gentleman's Country House, p. 70, plan: p. 139), but his were early examples. The executed plan of Sandroyd, with the hall extending through the building, staircase opposite the entrance, and partly single-room width, was not as similar to Waterhouse's Hinderton as was suggested by Henry-Russell Hitchcock (in Architecture: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, Pelican History of Art (New York and Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1958), 1977 edn., pp. 358-59), and by Stuart Allen Smith (in 'Alfred Waterhouse: Civic Grandeur', Seven Victorian Architects, ed. Jane Fawcett (London: Thames and Hudson, 1976), pp. 102-21 (p. 106), except in orientation, and position of the offices; however, his first plan did resemble it, and as he is sure to have seen it in The Builder (15 January 1859) it may have influenced him. His first plan differed from the second in having a smaller second floor served by the backstairs, a stair-hall alongside the drawing-room, and a small stable attached to the minor offices. The plan of Hinderton is illustrated in Vincent J. Scully, The Shingle and Stick Style: Architectural Theory from Downing to the origins of Wright (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1971), reprint edn., 1977, fig. 3.

25. Illustrated in Thompson, Butterfield, p. 22, fig. 149.

26. Ian Nairn and Nikolaus Pevsner, Surrey, The Buildings of England (Baltimore and Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1962), p. 195; Lago, ed., Burne-Jones Talking, p. 77.

27. No contemporary description of the interior has been found, but there are exterior and interior photographs of 1962 in Surrey County Council's County Planning Department (Benfleet Hall, Cobham, P. 5239-52).

28. The villa, which had walls stencilled by Bodley, is described in Stirling, Life's Little Day, pp. 145-46.

29. Lago, ed., Burne-Jones Talking, p. 77.

30. The contract was signed on 18 January 1865 (Webb's drawings: BAL [29] 1-4); the specification is in the BAL MSS Collection. Prinsep, born in Calcutta, came to England when his father retired from the Indian Civil Service; encouraged by Watts, his unofficial tutor, Prinsep abandoned his training for the same service, and made painting his career; he quickly began

to make his mark, and eventually had considerable success as a painter and a playwright. Rossetti persuaded both Prinsep and Stanhope to help with the decoration of the Debating Hall in Oxford, where they probably first met Webb.

31. Webb's drawings: BAL [29] 5-12 (1876-77 additions, no. 12 being a drawing prepared later for publication; 13-73 (1892-93 enlargement and rehabilitation); the east wall was left blank, apart from a blocked doorway, for further extension (Maurice B. Adams, 'Artists' Homes--No. 8: Mr. Val. C. Prinsep's House, Kensington', BN, 39, 29 October 1880, p. 511 and pl. opp. p. 498). For recent drawings of the street elevation at the various stages, see Sheppard, ed., North Kensington, p. 142. Presumably because he thought it might help Prinsep, Webb broke his rule against publication, and had the above drawing prepared; if the £27 paid by 'Cassavetti' (Prinsep's solicitor) was not the fee for the 1876 alteration, then Webb was not paid for the work; the 1892 enlargement cost £10,659 plus Webb's fee and expenses; the builders were Jackson and Shaw of Westminster, Ashby Brothers of Shoreditch (who built no. 1 Palace Green under their earlier name), and C. W. Bovis of St. Marylebone.

32. In 1880, Adams believed that the dining-room and front door could be readily served ('Prinsep's House', p. 511) ; if this constituted convenience, most servants of the day must have laboured under extreme difficulties.

33. Ibid. Prinsep had lost the facilities of Little Holland House when his parents moved to the Isle of White in 1874.

34. He married Florence Leyland, daughter of the Liverpool ship-owner and Pre-Raphaelite patron.

35. The tops of the arches were not glazed because they cut into the coved cornice and roof space of the studio: by 1864 Webb clearly considered external effect more important than structural truth.

36. The pilaster-strips of the oriel were derived from those on the polygonal towers of late-fifteenth to early-sixteenth-century houses such as Layer Marney Tower and Oxburgh Hall. Butterfield had used a gabled bay-window at high level at Milton Ernest Hall (illustrated in Thompson, Butterfield, p. 313, fig. 261); both Voysey and Lloyd Wright were to make great play with them.

37. Adams, 'Prinsep's House', p. 511; letter, Webb to Hale White, 30 March 1904, MR10/ 23.

38. Webb's drawings, e.g., BAL[29] 43.



39. Adams, 'Prinsep's House', p. 511. A photograph of the studio, taken in 1884, is reproduced in Cooper, Victorian and Edwardian Furniture and Interiors, p. 156, fig. 400.

40. George L. Morris, 'On Mr. Philip Webb's Town Work', AR, 2, 1897, pp. 198-208 (p. 206).

41. Aitchison's house is illustrated in Girouard, 'The Victorian Artist at Home', p. 1278.

42. George Howard was free to pursue his ambition because the family estates were managed by trustees, and, though he was the eventual heir apparent, there were four brothers, one of them his father, between him and the title; George married in 1864 and subsequently devoted himself to art, whilst his wife worked for various worthy causes, and, after he inherited the earldom in 1889, took an active part in managing the estates and in improving the lives and homes of the workers. For a recent biography based on primary sources, see Virginia Surtees, The Artist and the Autocrat: George and Rosalind Howard, Earl and Countess of Carlisle (London: Michael Russell, 1988).

43. Ibid., p. 50; 'Death of F. D. P. Astley, Esq.', Ashton Reporter, 28 March 1868, p. 5. The earliest reference to Webb in Rosalind Howard's Diaries (Castle Howard Archives) records her visit to 'Morris and Webb's furniture place in Queens Sq.' on 3 November 1866 (J23/102/12); the present author is indebted to Eeyan Hartley, Keeper of Archives, Castle Howard, for this and much other information.

44. Howard bought the lease after ascertaining that there would be no objection to red brick (Sheppard, ed., North Kensington, pp. 185-87 (p. 185); there are plans and 6 photographs of the house--3 interior and 3 of the dining-room--in this volume (pls. 108, 109)); Webb was designing the house by 19 March, he left the plans at Pennethorne's office on 22 August, and he received the tenders on 7 September (letters of these dates, Webb to Howard, J22/64).

45. Pennethorne to Charles Gore, quoted in Sheppard, ed., North Kensington, p. 185; Pennethorne told Webb that he objected to the unsuitable style, the mass of unrelieved red brick, the small size and unattractive forms of the windows, and the gable to the road (his letter to Webb (a copy by Webb), 16 October 1867, and Webb's copy of his own reply, 18 October, J22/65).

46. For the purchase of the lease and Webb's amendments, see Sheppard, ed., North Kensington, pp. 185, 187; letter Webb to Howard, 3 March 1868, J22/64 (the explanation Webb asked Howard to convey to Pennethorne made no mention of the design being predominantly gothic as is suggested in North



Kensington, p. 187; Howard probably added it without Webb's knowledge). There is a long quotation from Salvin and Wyatt's report, and a fuller one than is given here from Webb's reply to Pennethorne, in Surtees, The Artist and the Autocrat, pp. 52-53.

47. Rosalind Howard's Diary, 21 and 25 March 1868, J23/102/15.

48. Gore's consent was also required; Charles or George Howard had failed to engage Salvin's support (see letter, Webb to George Howard, 28 November 1867, J22/64), but Charles probably had more success with Gore, whom both he and George approached in March (by letters, 23 and 24 March, 1868, J22/65, J22/64); Wyatt was annoyed by Webb's comment that if the amended design "possessed any character & proper simplicity" it would again be rejected (letter, Wyatt to 'Sir', 28 March 1868 [Rosalind Howard recorded that it was sent by Wyatt to Webb, Diary, 28 March 1868, J23/102/15]. Presumably Webb apologized to Wyatt, who was 'civil' to him, at the interview on 30 March (Rosalind Howard's Diary, 31 March 1868, J23/102/15). Webb's drawings: BAL [32] 1-39, and 24 in the Howard Papers (chiefly relating to the drainage system 1883-96).

49. Letter Webb to George Howard, 4 June 1868 (J22/64); letter, Webb to Mr and Mrs Howard, 10 August 1868, J22/64. The dispute was about drains.

50. E.g., letter, Webb to Mrs Howard, 24 November 1870, J22/64.

51. Sheppard, ed., North Kensington, p. 187; letter, Webb to Howard, 23 May 1868, J22/64.

52. Webb's drawing's: BAL [32] 8, 9. The gable had presumably been envisaged from the start, and was probably designed at an early stage, as there is no record of payment for it later. It is illustrated in Lethaby, 'Webb', B, 5 June 1825, pp. 870-72 (pp. 870-71). It was built by the Ashby firm which by then had become Ashby Brothers. In 1883-84 Webb re-designed the drawing-room ceiling (which had failed through 'inferior lime or imperfect setting' (letter, Webb to Howard, 30 September 1882, J22/64), and the drainage system, and moved some internal walls (drawings: BAL [32] 10-39, and 1 for the ceiling, BJTP).

53. Letter, Webb to Howard, 6 February 1875, J22/64.

54. The house held too many poignant memories for Lady Howard, who had been separated from her husband for personal and political reasons since the 1880s; it was saved by the protest of a group of writers and architects.

55. To avoid an awkward junction with the porch, the

bay started rectangular in plan, then was corbelled out at first-floor level; to gain access from the major bedroom to its dressing-room, Webb bridged the recess; the recess, which created extra wall space for windows, and sheltered the stair to the garden, is illustrated in Lethaby, 'Webb', B, 3 July 1925, pp. 18-19 (p. 19): Hermitage is illustrated, e.g., in Christina Gascoigne, Castles of Britain (London: Thames and Hudson, 1975), p. 209. Shaw used a similar recess in 1883 at no. 180 Queen's Gate.

56. To George Morris, the knowledge of brick displayed by Webb in Howard's house was a 'revelation' ('Philip Webb's Town Work', p. 204); no. 19 Lincoln's Inn Fields is illustrated, e.g., in Lethaby, Webb (1979), pl. 20.

57. Ibid.

58. The frieze, which was painted on panels, and finished with the help of Walter Crane, and is now in the Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery is discussed and illustrated in 'The Cupid and Psyche frieze by Sir Edward Burne-Jones at No. 1 Palace Green', The Studio, 15, no. 67, 1899, pp. 3-13; the panelling was later painted peacock-green to reduce the contrast with the frieze (Morris's decoration of the panelling was similar to that designed previously by Webb for St. James's Palace). There is a photograph of the drawing-room in George Jack, 'Appreciation', p. 3, and three interior sketches by E. A. Rickards in Morris, 'Philip Webb's Town Work', pp. 203, 205, 207.

59. Pite, 'A Review of the Tendencies', pp. 89-90.

60. Boyce's father was a London wine-merchant and erstwhile pawnbroker; in 1849 Wells introduced Boyce to Rossetti, who in turn, on 20 April 1868, introduced him by letter to the Chelsea rector (Arthur Street, 'Boyce', AR, p. 156; Surtees, ed., Diaries of Boyce, p. 7).

61. Ibid., p. 79, n. 14.

62. Webb's drawings, d. October 1868: V&A E. 277-81--1916 (contract drawings for the addition, d. 10 June, 17 July 1876: V&A E.282, 283--1916); on 3 March 1870 (Surtees, ed., Diaries of Boyce, p. 51). Webb made his first site inspection on 8 June 1868 (SB 1865-77).

63. The landing is illustrated in Stamp and Goulancourt, The English House, p. 63 (with a recent photograph of the east front).

64. This window may have been built in two stages, the first during the initial construction, and the upper part at the same time as the extension, which some of its details resemble.



65. A. E. Street, 'Boyce', AR, p. 156; Surtees, Diaries of Boyce, introduction, p. viii. The dining-room is illustrated in Swenarton, Artisans and Architects, p. 37, fig. 2, 3.

66. Watts found Little Holland House for the Prinseps, was invited to stay, discovered that Mrs Prinsep's cosseting made it easier for him to paint, so he never left; by 1872 Prinsep's finances had dwindled; it is not certain whether he owned the site, or Watts bought it.

67. Webb took the brief on 27 February 1872 (SB 1865-77); building began in summer 1872 (Watts, Watts, 1, pp. 265, 279). Only 1 Webb drawing (BAL [16] 1) and a few preliminary sketches (BJTP) have survived. A sketch by Malcolm Fraser appears in V. C. Scott O'Connor, 'Tennyson and his Friends at Freshwater', The Century Magazine, 1897, pp. 240-268 (p. 261), and there is a photograph of the exterior in Colin Ford, The Cameron Collection (London: The National Portrait Gallery, and Reinhold, 1975), p. 13. For four years the house became part of the daily round between the homes of the Tennysons, the Camerons and the Prinseps (Laura Troubridge, Memories and Reflections (London: William Heinemann, 1925), pp. 19-26.

68. Ibid., p. 26.

69. Letters, Webb to Watts, 8, 17, 18 July 1874, LB 1, fols. 1-5; Webb received no fees at all--from anyone--in 1874 and 1875 (AB). The report was made by the architect C. G. Vinall, who occasionally helped Webb out when he, Webb, was short of time; Webb begged Watts to release him from 'any further interference' in a matter which had been 'so far from satisfactory' to him; Watts must have sent an irate reply, to which Webb replied that he would 'in no way interfere with any arrangement' Watts made with regard to the repairs, and would request Vinall to give Watts every assistance.

70. F. P. Cockerell designed the house (no. 6 Melbury Road, demolished), which was built in part of Prinsep's garden.

71. Waterhouse's plan is illustrated in Franklin, The Gentleman's Country House, pp. 161-62.

72. On 1 December 1871, Watts announced his intention of painting portraits to pay for the new house (Watts, Watts, 1, p. 253).

73. O'Connor, 'Tennyson and his Friends', p. 266.

74. Troubridge, Memories, p. 298.



## PART 3: BUILDINGS

### CHAPTER 2: COUNTRY HOUSES

1. Obit., Ashton Reporter, 28 March 1868, p. 5; his father-in-law, Sir Harry Jones, was commanding the siege of Sebastopol. Astley's grandfather was the portrait painter John Astley.

2. The design by Stevens and Robinson (who worked from no. 10 Sackville St., London) was for a dutch-gabled house with a spire-topped corner tower (d. March 1863, the Miss M. J. Becher collection, illustrated in Susan C. Forster, 'Philip Webb and the Astleys: A Re-evaluation of Webb's work at Arisaig', unpublished Senior Honours Degree dissertation, MA in History of Art, University of St Andrews, 1983, pls. 13-14. The present author is indebted and grateful to Susan Forster for help and information.

3. The old house, Clarisburgh Cottage, a large building costing over £32,000, was designed by James Gillespie Graham (1777-1855), and built c. 1811; all but the kitchen wing was demolished to provide stone for the new house; Astley bought the estate in 1848 (ibid., pp. 4-5). He probably hoped his wife's health would improve in a new house; that Stevens and Robinson were approached before her death in 1862 is indicated by the ground-floor invalid suite in their scheme.

4. The contract was signed on 1 October 1863, by Connell and the other tradesmen (Webb's drawings: BAL [1] 1-35, V&A E.115-123--1916 (contract drawings: BAL 3-18, V&A 115-23)). Leafless trees in Webb's sketch of the view from the site show that he first inspected it between March and early May 1863 (reproduced in Forster, 'Philip Webb and the Astleys', pl. 15 (a)).

5. Webb dated his buildings by the year of completion: surviving rain-water heads here are dated 1864; (drawing: BAL [1] 25); the road was a rough track, and there was no railway; George Jack, 'Appreciation', p. 4. In 1882, when the drainage system was re-done to his design (see note 7), Webb employed a Scottish clerk of works, 'Mr Grey', who was familiar with local conditions, as he himself was not to be on site for long periods (letters, Webb to Nathaniel Ramsey of Glasgow (quantity surveyor for the 1863 and 1882 work) 5 January 1882, and to Gertrude Astley, 14 October 1884, LB 1, fols. 221-23, 261-63).

6. Ibid., Webb to Ramsay, ibid., fols. 221-22: Webb was 'often at the place' for '8 or 10 days at a time'. Webb had photographs taken during construction (BJTP; one is reproduced in Macleod, Style and Society, fig. 3.3).

7. Letter, Webb to Constance Astley, 26 October 1880,



LB 1, fols. 171-73. No drawings have been found for the bothy and farm buildings. In 1882 Webb redesigned the drainage system for Gertrude Astley (who had inherited the estate from her brother in 1880) and advised on decoration (Webb's drainage system drawings: BAL [1] 34-35; see letter, Webb to Gertrude Astley, 14 October 1884, fol. 261. In 1880-81, Gertrude and her sisters contemplated building the chapel designed by Webb in 1866 (BAL [2] 1-21, V&A E.124, 125--1916) as a memorial to their parents and brother, but in 1882 decided on a memorial cross by Webb instead (in Arisaig churchyard; Webb's drawings: BAL [3] 1-2, V&A E.186-191--1916). In 1891, for Constance Astley, Webb designed the small, weather-boarded village hall which, extended by George Jack in 1910, still fulfils its purpose in Arisaig; the hall, with Arisaig House and Borrodale Farm, is illustrated and discussed in Forster, 'Philip Webb and the Astleys', and by the present author in Curry and Kirk, Philip Webb in the North, pp. 12-13.

8. The architect was Ian B. M. Hamilton. The house is now a hotel, the owners of which live in the bothy; the farm is in separate ownership; the steading lost its roof by fire in 1981.

✓ 10. Drawing BAL [1] 1 shows the overall layout.

✓ 11. Presumably for Astley's use after late-night play; it, and that of Joldwynds, may have been unique. The gun-room, at this date still one of the domestic offices, was in the basement, but with an entrance off the east terrace near the dining-room french window for gentlemen wishing to attend to their guns themselves.

11. Highclere is illustrated in Franklin, The Gentleman's Country House, p. 69, fig. 51. For halls see ibid., pp. 66-74, and Girouard, The Victorian Country House, introduction, pp. 43-46. Webb's living-hall probably derived from Wollaton, the central circulation hall in the Stevens and Robinson scheme, and his own small examples at Red House and Sandroyd (which had proved successful in use).

12. The slate was shipped from Ballachulish quarry; extra stone was quarried on the estate (letter, Webb to Constance Astley, 26 October, LB 1, fols. 171-73). There were few vernacular buildings in the immediate area; Astley, who managed his estates with unusual liberality, had paid the Arisaig crofters to replace their 'black houses' with larger dwellings in the 1850s.

13. Webb had to teach the men how to use the stone in the once traditional but forgotten Scottish manner (George Jack, 'Appreciation', p. 4).

14. E.g., Coalpit Heath and St. Mawgan's vicarages,



illustrated, Thompson, Butterfield, pp. 84, 132, figs. 6, 43. The east front is illustrated in Forster, 'Philip Webb and the Astleys', pl. 38.

15. A drawing of the porch, prepared by John Brandon-Jones from one by Webb, is illustrated in Lethaby, Webb (1979), pl. 19. A bell and a clock were essential items at the time as few employees owned timepieces.

16. See BAL [1] 33.

17. The beams were iron joists with timbers bolted on each side, the bolts and bottom flange being left exposed (BAL [1] 16). One of Webb's letters to Gertrude Astley about the re-decoration implies that much was repeated (29 November 1882, LB 2, fols. 1-2); the wainscott was painted white in the 1882 (photograph, the Miss M. J. Becher collection); in view of this, the use of white tiles in the fireplace, and that the building was a replacement of a dark building, it seems highly likely that they were white, or a pale shade, originally. The letter implies that the original papers were by Morris and Company, a possibility, as the firm was marketing them by the time the house had dried out. Woodwork in bedrooms was painted in pale colours to match the background of the papers; as Miss Astley had not yet chosen the papers for the second-floor, Webb directed that the woodwork be painted 'parchment colour white' to suit paper of any colour (letter, Webb to Gertrude Astley, 27 April 1883, LB 2, fols. 9-10).

18. A photograph from the Miss M. J. Becher collection, showing this and Webb's grate is reproduced in Forster, 'Philip Webb and the Astleys', pl. 10). Other re-used items included the stone columns in the servants' hall, a stone fireplace in the kitchen, the corbels of the balcony, and internal doors.

19. John Brandon-Jones pointed out that the farmhouse is completely dateless in appearance ('Philip Webb', Victorian Architecture, ed. Ferriday, p. 252), and that the farm buildings have features characteristic of Voysey's work, which they predated by over 30 years ('The Work of Philip Webb and Norman Shaw', p. 12).

20. Webb's hall--with the drawings for which Shaw would be familiar--predated those by Shaw and by Nesfield to which Dr Girouard attributes the influence (The Victorian Country House, p. 46); Cherry, 'The Hogarth Club', pp. 238 n., 242. The house was known to many English guests.

21. Gillum's family had owned land in London for generations; he served as a captain in the Crimea (Scott MacRae Mac Gregor, 'Philip Webb, Some Aspects of his Early Work and Life', unpublished dissertation for the Diploma in Architecture, Polytechnic of Central



London, 1982, pp. 33, 35; the author is grateful to Scott Mac Gregor for the loan of his thesis and for the helpful information in it). It is possible that Gillum met Astley in the Crimea and was later introduced by him to the London art world. In 1858-59 Gillum was taking lessons from Ford Madox Brown, and in 1860 or 1861 he was paying a monthly sum in advance for paintings to Rossetti, to whom he was introduced by Browning (William Rossetti, Some Reminiscences, (London: Brown, Langham, 1906), 2 vols. (2, p. 314), and Surtees, ed., Diaries of Boyce, p. 90 n.). Gillum purchased the old Moated House in Tottenham in 1860; Webb's drawing for the gardener's cottage: V&A E.134--1916, n. d. (illustrated in Mac Gregor, 'Philip Webb', pp. 72-73, figs. 7, 8); local belief in it being a copy of that in which Gillum recovered after Sebastopol (ibid., pp. 40-41) is probably unfounded as the design is what might be expected from Webb at that date, though the shutters and white-washed walls may have been sentimental references; it was demolished about 1966 (ibid., p. 42). The cottage Webb designed in 1866 for Salisbury Baxendale (possibly unexecuted, drawing in the BJTP) was similar to this one.

22. In 1860 Gillum bought 40 acres there, and founded the school, (ibid., p. 41). Webb altered existing buildings, and added new ones; it is not clear which because all have been altered or demolished, but they included a school-room (1875), dairy (c. 1874), and cow-house (1875) (letters, Webb to Gillum 13 September 1875, LB 1, fols. 27-28, and SB 1865-77, fols. 9-19, 17-18, 87, 96-97, 101, 160, 170-72). He married a Leonora Bell in 1860; Scott Mac Gregor posits a connection between her and Webb's client Lowthian Bell ('Philip Webb', p. 43), but none has been traced.

23. Webb's contract drawings: d. September 1868, s. 16 October 1868: (V&A E.126-131--1916); Gillum sold the Moated House in 1870 (Mac Gregor, 'Philip Webb', p. 37). On the drawing (E.128--1916), east and west are transposed on the pencilled compass points, thus the south-west and north-east elevations are wrongly entitled 'North East' and 'South West'.

24. Webb's drawings for the lodge and stables: V&A E. 132--1916, E.133--1916); AB.

25. The land has been built upon, the lodge is in Stuart Road, the stable cottages, much altered, in Church Hill Road.

26. An EC is shown on the contract plan but as WCs are indicated on the lodge and cottages drawings, they were probably installed in the house also.

27. Nikolaus Pevsner, 'Colonel Gillum and the Pre-Raphaelites', Burlington Magazine, 95, 1953, pp. 76,



28. The stacks were not built quite as shown on the drawings.

29. The panelling is not shown on the contract drawings, but appears on the early photograph (BJTP). The balcony was on the south-west side; it gave little protection to the french windows below it, and the bedroom window-cills were too high for easy access (illustrated in Pevsner, 'Colonel Gillum', fig. 32).

30. An entry of 26 September 1860 in a Webb note-book (Lethaby, Webb (1935), p. 37); possibly the furniture was made by boys of the Home Industrial School Euston Road, London, the management committee of which Gillum joined in 1860 (Pevsner, 'Colonel Gillum', p. 78). The billiard-room benches designed by Webb were probably left in the house. Through Morris and Company, Webb designed a hall table (1861 or 1862) and another table (1866) for Gillum (Morris & Co. AB). Two of the Gillum tables, one of them Japanese-influenced (now in the Victoria and Albert Museum), are illustrated in Nikolaus Pevsner, 'Art Furniture of the 1870s', AR, 101 (1952), reprinted in Studies in Art, Architecture and Design, vol.2: Victorian and After (London: Thames and Hudson, 1868), pp. 118-31 (p. 121, figs. 6, 7).

31. No. 1 Pembridge Place, North Kensington, London. Webb altered and extended the ground floor to create a suite for Gillum, organised the re-decoration of the house with Morris and Company wall-papers (SB 1892-96), and designed a sideboard and fireplaces (drawing: V&A E.109--1916).

32. Sir Nikolaus Pevsner (who 're-discovered' the house in 1953, when it was in flats, in poor condition and lacking its Webb fittings apart from the staircase) pointed out that Gillum's friends took an interest in his work, and noted that a poster advertising the Farm School appears in Madox Brown's painting 'Work' ('Colonel Gillum', p. 78). The poem, by Osbert Burdett, is printed in Winmill, Winmill, p. 53; however, as it refers to the building being of stone and having a pillared porch, it was probably inspired by Joldwynds which Winmill also visited (*ibid.*, p. 22). Arthur H. Mackmurdo also knew the house (Pevsner, 'Colonel Gillum', p. 81).

33. Having met him professionally, Bowman had been a patron of Watts, through whom he encountered the Pre-Raphaelite circle, since the early 1860s (Watts, George Frederic Watts, 1, p. 217). For growth of Holmbury St Mary as a weekend resort see Margaret Bird, Holmbury St Mary: One Hundred Years (booklet, privately published, 1979).

34. In 1867 Bowman paid Webb £14 (AB); SB 1865-77, 11

November, 29 December 1869, fols. 75-76.

35. In 1870 Bowman paid Webb £110.10.0; this could have been for alteration to the old house or its glass-houses, or it may have been payment on account for the designing of Joldwynds; in view of the doubt, 1871-72 has been ascribed to the latter; Webb's drawings: V&A E.269-276--1916 (nos. 269-273: contract drawings, d. February 1872, s. 5 March 1872; no. 276, d. 1892, relates to the new library), BAL [22] 1-8 (working drawings: nos. 1-3; coach-house: nos. 4-5; gates: no. 6, d. August 1875; nos. 7-8: new library); Shearburn had refused to finish the alterations to the London house of Dr E. Dowson (letters, Webb to Shearburn, 1, 11 February 1876, 30 October 1877, LB 1, fols. 29-31, 109-10); AB.

36. Webb first visited the site on 23 November 1888, and the builders W. and G. King began work on the new library in June 1891 (CB). Steel beams were bolted to the wall plates at intervals, and joined only at each end by tie rods so as not to impede cues during play (letter, Webb to Bowman, 10 October 1887, LB 2, fols. 99-100). In 1887 Webb refitted and extended Felday House, 25 Young Street, Kensington (demolished), and did minor work on garden walls, etc., at no. 42 Kensington Square for Sir William (letters, Webb to Bowman, 10 May, 27 August, 10 October 1887, *ibid.*, fols. 92-93, 95, 99-100); in 1894, Sir William's younger son Frederick consulted him about proposed alterations to the house adjacent to Felday House (letter, Webb to Frederick Bowman, 21 March 1894, BJTP).

37. For some years in the 1920s, Joldwynds housed a country club; for Hill's house, see Christopher Hussey, 'Joldwynds, Surrey, the Residence of Mr. Wilfrid Greene, K.C.', *CL*, 76, 15 September 1934, pp. 276-281. Ironically, Lord Greene was just as dissatisfied with the new house, which he sold, having first built a small traditional house by an Polish architect in the grounds.

38. Bowman's hobby was orchid cultivation.

39. In 1888 Webb added a cupboard for china and glass to the 'serving-room', which a sketch plan shows to have been the garden cloak-room (SB 1878-92, 24 May 1888).

40. The photographs taken for Webb during construction are in the BJTP collection; two are reproduced in Lethaby, *Webb* (1979), pls. 23, 24).

41. Bird, *Holmbury St Mary*, pp. 11-13 (Holmdale (1873-80) was by Steet, Hopedene (1873-74) by Shaw, Feldemore (1882) by George Redmayne and Waterhouse, Moxley (1888) by Champneys, Pasturewood House (1893) by William Flockhart and Lutyens; Voysey converted a large



barn into a house); Winmill, Winmill, p. 22 (Winmill visited it with a party led by Hugh Stannus of the AA; Leonard Stokes and E. J. May, who also went on Stannus's excursions, were probably in the group); Lethaby, Webb (1935), p. 92; Gimson recalled 'the enthusiasm of our pilgrimages to his [Webb's] houses' in a letter to May Morris (22 April 1915, BL Morris Papers 10, Add. Ms. 45347, fol. 118).

42. E.g., in Lutyens's work: sensitive blending of brick and stone: Tigbourne Court; triple gables: Homewood; walled garden with circular pool as in the orchid-house garden at Joldwynds: Deanery Garden (illustrated, e.g. in Dunster, ed., Lutyens, pp. 32-39, and (Deanery Garden) Lawrence Weaver, Houses and Gardens by E. L. Lutyens (London: Country Life, 1913) reprinted 1981 for the Antique Collectors' Club, pp. 56, 58, figs. 103, 106).

43. In his article--a typical piece of International style propaganda--Hussey asserts that before the Modern Movement no architects designed houses from 'basic human requirements' or with 'applied scientific thought', and that all previous architects put external appearance before convenience and exploitation of the site and its prospects (Hussey, 'Joldwynds', p. 276). Hill's house was built of brick, and, for ideological reasons, rendered to ape concrete.

44. Obituaries, Journal of the Iron and Steel Institute, 1904, part 2, pp. 426-34, and North Eastern Daily Gazette, 20 December 1904.

45. William A. Bone, 'Sir Hugh Bell, Bart., C.B., D.L., LL.D., D.C.L., 1844-1931', Journal of the Chemical Society, 1932, pp. 1325-330; Bell Brothers Directors' Minute Books, BSCNRRC.

46. Letter, Lowthian Bell to Webb, 1870 (BJTP); no detailed description or illustration of the old house has been traced, but 60 years ago it was remembered as a large brick building of poor quality (information from the late Mr John Mawer, local historian); its overall size was similar to that of Webb's replacement (See note 52).

47. Letter, Hugh Bell to Webb, 17 October 1871, Bell (BJTP). The year's delay before building was presumably caused by Bell having to sell all or part of his chemical works at Washington to pay for the new house.

48. Letter, 31 October 1872, Mary Bell (daughter of Lowthian) to 'Mr. Howard' (George or his father Charles), Castle Howard Archives: 'We are all very much interested in the arrival of the plans for the new house from Mr. Webb, which, as far as we can judge are quite charming, we all long for the time when we shall be living in it, . . .'; Webb's drawings, over 100,

not yet fully catalogued: NYCCRO (ZFK 2), and BAL [38] 1-11 (working drawings, mainly of details and the conservatory (nos. 10-11); part of no. 1, the south elevation, is reproduced in Girouard, Sweetness and Light, p. 48, fig. 39), and BJTP. To ensure good quality, Webb delineated each stone and brick on the large-scale drawings, and had a bill of quantities prepared by C. G. Vinall (drawings, NYCCRO ZFK 2).

49. Webb received £1,644 for the 1870s Rounton work (AB); Webb's drawings for the fowl house (1875) and coach-house (1876), the terrace (c. 1874-76), and the school (1876): NRCCRO ZFK 3 (i-vii), ZFK 4 (i-iii), ZFK 5 (i-ii); though drawings have not been found, the detailing indicates that Webb added attic rooms, dormers, and a central chimney to the existing lodge, and designed the hostel (now two houses) and farm buildings; a timber summer-house (demolished) may also have been by him (photograph, the Mrs W. Dixon collection); letter, Lowthian Bell to Webb, 1870 (BJTP). These buildings, and Rounton Grange, are discussed by the present author in Curry and Kirk, Philip Webb in the North, pp. 21-26.

50. Webb drawing: BAL [38] 12 (the date (1898) given in in Jill Lever, ed., Catalogue of the Drawings Collection of the Royal Institute of British Architects, vol. T-Z (Amersham: Avebury Publishing Company, 1984) p. 182, is incorrect (in 1898 Webb inspected the house and reported on its condition (only re-painting, clearing of gutters, and replacement of a finial was needed: 25 July 1898, SB 1896-1900)); Jack also inserted a french window in the drawing-room bay, tiled the roof of the northern ambulatory and added dormers, inserted a garden door in the southern ambulatory and replaced its glazed south wall with masonry, and replaced the vane with a bell-turret (Kelmscott CB, and photographs in the author's collection); in addition, Jack designed the gardener's cottage, east lodge, village hall and attached dwellings, and a pair of semi-detached cottages. At some time after the death of Sir Hugh, the business-room became the billiard-room, and the laundry became the bedroom of Colonel Sir Maurice Bell, for whom a smoking-room was created in the east wing.

51. The house was abandoned in summer 1926 exactly 50 years after first being inhabited (Elsa Richmond, ed., The Earlier Letters of Gertrude Bell (London: Ernest Benn, 1937), p. 4 n. During the First World War it served as a hospital for officers, in the Second, successively, as a home for evacuees, prisoners of war, and refugee farm-workers. It was inherited without capital--two sets of death duties having been paid within 10 years--by Sir Hugh Bell, great-grandson of Lowthian, in 1944. The other Webb buildings are in good condition (the school and hostel converted to houses), but the roof of the central court of the coach-house--where carriages were washed and the family



played 'raquettes' (ibid., p. 16)--is in poor condition (1989).

52. Webb superimposed the plans of the old and new houses for comparison (drawing NYCCRO ZFK 2/1(xiii)).

53. Webb's rough sketch plan and elevation: BJTP.

54. Vanbrugh altered Lumley (County Durham, 1389), in 1721; there is a good aerial photograph in Nikolaus Pevsner, County Durham, The Buildings of England, (Harmonsworth: Penguin Book, 1953), pl. 47. Webb knew of, and had probably visited, four castles of this type in the North East: Lumley, Langley, Bolton, and Sheriff Hutton (County Lists).

55. Drawings, NYCCRO ZFK 2. At first some minor offices were to be retained, but sometime after December 1872, possibly after building began, Webb re-designed the 'barmkin', increasing the area of first-floor family rooms (his original ground-floor plan appears in Lawrence Weaver's well-illustrated article 'Rounton Grange, Yorkshire, A Seat of Sir Hugh Bell, Bart.', CL, 26 June 1915, pp. 906-12 (p. 911)); wall ducts carried fresh air up from the cellars; stale air was taken up the chimneys, emerging just above the tiles or continuing to the top (WCs may have been installed by Webb); bedroom fireplaces had similar fresh air ducts (after being heated behind the fire, air emerged through a controllable grille above it).

56. Drawings: NYCCRO ZFK 2. The cubicles, all painted white, were preferable to shared rooms, and constituted better accommodation than that of many public schools at the time.

57. The clock-turret was to have been on the main roof (drawings, BJTP collection); the plunge-bath (drawing: NYCCRO ZFK 2), a small swimming-pool 26'6" x 14' with a glazed roof, was constructed, but as no-one remembers it today, it presumably was dismantled when the common-room was built.

58. The wind-vane, as at Joldwynds, had curving iron supports; its shaft passed through the building to a dial beneath the hall gallery (Lutyens used this feature in several houses); Webb told Herbert Fletcher that 'chimnies'[sic] and iron columns should not appear to be planted on the ground but in it for stability' (letter, 22 March 1871, BJTP).

59. The stone came from the Scarth Nick quarry (Add.B). The main walls had a 12" outer leaf in stone, a 2" ventilated cavity, and a 9" inner leaf in brick, and stoneware ties.

60. The triangular hood-moulds were stone versions of those at Joldwynds, the segmental ones were moulded on



the joggled voussoirs; the combined porch and  
was probably inspired by the porch and attach  
of St Gregory's church, Sudbury, and the  
supported on a stone column, by that of Castl  
Priory. On drawing NYCCRO ZFK 2/1 (viii) th  
windows of the drawing-room have ogee arches; afte  
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(drawing, NYCCRO d. 20 May 1876).

61. The author is indebted to the late Mrs John Dowe  
and Mrs R. W. Wilson (great-granddaughters of Sir  
Lowthian Bell), Mrs Linda Parry of the Victoria and  
Albert Museum, and Ms Norah Gillow of the William  
Morris Gallery, Walthamstow, for help with identifying  
Morris and Company products in photographs of the  
house (Gertrude Bell Collection, Dept. of Archaeology,  
Newcastle upon Tyne University) and, to the first two  
ladies, for detailed verbal and manuscript descriptions  
of the interior and its furnishings.

62. The carpet has been located recently in a private  
house in Devon (information from Linda Parry); the sofa  
and chairs with the silk--Morris and Company's 'Flower  
Garden'--intact remain in the Bell family; letter,  
Morris to his wife, 23 February 1881 (May Morris,  
William Morris, 2, p. 582). Mrs Dower recorded that  
the grates in the drawing-room and dining-room were  
designed by Webb, including the convected air system.

63. Lethaby, Webb (1935), p. 94; the frieze, now faded,  
is in the William Morris Gallery, Walthamstow (F. 140),  
and there is one drawing for it at Wallington Hall;  
Burne-Jones designed the figures, Morris the foliage  
backgrounds (Linda Parry, William Morris Textiles, p.  
18) but the plinths, animals, and background of the  
more formal parts appear to be by Webb, a supposition  
supported by the fact that his Morris and Co. AB  
(fols. 65, 67) has entries (with no payment recorded),  
for the 'Arrangement for Mr. Bell's Tapestry' [i.e.,  
embroidery]; a part, with Morris's background, is ill-  
ustrated in colour in Ray Watkinson, William Morris as  
Designer (London: Studio Vista, 1967), 1979 edn., fig.  
19; the hanging 'Acanthus' (V&A CIRC.524-1953, draw-  
ing V&A E.55--1940), designed for Rounton by Morris  
worked by Lady Bell, is illustrated *ibid.*, (fig. 58);  
'old pew doors' and panels (some from the old house),  
were used in several rooms and passages (drawings:  
NYCCRO ZFK 2). Webb was 'much pleased' with Morris and  
Company's 'finish' to his 'rooms at Rounton' (letter,  
Webb to George Howard, 5 October 1882, J22/64).

64. Letter Webb to Lowthian Bell, 4 April 1877. Despite  
extensive enquiries, this sideboard has not been found.

65. The many people consulted by the author described  
thus almost without exception; e.g., the artists  
H. T. Wells, E. J. Poynter, T. M. Rooke, A.W.  
Richmond, Frank Bramley, Herbert Marshall,



the joggled voussoirs; the combined porch and hall bay was probably inspired by the porch and attached chapel of St Gregory's church, Sudbury, and the oriel, supported on a stone column, by that of Castle Acre Priory. On drawing NYCCRO ZFK 2/1 (viii) the east windows of the drawing-room have ogee arches; after one was constructed it was decided to make them segmental (drawing, NYCCRO d. 20 May 1876).

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65. The many people consulted by the author described it thus almost without exception; e.g., the artists Boyce, H. T. Wells, E. J. Poynter, T. M. Rooke, A.W. Hunt, W. B. Richmond, Frank Bramley, Herbert Marshall,

and, of course, George Howard, and the architects R. J. Johnson, A. E. Street, and A. M. Poynter, all stayed at Rounton Grange (Visitors Book, the collection of Sir John Bell); Rounton was illustrated but not discussed in Ernest Willmott, English House Design: a Review (London: Batsford, 1911), pls. 76, 77.

66. E.g., Rushpool Hall, Saltburn, and Gunnergate Hall, Marton-in-Cleveland, were rock-faced gothic edifices, and Marton Hall was in the alien French chateaux style.

67. He left in April 1875 after a serious fall from his horse, and bought the estate with money from his father; he was gazetted a colonel of the Volunteers in January 1883 (this, and much more information about the Godmans and their house was kindly given to the author by their granddaughter Mrs F. H. Towill).

68. 1 October 1876 (SB 1865-77); letter, Webb to Messrs. J. W. and M. Mackenzie, 11 July 1877, LB 1, fol. 101; AB; 24 April 1879, Ada Godman Diaries. Webb's contract drawings, 4, d. June 1877, s. 3 August 1877: V&A E.139-142--1916 (illustrated in Brandon-Jones, 'Notes on the Building of Smeaton Manor', pp. 37, 38; this article includes many letters from Webb to Godman in which Webb's attention to detail--of services, garden walls, and animal welfare, as well as of design--is demonstrated); contract drawing for the stable block, d. June 1877, s. 3 August 1877: BJTP. Bricks were being made on site by September (letter, Webb to George Howard, 12 September 1877, J22/64). A clerk of works was employed.

69. Smeaton Manor Visitors Book (the Mrs F. H. Towill collection). From a smaller house in the village, the Godmans continued to fulfil their social obligations; both were governors of the village school, Godman was a County Councillor, a JP, a colonel in the militia, and founder of a co-operative dairy for local farmers; his wife helped to improve hospital and nursing services in the county, nursed villagers herself, and set up a coffee house for tramps (information from her Diaries, and from Mrs Towill). Webb designed two cottages (unexecuted) for Godman (letter, Webb to Godman, 26 January 1878, BJTP, published in Brandon-Jones, 'Notes on the Building of Smeaton Manor', pp. 33-34); the drawings are missing. His letter of 15 August 1878 reveals that extension of the west wing was envisaged (ibid., pp. 42-43); it never took place. In 1883 Webb arranged for the installation of a steam-engine in the stable block (SB 1878-92, 30 August 1883).

70. The male heir had been killed at Dunkirk in 1940; the new owner demolished the lesser offices (as the Godmans had planned to do in the 1930s) and the garden porch, curtailed the east and west wings and the



entrance porch, removed the central stack from the main roof, reduced the height of the two others, and, replaced the central gable on the north front by a dormer (such as Webb originally intended), and, inside, replaced Webb's fireplaces with neo-Georgian ones, his spiral stair with an open newel-stair, and inserted a cloak-room into the arm of the drawing-room; sympathetic alterations were made in the early 1980s to fulfil safety at work regulations, the major one being a small extension of the curtailed west wing to house a fire-escape. Bricks from the small pumping-engine house were used for the last alterations (architects: Dennis Lister and Associates). Smeaton Manor is now (February 1990) on the market again.

71. The tower was added during building--it is indicated in pencil on Webb's drawing (BJTP)--to house the clock from Washington Hall (letters, Webb to Godman, 24 March, 28 May 1879, published in Brandon-Jones, 'Notes on the Building of Smeaton Manor', pp. 48, 51).

72. The garden porch was added during construction, replacing an envisaged conservatory; Webb slightly curtailed the entrance porch, and used triple casements instead of the continuous glazing shown on the contract plan (E.139--1916).

73. This gable is sketched in pencil on the contract elevation (E.141--1916).

74. Webb had used this device at Rounton to gain access from the picture gallery to a pavilion roof. In the last alterations at Smeaton, a similar one was erected to gain access to the east-wing attics. Webb's gothic training and experience led him to readily accept this device which to most twentieth-century architects would be a solecism.

75. The house was decorated in part, possibly throughout by Morris and Company between 1880-85; the manager George Wardle helped Mrs Godman to choose papers and paint colours at Smeaton on 27 March 1880; Rooke designed the panels in 1885 (information from Ada Godman Diaries and photographs in the Mrs F. H. Towill collection).

76. The (damaged) fireplace panels, designed by Rooke in 1885 (Ada Godman Diaries, 11 October 1885) are in the Mrs F. H. Towill collection; the fireplace is illustrated in Brandon-Jones, 'Notes on the Building of Smeaton Manor', p. 49.

77. Ada Godman Diaries; as Mrs Godman consulted Webb, who decided its size, about the embroidery on 16 July 1877, before Morris designed it (in August), it was probably her idea; she began stitching it in September and finished fifteen and a half years later (ibid.).

It was first exhibited--in part--in Dresden, at the Kunst Gewerbe Halle, in March 1889 (ibid., 13 February, 13, 27 March 1889). One piece is in the Victoria and Albert Museum, the major section is in the Fitzwilliam Museum, and one part remains in the family. Morris's design was reproduced in Lewis F. Day, 'William Morris and Art', Art Journal Easter Annual, 1899.

78. Ada Godman photographs.

79. Webb marked the fenders he liked in Longden's catalogue, but advised that old ones would be cheaper (letters, Webb to Godman, 23 April, 1 May 1879 (published in Brandon-Jones, 'Notes on the Building of Smeaton Manor', pp. 50-51). The over-mantel had a niche for a clock, flanked by tilting panels of mirror-glass which were removed sometime after Mrs Godman's death (her photographs and that by Owen Wicksteed, FRPS, published ibid., p. 52)

80. Letter, Webb to Godman, 9 September 1878, published in Brandon-Jones, 'Notes on the Building of Smeaton Manor', p. 45; an open newel stair is shown on the contract plan (V&A E.139--1916); an Ada Godman photograph.

81. That Webb conceived this 'Idea' at an early stage is shown by the similarity between the outline plan sketched on his first site inspection (SB 1865-77, fol. 121) and that of the final building; Webb reflected the local houses without copying them; e.g., he did not use the local 'kneelers' (stone corbels) and stone 'water-tabling' (copings) on the gables, and he did employ alien tile galleting, and weatherboarding (on the front of dormers). The detailing of the bay-windows on the south front is Webb's own invention.

82. As John Brandon-Jones pointed out, it 'could pass without comment in a collection of Country Houses of the nineteen twenties ('Notes on the Building of Smeaton Manor', p. 31).

83. Houses which reveal the influence of Smeaton include Lutyens's Heathcote--a grander version in stone--Middlefield, Little Thakeham, and Temple Dinsley (all illustrated in Weaver, Houses and Gardens by E. L. Lutyens), and Ernest Willmott's Amersfort (plan illustrated in Franklin, The Gentleman's Country House, p. 232). Webb's disciple Alfred Powell stayed at Smeaton Manor in October 1879, when he also visited Rounton (Visitors Book).



## PART 3: BUILDINGS

### CHAPTER 3: COUNTRY HOUSES (continued)

1. Letter, Webb to Wyndham, 12 December 1876, LB 1, fols. 49-50 (Webb's reply to Wyndham's letter of 9 December); Wyndham bought Clouds at auction on 15 November 1876 (information kindly supplied by Caroline Dakers). Wyndham decided to found his own seat because he did not get on well with his brother, Lord Egremont, at Petworth (Max Egremont, The Cousins (London: Collins, 1977), pp. 26-28).

2. In his letter of 12 December 1876 (see note 1), Webb referred to having been consulted 'when Wilbury itself was in question'; he visited Wilbury House (now Wilbury Park) in Wiltshire--which Wyndham had taken on annual lease in 1874 and hoped to buy--on 6 November 1874, when he sketched the plan of the house (SB 1865-77; Wyndham paid him £5 for the consultation (AB)); the owner refused to sell, possibly because Wyndham would not meet his price (see note in rear of Add.B); Morris & Co. AB, 9 January, 25 March 1874, fol. 67 (the chimneypiece, for no. 44 Belgrave Square, had a picture fitted into it; in 1895 Webb improved the drainage at this house (SB 1892-96, 9 May, 21 and 25 June, 3 July)).

3. For the Wyndhams, and life at Clouds, see 'Mrs Percy Wyndham' in Edith Oliver, Four Victorian Ladies of Wiltshire (London: Faber, 1945), pp. 85-104; Cynthia Asquith, Haply I May Remember (London: James Barrie, 1950), pp. 40-45; J. W. Mackail and Guy Wyndham, eds., Life and Letters of George Wyndham (London: Hutchinson, 1925), 2 vols. (1, pp. 26, 31-32); Egremont, The Cousins, pp. 20-24; and Abdy and Gere, The Souls, pp. 82-86; in 1890-93 Wyndham and Webb rescued and repaired the tower of East Knoyle church (Lethaby, Webb (1935), pp. 106-07).

4. Letter, Webb to Wyndham, 12 December 1876, LB 1, fols. 49-50; Webb showed his drawings to the Wyndhams on either the 15 or 19 December at Wilbury, where he stayed the night, and visited the site the next day (ibid., and SB 1865-77, fol. 124); on 23 January 1877 Webb told Wyndham of his concern about the size the house would 'run into', on 29 January he submitted a rough plan, intended merely to help his clients decide the size and position of rooms, because until he had 'spent some hours in particular examination of the site and surroundings', he could not determine the position of the building or its plan (letters, Webb to Wyndham, 16, 23 January 1877, LB 1, fols. 56-59).

5. This second scheme pleased him by saving many trees, a matter of concern from the start; it was accepted in October (letters, Webb to Wyndham, 23 and 29 January, 14 February, 18 April, 14 August, 11 October 1877, LB



1, fols. 58-59, 64-65, 102-03, 105-07); Ada Godman recorded that Wyndham had 'talked of Rounton which he had been to see' (Diaries, 10 July 1877); Webb had previously given Wyndham her address, presumably so that Wyndham could ask her opinion of Rounton and the unfinished Smeaton (ibid., fol. 64).

6. T. W. Goodman, helped by Webb's assistant Yates, began preparing the bill in January 1879; Webb was aware that employing a first-rate London firm would raise the cost of the building by 20-25%, and, as he scrupulously pointed out to Wyndham, increase his own fee; Smith's estimate was £5,000-6,000 more than Webb expected (letters, Webb to Wyndham, 22 March 1878, January 1879, 19 March 1878, 29 April 1879, and 10 June 1881, and to George Smith & Co., 20 May 1879, LB 1, fols. 126-27, 140-41, 125-26, 144-46, 177-79). Webb's drawings for this scheme (usually termed the first design): BAL [24] 1-32 (number [24] 12 is reproduced in in Dennis Farr, English Art 1870-1940, The Oxford History of English Art (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), pl. 39).

7. Letters, Webb to Wyndham, 10 July, 20 November 1879, LB 1, fols. 154, 158-59; Webb told Wyndham that a single-storey 'hall or common-room' would mean a 'considerable saving in the cost of the building' (letter, 16 January 1877, LB 1, fols. 56-57); he warned of the need for further reductions in his letter of 10 July; on 4 March 1880 Wyndham agreed to have quantities taken on the fourth design (SB 1878-92); Smith's estimate was £4,375 over the budget figure of £75,000 (letter, Webb to Wyndham, 3 June 1881, LB 1, fols. 175-76). Webb's drawings for the fourth scheme (usually termed the second): BAL [24] 33-187, V&A E.206-234--1916 (plus 2 sheets of elevation drawings and perspectives, E.247-48--1916), and 12 in the SPAB collection; drawings BAL [24] 114, 115, and V&A E.524 are for the water-tower up the hill above the house. Webb's drawing for a park fence is also in the BAL, with 17 survey drawings and tracings of his drawings, probably done in the twentieth century (BAL [24] 188, 214-31).

8. Webb offered other choices: the price could be accepted, or tenders could be sought from local builder (letter, Webb to Wyndham, 3 June 1881, LB 1, fols. 175-76); letters, Webb to George Smith & Co., 9 May 1881, and to Wyndham, 30 June 1881, LB 1, fols. 173-74, 182.

9. The sudden death of George Smith, the senior partner, made it illegal for his son Henry G. Smith to sign a contract after March 1880 (letter, Webb to H. G. Smith, 21 July 1881, LB 1, fol. 186); Wyndham would not accept Smith's suggestion of taking a small firm into partnership, and building under its name (ibid.); Webb investigated recommended builders at Blandford,

Frome, Tewkesbury, Oxford, Bristol, and Gloucester, and obtained tenders from about four of them; Estcourt had worked for Burges, Street, Jackson, and Christian.

10. Construction began immediately after the contract was signed on 3 November 1881 (letters, Webb to Wyndham, 27 August, 20 October 1881, and to Estcourt, 28 and 31 October, LB 1, fols. 195, 200-01, 203-04); Simmonds, clerk of works for Waterhouse at Clayesmore House, called on Webb having heard of the Clouds project; after obtaining references, Webb appointed him clerk of works in October (letters, Webb to Wyndham, 27 August, 31 October 1881, LB 1, fols. 195, 204); on 23 November Webb told Boyce he had seen his clients into their unfinished house (letter, Webb to Boyce, BL Add. MS 45354, fols. 235-36; AB; on 6 January 1887 Webb thanked Estcourt--who worked for him again at Exning and Forthampton--for the 'care and attention' with which he had forwarded his, Webb's wishes (letter, Webb to A. Estcourt, LB 2, fol. 78).

11. A maid left a lighted candle in a closet (Asquith, Haply I May Remember, p. 41). Webb's drawings for the reinstatement: BAL [24] 189-213, V&A E.235-46--1916. Estcourt and Simmonds were again builder and clerk of works respectively; the work was completed in 1892 at a cost of about £35,000, £27,000 being recovered through insurance (Lethaby, Webb (1935), pp. 98-99). The Burne-Jones cartoons (for the 'Annunciation and the Angels') on the walls of the main staircase, perished in the fire, as did several old re-used Venetian fireplaces.

Clouds has been illustrated and discussed briefly many times, including by Muthesius (Das englische Haus, 1, p. 108, figs. 73, 74); for longer discussions see Blunt, 'Clouds'; Lethaby, Webb (1935), pp. 96-104; Brandon-Jones, 'Philip Webb', Victorian Architecture, ed. Ferriday, pp. 255-60; Franklin, The Gentleman's House, pp. 146-50.

12. Percy, his son and heir, George, and George's son died between 1911-1914 (the last was killed in battle); after inheriting Clouds, George Wyndham and the house-carpenter William Mallet converted the nursery range on the south front of the second floor into a library, to an initial design by Detmar Blow (Webb's site architect for the rescue of East Knoyle tower) modified by Wyndham because it would have changed Webb's elevations; he also made the basement lamp-room into a chapel (see Mackail and Wyndham, Life and Letters, 2, pp. 707-47 passim); most of the demolition took place in 1938. What remained of the office wing was made into dwellings, and the stables became a stud farm; in the mutilated main block many Webb fireplaces, ceilings, and cupboards remain, but the dining-room was demolished, his bookcases were removed from the east drawing-room, and the hall was reduced in length and



made into a Spanish-style court (two lanterns remain). After housing a school for some years, Clouds is now (1989) a centre for the rehabilitation of drug and alcohol addicts.

13. He decided this on his first visit to the site; (letter, Webb to Wyndham, 28 December 1876, LB 1, fols. 50-51). In this letter, Webb set out the conditions under which he would undertake the commission. The old house was named Clouds after a former inhabitant.

14. Letter, Webb to Wyndham, 18 April 1877, LB 1, fols. 82-84; Brandon-Jones, 'Philip Webb', Victorian Architecture, ed. Ferriday, pp. 255-56.

15. John Brandon-Jones pointed out that the plan of Clouds was 'almost Classical', and that at the time of its design Webb was studying Vanbrugh's planning (ibid., pp. 257-58).

16. The service wing was the same in both schemes. Cooking odours and fumes would be considerable in a house where over forty people, including the staff, were fed every day, and frequently many more. The servants had to walk long distances, but piped water and ample store-rooms, including those for coal, were provided on each floor, and the courtyard garden was a compensation. Under the direction of Howell, the Clouds brickmaker, an old cottage, Glades, was converted to laundries (see BAL [24] 183).

17. Webb had several photographs of Compton Wynyates in his collection (BJTP).

18. Webb used some of the old tiles on inner slopes, and he used the doorway--since moved to the west entrance--from the old house as his luggage entrance; letters, Webb to Howell, and to Estcourt, 18 August, 11 September 1882, LB 1, fols. 252-53, 258, and drawing, BAL [24] 42). An old garden enclosed by thatched chalk walls was retained as a spring-bulb garden (illustrated in Blunt, 'Clouds', p. 741).

19. There was no necessity for the staircase windows to be in two tiers; on the inside, they were set behind two tiers of attractive stone arches--pointed at the lower level, segmental above--supported on characteristic polygonal columns.

20. Webb got his way with this fence by pointing out that it, unlike the stone balustrade favoured by Wyndham, would increase the apparent size of the house (an appearance which, in fact, he had been at pains to reduce; letter, Webb to Wyndham, 17 July 1886, LB 2, fols. 56-58).

21. The semicircular hoodmoulds over rectangular windows were probably suggested by Hawksmoor's in the



Queen Anne Court, Greenwich Hospital, and the first-floor string-cill probably derived from Vanbrugh's cornice on the Pyramid Gate at Castle Howard (illustrated, e.g., in Kerry Downes, Hawksmoor, The World of Art Library (London: Thames and Hudson, 1969), p. 153, fig. 144), and Beard, Vanbrugh, p. 101, fig. 31); as Blunt noted, not one of Webb's interior details at Clouds was 'aggressive or of a character to compel attention', even in the hall, where 'structural effect' was 'most conspicuous' ('Clouds', p. 740).

22. There are descriptions of the interior *ibid*, p. 740, Abdy and Gere, The Souls, pp. 88-92 (this volume contains photographs of the drawing-room and boudoir (p. 89), and Parry, William Morris Textiles, p. 141. Many windows were uncurtained; the drawing-room had white curtains and a carpet--'Clouds'--especially design by Morris (now in the Combination Room in the Old Schools, Cambridge (the University of Cambridge collection), and illustrated in Robinson and Wildman, Morris & Company in Cambridge, p. 87, pl. 61). Gas lighting was installed in the house, but doubtless for the sake of the white decoration, the major rooms on the ground floor were lit by candles.

23. The geometrical panels derived from English Baroque usage, but their treatment was highly personal; the dining-room ceiling had shallow, coved coffers; many beams were concealed, but others, as at Rounton, were false ones for visual balance (SB 1878-92, 3 October 1883); the panels were echoed in simpler form on the fireplaces, and on some friezes; other ornamented friezes had relief foliage patterns. The lace or mosaic effect was deliberate (see drawing BAL [24] 180). Though much of the oak work remains, including the staircase and screen, some cresting has been removed, together with the newel finials; the gallery passages were panelled in a hard cement which has survived well (illustrated in Blunt, 'Clouds', p. 743, 746).

24. Webb advised them about some purchases (see, e.g., letter, Webb to Wyndham, 14 May 1879, LB 1, fols. 145-46).

25. Blunt, 'Clouds', p. 740. Many of the fittings remain.

26. According to James Simmonds' journals there were 736 pre-fire drawings (Lever, ed., BAL Catalogue, p. 169).

27. Wyndham told Webb of an American architect seeking out Clouds, the "masterpiece of modern English Domestic Architecture" (letter, Wyndham to Webb 13 November 1893, Clouds Correspondence, quoted Swenarton, Artisans and Architects, p. 48).

28. For Shaw's admiration see Reginald Blomfield,

R. N. Shaw, R.A., Architect 1831-1912 (London: Batsford, 1940), p. 12; Lethaby, Webb (1935), p. 104. Noel Rooke also found that initial slight disappointment was followed by intense admiration (Noel Rooke, 'The Work of Lethaby, Webb, and Morris', p. 171).

29. Ramsden was the grandson of Sir John Ramsden of Oxton Hall in Yorkshire; his cousin was Josslyn Pennington, Baron Muncaster, a close friend and Parliamentary colleague of Percy Wyndham (Caroline Dakers kindly provided this information). It is possible that Ramsden met Wyndham in the Crimea, but he and his wife did not see Clouds until after commissioning Webb to design their own house (see part 2, chap. 5, n. 27). Mrs Ramsden was the widow of Ellis Gosling of Busbridge Hall in Surrey, where she, Ramsden, and their six children, lived until their new house was built, so they probably knew Joldwynds.

30. Letters, Webb to Ramsden, LB 2, passim; he first inspected the site on 9 March 1886 (SB 1878-92, fol. 51); his schemes were dated 18 March, 13 April, 18 May, 23 June, and 6 July 1886. Webb's drawings: BAL [48] 1-17 (preliminary, contract, and working drawings of house and stables, and 1 sheet of details for the gardener's cottage; V&A E.113-116--1945 (stables), and E.108--1916 (unexecuted design for a smoking-room, d. April 1896, for which Ramsden paid Webb £10 (AB)); and 22 in the SPAB collection (2 contract and 9 working drawings for the house, 1 drainage plan, 9 drawings for the stables, and 1 sheet of plans and sections for the gardener's cottage). There are old photographs of the exterior, and 1 of the interior in the BJTP collection. The stables contract was signed on 28 March 1889.

31. The firms, Mitchell Brothers, W. and G. King, and E. and J. H. Holden, were local builders, each controlled by a family member with whom Webb discussed the drawings before they quoted; he sent Holden and Mitchell to inspect Coneyhurst (built by King) so that they would know the standard he demanded; Webb expected Holden to get the contract as he was nearest to the site, and Holden actually pegged the house out on site, but his price was the highest (letter, Webb to Ramsden, 14 April 1887, LB 2, fols. 86-87; SB 1877-92, fol. 71; CB, fol. 1). T. W. Goodman prepared the bill of quantities.

32. Webb wrote to Hardy, offering the job and asking what wage he would require; Hardy accepted, arrived on site on 16 May 1887, and was paid £2.10.0 a week, far less than Webb expected, and almost half the wage Simmonds received at Clouds (3 May 1887, LB 2, fols 91-92; CB, fol. 9).

33. Letters, Webb to George Jack, from the farm (BJTP). Webb also inspected progress on the remedial work to the billiard-room roof at Joldwynds, and the



enlargement of Great Tangley Manor; rheumatism made it impossible for him to draw.

34. Letters, Webb to Jack, 26 and 30 May 1888 (BJTP).

35. CB, fols. 1-15. The name of the house varied during the design and construction stage between Sparelands, Lapscombe, and Willinghurst.

36. Webb's drawings for the cottage: one working drawing plans and sections) in the SPAB collection; one detail sheet: BAL [48] 17. The drawings for the lodges are missing, but their details show them to be by Webb; entries in Webb's OEB 1885-95 suggest that he sent drawings, presumably for the lodges, to Ramsden in December 1891 or May, June, July 1892. Webb inspected the site for the cottage, which was built by Mitchell Brothers (who probably constructed the lodges also), on 5 August 1898, and saw the completed building on 11 May 1900 (SB 1896-1900, 5 and 23 August 1899).

37. The main block remains almost unchanged except for the replacement of some small panes with large ones, and the blocking of one window in the glazed passage on the west front; the clock turret has been removed from the stable block.

38. Webb agreed to place the stables in this position after learning that the demolition of an old barn which occupied it was inevitable (letter, Webb to George Jack, 15 May 1888, BJTP).

39. During construction the lean-to roof was extended over the steps down to the garden.

40. Most of the stone was quarried on the estate, the rest came from nearby. To avoid penetration by wind-driven rain, Webb always filled the cavities between the outer and inner leaves with well-packed cement (see, e.g., letter, Webb to Ramsden, 20 July 1887, LB 2, pp. 94-95).

41. Similar Webb cornices elsewhere, including Coneyhurst and Standen, have weathered equally well.

42. The various changes can be seen on the SPAB drawings.

43. SB 1878-92, 30 October 1889.

44. Sections of the panelling in the porch became night shutters for the entrance doors; Webb employed these posts, which he termed 'stair-story' [sic] posts (SB 1877-92, fol. 96), and which were never exactly the same, in many houses and enlargements, including Oast House and Smeaton Manor. The newels were open structures in oak, with unchamfered edges, in contrast to the relatively elaborate panels (which looked better



when inclined than the gridded panels of Clouds, Coneyhurst, and Bell Brothers' Main Offices; the pattern of the panels was repeated on the drawing-room frieze. Webb certainly achieved his aim of making the hall a 'pleasant place to sit in' (letter, Webb to Ramsden, 26 November 1886, LB 2, fol. 71).

45. Drawings: [48] 4-9, 12. Webb designed a simple geometric pattern for the fretwork, sharply cut foliage for the marble architraves, and more detailed but shallower relief for the pelican frieze.

46. Drawings: BAL [48] 9-11. The grate and rack were made by Thomas Elsley (CB, fol. 15). The racks would be useful at breakfast, when families customarily served themselves.

47. In his letter to Webb, 2 April 1886, Wyndham wrote: 'The Ramsdens came down the other day and were much pleased with the house' (Clouds Correspondence).

48. The contract drawing for this archway is BAL [48] 15; the detail drawing is in the SPAB collection.

49. SB 1877-92, 9 March 1886, fol. 51. Webb probably took the brief before the visit; the sketch plan has almost the same orientation, the same three blocks, and the same arrangement of major rooms.

50. Letters, Webb to Ramsden, 17 November 1886 (LB 2, fols. 66-67), and to George Jack, 10 and 21 May 1888 (BJTP). The Ramsdens added only a summer-house by George Jack in 1906 (Jack's sketch, d. 15 October 1906, BJTP), under the south-west corner of the house. In 1889 Webb designed for Mrs Ramsden a brass inscription recording her gift of Busbridge church (consecrated in 1867) as a memorial to her first husband (Webb's drawing: BAL [7] 1). Bridget Cherry, in her revision of the Nairn and Pevsner Surrey (1971, p. 124) suggests that the 'George Gilbert Scott, R.A.' recorded thereon as the architect was Scott junior, but it could refer to his father who was not knighted until 1872.

51. Beale and his wife, from well-to-do Birmingham families, lived at 32 Holland Park, where their friends included the Burne-Joneses, Leightons, Craies, Ionides, Coronios, and Alexanders; their daughter Helen believed that they met Webb through the latter (Mrs Elizabeth Motley, the Beale's granddaughter, kindly supplied this information (letter to the author, 8 January 1986)); Sir John Tomes of Upwood Gorse visited Standen with Mrs Beale during its construction (on 23 September 1893, CB, fol. 52); Sir William Bowman's obituary, Sussex Advertiser and Country Times, 2 April 1892.

52. Letter, Beale and Co. to Miss Margaret Beale, 6 August 1950, NT Sta/Doc/42; the estate, which gave



ample scope for Beale's interest in horses and his wife's in gardening, and which had the requisite golf courses nearby, consisted of three small farms, part of the Sainthill estate (letter, Mrs. Motley to the author, 8 January 1986); Webb was commissioned on 20 March 1891 (CB, fol. 50); the Beales' seven children, wide family circle, and many friends necessitated a large house (Mrs Motley's letter, 8 January 1986). Until March 1894, the new house was referred to as Hollybush or Hollybush Farm, after the old farmhouse with which it was incorporated.

53. Drawings: BAL [42] 1-2. Webb's drawings: BAL [42] 1-75 (preliminary schemes of May, July, and August, the final scheme of September, contract, and working drawings, nos. 60-63 being for the gatehouse designed 1893, nos. 64-67 for the stables designed 1892); 15 drawings: the SPAB collection (including 9 contract drawings); 22 drawings and tracings: the NT collection, Standen; and sketch drawings (and photographs taken by William Weir, then Webb's assistant, towards the end of construction) BJTP. Drawings BAL [42] 16 and 75 were published in Richardson, Architects of the Arts and Crafts Movement, pp. 20-21, pls. 12, 13; and nos. (42) 16, 17, and Webb's sketch of the archway, in John Brandon-Jones, 'Arts and Crafts', AJ, special supplement, December 1984, pp. 10-15 (this well-illustrated account of the building of Standen includes Webb drawings; for well-illustrated discussions of the house, see Mark Girouard, 'Standen, Sussex, the Home of Miss Helen M. Beale', parts 1 and 2, CL, 147, 26 February, 5 March 1970, pp. 494-97, 554-57), and The Victorian Country House, Part 2, section 31, pp. 381-98 and pl. 33. To try to save money, Webb employed Waterlow & Sons, to make some of the tracings, including those sent to the East Grinstead District Surveyor (CB, fol. 51).

54. Webb's first choice was W. & T. Garrett of Brighton, the firm which executed his work at Hove for Constantine Ionides in 1890-91 (SB 1878-92, 8 June 1892); CB, fol. 60; the building agreement, specification, and contract drawings (prepared in 1892) were signed on site on 17 October 1892 (*ibid.*, fol. 51). The specification is at Standen, NT Sta/Doc/37.

55. Hardy began work on 23 July 1892, and left, after completion, on 28 July 1894 (*ibid.*, fols. 56, 57); *ibid.*, passim. Peters was paid £15,152 (this included the cost of the stables and entrance archway which were not in the contract), Longdens (heating, cooking apparatus and hot water circulation) £400, Robert Beale (electricity supply) c. £900, various suppliers £437.5.7, John Pearson (art metalwork) £19.2.6, John Hardy £336.15.9, and Webb £820. James Kennedy was the quantity surveyor (SB 1892-96, 14 August 1893).

56. CB, fol. 53, 66 (Webb inspected the site on 22



April 1895, and designed the cottages between then and January 1896 (his drawings: BAL [42] 71-75); CB, fol. 67. Webb's drawings for the hall bay: two in the SPAB collection. The cost of the cottages was £758--a high price for estate cottages at the time--the house alterations, and shelter cost £419 (CB, fol. 67). The square hall with saucer-domed ceiling in Webb's early scheme (drawing, 8 May 1891, NT collection, Standen) would have been amply large enough for the tea-parties and grand piano which necessitated the new bay; abandoning hope of getting Beale's agreement to gaining space by combining the hall with the billiard-room, Webb suggested the bay as the only way of achieving the aim without ruining the entrance front, and the porch in particular (the symmetry of the front had already been diminished by the substitution during construction of a five-light window for the hall's twin sashes (drawing no. 78, d. 16 May 1898, the SPAB collection)); Webb made the bay polygonal to catch light reflected from the side walls of the court, and to add a lively appearance, and added a small west window to capture the evening sun (except where otherwise indicated, this is from Webb's letter to Beale, 20 January 1898, NT Sta/Doc/9). The billiard-room fireplace was moved from the corner to the side wall to accommodate the new recess. The tile-roofed garden shelter survives, south west of the house. Peters' use of too much machinery, which led to 'rough . . . and ragged' work, had displeased Webb (SB 1892-96, 5 April 1893).

57. Mrs Motley's letter, 8 January 1986. Early in the twentieth century further outbuildings were erected near the old barn; John Brandon-Jones, who made them into a house in the 1980s, believes they were by Ulgers, a member of the Art Workers' Guild. In 1932 T. A. Darcy Bradell added a garden door and a lift-shaft to the tower (since removed); in the 1950s John Brandon-Jones inserted a second back-staircase as shown on Webb's preliminary plans. The National Trust has converted the east wing into flats.

58. Possibly this 'Idea' was first suggested by Beale's early decision to have a 'wind-mill pump' which necessitated a water-tower (SB 1878-92, 11 April 1891).

59. The office range was angled so as to avoid obstructing the view from the morning-room. The London landscape gardener G. B. Simpson had prepared a design and begun levelling a site for the house before Webb was commissioned (there is a note Webb's Add.B that Simpson laid out the grounds in 1891). Beale reluctantly agreed to Webb's wish to move the house further into the shoulder of the hill, where it could be integrated with the old buildings, but later conceded that Webb had been right (Mrs Motley's letter, 8 January 1986). Mark Girouard pointed out the difference between the way Webb fitted Standen into the



landscape, and Shaw designed Glen Andred and Leyswood--in similar terrain ten miles away--to stand above it (The Victorian Country House, p. 381).

60. See, e.g., Gradidge, 'Standen and Avon Tyrell 1891', Dream-houses, pp. 59-70 (p. 63): 'Webb is constantly trying to suggest that his great house is really little more than a cottage'; Girouard, The Victorian Country House, p. 388: 'The weaknesses of Standen are the result partly of the basic difficulty of treating a house of its size as though it was simply an over-large farm'; Clive Aslet and Alan Powers, The National Trust Book of the English House, p. 160: 'Even in quite large houses like this one . . . Webb took his inspiration from cottages'.

61. Halsey Ricardo had Standen in mind when pointing out the importance of this quality ('The House in the Country', The Magazine of Art, 23 (1900), pp. 105-111 (pp. 107, 110), an opinion which Lawrence Weaver reiterated in 'Standen, East Grinstead, a Residence of Mr. James S. Beale', C, 27, 7 May 1910, pp. 666-672, (p. 668).

62. The preliminary plans reveal the initial similarity to Smeaton, and the subsequent changes (the NT collection, Standen).

63. The clarity of the passage was finally obscured in 1898 when part of it became the second recess in the billiard-room.

64. There were no bedrooms over the major ones on the south front: perhaps the children's suite in that position at Smeaton had proved noisy. After Webb retired Beale asked him to alter some bedrooms to suit changed family circumstances, but instead Webb recommended George Jack (letter, Webb to Jack, 3 April 1902, BJTP).

65. Specification, NT Sta/Doc/37. On his first site visit, 11 April 1891, Webb noted that the hilly roads would raise cartage costs; this, and the outcrop having been quarried in the past, led him to seek stone on site (SB 1878-92). The quarry was made into a garden; Webb permitted Mrs Beale to have flower and shrub gardens to the east of the main block as usual, and, on the south front, a wide terrace with lawns beyond, which merged into the meadows thanks to a ha-ha (Webb's drawing for the terrace wall and fence: BAL [42] 35 verso). For an illustrated description and discussion of the gardens, which were a composite of Webb's and Simpson's layouts, and Mrs Beale's liking for colourful rather than old-fashioned plants, see Arthur Hellyer, 'Gardens for a Late-Victorian House: Standen, East Grinstead, West Sussex', CL, 173, 28 April 1983, pp. 1100-102.



66. After seeing the footings, Webb decided to use stocks on 16 September 1892 (SB 1892-96); the Specification (NT Sta/Doc/37) stipulated the use of red bricks for dressings should this change be made.

67. Webb's note on drawing: BAL [42] 39.

68. On his first visit to the site, Webb noted that because of their exposure, weather-tiling would be necessary on upper walls (SB 1878-92, 11 April 1891); the alternative, rough cast, which he had used previously, at Hill House for instance, detracted less from the entrance porch than red tiles would have done. The tower has twice been rough-casted again, under the supervision of George Jack in 1902-03 (letter, Jack to Beale, 14 April 1902, NT Sta/Doc/18), and John Brandon-Jones in 1985-6.

69. Weaver praised Webb for not making the conservatory a 'disagreeable afterthought' like so many of its fellows (ibid., p. 670). The garden house was a rare instance of Webb leading a client into considerable expense for primarily visual purposes; that this was the garden house's chief role was demonstrated by his being able to promise young Helen Beale the use of the structure's one room for 6d (see Girouard, The Victorian Country House, p. 388); at the same time, he carefully saved Beale's money by changing to a cheaper but equally good lime (CB, fol. 60). The light, curved iron structure of the conservatory roof was adapted from that of the central hall of Bell Brothers Offices (Webb's drawing, BAL [42] 31).

70. Letter, Webb to Mrs. Beale, 7 July 1894, NT Sta/Doc/11.

71. For the drawing-room, Pearson made the jambs and fender (missing) of the fireplace, and seven electric light scones, in copper to Webb's designs (CB, fol. 51); drawings for the light scones: BAL [42] 58-59; there is a sketch of one of the lights in Webb's letter to Mrs Beale, 7 July 1894, NT Sta/Doc/11. Ashbee used a similar scone as a ceiling rose at 37 Cheyne Walk in 1894 (Crawford, Ashbee, p. 3-1, fig. 149). Thomas Elsley made the dining-room grate and plate rack, and, presumably, the steel plates for the jambs (drawing, BAL [42] 45) which were similar to those Webb designed in 1891 for Constantine Ionides (BAL [20] 4).

72. CB, fols. 52, 53, 15 April 1893, 22 April 1895. There are 11 Morris and Company estimates and bills at Standen (NT Sta/Doc/72-83). Mrs Beale embroidered a panel for the morning-room to Morris's 'Artichoke' design produced for Ada Godman. The hall and study were painted red-brown but this was changed to white in 1898. Webb's drawing for the billiard-room recess is BAL [42] 46. For a detailed account of the decoration and furniture see Arthur Grogan, Standen, Sussex



(London: National Trust, 1979); there are pieces by the cousins Rhoda and Agnes Garrett, interior decorators known to Webb through their friendship with Lucy Orrinsmith (Charles Faulkner's sister). Many pieces of 'art' furniture were relegated to the attics to give way to antiques from broken-up Beale family homes but have been replaced and increased in number, with many paintings, so that the rooms are now busier than they were in the Beales' day (from Mrs Motley's letter, 8 January 1986).

73. E.g., Lutyens in his hall fireplace at Overstrand (illustrated, e.g., Weaver, Houses and Gardens by Lutyens, p. 50, fig. 91); as Roderick Gradidge pointed out, Lutyens copied Standen's hipped-roofed chimneys and adapted its archway for Orchards in 1897 and the Salutation in 1912 ('Standen and Avon Tyrell 1891', Dream-Houses, pp. 59-70 (pp. 62, 65-66); e.g., the fretwork on Webb's steel dining-room fender obviously influenced the work of Ernest Gimson, see, e.g., his fire-dogs, illustrated in Lambourne, Utopian Craftsmen, p. 179, pl. 211). The dining-room fireplace, with Webb's fender, is illustrated in colour in Anscombe and Gere, Arts and Crafts in Britain and America, p. 17, pl. 11.

74. By C. H. B. Quennell, Arthur T. Bolton, and Lawrence Weaver in The House and its Equipment, ed. Lawrence Weaver (London: Country Life, 1922), pp. 21, 28, 32-33, 44, figs. 28, 40, 49-52, 67. Webb's drawing for the bookshelves: BAL [42] 42.

75. Ricardo, 'The House in the Country', p. 110; Weaver, 'Standen', pp. 666-72.

76. CB, fol. 1; SB 1896-1900, 22 January 1897. Little is known about Miss Cocks except that she had connections with the bankers Cocks, Biddulph & Co., lived at number 29 Stanhope Gardens in South Kensington, and knew Miss Ewart, whose house was only a few miles from Hurlands (CB, fol. 1, and SB 1896-1900, 27 February 1897).

77. Ibid., pp. 1, 2. Webb was commissioned on 9 January 1897; he spent the whole day discussing the plan, begun on 12 February (ibid., p. 1), with his client. As George King and Webb made their first visits to the site on the same day, it is clear that from the first this firm was expected to build the house (ibid., 22 January 1897).

78. Webb recorded in his SB 1896-1900 on 14 May 1897 that Kings were moving on site, so agreement must have been reached though the contract was not signed until 4 January 1898; CB, fols. 2, 7. Webb's drawings: BAL (21) 1-81 (preliminary, final, and working drawings); and 12 in the SPAB collection, including 4 contract drawings, dated May 1897, for the house and 1, dated



July 1898, for the stables. The contract for the stables was signed on 17 February 1899; the Specification is in the BAL MSS Collection, and the contract is in the BJTP collection. No clerk of works was employed. The total cost of house and stables was £8,552, somewhat in excess of Miss Cocks's stipulated maximum of £7,500 (CB, fols. 4-8; SB 1896-1900, 27 February 1897).

79. Rice's price was £1213. 4. 8, and the final cost was £1319.16.1 (CB, fol. 8); Rice's last payment was certified on 6 January 1900 (*ibid.*, fol. 7). The cost was £1,052 in excess of Miss Cock's stipulated maximum due to changes made at her request. Why Kings did not build the stables is not known.

80. These included fireplaces, panelling, the glazed cupboards in the drawing-room and dining-room, and the built-in sideboard (information from Mrs R. W. Parkes, 25 May 1982).

81. Webb intended it to face due south, but after Miss Cocks urged him to consider shelter from cold winds as well as the aspects of rooms he turned it a little westwards to match the orientation of Standen (SB 1896-1900, 27 February 1897).

82. The wall from the stables met the blind-arcaded wall at forty-five degrees, not the right angle shown on the contract plan. The only bay-window experiment at Hurlands was in the gardener's cottage.

83. The idea of taking the hall through the building was suggested to Lethaby by his client (Franklin, The Gentleman's Country House, pp. 167-68; Lethaby's plan is illustrated *ibid.*, p. 167).

84. On the contract plan the passage ran through the kitchen and scullery, but a dividing wall was added during construction.

85. See SB 1896-1900, 17 September 1897.

86. Miss Cocks asked Webb to combine two of those on the south front, first floor, for her use (SB, 17 September 1897). The second-floor bedrooms were above the major bedrooms but as they were not children's rooms there was no fear of noise.

87. Letter, Webb to A. H. Powell, 3 December 1898, quoted in Lethaby, Webb, 1935, p. 124); the walls were 'rough-rendered . . . with Portland cement and sand, and then plastered and rough-casted'. Old photographs (BJTP) show that though the rough cast was colour-washed a pale shade, the cement-rendered string course below it was lighter, but the lightest of all was the white woodwork; drawing BAL (21) 62 shows the tiled roof of the porch (it now has a flat roof

supported on timber posts); the garden porch on the west end was removed to make way for the matron's cottage.

88. SB 1896-1900, 27 February 1897; he also kept her large pieces of furniture in mind when designing the house. The stone surround of the dining-room fireplace is now in what was the hall.

89. This was implied by Ian Nairn, in whose view Willinghurst was 'very arid' because Webb's 'capacity for protest was exhausted', and Hurlands was an 'almost styleless jumble of brick and tile-hanging without any of the forceful rhythm of his late work such as Standen' (Nairn and Pevsner, Surrey, 1962 edn., pp. 154, 353). Hurlands had no tile-hanging.

90. SB 1896-1900, e.g. 26 April, 13 December 1897.

91. E. g., at Steep Hill (1899), Newton rough-casted the upper walls, took ground-floor arches into the rough cast much as Webb's arches broke into the string at Hurlands, and employed Tuscan columns and a half-dome on the porch (illustrated in Reginald Blomfield and William Godfrey Newton, The Work of Ernest Newton, R.A. (London: Architectural Press, 1925), pp. 55); and in 1899 Lutyens, who had used them previously only for a pergola (at Woodside, 1898) employed Tuscan columns in the fountain court of Overstrand Hall, and in the tile-roofed garden pavilions at the Pleasance (illustrated, e.g. in Weaver, Houses and Gardens by Lutyens, pp. 48, 51, pls. 86, 95).



## PART 3: BUILDINGS

### CHAPTER 4: SMALLER HOUSES

1. James Kornwolf averred that such clients did not exist before 1882, and that they appeared in the 1890s as a result of the Arts and Crafts Movement (Baillie Scott, pp. 25-26). By 1882, Webb had designed several houses for such clients.

2. James Kornwolf considered that the greatest achievement of Voysey and Baillie Scott was to make the 'cottage a work of architecture' (Baillie Scott, p. 13), but this had already been done by Webb following the ecclesiastic precedents of Pugin, Butterfield, Street, and White (the houses Pugin designed for himself did not seek to escape from ecclesiastic connotations). The major difference--and the one which made the work seem revolutionary in contrast to the vast majority of Victorian buildings--between Webb's small houses and those of Voysey and Baillie Scott was the lower height of the latter, a factor which only became feasible in the 1890s with the introduction of electric light. James Kornwolf considered that there were no stylistic links between Butterfield, Webb, and Voysey (*ibid.*, p. 17), but, as we have seen, and as will be demonstrated further, there were several. If Voysey's houses were stripped of their rough cast, the resemblances would be obvious.

3. The term was introduced by J. Gleeson White in a series of articles entitled 'The Revival of English Domestic Architecture' in The Studio, 1896, *passim*.

4. Hitchcock, Architecture: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, Paperback edn., p. 360.

5. E.g., Street and Shaw would know Red Barns by drawings and in actuality, as they both did work in Coatham (a small chapel (Street, 1870-71) and a children's wing (Shaw, 1878) for the Coatham Convalescent Home), and Ambrose Poynter (the second) sought it out and sketched the plan in 1907 (in his Sketch Book no. 4, BAL); see, e.g., Kornwolf, Baillie Scott, pp. 34 and 349 (where the important role played by Wilson Eyre in taking Webb's and Shaw's ideas to America is pointed out), and Lambourne, Utopian Craftsmen, pp. 104, 147, 149. Apparently not appreciating the renown of Webb's buildings, James Kornwolf attributed English interest in barns, and Lutyens' and Voysey's low-sweeping roofs in particular, to the influence of the interest in this type of building which arose in the United States in the 1880s (Baillie Scott, pp. 39-42); however, Webb's interest in farmsteads had arisen in the 1850s, was evident in his houses by 1868, and was certainly noted and adopted by his English admirers.



6. See note 38; opinions expressed by the owners to the author.
7. Mac Gregor, 'Philip Webb', pp. 30-34, 58-59.
8. The contract drawings are dated January 1861 (see note 5); the cottage was occupied by 13 April that year (1861 Census Returns, cited by Mac Gregor, 'Philip Webb', p. 40).
9. He had received no fees since setting up practice (AB).
10. Mac Gregor, 'Philip Webb', pp. 59-60; about 60% of the inhabitants had to find other accommodation (1871 Census Returns, cited *ibid.*, p. 59).
11. From the 1861 Census Returns, cited *ibid.*, p. 34. Webb's drawings: 4 in the SPAB collection (3 contract drawings, s. and d. by Webb, January 1861, s. by the builder but not dated, and 1 for the drinking fountain), and 1 fountain drawing, BAL [35] (s. and d. by Webb, July 1861. Details from the SPAB drawings are illustrated in Mac Gregor, 'Philip Webb', pp. 87, 91-93, (the buildings are described and analysed on pp. 46-63) and, with the fountain drawing, in Blundell Jones, 'Red House', p. 55 (discussion on pp. 54, 55). Webb shows the houses as nos. 16-21; the numbers were changed in 1867-68.
12. Mac Gregor, 'Philip Webb', p. 61-62.
13. Most rear alterations were to nos. 91 and 93; John Brandon-Jones improved the sanitary arrangements of no. 97 in 1960.
14. B, 29 August 1863, p. 620.
15. Roger H. Harper, Victorian Building Regulations: Summary tables of the principal English Building Acts and Model By-laws 1840-1914, (London and New York: Mansell Publishing, 1985), p. 31.
16. These appear on Webb's drawings.
17. Harper, Victorian Building Regulations, p. 33.
18. Drawing, the SPAB collection.
19. On drawing BAL [35].
20. Stokesley in North Yorkshire, e.g., has several Georgian houses with this amendment.
21. Illustrated in Crook, Burges, pl. 70.
22. From Rate Records, 1863, St. Leonards, Shoreditch (cited by Mac Gregor, 'Philip Webb', p. 58).

23. The Newcastle scheme is illustrated by a Webb drawing (V&A E.152-54--1916, no. 154) and discussed by the present author in Curry and Kirk, Philip Webb in the North, pp. 16-17.

24. Webb drawings for the East Rounton terrace are undated (NYCCRO, ZKK 4 (i-iii), but they would not be built until Bell had owned the estate for some time, and they were completed well before January 1878 (letter, Webb to Godman, 26 January 1878, in Brandon-Jones, 'Notes on the Building of Smeaton Manor', pp. 33, 35).

25. Webb told Godman the cost (ibid).

26. Webb expressed his wish to avoid a 'stepped uniformity' in his notes about the Newcastle street project (SB 1865-77, December 1866, fol. 25). Webb's drawings for the terrace are in the Howard Papers (d. February 1875 and February 1876) and the BJTP collection.

27. Webb produced the first design for the cottages in 1874, but his estimate of their cost occasioned a protest from George Howard; Webb countered by reminding him of his, Webb's, belief that as they were to be town cottages, they should be larger and 'somewhat superior' to those Howard normally built 'in the fields'; in April 1875 Webb prepared a second scheme in which the 'Lodging House' was replaced by two cottages but the entrance archway was retained; the estimate produced by Thomas Warwick (Naworth estate clerk of works) was too high--wrongly so in Webb's view--so in February 1876 Webb produced a third scheme with smaller units and no archway, but again Warwick's estimate was too high; with permission, Webb ordered Warwick to go out to tender for the various trades, but whether this was done is not recorded (letters Webb to George Howard, 29 September 1874 and 9 April 1875 J22/64, and to Warwick, 5 May 1876, LB 1, fol. 34).

28. For White, see his Letters to Three Friends; Dorothy V. White, The Groombridge Diary (London: Humphrey Milford, 1924) and Catherine Macdonald Maclean, Mark Rutherford, a Biography of William Hale White (London: Macdonald, 1955). After Bedford Grammar School, White, the son of a Bedford bookseller, spent 1848-52 at the Countess of Huntingon's College at Cheshunt, training to become a minister of the Congregational Church but was expelled after expressing doubts about accepting the letter of the Bible.

29. He had to leave houses in Carshalton because the first was unsatisfactory and the second was damp, in Epsom because of the noise and vulgarity accompanying race meetings, and from Iselworth by his neighbour's piano-playing (Maclean, Mark Rutherford, pp. 171-73).



30. Letter, White to the editor, The Daily Telegraph, 13 October 1865. (published 16 October, p. 5).

31. Letter, Ruskin to White, 27 October 1867, quoted by White, The Groombridge Diary, p. 40 n.

32. The site was on Park Hill in Carshalton, the road where White had lived when first married. Webb's drawing: V&A E.112--1945, s. and d. February 1868. The specification is in the BJTP collection.

33. As there is no entry in Webb's AB, the cost of the house is unknown, but it could not have been more than the £800 or so that White had amassed by borrowing £400 from his father and doubling it through journalism (Maclean, Mark Rutherford, p. 173). It is probably that construction was supervised by C. G. Vinall, who later supervised the completion of Oast House and the Briary after Webb resigned (Catherine Maclean erroneously states that Vinall, one of Webb's pupils, was chosen as architect and George Jack as builder (ibid., p. 177; Webb never had a pupil, and Jack--an architect not a builder--did not come to London from Scotland until 1875). Slight changes were made from Webb's drawing: either to reduce the weight of the building or its cost, the upper walls were not built of 9" brickwork but were timber-framed, the gable of the bay-window was pargetted not boarded, 1 light omitted from 2 street-front windows and the 2 small gables at the ends of the ridge behind the hips were omitted, bricks on edge were used instead of timber lintels, and were exposed not hidden by the tilehanging as on Webb's drawing.

34. Mrs White suffered from crippling sclerosis for thirty years.

35. The date is on a label addressed to Lascelles (whose patent timber-framing with outer panel of concrete 'tiles' was used) at the house (which was then named Crowhurst). Lascelles was the builder with whom Shaw was associated in the building of concrete cottages (Saint, Shaw, pp. 168-71). The staircase was probably moved at this time to allow first-floor access to the new rooms. In the twentieth century the house was subdivided horizontally into two, but John Brandon-Jones reconverted it to one dwelling for the present owners; two of Webb's fireplaces--which had been removed--have been rebuilt as shown on his drawing. At some stage, possibly during the first construction but just as likely by Lascelles, a small room was built over the porch, and a cloak-room was created off the inner porch.

36. The bookcase was made by Laurence Turner (letter, White to Webb, 8 February 1911, Letters to Three Friends, p. 378); Maclean, Mark Rutherford, p. 178



(this book is not entirely reliable about the house, and includes no reference for this information, but it is likely that Morris and Company products were employed on Webb's recommendation).

37. This information comes from a booklet in the collection of Mr and Mrs Howard Gough (the reference given in it for the letter is incorrect, and the present author has not found the correct one). White described the few improvements which could be made, including a larger cellar (such as Webb had intended), and the addition of bread ovens and earth closets (presumably White disliked the cess-pit).

38. Tomes, who came from a long line of minor gentry, was born at Weston on Avon near Stratford-upon-Avon in Warwickshire; he trained as a doctor in Evesham, and the Middlesex and King's College hospitals before specializing in dentistry (for his life, see Zachary Cope, Sir John Tomes, a Pioneer of British Dentistry (London: Dawsons of Pall Mall, 1961), and DNB, 19, 1921-22, pp. 933-34).

39. As Webb's notes of Tomes's requirements are undated (SB 1865-77, fol. 33), and Tomes private papers are missing, the exact date of commissioning is not known; Bowman and Tomes were fellow pupils at King's College Hospital, and colleagues at the Middlesex Hospital, and in 1850 Bowman read a paper, written by Tomes, to the Royal Society (ibid., pp. 6, 8, 36); ibid., p. 24. In 1878, Webb advised a 'Mr. Sibley' (seemingly Tomes's brother-in-law) as to what repairs and amendments were needed to a house Sibley had just purchased, and which Sibley, Tomes, and Webb had inspected together (letter, Webb to Tomes, 2 March 1878, LB 1, fol. 121).

40. Webb's drawings: BAL [8] 1-6 (1-3: contract sheets, 4-6: working drawings), and a rough plan and elevation in the SPAB collection; plastering was in progress by May 1869 (note on drawing BAL [8] 5); AB).

41. The Webb drawings for the north range are missing, but it appears on his drawings for the 1876 enlargements (BAL [8] 7-12). These drawings were s. and d. by Webb on 16 August 1875, and, as part of the contract, by C. E. Scrivener on 2 March 1876). The cost of the 1876 work--£880 plus Webb's fee--is sufficient to have included the north range and the covered passage, and the 1875 work at no. 37 Cavendish Square (AB, and see notes 36 and 39).

42. Webb's drawing for rebuilding the covered way is missing, but the structure appears on photographs taken soon after the 1876 work was completed (BJTP), and it had certainly been rebuilt by 1888 when Webb measured for the new drawing-room bay (SB 1878-92, 22 September 1888).



43. The drawings for the bay and the study extension are missing: the study extension does not appear on the photographs, therefore it must post-date 1876. The cost of the 1888-89 work was £612, enough to cover the bay and the extension (AB).

44. SB 1892-96, 21 September 1894); Mrs Tomes paid Webb £14 in 1896, signifying a cost of £280, sufficient for such a cottage (AB).

45. Tomes's brief called for a bedroom for bachelors, presumably for his unmarried friends and those of his son Charles, who shared the parental home. In 1891 Charles paid Webb £22. 10. 4 for the alteration and decoration of number 37 Cavendish Square, London, from which he, like his father before him, practised dentistry, and which Webb had already altered for his father in 1875; the builder was C. W. Bovis in 1875 and Francis Saunders in 1891 (AB, SB 1877-92, 22 August 1889, and letter, Webb to John Tomes, 27 August 1875, LB 1, fols. 25-26).

46. The circular window was rebuilt at a higher level during the 1876 enlargement.

47. Nesfield's sketch of this house is illustrated in Girouard, Sweetness and Light, p. 29, fig. 16.

48. Illustrated, e.g., in Simpson, Voysey, p. 21, fig. 2.

49. Cope, Sir John Tomes, pp. 17, 95, 97).

50. Bell joined the firm in 1862; he subsequently became his father's right-hand man, a leader in the social and public affairs of Middlesbrough and North Yorkshire (he was three times mayor of Middlesbrough), chairman of the Council of Armstrong College, Newcastle upon Tyne, a governor of Imperial College, London, a leading promoter of university extension lectures, chairman of the Tees Valley Water Board and the Tees Conservancy Commission, a Justice of the Peace in Durham and Yorkshire, High Sheriff of Durham, and Lord Lieutenant of the North Riding of Yorkshire (Bone, 'Sir Hugh Bell', pp. 1325-330; 'Obituary. Sir Hugh Bell Bart, C.B., D.C.L., Ll.D.', Journal of the Iron and Steel Institute, 1931, part 2, pp. 483-84; 'A Great Yorkshireman', Darlington and Stockton Times, 9 December 1933; W. G. Willis, 'Sir Arthur Dorman and Sir Hugh Bell', Cleveland and Teesside Local History Society Bulletin, No. 26, Autumn 1974, pp. 19-28).

51. Mary--her Christian name was actually Maria--was the daughter of John Shields, a wealthy merchant of Newcastle upon Tyne; letter, Lyulph Stanley to Rosalind Howard, 20 April 1871, Castle Howard Archives. For life at Red Barns, chiefly during her successor's time, see the early chapters of Florence Bell, Letters of



Gertrude Bell (London: Ernest Benn, 1927), 2 vols., and Hugh Lowthian Bell 1878-1926 (privately printed, 1928, proof copy in the author's collection); Elsa Richmond, The Earlier Letters of Gertrude Bell; Elizabeth Robins, Theatre and Friendship (London: Jonathan Cape, 1932), passim), Mary Trevelyan, 'The Number of My Days', typescript memoirs, c. 1960 (at Wallington Hall); and H. V. F. Winstone, Gertrude Bell (London: Jonathan Cape, 1978), chapter 1.

52. The sites were offered in late 1867 or 1868 (see note 72); Bell leased the ground in three parts, in April 1869, June 1870, and August 1875 (sale agreement between Bell and the Governors of Sir William Turner's School, 7 December 1920, copy in the author's collection); as Bell paid Webb for the design in 1876, the year when Boyce, Valpy and Tomes paid for their 1868 designs (AB), it is reasonable to assume that Red Barns was designed in 1868, or at the latest, early 1869--the lack of pointed arches in the interior suggests that it was designed after west House and Upwood Gorse.

53. AB; Boyce's promise, made on 12 May 1870, to sketch Mrs Bell when he stayed with them in the country, suggests that their house was then nearing completion (Surtees, ed., Diaries of Boyce, p. 50); they were certainly in residence by April 1881 (Census Return).

54. Mary died after the birth of her son (subsequently Sir Maurice Bell); the other child was Gertrude, later the celebrated traveller, archaeologist, and oriental secretary to commissioners. For £1, Webb designed a mourning ring (missing) for Bell in memory of Mary (letters, Bell to Webb, 17 and 25 October 1871, BJTP).

55. Florence's parents, Sir Joseph and Lady Olliffe, refused to allow her to study music at the Royal College in London, but her marriage to the liberal Bell brought considerable emancipation. Subsequently she composed and produced operas, published children's stories and music, pageants, plays in English, German, and French (The Way the Money Goes was produced on the London stage in 1910), the letters of her step-daughter Gertrude, and a novel; she founded a club for Bell Brothers' workers at Port Clarence, organized lectures for their wives, instigated the setting up of the Winter Gardens in Middlesbrough for the relaxation and entertainment of local workmen and their families (see the introductions by Frederick Alderson and Angela V. John respectively to the 1969 (Newton Abbott: David and Charles) and 1985 (London: Virago) editions of Florence Bell's sociological study At the Works (first published in 1907, secondly in 1911); Robins, Theatre and Friendship, passim (this contains letters to Florence from Henry James); and J. J. Turner, 'The People's Winter Garden, Middlesbrough', Cleveland and Teesside Local History Society Bulletin, no. 46, Spring 1984,



pp. 30-40).

56. For the work being done in 1882 see Elsa Richmond, Earlier Letters of Gertrude Bell, p. 12. Webb's drawings for the original house are missing, but there is a rough plan on his sheet of plans of houses designed 1867-68, plus Arisaig House and Joldwynds (BAL [50]); the drawing for the stable block (probably Webb's original though not signed by him; signed by Hugh Bell on 21 April 1875 certifying it as a true copy of the one submitted for approval to the landowner) is in the collection of the Governors of Sir William Turner's Sixth Form College, with Webb's 3 original drawings for the 1881 additions (at present on loan to the author); there are 3 drawings for the 1881 cloak-room and bathroom, showing the new drainage system and connections to the proposed public sewer in the CCRO (Redcar Planning Application no. 9C 1881, approved 2 December 1881; Coatham had become part of Redcar Urban District), and a sheet of working details for the external seating recess warmed by the laundry fireplace at the BAL ([9] 1). The stables cost £560, the 1881-82 work £2,320, and the 1897 bay-window £280, all plus Webb's fee (AB). Goodman and Kennedy were the quantity surveyors for the 1881 work (letter, Webb to Bell, 8 March 1882, LB 1, fol. 234-35). It is clear from Webb's letter to Bell of 12 July 1881 (LB 1, fol. 183) that Ridley did not build the original house.

57. For the bathroom, dressing-room, cloak-room, and WC being built in 1881 see letter, Webb to Ridley, 30 July 1881, LB 1, fol. 189. At the same time or the following year, a store-room, larder, and pantry were built in the small yard (Webb's plan, on loan to the author). The partial central heating was probably installed in 1882; the hall and bedroom passage were originally warmed by a convected warm air grate in the hall.

58. Webb's drawing, d. February 1897, for the drawing-room bay-window is in the BAL ([9] 2), and there are contemporary copies in the collection of the Governors of Sir William Turner's Sixth Form College (on loan to the author), and in the CCRO (Redcar Planning Application no. 189 1897). A lean-to roof or full gable was impossible because of the bedroom windows. As the lettering is the same as that on the drawing for the bay, it is possible that Webb designed the peach house, bicycle-shed, and boiler house which were added at the west end of the plot in 1899 (date on the drawing, collection of the Governors, on loan to the author; they have all been demolished, but there is a photograph of the peach house (1981) in the author's collection).

59. As the builder, Ridley submitted the planning applications.

60. In the two World Wars Red Barns was a hospital for

wounded soldiers; additions were made in 1924 by W. Winder Lee & Son, architects, of Darlington, and in 1948-49 by J. Locking, architect, civil and municipal engineer, of Redcar (information from a 1961 MS thesis, 'Red Barns, Coatham, Redcar' by an anonymous pupil of the school (on loan, with copies of Lee and Locking's drawings, to the present author)).

61. In 1948 or 1949, for the headmaster, a kitchen was inserted into the dining-room, a WC into the east end of the bedroom passage, and a french window into the drawing-room bay, and a large bedroom was divided; since 1980 one or two fireplaces have been removed, and changes have been made in the dormitory and kitchen areas.

62. The garden, doubtless at Webb's suggestion, was restricted to lawns and gravel paths near the house, but had flowers, shrubs and trees towards the east and south boundaries; plain wrought-iron gates (which remain) kept dogs out of the porch and garden.

63. There was no public sewer in the street until 1881-82; the yard was screened from the garden by a high wall.

64. The two bedrooms over the kitchen and scullery were probably the nurseries.

65. Construction of the play-passage necessitated the rebuilding of the cloak-room and WC and maids' WC a few feet further west in the small yard.

66. Note on Webb's 1881 drawing of the rebuilt cloak-room, Redcar Planning Application 9C 1881, CCRO; the seat had to be enlarged.

67. This square window, which was similar to Webb's Turkish bath windows at Washington Hall, was removed to the cloak-room to make way for the french window in 1948 or 1949.

68. The overmantel has been removed; Webb's drawing for the bookcase is in the BJTP collection; from a photograph, probably taken on the same day as that of the study (10 April 1905: visible on a calendar). These, and 2 photographs of the exterior and 2 of bedrooms are in the Gertrude Bell Collection (1 of the exterior photographs was published in Bell, The Letters of Gertrude Bell, 1, and again in Curry and Kirk, Philip Webb in the North, p. 19). As wall-papers were cleaned more often than renewed in the nineteenth century, those in these photographs would be the original decorations. The present author found this 'lost' carpet-- which bears the hammer trademark and was probably the largest carpet made at Hammersmith House--in a Bell family home when seeking items for the 1984 Webb exhibition, Middlesbrough, of which it formed



exhibit 2 of the central display (see Curry and Kirk, Philip Webb in the North, pp. 48 (2 photographs), 52; it is now on temporary loan to the Laing Art Gallery in Newcastle upon Tyne. Morris's original design is illustrated in colour in Parry, William Morris Textiles, p. 95. The 'Redcar' carpet in the Victoria and Albert Museum, which has no hammer trademark and which has been illustrated several times, is a later version.

69. Photographs, the Gertrude Bell Collection; Trevelyan, 'The Number of My Days', fol. 1. The dining-room had a tall, glass fronted cupboard by Webb (in situ 1984) and the sideboard (missing) designed by Webb in January 1870 (Morris and Company AB), and the dining chairs by Bruce Talbert (still in the ownership of the Bell family).

70. Almost all the local farmhouses date from the eighteenth century, and are of 2 types: four-square, hip-roofed with 5 sash windows about a central, ornamented door, or longer and lower, with an asymmetrical entrance, horizontally sliding windows, brick-dentilated cornice, and end gables with stone kneelers (corbels at the ends of gable copings) and copings.

71. As shown in the advertisement for the sites 'Bird's Eye View and Plan of Villa Sites . . . to be Leased near Redcar', prepared by Charles J. Adams, architect, of Stockton-on-Tees, and dated 1867 (Kirkleatham Hall Archive, 2733-2737 (6 copies), NYCCRO).

72. Although the combined profits of Lowthian and Hugh Bell were £98,648 in 1868, most of it seems to have been ploughed back into the firm, a sensible procedure in view of the widely fluctuating profits in the iron industry in the 1870s and 1880s (Bell Brothers suffered heavy losses in 1877-79 and 1886-88). In 1874, e.g., when profits were probably well in excess of this figure, Lowthian (who held 9,625 shares) took out £9,838 and Hugh (who had 812 shares) only £300 (Bell Brothers Private Ledger no. 4 (ZPY (BB) 1/1, and Bell Brothers Directors' Minute Book, BSCNRRC).

73. His mother, later Mary, Countess of Derby, was a daughter of the Earl of De La Warr; his half-brother, the 3rd Marquess, was the statesman and three-times Prime Minister (C. E. Webber, 'Lord Sackville Arthur Cecil', Journal of proceedings of the Institution of Electrical Engineers, 28, 1899, part 141, a copy of which was kindly supplied to the author by R. H. Harcourt Williams, Librarian and Archivist to the Marquess of Salisbury).

74. Cecil underwent practical training in the workshops of the Great Eastern and Great Northern Railway Companies; at the time he commissioned Webb, he was involved in negotiations between the Post Office and



the railway companies; later he became Assistant General and Traffic Manager for GER, and General Manager of the Metropolitan District Railway, before returning to submarine telegraphy; at his death (aged 50) he was director of five telegraph companies and chairman of another (ibid.).

75. The site was only a mile from Holwood House, his mother's residence. As Webb demolished the cottages completely, they must have been of no architectural merit.

76. Webber, 'Lord Sackville Arthur Cecil'.

77. Webb's letter of 16 April 1873 is missing, but he mentioned it and reiterated its content in his letter to Cecil of 11 September 1874 which accompanied the returned cheque (LB 1, fol. 9). Webb apparently destroyed all drawings and records of the commission except the letter copied into his Letter Book.

78. This belief is supported by Webb's comment that if Cecil paid Goodman and Vinall the full 5% (Webb's due fee) they would not be adequately rewarded (ibid.).

79. From Webb's letter (ibid.) it is clear that Goodman was the quantity surveyor and Vinall the architect who supervised the completion.

80. He died in the house, of pneumonia; the cost has been calculated from the £218. 1. 8 cheque--which may not have been the due amount--that Webb returned (letter, Webb to Cecil, 11 September 1874, LB 1, fol. 9); it is not known why Cecil chose this name, as research by the present owners has produced no evidence of an oast house having been on the site previously.

81. Cecil left the property to a nephew, who let it to a succession of tenants; the present owners Mr and Mrs T. B. Webb (who are not of the architect's family, and to whom the author is indebted for this information) bought it in 1950. The coach-house is in separate ownership. The first new owner probably added the fake beams and old oak carvings to the dining-room. John Newman's comment that the interior has been 'altered out of recognition' is an exaggeration (John Newman, West Kent and the Weald (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1969), The Buildings of England series, p. 307).

82. Information from Mr and Mrs Webb, who also kindly permitted the author to photograph the site survey drawing, and the plans prepared by John Brandon-Jones.

83. Illustrated, e.g., in Nikolaus Pevsner, Suffolk (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1961), The Buildings of England series, 2nd edn., 1974, revised by Enid Radcliffe, l. 14 (b).

84. This belief was been passed on from previous owners to Mr and Mrs Webb.

85. As note 85.

86. Illustrated, e.g., Simpson, Voysey, p. 31, pl. 9a, Weaver, Houses and Gardens by E. L. Lutyens, p. 20, fig. 40, Hitchcock, In the Nature of Materials, pl. 32.

87. Chisholm was the husband of Hale White's sister Mary. Though Webb's drawings for the houses are missing, and no letters from him to Chisholm about the house have been found, the interior details are very like those of Four Gables which he designed the same year, and some of the external details resemble those of Upwood Gorse. Also, the 2nd owner, Mrs Enfield (who bought the house from Chisholm's widow sometime between 1881 and 1885), on learning that her guest Henry Fletcher intended to become an architect, told him that Philip Webb had designed her house, and Miss Blanche Borthwick, niece of either Hale White or his wife, remembered seeing the builder's board outside the completed building (information given by Fletcher and Miss Borthwick to John Brandon-Jones, who kindly informed the author).

88. Miss Borthwick, who in 1881 was governess to the Chisholm children (Census Return 1881), told John Brandon-Jones that she remembered hearing the name Vinall in connection with final accounts for the construction of the house; this, with the fact that Webb received no fee (AB), suggests that Vinall was the supervisor.

89. AB.

90. Nikolaus Pevsner, London: 2, (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1952), pp. 198-99. This part of Hampstead developed rapidly in the 1870s and 1880s, and was popular with artists.



## PART 3: BUILDINGS

### CHAPTER 5: SMALL HOUSES (Continued)

1. Howard's letter is missing; Webb's reply: Webb to George Howard, 1 October 1875, J22/64.

2. SB 1865-77, 25 November 1875, fol. 105. Grey sent a plan of the site with his list of requirements, but Webb insisted on inspecting the ground before deciding the 'shape and make of the house' (letter, Grey to Webb, 5 October 1875, Howard Papers, C575/7/c).

3. Letter, Webb to R. Du Cane, 14 July 1876, LB 1, fol. 40; on 14 December 1876 Warwick tried to justify the difference between his estimate and the new tenders, chiefly by pointing out that as he had had no specification to guide him, he had allowed for expensive finishes. ('Explanation of the difference between Estimate and the several Tenders for Mr. Grey's House', 14 December 1876, Howard Papers, C575/7/i). Warwick mentions the advertisement for tenders in his explanation.

4. Letter, Grey to Du Cane, 12 December 1875, Howard Papers (Grey would have preferred Sproats to build the whole, subject to them obtaining a better joiner, because they had done good work for the estate previously); s. but undated contract, Howard Papers, C575/7/j (the other tradesmen were: Court (joiner), Musgrave (slater), Barker (plasterer), Thompson (plumber), Penfold (painter), and Milburn (ironmonger); the contract stipulated that if the weekly reports were not submitted to Webb, no payments would be made.

5. On 29 March 1877, Webb sent by rail 9 contract drawings and the specification to Naworth for signing (letter, Webb to Grey, 29 March 1877, Howard Papers); letter, Webb to Du Cane, 22 March 1877, Howard Papers. Webb's drawings for the house are in the BJTP collection; his drawings for the stable are in the collection of Dr L. Digby Nelson.

6. Letter, Grey to Du Cane, 30 March 1877, Howard Papers.

7. On 7 September 1877 Webb noted: 'William Marshall new c. of w.' (SB 1877-92, fol. 4).

8. Letters, Webb to Grey, 15 October (Howard Papers), and to Du Cane, 14 November 1877, LB 1, fols. 113-14; see Webb's final summary of accounts, 20 November 1879, Howard Papers (because of the 4 months retention of final payment clause, this date shows that the work was finished in late June that year).

9. Letter, Webb to Du Cane, 19 February 1879, Howard Papers.



10. Letter, Webb to Rosalind Howard, 7 December 1878, J22/64. Webb suggested that it be put on the house, with the date, to ensure its acceptance; it was carved on a stone mounting-block near the entrance.

11. Letter, Webb to Howard, 9 December 1878, J22/64.

12. Letter, Webb to Stephenson, 12 February 1880, Howard Papers. Assuming that most woodwork would be white, Webb suggested that it should be matched to that of a 'clean piece of parchment of medium colour', and that in any sitting-room or bedroom, the white should be 'painted "bastard flat", . . . as that keeps its colour, and does not turn yellow'; for any 'positive colour', Morris's manager would send a sample of the 'right colour and shade to go with the paper'.

13. Nikolaus Pevsner, Cumberland and Westmorland (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1967), Buildings of England Series, p. 77. Four Gables is also discussed and illustrated in Brandon-Jones, 'The Work of Philip Webb and Norman Shaw', pp. 12-13, by the present author in Curry and Kirk, Philip Webb in the North, pp. 34-35, and--with many illustrations, including Webb drawings from the BJTP collection--Michael McEvoy, 'Webb at Brampton', AJ, 190, 25 October 1989, front cover and pp. 40-51, 56-63 (pp. 41, 56-61).

14. The existing vicarage was out of town and, according to the vicar, uselessly small (copy of letter, Grey to Du Cane, 19 April 1877, Howard Papers, C575/6/e (i)).

15. Webb's letter to Du Cane, 17 February 1877, accepting the post and setting out his conditions is in the Howard Papers, and his copy of it is in LB 1, fols. 65-6. The church, designed in 1874-76, is discussed in Arthur Penn, 'The Building of Saint Martin's Church Brampton', and 'The Men who built Saint Martin's Brampton' (typescript booklet, 1978), and 'Brampton Church Stained Glass' (typescript booklet, 1977, revised 1980); B. M. Wright, 'Saint Martin's Church Brampton and the Arts and Crafts ideals of Philip Webb' (typescript booklet, 1976); and discussed and illustrated in Neil Jackson, 'A church for SPAB?', AR, August 1977, pp. 69-71, by the present author in Curry and Kirk, Philip Webb in the North, pp. 32-33, and in McEvoy, 'Webb at Brampton', pp. 40, 46-51. At one stage there was a proposal that Whitehead should build the house himself on a site rented from the estate (copy of letter, Grey to Du Cane, 13 May 1877, Howard Papers, C575/6/e(ii)).

16. SB 1877-92, 13 June 1877, fol. 2; letter, Webb to Howard, 3 August 1877, J22/64; the contract drawings were s. and d. by Webb in August 1877 (4 of the 9 contract drawings: V&A E.135-138--1916; there are

further Webb drawings in the BJTP collection).

17. Letter, Webb to Beaty Bros., 3 October 1877, LB 1, fols. 103-04; Stephenson mentioned that the stable drawings were 'not yet out' in his letter to Du Cane, 30 May 1879 (copy, Howard Papers, C575/6/e(iv)).

18. Letters, Webb to Beaty Bros., 3 October and 6 November 1877, LB 1, fols. 103-04, 111-13. The contract was signed on 18 February 1878.

19. In his letter to Du Cane, 30 May 1879, Grey refers to Whitehead planning to move into his house 'very shortly'; see, e.g., letters, Webb to Mrs Whitehead, 29 October 1878, LB 1, fol. 133, and to Howard, 8 September 1879, J22/64. Webb termed Mrs Whitehead the 'Sally Brass of Brampton' after the domineering, masculine woman who delighted in aggravating people in Charles Dickens's The Old Curiosity Shop (letter, Webb to Howard, 8 September 1879, J22/64). The stables must have been built by Beaty Brothers as the firm was paid more than the contract price (certificates for payment, Howard Papers).

20. Copies of letters, Stephenson to Du Cane, 30 May and 1 June 1879, Howard Papers, C575/6/e(iv,v)).

21. Copy of letter, Grey to Du Cane, 19 April 1877, Howard Papers, C575/6/e (i). The house is illustrated and discussed by the present author in Curry and Kirk, Philip Webb in the North, pp. 36-37, and by Michael McEvoy in 'Webb at Brampton', pp. 62-63.

22. If this name was Webb's suggestion, 'House' must have been added later.

23. The information about Dr Webb, based on directories, was kindly supplied by the local historian, Mr Richard J. Busby. In 1876, Dr Webb and his sisters lived at The Elms near what was to become the site for New Place.

24. Webb made a survey drawing of the site on 30 July 1877 (Webb's drawings: rough plans of the preliminary scheme, BJTP; the survey, 4 for the preliminary scheme, 1 revised block plan (d. 21 December 1878), 11 design and working drawing for the final scheme (2 design drawings d. December 1878), BAL [47] 1-17; block plan, 3 for the preliminary scheme, 3 for the final scheme (no. 117: plans, elevations, and sections of the final scheme), V&A E.145-150--1916, E.117--1945); Webb's letters to Lawrence, LB 1, passim. Lawrence must have pleased Webb, as in 1887 he employed him for remedial work on Datchworth church (LB 2, fols. 96-97, 101-02).

25. Letter, Webb to Lawrence, 31 October 1878, LB 1, fols. 133-34. Lawrence quoted against a bill of quantities probably prepared by Goodman.



26. Ibid.
27. Letter, Webb to Lawrence, 16 January 1879, LB 1, fols. 142-43.
28. Census Return, 3 April 1881, R.G. 11 1428 Enum. Dist. 2, Folio 34 verso.
29. In 1923, long after his time, the drawing-room was extended into the cloak-room and given a west bay-window.
30. To reduce costs, in the final scheme Webb had restricted attic rooms to the long wing, and placed the main bedroom in the roof of the south wing.
31. Also for security, the access between the study and surgery shown on the preliminary plan, was omitted. The game larder in the yard was kept stocked by Dr Webb, whose study also served as a gun room (preliminary plan, BJTP).
32. Letter, Webb to Arthur Godman, 4 March 1878, published in Brandon-Jones, 'Notes on the building of Smeaton Manor', p. 36. ECs were recommended for small houses in the country well into the twentieth century; (see, e.g., Banister Fletcher and Herbert Phillips Fletcher, The English House (London: Methuen, 1910)).
33. According to local belief, the balustrade is original; the handling of an elementary geometric shape in the units suggests that it may have been designed by Webb.
34. Webb sketched the Lindisfarne gable on 6 September 1857 (Webb Sketch-Book, the Godfrey Rubens collection).
35. Lawrence Weaver, 'Lesser Country Houses of Today: New Place, Welwyn, Herts. designed by Mr. Philip Webb', 23 July 1910, pp. 7-8 (p. 7); this paper, including photographs, was typeset ready for use in CL on that date but was never published (there is a copy in the BJTP collection). The only published illustration of New Place appears to be that of the south front in Roderick Gradidge, 'Edwin Lutyens', Seven Victorian Architects, ed. Jane Fawcett, p. 126, fig. 110 (the house is not discussed).
36. Charles H. B. Quennell, 'Architectural Furniture' in The House and Its Equipment, Weaver ed., pp. 16-22 (p. 21, fig. 29). Quennell also illustrated an organ case by Walter Cave (who designed houses of Voysian character, and was a member of the Art Workers' Guild) which was clearly influenced by Webb's case (p. 22, fig. 30).
37. From notes taken by Webb before preparing a



specification for the cleaning and redecorating of New Place (23 June 1891, SB 1877-92, 23 June 1891, fols. 229-34). Some papers were repeated, others were cleaned.

38. Ibid., p. 230; large pieces of furniture are indicated on the preliminary plan; Morris & Co. pieces included the sideboard, Dutch Cabinet, and mahogany chairs recorded as being purchased by Webb and sent to 'Hy, [Harry] Welwyn' (Morris & Co. AB).

39. The archway is illustrated, e.g., in Weaver, Houses and Gardens by Lutyens, p. 259, fig. 438.

40. Tate lived in Stranton Village, near West Hartlepool. The information about Tate was kindly researched by local historians Mr Eric Smith and his wife Maureen of the Hartlepool Archaeological & Historical Society, and given to the author in August 1981.

41. For 20 years Tate was treasurer of the Royal Arch Masons; a Masonic lodge in Hartlepool was later named after Mount Grace, a Bell property.

42. Perhaps by designing Tate's house Webb was obliging his friends the Bells, as he obliged Hale White by designing Chisholm's; Tate leased the site from the Greatham Hospital estate. The village was a popular dwelling-place for successful Hartlepool businessmen.

43. In 1883 Webb visited the area in connection with the designing of Bell Brothers' Main Offices and the extension of Red Barns; in his letter to Tate of 13 June 1883 (LB 2, fol. 13) Webb referred to an enclosed 'carefully considered arrangement of plan' and 'sheet of memoranda' which would help Tate to obtain from his unnamed local architect exactly what he wanted 'done in detail'; in view of this phrase, and the facts that Webb always sketched the elevations and sections as he worked out a plan, and that all the details in Hill House are characteristic of his work, the plan sheet probably included elevations and sections, and the memoranda sheet must have included dimensioned sketches of details. Apologizing for keeping Tate waiting, Webb explained that he had been extremely busy, and that he 'could not get done by deputy' what he 'wanted to express': this indicates a well-considered, detailed design. Mr Gilbert Bunting, solicitor, told the author in April 1981 of his belief that these Webb sheets were with documents relating to the house which were stolen from the car of Mr Thomas Amos, solicitor, in 1972 during sale negotiations.

44. Mr Benson, a later assistant of Garry, believed that Garry had designed the house as drawings of it were displayed in his Hartlepool offices. Garry was a neighbour of Tate at Stanton Green (information from Mr

and Mrs E. Smith).

45. The detached range consisted of a second stable and a cottage; Linton's drawing (uncatalogued in 1981) is in the BAL; Nicolas Antrim kindly brought it to the author's attention.

46. On finding Tate's name and address with the comment 'the man for whom I designed a cottage about 1884' in Webb's Add.B (fol. 67), the author searched Greatham and identified Briarmead as a possible Webb house. The owners, Mr and Mrs Thomas Lumley then ascertained that its original name had been Hill House, and that it was built in 1883 for William Thomas Tate (Mr Gilbert Bunting confirmed this to the author in April 1981). Final proof that it was a Webb house was provided by Webb's letter to Tate of 13 June 1883, LB 2, fol. 13). Subsequently, the house was discussed and illustrated by the present author in Curry and Kirk, Philip Webb in the North, pp. 44-45, and in 'Webb's Wonder', Building Design, 18 August 1981, pp.12-13.

47. Mr and Mrs John Cooke bought the house (which was 'listed' after it had been proved to be by Webb) from the Lumleys and, helped by advice from architects and planners of Cleveland County Council and Hartlepool Borough Council, repaired it, with few changes apart from the installaion of up-to-date amenities, the construction of a garage, removal of Webb's fence, and the cutting of a drive through his boundary wall. The house has since been sold again, to appreciative owners.

48. The original colour was discovered when the rough cast was replaced.

49. During the recent repair of the building, these poor dormers were faithfully copied.

50. Letter, Webb to Tate, 13 June 1883, LB 2, fol. 13.

51. Webb told Tate that Longdens would supply grates to any of his, Webb's, 'patterns' (ibid.).

52. See, e.g., Kornwolf, Baillie Scott, pp. 61-66, pp. 132-44. James Kornwolf concluded that as Webb's buildings were not published, Voysey probably knew little of his work; noting that a uniformity of surface and low sweeping roofs were uncharacteristic of English houses until introduced by Voysey, he attributes Voysey's change, and ultimately that of Baillie Scott, to the influence of the Shingle style of America. As we have seen, Webb's work was widely known to his admirers in the 1880s and 1890s; as John Brandon-Jones pointed out, one of Voysey's closest friends in the 1880s was Mackmurdo, an associate of Webb and Morris in the SPAB (C. F. A. Voysey: architect and designer 1857-1941 (London: Lund Humphries in association with



Art Gallery and Museum and the Royal Pavilion, Brighton, 1978), p. 9. Webb had employed dominant expanses of uncluttered roofs, notably on the Arisaig steading Oast House, Green Lane House, New Place, and Hill House.

53. See, e.g., Stamp and Goulancourt, The English House, p. 237, and Gerald and Celia Lerner, The Glasgow Style (London: Astragal Books, 1980), p. 10-11. In 1876 MacLaren joined the office of Stevenson who, if only as a friend of Boyce, would be fully aware of Webb's work; for MacLaren see, e.g., Alan Calder, James MacLaren 1853-1890: Arts and Crafts Architect, (London: RIBA, 1990), catalogue of the exhibition, Heinz Gallery, 1990. Newbery went to Glasgow as principal of the School of Art in 1885 from the South Kensington Schools.

54. Girouard, Sweetness and Light, p. 70, and Lever, ed., BAL Catalogue, p. 150.

55. Swenarton, Architects and Artisans, p. 35, 39. Miss Ewart may have met Webb previously through Rossetti, of whom she was a friend, or Gertrude Jekyll, or Madame Bodichon (with whom Miss Ewart stayed in 1886 (SB 1877-92, 4 May 1886)), or her own relation Mary Gladstone (daughter of the statesman) who was introduced to the Pre-Raphaelite circle by the family of the collector William Graham (Webb occasionally breakfasted with the Gladstones, e.g. on 24 June 1880 (Masterman, Mary Gladstone, pp. 48, 203)), or through Mrs Richmond Ritchie (Thackeray's daughter) who knew Webb and many of his clients and was also on the council of Newnham College. Miss Ewart's father, William Ewart, was responsible for a series of humanitarian bills including the abolishment of capital punishment for minor offence (B. A. Clough, 'In Memoriam--Miss Mary Ewart', Newnham College Roll Letter, 1909, pp. 41-45; a copy was kindly supplied by Ann Philips, Hon. Archivist to the college).

56. SB 1877-92, 17 July 1883 (Miss Ewart had been negotiating the purchase of the site for some time but completed only after Webb had approved it (correspondence between Miss Ewart and R. M. Gray, Surrey CRO); letters, Webb to Miss Ewart, 14 September 1883, and to W. & G. King, 24 February 1884, LB 2, fols. 16, 26. This firm had erected fences for Webb at Joldwynds in 1875 (W. & G. King Records, Surrey CRO, 150/1/3; the firm's account books are in the keeping of the Surrey Archaeological Society).

57. Letters, Webb to Miss Ewart, 28 February, 4 or 5 March 1884, and to W. & G. King, 18 March 1884, LB 2, fols. 29-30, 32-33. After the price had been reduced by £200 by omitting yard walls and fences, and after heeding Webb's that competitive tenders frequently led to poorer quality work, Miss Ewart accepted the price



of £4,572. 9. 6 on 18 March 1884.

58. AB; see note 59 for dated drawings.

59. The contract (BJTP) was signed on 7 May 1884; SB 1877-92, 7 April 1884 (George Jack supervised the construction during Webb's absence in Italy); letter, Webb to Boyce, 11 September 1885, BL Add. MS 45354. Webbs drawings: V&A E.108-111--1945, E.161--1916 (4 s. and d. February 1884, 1 for the gardener's cottage); BAL [13] 1-17 (7 d. variously 29 March-1 July 1884, 5 for the cottage d. 3 September, 30 October, 9 November 1885, 4 for the stables d. April-May 1886 (and a survey drawing by W. & G. King, 5 September 1893), BAL [13] 1-17. The survey drawing was made after slight subsidence under part of the stables caused cracking. The stable drawing BAL [13] 13 was published in Richardson, Architects of the Arts and Crafts Movement, p. 17, fig. 8.

60. The brick is still in place though partly concealed by double-glazing (the porch is now part of the cottage).

61. Because the service wing became the second dwelling (Mendip), the entrance to the major part of the building now is through the garden porch not the original long entrance passage. The stable-house is now High Raise, and the gardener's cottage is Brackenlea.

62. Webb told Boyce that he had spent time considering how least to mar the surroundings with the new house, and he informed Miss Ewart that the composition of the house, cottage, and stables required the most careful balancing (letters, Webb to Boyce, 26 September 1883, BL Add. MS 45354, and to Miss Ewart, 23 October 1883, LB 2, fol. 19).

63. As a friend of Webb, and probably of his sisters, Miss Ewart would probably have known New Place well.

64. Webb's note of 30 July 1884 on New Place drawing BAL [47] 14 directed that the cove detail was to be used again at Coneyhurst.

65. Because of the steeply rising site, the ground floor of the cottage was at the height of the first floor of the house; the outer porch was therefore on three levels; people in invalid chairs could enter by the garden porch.

66. See the photographs in Lawrence Weaver's discussion of the house in Small Country Houses of Today, chap. 3, pp. 13-18, pls. 14-16; for Webb's note of their visit, and that the hall ceiling was to be white, see SB 1877-92, 9 February 1889, fol. 118. Weaver predicted that the straightforwardness, and lack of ornament and attention seeking novelties would arouse some

antipathy; it did in Roderick Gradidge, who found an 'unpleasant harshness' and a 'feeling of deadness' about Coneyhurst which he attributed to the 'bricklayer's fear of making an error' in front of Webb (see Dream-houses, pp. 172-73, in which Coneyhurst is unfairly compared with Long Copse, a small cottage built by university students as a simple rural retreat). The first illustrations of Coneyhurst (an exterior perspective and the staircase) appeared in George Jack, 'Appreciation of Philip Webb', pls. 2, 6.

67. From photographs (see note 66).

68. Lethaby's recollection of it as a feminine house (Webb, 1935, p. 105) must have stemmed from his knowledge that it had been designed for a woman, and from the light and airy decoration. The plaster frieze with white leaves on a blue ground must have been in the dining-room.

69. Brandon-Jones, 'Philip Webb', Victorian Architecture, Ferriday ed., p. 255.

70. Illustrated, e.g., in Weaver, Houses and Gardens by E. L. Lutyens, p. 44, fig. 78, and Simpson, Voysey, p. 48, fig. 20b.

71. Illustrated, e.g., Simpson, Voysey, p. 50, fig. 20e, and Kornwolf, Baillie Scott, p. 187, fig. 98.

72. Illustrated, e.g., Simpson, Voysey, p. 68, fig. 29f, and Weaver, Houses and Gardens by E. L. Lutyens, p. 47, fig. 84, and Jackie Cooper, ed., Mackintosh Architecture: the Complete Buildings and Selected Projects (London: Academy Editions, 1978), 2nd. enlarged edn. 1980, p. 44.

73. The plan of Deanery Garden is illustrated, e.g., in Weaver, Houses and Gardens by E. L. Lutyens, p. 60, fig. 109; Kornwolf, Baillie Scott, pp. 258-59.

74. See William T. Stearn, 'Mrs Robb and "Mrs Robb's Bonnet" (*Euphorbia robbiae*)', Journal of the Royal Horticultural Society, July 1973, pp. 306-310. The fine grounds of her childhood home, Great Tew Park, developed Mrs Robb's interest in plants, trees, and gardens.

75. Ibid., p. 308.

76. Ibid., p. 307.

77. Ibid., p. 308.

78. SB 1877-92, 19 July 1890; it is remembered locally that Mrs Robb and this son found it impossible to live together. Perhaps Mrs Robb was considering dividing the old house (demolished) for her and her son's use;



there are no further records of it amongst Webb's documents. A Mrs Robb, possibly this one, was a friend of the Ionides family (Alexander Constantine Ionides, Ion: a Grandfather's Tale, privately printed, n. d. (BL copy: Cup. 510 ad. 75), p. 23.

79. There are 2 preliminary drawings in the BAL, 1 one of which ([61]) consist of a ground-floor plan and sections, and bears calculations of the cost (total £3,300); it has clearly been folded to enclose other sheets and has the note 'Mrs. Robb's Cottage and notes of proposed House' on the reverse; the other drawing [26] consists of elevations and sections of a much smaller building, the cottage apparently intended for Mrs Robb's gardener (a note indicates that a tracing of this was sent to Mrs Robb on 1 June 1891).

80. Note on drawing BAL [61].

81. CB and AB; Webb set out the house on the site with Mrs Robb and King on 15 June 1891 (SB 1877-92), and on 28 October 1891 he noted that the chimney of the added bedroom had reached the height of the eaves of the main roof (SB 1878-92). It was built above what had been intended to be a single-storey entrance porch and hall added between the house and the road (the entrance to the cottage was to have been on the north-east front; Mrs Robb's new entrance was on the south-west front below a tiled gable).

82. As the final accounts were settled in spring 1893, the building must have been completed the previous autumn (CB).

83. Mrs Robb erected plaques recording Webb's and Little's connection with the house; they remain, on a porch on the Goldenfields end; a sale brochure of 1928 records that Triggs extended the house (Hampshire CRO, 32M67/Z1/34). The details reveal Webb's portions of the buildings. Little's additions were added between Webb's house and the road; Triggs probably designed the square block at the end of the stub wing. The house ultimately had 10 bedrooms.

84. Information from the present owners of Lychgates, Mr and Mrs Peter Carrel. Lychgates has 2 hip-roofed gateways, one for carts, the other for pedestrians; as the gardener's cottage drawing shows a combined hip-roofed pedestrian and cart gateway, it is possible that they are by Webb, the wider one having been moved to that end of the site by by Little or Triggs (but it lacks the bracketed timber posts shown on the drawing).

85. The developers, Jasro Hall Ltd., kindly supplied the author with a copy of the plan by architects Kenneth Claxton Associates.

86. Mrs Robb requested a bathroom, and Webb mentioned



the EC in a note (SB 1877-92, 19 July 1890).

87. Ibid., 19 July 1890. This room, which was flanked by a passage leading to the loggia and tower, was described as a 'fine lofty drawing room measuring 27 ft. by 20 ft.' in the 1928 sale brochure (see note 83). Little or Triggs replaced the dormered gallery with bedrooms.

88. Mrs Robb requested 'one or two loggias (upstairs and down)' (Webb's note, 19 July 1890, SB 1877-92).

89. The oak weatherboarding on the gable of Mrs Robb's bedroom, i.e., the north-east gable (which on the gardener's cottage drawing is shown as a hip) was sketched by Webb on 28 October 1891 (SB 1878-92).

90. As the surrounding gardens were famous, Mrs Robb is sure to have known the tower, and Webb would see it when making site visits to the chapel which Street added to Arley Hall in 1856. The Arley tower is illustrated, e.g., in Alvilde Lees-Milne and Rosemary Verey, eds., The Englishwoman's Garden (London: Chatto & Windus, 1983) p. 30. The details of the Goldenfields tower reveal it to be Webb's; his memorandum to 'send address of Clerkenwell clockmaker to King' confirms it (SB 1878-92, c. 16 November 1891).

91. Except in the sale brochure Goldenfields has not hitherto been illustrated or discussed in detail. Mrs Robb exchanged plants with the curator (Stearn, 'Mrs Robb'; e.g., Sir Nikolaus Pevsner, after noting John Brandon-Jones's information of Webb having been paid for a cottage at Liphook, queried: 'Does it still exist' (Hampshire, p. 319)).

92. Webb designed the tomb in 1896 (drawings: perspective 1896 and preliminary sketches, BJTP; working drawing d. 1897, BAL [23]); it was carved by Laurence Turner, and set up in Kelmscott churchyard in May 1898 (letter, Webb to Cockerell, 27 May 1898, Meynell, ed., Friends of a Lifetime, pp. 97-98).

93. SB 1896-1900, 6 June 1899, and letter, Webb to Jane Morris, 24 June 1899, BL Add. MS 45342, Morris Papers vol. 1.

94. Ibid. Two additional points in the letter were that Webb's choice of site did not leave awkward acute angles in the remainder of the field, and that he suggested that Janey should retain some of the proposed 1/2 acre site, at the rear of the cottages, so that she could keep an eye on them without 'being looked on as a spy'.

95. From Morris's poem 'For the bed at Kelmscott' embroidered on the bed-hangings at Kelmscott Manor.

96. Letter, Webb to Jane Morris, 24 June 1899 (see note 93).

97. The specification had been prepared by 21 May 1900 (Kelmscott CB, BJTP); Jack's record of events, *ibid.*, 14 June 1902. Webb's drawings: those sent to Mrs Morris (block plan, site plan, perspective sketch, and 1/8" scale plan, BL Add. MS 45344, Morris Papers, vol. 7; 2 sheets (plans, elevations, and sections, d. January 1900, and sections through mouldings), V&A E.159-160--1916.

98. Kelmscott CB, 21 May 1900 (BJTP; Jack used this book for his own work after Webb retired). Jack followed the instructions faithfully, recording his findings alongside Webb's various points. Webb suggested that Jack should seek examples at Kelmscott Manor and Kelmscott and Lechlade churches of the precise finish he, Webb, required for the ashlar, and, for the yard walls, amongst the barns of the village. Webb knew the village and its district intimately, of course, and he had already inspected the work of local builders (SB 1896-1900, 20-23 July 1900).

99. *Ibid.*

100. Bowley's estimate must have been too high as another builder, J. S. King, was then approached; his estimate, based on a bill of quantities was also too high, so Bowley was asked to quote again, this time with the benefit of the bill; his second price was accepted by Webb through Jack on 14 June 1902 (Kelmscott CB).

101. Kelmscott CB (all the entries were made by Jack, including details of letters sent to Bowley); Webb gave his sketch of the panel 'Morris in the Home Mead' to Jack (it is now in the BJTP collection; for a close-up photograph see William Morris at Kelmscott, p. 139); see Kelmscott CB for completion date and the cost of extras. Webb accepted no fee for designing the cottages (AB) but perhaps Mrs Morris paid Jack for supervising them.

102. Letter, Webb to Cockerell, 27 May 1898, Meynell, ed., Friends of a Lifetime, pp. 97-98.



## PART 3: BUILDINGS

### CHAPTER 6: ALTERATIONS AND EXTENSIONS

1. See, e.g., his letter to Lady Fitzhardinge, 25 July 1876, LB 1, fols. 40-43 (fol. 43).
2. Letter, Webb to George Howard, 18 June 1877, J22/64.
3. Bell had established a chemical works at Washington with his father-in-law, the celebrated metallurgist Hugh Lee Pattinson. Bell probably met Higham (b. 1821) in 1848 in connection with the building of Christ Church to Higham's design at Walker, Newcastle upon Tyne, where Bell was working in his father's ironworks; Bell entertained the Bishop after the consecration ceremony (Thomas Crawford, Notes on Walker, pamphlet, 1904, p. 59).
4. Ruskin was on his way to lecture to the Literary and Philosophical Society of Newcastle upon Tyne (Burd, Winnington Letters, p. 413); Bell, who was mayor at the time, and most of his family were members. It is possible that the Bells and Webb had already met through Boyce; in the late 1860s they had access to the London art world through Hugh Bell's brother-in-law the painter Herbert Menzies Marshall but in 1863-64 he was still at Cambridge (Alumni Cantabrigienses, p. 333).
5. The Port Clarence clock-tower described by the present author in Curry and Kirk, Philip Webb in the North; for the Newcastle scheme and the Middlesbrough Exchange see Part 3, chap. 4, n. 23, and Part 1, chap. 4, n. 77, respectively.
6. Miss Watson already had one home in Longbenton where the Bells lived before moving to Washington. The new establishment was named Dame Margaret's Home from Lady Bell's sobriquet (bestowed because of the firm but kindly way she ran her home). Newcastle Council took over the home on Miss Watson's death; in 1910 by gift or purchase it became a Dr Barnardo's Home under the same name; from 1948 until 1977 (when it assumed its present role) it served as a National Coal Board training centre.
7. The wall between Webb's dining-room and Higham's adjacent room has been removed together with some panelling and the sideboard; the difference between the Webb's treatment and Higham's heavier hand is apparent in the friezes of these rooms.
8. From Webb's drawings, BAL [46] 1-4, and NYCCRO ZFK 1 (i, ii). Webb also moved the doors to the stables and coach-house to turn the stable yard into a kitchen yard.
9. Sir Hugh Bell's belief that Webb began his work at



Washington 'before 1864 . . . probably in the proceeding year' (letter to George Jack, 9 June 1915, BJTP), suggests that the entrance addition--for which the BAL drawings are undated--was designed first, as one study-extension drawing is dated 1865; however, the more recently located detail drawing relating to the entrance is dated January 1867 (NYCCRO ZFK 1 (i)) showing that the latter was designed in 1866-67.

10. Webb's drawings for the tower-top are missing but it is outlined in pencil on his drawing BAL [46] 2; the details of the new top are characteristic of his work; Webb mentions his drawing for the clock-room at Washington in his letter to Godman, 28 May 1879 (published in Brandon-Jones, 'Notes on the Building of Smeaton Manor', p. 53. The new top must have been designed and built before the Bells left for their new estate (by mid-1874 they were living at Harlsey Hall during construction of the new Rounton Grange). Higham's spire, and his conservatory, appear in his perspective sketch (Washington Hall School collection).

11. His drawing (BAL [46] 4) shows a hipped roof with a south gable.

12. The clock was removed and installed in the tower which Webb designed for it at Smeaton Manor.

13. Webb was pleased that George Howard liked this room but he himself felt that it had not been possible to be 'quite succesful in adding to the house' (letter, Webb to Howard, 6 September 1969, J22/64).

14. Jones paid Webb the first instalment of his account in 1865 (AB) therefore work must have begin in 1864. Jones's grandson believed that Webb was chosen as the 'fashionable architect of the day' but at that date Webb was at the beginning of his career (Lawrence E. Jones, Georgian Afternoon (London: Rupert Hart-Davies, 1958), p. 162). If Sir Willoughby's meeting with Webb was not through Astley, it was probably in connection with the Morris and Co. windows in Sculthorpe church for which Webb designed the tracery lights in 1865 (Morris & Co. AB); the firm possibly secured this commission through Thomas Jeckyll who altered the building in 1860-61.

15. The wing remains, altered internally.

16. Jones, Georgian Afternoon, p. 162.

17. AB.

18. Ibid.

19. Ibid., and the sole surviving Webb drawing for Cranmer, the fireplace design: BAL [10]. The £3 paid to Webb by Sir Willoughby in 1877 (AB) was probably for

the designing of these chairs; their location is unknown.

20. Jones, Georgian Afternoon, pp. 166-67. Jones ignored Henry Goodhart-Rendel's plea to leave Webb's work untouched but he had the drawing-room photographed before dismantling it; the photographs, which he records as having been deposited in the Victoria and Albert Museum, are missing.

21. The purchaser was William Crossman; he also removed the upper floor of the 1721 block.

22. Letter, Webb to Rosalind Howard, 10 August 1868, J22/64. Cortachy became the family seat after Airlie Castle was burnt by the Campbells in 1640. In 1865 Webb did a small, unidentified job, (possibly a house inspection or the designing of a fireplace) for Lord Airlie (AB), whom he possibly met through the Howards.

23. Letter, Webb to Rosalind Howard, 10 August 1868, J22/64. The gothick wing was possibly by R. and R. Dickinson of Edinburgh who added a stair-tower, gothicized the tower's hall and added a gothick porch in 1821 (Cortachy drawings lodged in Register House, Edinburgh (RHP 5167/1-13), kindly brought to the author's attention by Mr D. L. Laird, factor to the Airlie Estate).

24. On 3 October 1868 this was announced in The Builder (p. 738); by August 1867 Webb was too busy designing the new house to accept the Howards' invitation to Naworth Castle (letter, Webb to Rosalind Howard, 7 September 1869, J22/64); Webb's fee was paid in 1869 (AB)).

25. Information kindly supplied by Mr Laird.

26. By 23 September 1868 it had been resolved to refit the library, of which room a measured plan had been prepared by Mr Kinloch of Meikle (letter, Webb to Howard, 23 September 1868, J22/64; the plan, dated 13 April 1868, is in Register House (RHP 5167/7)); for Webb's sketches of the tower room, see SB 1865-77, 4 August 1868, 18 January 1869. On seeing the library in 1874 Lyulph Stanley thought the fittings were by Webb as they were 'in his spirit': this suggests that Webb's designs were executed; the present bookshelves were installed in 1949. Mr Laird kindly searched the Airlie papers and the drawings at Register House but found no trace of Webb's involvement with Cortachy and Airlie Castles.

27. Webb's connection with the Castle has been forgotten by the family, and there is no trace of it in the Berkeley Archive (information kindly provided by the Hon. Archivist for Berkeley Castle, D. J. H. Smith). However, his work there can be deduced from 8



copies of letters to Lord and Lady Fitzhardinge (the Berkeleys of his day) and their estate manager J. H. Cooke in LB 1, and a few entries in SB 1865-77.

28. SB 1865-77, fol. 94; letters, Webb to Lady Fitzhardinge, 18 May, and to Cooke, 31 August 1875, LB 1, fols. 22, 26. Cuthbert was probably the estate joiner.

29. Letter, Webb to Lady Fitzhardinge, 18 May 1875, LB 1, fol. 22. The bench seats and the wainscot were removed, and the fireplace was stripped of its paint, in the 1920s when the upper row of shields was probably re-inserted in ornate borders.

30. Letters, Webb to Lady Fitzhardinge, 25 July 1876, 10 May 1877, LB 1, fols. 40, 91-92. Webb designed borders for the heraldic glass, but on seeing the test light in situ, decided against them. Vita Sackville West in the guidebook (Berkeley Castle (London: English Life Publications, 1978), p. 14) stated that the heraldic glass was installed between the two World Wars; David Verey, in Gloucestershire: the Vale and the Forest of Dean (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1970), Buildings of England series, 2nd. ed., p. 471), averred that the glass was 'introduced' by Webb; Webb, however, referred to the 're-insertion of the existing shields of arms' in his letter to Lady Fitzhardinge of 7 July 1874 (LB 1, fol. 1).

31. Letter, Webb to Lady Fitzhardinge, 25 July 1876, LB 1, fols. 40-43, and SB 1865-77, 5 April 1874. Webb installed internal shutters in Lady Fitzhardinge's room, and probably inserted oak-framed lights into existing openings in the large drawing-room.

32. Letters, Webb to Cooke, 31 August 1875, and to Lady Fitzhardinge, 25 July 1876, LB 1, fols. 26, 40-43.

33. Letter, Webb to George and Rosalind Howard, 10 August 1868, and to Howard, 4 August 1873, J22/64; he accepted the official post on 17 February 1877 (letter, Webb to Richard Du Cane, Howard Papers, C575/7).

34. Webb's drawing for the clock-face (BAL [37]) d. 1 September 1874, and his letters to Howard, 2 September, 15 October 1874, 6 February, 7 May, 28 August 1875, J22/64. The adjacent dormer-doorway into the roof is also by Webb; the clock, made by Smiths of Clerkenwell and installed in 1875, is illustrated in McEvoy, 'Webb at Brampton', p. 44, pl. 6. In 1876 Webb fenced the exercise ground on which ball games were played.

35. Webb sent the drawings (missing) for the room to the agent Grey on 16 February 1878 with instructions to seek estimates (letter, Howard Papers, C575/8); letters, Webb to Howard, 7 May, 28 August 1875, and to Rosalind Howard, 25 July 1878 (Morris tiles for the



tower room are mentioned in the latter), J22/64. Webb's certificates for payment show that the tower room was built in 1878 for around £500 by Beaty Brothers (masons), Court (joiner), Barker (plasterer), and David Thompson and Sons (plumbing) (Howard Papers, C575/7/a, /8, /6/d). Longdens supplied grates for the fireplaces (letters, Webb to Howard, 9 April 1875, 22 November 1879, J22/64). Mrs Rees, who kindly showed the author round her flat in the castle in 1985, told of Morris tiles being found when Webb fireplaces were unblocked.

36. Webb's drawing, BAL [69].

37. Webb sent the bookshelves drawings for the small library (now the sitting-room) to Grey on 16 February 1878 with instructions that the estate joiners, under clerk of works Marshall, were to begin work on them immediately (letter, Howard Papers, C575/8). Because of the date 1884 inscribed on the fittings of the large library, they were thought to be by Ferguson who by then was estate architect. However, the author's research has shown them to be Webb's work. From Webb's letters it seems that Salvin had turned the erstwhile chapel into a two-storey library with low-level bookshelves; Webb noted in his SB 1877-92 (13 June 1877) that more books could be housed in the billiard-room than in the library without disturbing the existing arrangements; he had apparently prepared designs for the billiard-room before being asked to design high-level bookshelves for the library instead; he replied: 'If we did not disturb the lower part of Library, I might be convinced of the possibility of putting shelves high up there, . . .' (letter, Webb to Rosalind Howard, 29 August 1877, J22/64). The fittings were clearly all designed by the same hand, the detailing is characteristic of Webb, and there is a sketch of them in the Castle Howard Archives entitled 'P. Webb's design for library bookshelves at Naworth Castle', with the date September 1877 added by another hand (verso of a letter written by Maud Stanley); furthermore, some months after the bookshelves for the small library had been finished, Webb instructed the agent Stephenson that work on the 'new bookcases for the Library' was to be started as soon as possible (letter, 22 July 1879, Howard Papers, C575/8); finally, for all inscriptions, Webb customarily used the date of completion. The bookshelves in the first-floor gallery appear to be by Salvin and are probably those removed from his library. This information was given to the Earl of Carlisle by the author in 1985, since when the large library has been described and illustrated in McEvoy, 'Webb at Brampton', p. 45, pls. 7, 8.

38. Information kindly given to the author by Mark Stocker, Boehm scholar. Burne-Jones paid Webb £30 for his help. The upper level of the fireplace wall was

left blank for a painting by Burne-Jones, 'The Sleep of Avalon', but Howard relinquished the commission on realizing that the artist regarded it as his magnum opus (Lago, ed., Burne-Jones Talking, p. 38); the large Hammersmith carpet, woven for this room by Morris and Co. has been sold and is now missing.

39. Letters, Webb to Howard, 4 september 1874, 9 September and 1 October 1875, J22/64. Webb offered a corner fireplace, unbonded to the old walls, as an alternative.

40. Letter, Webb to Howard, 8 September 1879, J22/64.

41. Ibid.

42. Ibid. Webb probably knew Ferguson, an erstwhile pupil of Sir George Gilbert Scott.

43. Chronological List of Works.

44. Constantine's father--Greek consul-general and director of the Crystal Palace in 1855, and a friend and patron of Watts from c. 1837--gave renowned entertainments for artists at his home, first at Tulse Hill, then at no. 1 Holland Park. For details of the Ionides family and its history see Luke Alexander Ionides, Memories (Paris: Herbert Clarke, 1925), and Alexander Ionides, Ion.

45. Webb's drawings: V&A E. 104, 105--1916.

46. The drawings are missing, but the work is mentioned in Webb's letter to Ionides of 30 December 1881 (LB 1, fol. 219).

47. Ibid., and AB. The second extension was built by 'Holland', presumably W. H. Holland (letter, Webb to Ionides, 30 December 1881, LB 1, fol. 219).

48. Webb first inspected the house on 12 July 1889 (SB 1877-92); the contract was signed 16 May 1890 (Webb's drawings: BAL [20] 1-4 (1-2: contract drawings, s. and d. March 1890; 3-4: working drawings)).

49. CB; drawings (BAL [20] 1-4). The contract price was £1,807.15.3 but Garrett's received £2,580.10.3; obviously, more work was included as construction progressed. The basement contained a strong-room, wine cellar, and furnace-room.

50. SB 1877-92, 9 July, 22 October, 22 August 1890, 27 January 1891. Laurence Turner did some carving for which he was paid an unknown amount by Ionides; Kate Faulkner did some gilding; Longdens made the grate to a new Webb design (CB).

51. See, e.g., Penelope Fitzgerald, Edward Burne-Jones



(London: Michael Joseph, 1975), paperback edn. Hamish Hamilton, 1989, pp. 112-13.

52. The drawings for this work are missing, and the only references to it in Webb's papers are the AB entries of £150 (received from Mrs Cassavetti) in 1872 and £88. 10. 0 (from 'Cassavetti') in 1873; Mrs Cassavetti's niece, Mrs Dannreuther, referred to the studio thus in a letter to George Jack, 26 May 1915 (BJTP). Mrs Cassavetti moved into the house in 1871 (Post Office Directories). The author is indebted to Alan Crawford of English Heritage for identifying Fairfield Lodge as no. 6 Addison Road, researching Cassavetti entries in the Post Office Directories, and locating the one surviving photograph of the house (see note 56).

53. Probably in preparation for Cassavetti's marriage. Mrs Cassavetti left the house in 1883 (PO Directories)

54. Letters, Webb to Cassavetti, 11 October 1876, 15 May 1878, LB 1, fols. 46-47, 127, and AB. Ashby's amended tender plus Webb's allowance for contingencies was £3,965; this did not include the stables.

55. Letter, Webb to Cassavetti, 23 February 1878, LB 1, fols. 118-120. Rogers Field designed the new system.

56. This photograph is in the Greater London RO, ref. (84.0 ADD, no. 65/2456).

57. Local historians Richard G. Wilson and R. Winwell kindly provided information about Greene (and Nether Hall), which was supplemented by his obituary in The Bury Free Press, 18 April 1891, and Mr Wilson's book Greene King, a Family and Business History (London: The Bodley Head and Jonathan Cape, 1983), chap. 3, pp. 60-94.

58. Webb visited Greene at his rented house, Ixworth Abbey, on 25 April 1873 possibly to discuss and inspect Nether Hall (SB 1865-77). Only one Webb drawing has been found (BJTP); it is clear from the characteristic details surviving in the house that Webb made more alterations to the existing house than are indicated on this plan.

59. AB. It is clear from photographs of the building (taken before post-1966 repairs, and kindly loaned to the author by Mr and Mrs Albert Davis) that Webb repaired the farmhouse without altering it apart from probably adding the roofed external staircase leading to an open store (removed in 1966) and the door canopy on one side, and possibly the gabled porch and lean-to loggia at the rear; this building is now in separate ownership. The stable block north of the main house appears to be wholly or chiefly by the 1890s architect, though it is possible that he incorporated simpler



buildings by Webb (a chimney-stack, for instance, seems to be by Webb but the timber-framed frontage is not typical of his work).

60. The 1890s architect's windows have stone mullions and transoms, and his work is generally of a heavier and, particularly in the interior, less pleasing character than Webb's. He removed the butler's pantry from the hall and turned the garden hall into a saloon with new wainscot and two new fireplaces. Mr Alan Swales of Heaton Abbot Swales, Architects, Bury St. Edmunds, generously gave the author copies of plans showing the house before and after the 1974 alterations.

61. Two prints are reproduced in W. R. Rayner, The History of Nether Hall and the Various Owners, pamphlet published by the Nether Hall Country Club, n. d.; the previous owners of Nether Hall, Mr and Mrs T Acquin Martin, kindly gave the present author copies of a post-card of a water-colour of the south front painted after Webb's alterations and before those of the 1890s.

62. It is possible that in this room Webb re-used some woodwork from the original fittings.

63. Ionides took over the house from his father; Jeckyll's billiard-room, with servants's hall below it and a sitting-room above, was added in the mid-1870s; letters, Joseph Ebner to Webb (BJTP). Webb's fee was based on £600 of building work but if Vinall was supervisor rather than salaried clerk of work, the addition, even without Morris and Co.'s expensive decoration, probably cost much more. Webb's drawings: V&A E. 178, 179--1916 (design for mosaic pavement (no. 179: s. and d. September 1879)); BAL [28] 1 (details of 1882 porch).

64. Webb's drawings: BAL [28] 2-5 (2-3: garden house with exercise room, s. and d. March 1888; 4-5: loggia with smoking-room above, s. and d. February and April 1889). The smoking-room is referred to as a waiting-room on Webb's drawings. Carey and Co. apparently took over W. H. Holland in 1888. On 25 September 1889 Webb visited The Homewood at Esher for Ionides with a view to adding a large room but nothing further was done (SB 1877-92).

65. Sheppard, ed., Northern Kensington, p. 124 n.

66. Lewis F. Day, 'A Kensington Interior', The Art Journal, 1893, pp. 139-144; J. Gleeson White, 'An Epoch-making House', The Studio, 12, 1898, pp. 102-112; Morris, 'On Philip Webb's Town Work', p. 199-208. See also Walter Crane, Ideals in Art (London: George Bell, 1905), pls. on pp. 131, 258-61.

67. The mosaic pavement was laid by Joseph Ebner (letters, Ebner to Webb, 1879, BJTP); Webb's drawings (and photographs of his drawings) for the tapestry, 1886-87: BAL [68] 1-25. Webb sold his finished drawings for the animals (now in the Sanford Berger collection, California) to Lawrence W. Hodson of Wolverhampton for £100 (Webb's receipt, 15 December 1900: BL Add. MS 52760). Morris composed the tapestry and designed the foliage, Henry Dearle drew the foreground flowers. Now in the Victoria and Albert Museum (T.111--1926), it is illustrated in colour in Parry, William Morris Textiles, p. 114-15; a monochrome photograph of Webb's design for the fox appears on p. 111; all four of Webb's designs were reproduced in monochrome in Lethaby, Webb (1935).

68. The sideboard is now in the A. E. Howarth collection (information kindly provided by the owner).

69. Crane's work can be seen in the illustrations in the articles detailed in note 66. The more restrained antiquities room and the study are illustrated in Parry, William Morris Textiles, pp. 138, 140, and in Gere, Nineteenth Century Decoration, p. 289, pls. 335, 336.

70. Bedford Lemere's 1893 photograph of this room is illustrated and discussed in Nicholas Cooper, The Opulent Eye: Late Victorian and Edwardian Taste in Interior Design (London: Architectural Press, 1976), p. 28, and pl. 37. The room is also illustrated in the first three articles detailed in note 66, and in Cooper, Victorian and Edwardian Furniture and Interiors, p. 172, pl. 446.

71. The house was built in 1760 by Lord Rivers on the site of an ancient lodge of one of the forest stewards (M. W. Thompson, General Pitt-Rivers: Evolution and Archaeology in the Nineteenth Century (Bradford-on-Avon: Moonraker Press, 1977), p. 72). Born Lane Fox (of Hope Hall, Bramham, West Yorkshire), Pitt-Rivers had to adopt the new surname as a condition of inheriting the estate. For his biography see Thompson's book and DNB, pp. 1140-42; for the history of Rushmore Lodge see Austin Caverhill, Rushmore--then and now (Amesbury: for Sandroyd School, n.d.), a copy of which was kindly given to the present author by the headmaster, Mr D. J. Cann.

72. Letter, Webb to Pitt-Rivers, 12 December 1881, LB 1, fol. 217.

73. Ibid., and letter, Webb to Pitt-Rivers, 18 January 1882, LB 1, fol. 228.

74. Letter, Webb to A. H. Green, 4 May 1882, LB 1, fol. 241. The price was £340.



75. Letters, Webb to Pitt-Rivers, 17, 20, 22 July, 5, 18, August, 25 September, 7 October, LB 1, fols. 245-49, 251-52, 259-61, and 11, 15 December, LB 2, fols. 4-6, all of 1882.

76. These are mentioned in the letters, Webb to Pitt-Rivers, 7 October 1882, LB 1, fol. 260, and 9 April, 30 May 1883, LB 2, fols. 7-9, 12, but not thereafter.

77. Webb's drawings: V&A E.163--1916 (entrance with lodges); BAL [40] 1-6 (the wrought-iron gates with brick piers). Part of V&A E.163 is reproduced in Neil Jackson, 'Webb of Intrigue', BD, 17 June 1983, pp. 20-21 (p. 20); one of Webb's gate piers can be seen in the photograph of the Jubilee Room (designed in 1888 by W. H. Roumaine-Walker) in this paper (p. 20), and a pier, the railings, and gate are illustrated in Caverhill, Rushmore, p. 32. Webb's drawings for work on the house are missing.

78. Ibid., plus information kindly provided by Mr M. A. Pitt-Rivers and Mr K. J. Burt.

79. Letter, Webb to Pitt-Rivers, 18 August 1882, LB 1, fol. 251; these features can be seen in the photograph in Jackson, 'Webb of Intrigue', p. 21.

80. Letter, Webb to Pitt-Rivers, 25 September 1883, LB 1, fol. 259. Webb consulted Morris and Company's manager at Rushmore but chose the paper himself (letter, Webb to Pitt-Rivers, 5 August 1882, LB 1, fols. 248-50). Part of the dining-room as decorated by Webb is illustrated in Caverhill, Rushmore, p. 25.

81. Letters, Webb to Pitt-Rivers, 17 July, 18 August 1882, LB 1, fols. 245-47, 251-52.

82. Letters, Webb to Pitt-Rivers, 11, 15 December 1882, 2 January, 28 August 1883, LB 2, fols. 4-7, 15-16.

83. Ibid., 2 January and 28 August 1883; the Aesop fable about the miller who, in attempting to please everyone, pleased no-one and lost money.

84. Letter, Webb to Pitt-Rivers, 28 November 1883, LB 2, fols. 22-25. The hall fireplace is illustrated in Caverhill, Rushmore, p. 23.

85. Flower bought the house after a long search for a property with the potential for creating large gardens; Saint, Shaw, p. 227; SPAB records. For the early history of the house see E. H. Lennard, Tangley Manor (privately printed, 1908).

86. Webb first visited Tangley on a professional basis on 8 September 1885 (OEB 1884-95) but Boyce, a friend of Flower, had taken him to see it the previous year



(letter, Webb to Boyce, 11 September 1885, BL Add. MS 45354).

87. It is clear from Webb's letter to Flower of 11 September 1885 (LB 2, fols. 47-48) that the design was well advanced; George Jack and William Weir, Webb's assistants, prepared a detailed survey of the old house (ibid.); SB 1877-92, 18 November 1885, 27 March 1886; AB. Webb's surviving drawings: BAL [43] 1, 2, 19: 1st phase (no. 19 is wrongly catalogued as belonging to the 2nd phase; it is reproduced in Richardson, Architects of the Arts and Crafts Movement, p. 18, pl. 9).

88. Webb sent Flower the design for the stables on 20 July 1886 (letter of that date, Webb to Flower, LB 2, fols. 58-59); it was probably abandoned because Flower had not completed the purchase of the existing farm buildings or because he was suddenly given the opportunity to do so (from the draft of John O. Marin-Evans's history of the house kindly provided by the author); Webb visited Tangley to advise about the second stable project on 30 August 1890 (CB); Jack and Weir surveyed the old farm buildings the following spring (ibid.), and by May the new design was ready (Webb's cottage drawing, s. and d. May 1891: BAL [43] 21); AB; CB. Webb considered employing this firm, which had worked at Tangley before his time, for the first extension, but decided on Kings because he knew their work (SB 1877-92, 28 September 1885). The job included repairing an old granary.

89. Webb took the brief on 8 April 1893 and the same month Jack and Weir prepared a survey (CB); see SB 1892-96, 2 August 1893; CB. The work included casing the old staircase, new fireplaces for 2 existing bedrooms, and external re-colouring of part of the house (ibid.). Webb's drawings: BAL [43] 3-18, 20.

90. Letter, Webb to Flower, 10 August 1894 (copy, and note of Webb's estimate: CB) Webb told Flower that he was 'exceedingly well satisfied with what the Kings have done for us, and the old place'.

91. In 1902 Jack extended the house in the west side; Mrs Flower sold the property in 1905 after her husband's death the previous year. In 1948 Jack's bedroom range was demolished, and his music-room was divided horizontally; at about the same time Webb's hall was extended into the verandah, and made into a two-storeyed imitation great hall, his and the older offices at the rear of the building were rendered, sadly concealing the ancient brickwork and timbering, and the timbers of the 1582 front were painted black. In 1974 a subdued red-brick range containing an indoor swimming-pool was added off Jack's music room.

92. Flower only accepted this feature after Jack and

Weir had supported Webb's view that it would improve the appearance of the old house (letter, Webb to Flower, 11 September 1885, LB 2, fols. 46-48). With its climbing plants, it linked the house with the gardens beyond the moat, and softened the starkness of the site which had resulted from Flower's stripping of the old gardens. The screen, with its low wall, can be seen in the photograph of 'The Old Moat' in 'Great Tangley Manor, Surrey, the Seat of Mr. Wickham Flower', CL, 4, 30 July 1898, pp. 109-112 (p. 110), and with the low wall removed in Gertrude Jekyll, attributed to, 'Great Tangley Manor, Surrey, the Residence of the late Mr. Wickham Flower', CL, 17, pp. 90-100 (p. 97), and in Rooke, 'The Work of Lethaby, Webb and Morris', p. 172. Margaret Richardson noted its influence on Lutyens (Architects of the Arts and Crafts Movement, p. 92).

93. Plus a small attic bedroom above the EC. all the remain.

94. BAL [43] 3. Webb showed the foreman Still exactly how to bed the stones and the ashlar quoins, how to point them, and how to manage the weather-tiling at the awkward junctions between old and new walls (SB 1892-96, 8 September 1893, 7 April 1894).

95. See Cooper, Opulent Eye, p. 31, and pls. 50, 51.

96. Letters, Webb to Boyce, 23 November 1885 (BL Add. MS 45354), and to Jack, 23, 26 May 1888 (BJTP). The sundial was made by Cassella and, unknown to the Flowers, paid for by Webb.

97. Letter, Webb to Flower, 10 August 1894 (CB). The Webb-Mrs Flower correspondence: BL Add. MS 45355.

98. 'Great Tangley Manor, Surrey, the Seat of Mr. Wickham Flower' (see note 92); 'Great Tangley Manor, Surrey, the Country House of Mr. Wickham Flower', CL, 4. 6 August 1898, pp. 144-147; Jekyll, 'Great Tangley Manor', p. 96. Miss Jekyll considered that Jack's additions, though fine in themselves, proved Webb right in his belief that nothing further could be added without spoiling the old building (p. 96); the bridge and covered way are well illustrated in her paper.

99. Muthesius, included exterior and interior photographs in Das englische Haus, pp. 50-51, 111-112 (English edn., Sharp, ed: p. 19 (interior photographs of the library)).

100. For the earlier history of the house, and Webb's work there, see Clive Aslet, 'Forthampton Court, Gloucestershire, the Home of Mr and Mrs G. Yorke', CL, 166, 27 September, 11 October 1979, pp. 938-941, 1166-1169 (this paper includes a water-colour of Keck's front (p. 939, pl. 3)).



101. Yorke's father had consulted various architects about these problems, including W. B. Moffat who in 1846 prepared a scheme for a complete remodelling, and probably Burges who designed the nearby almshouses (1864), but the only executed schemes were Richard Armstrong's of 1860 for a new main staircase, the remodelling of the entrance hall, and the addition of the arcade, all in the Jacobean style (information kindly given to the author by the late Mr Gerald Yorke, who allowed her to study the papers relating to Webb's work at the house (the Yorke Archive is now in the collection of Mr and Mrs J. Yorke), and from Clive Aslet's article (see note 100), and from Helen Smith, 'Philip Webb's Restoration of Forthampton Court'.

102. Lethaby, Webb (1935), p. 105-06.

103. Webb inspected the house on 16-17 April 1889, and later recorded that his brief was to advise on whether it was better to rehabilitate or rebuild but at this date Yorke was determined to build anew (*ibid.*, and Webb's final account, Yorke Archive); Webb's report of 27 April 1889 (Yorke Archive) is printed in full in Smith, 'Webb's Restoration of Forthampton Court', pp. 93-95. The accompanying plan is missing.

104. In his final account (Yorke Archive) Webb recorded that on 30 May 1899 he explained to Yorke that he would charge seven and a half per cent on the cost of works to the house because they would require extra attention and frequent changes according to circumstances, and that Yorke accepted these terms by letter the following day; Webb charged the normal fee for the stable block and billiard-room), and that Yorke accepted these terms by letter on 31 May 1899. Jack spent a week surveying the house in May-June, and Webb designed the schemes for alteration after the survey drawings had been prepared (*ibid.*) Over 200 drawings were made in all; those which survive are: BAL [15] 1-24; V&A E.249-268--1916; 3 in the SPAB collection; a few working drawings in the BJTP collections. V&A E.251--1916 is reproduced in Smith, 'Webb's Restoration of Forthampton Court', pl. 35, and BAL [15] 5 in Kornwolf, Baillie Scott, p. 16, fig. 4. There is a set of measured drawings of Webb's work, prepared by Keith Chandler, in the Yorke Archive.

105. See Webb's final account, which describes the course of events, and Estcourt's final account (Yorke Archive); apparently through illness, Hardy left Forthampton on 23 December 1891 before work was quite finished but returned to supervise construction of the stables and billiard-room between March-July 1892. (Webb's final account); on 13-14 November 1891 Yorke consulted Webb at Forthampton about repairing the existing stables and adding a new block; on 8 January 1892 Webb sent Yorke the stable drawings (which were re-done in February, and sent to Estcourt for an



estimate, and are now missing) (letters, Webb to Yorke, 8 January, 17 February 1892, Yorke Archive); a note on the undated billiard-room drawing (BAL [15] 22) records that a tracing of it was sent to Forthampton on 12 June 1891; Webb's receipt for the final instalment of his fee is dated 28 December 1892 (Yorke Archive). In the letter accompanying his final account Webb told Yorke that the 'successful reparation' had given him 'a real pleasure; a good balance on the opposite side of somewhat anxious labours' (letter, Webb to Yorke, 24 December 1892, Yorke Archive, quoted in Smith, 'Webb's Restoration of Forthampton Court', p. 101).

106. In 1912-14, for Yorke's son, Frank S. Chesterton extended the heating system, installed bathrooms and wash-basins, removed the floor (inserted before Webb's time) and Webb's wainscot from the drawing-room to return the great hall to its original form, and replaced Webb's timber-framed oriel with a tall stone-mullioned bay-window. In 1958-60, for Yorke's grandson, R. Blenham-Bull demolished Webb's redundant T-plan service block to allow the entrance to be moved to the north-east front, made the great hall into the entrance hall by adding a porch, and turned Webb's study into a neo-Georgian drawing-room (information from the late Mr Gerald Yorke). The demolished wing is illustrated in Lethaby, 'Philip Webb', B, 7 August 1925, p. 220. The rest of Webb's work remains, though his dining-room has been subdivided, the billiard-room is now detached from the house, and much of his rough cast has been removed.

107. Webb's report. Webb remodelled the laundry wing and added a triple-gabled storey, retained the old kitchen wing and built maids' bedrooms above it, placed the servants' hall and butler's and hosekeeper's rooms in the lower part of the great hall (looking on to a garden court between the laundry and kitchen wings), and added a T-plan block of offices and menservants' rooms to the north side of the kitchen wing; this block had a yard at one side and the 'Dutch Court', with trellised covered ways on three sides, on the other. A lobby (demolished) connected the billiard-room to the north-east corner of the old house. Clive Astley and Helen Smith ('Forthampton Court', p. 1168, and 'Webb's Restoration of Forthampton Court', p. 97) record the Yorke legend that the Clouds fire led Webb to instal rain-water tanks in the courts; in fact this had long been his practice.

108. Webb considered adding a drawing-room range between the two projecting wings of the south-west front but this would have spoilt the hall and bedrooms above it (see his report). A 1903 photograph of this room is reproduced in Aslet, 'Forthampton Court', p. 1168, pl. 7.

109. Mr Gerald Yorke believed that the turret staircase

had never been used, but in fact it must have been blocked when the floor was removed, as in Webb's time it also gave access to the two servants' rooms he created in the attics above the entrance hall.

110. This overhang has been removed but there are photographs of it, and other demolished parts of the house, in the collection of Mr and Mrs J. Yorke.

111. A new subway connected the heating chamber with the ancient cellars under the great hall.

112. The inscription on the hall fireplace reads: 'Has aedes multam per inscitiam deformatas et vetustate paene corruentes restituendas augendasque curavit adjuvante conjuge batavensi Johannes Reginaldus Yorke A. D. MDCCCLXXXI aetatis suae LV' ('This house, much deformed by neglect and almost having fallen down with age, was restored and enlarged by John Reginald Yorke helped by his Dutch wife in 1891, aged 55'); Jack was paid £5 and Miss Faulkner £3 (Jack's receipt and Webb's account, Yorke Archive); David Verey considered this staircase sufficiently important to feature in the limited illustrations in Gloucestershire: The Vale and Forest of Dean (pl. 98); this grate and others plus several fenders were made to Webb's designs by Longdens. The hall and library fireplaces and the staircase are illustrated in Aslet, 'Forthampton Court', pp. 1167-169, pls. 5, 6, 10.

113. E.g., on Gimson (at the White House, illustrated in Lambourne, Utopian Craftsmen, p. 171, pl. 196), on W. H. Bidlake (at Garth House, illustrated in Stamp and Goulancourt, The English House, pp. 214-15), on George Walton (at The Leys, illustrated in Pevsner, Studies in Art, Architecture and design: Victorian and After London: Thames and Hudson, 1986), p. 185), and on Mackintosh (at Derngate, *ibid.*, p. 173).

114. This bookcase is now in the great hall; Webb's drawing for it (BAL [15] 23) is reproduced in Lever, Architects' Designs for Furniture, p. 88. Estcourts also made a glazed case for an 'ancient picture' to Webb's design (verso, BAL [15] 24).

115. Letters, Webb to the Yorkes, 18, 22 November 1890, 2 September, 15 November 1891, Yorke Archive, printed, chiefly in full, Smith, 'Webb's Restoration of Forthampton Court', pp. 98-100). The Morris carpet is in the great hall.

116. Baird, who later attained the rank of brigadier-general, became a member of the Jockey Club in 1894, the year bought Exning; in 1907 he won the St. Leger with Woolwinder (information on Baird and his purchase of the estate was kindly supplied by the County Archivist, Amanda J. E. Arrowsmith).



117. Yorke took Baird to Webb's office on 19 April 1894 for a consultation about Exning House which Webb visited on 1 May 1894 (CB).

118. Over 179 drawings were made; surviving ones are: BAL [14] 1-42 (including preliminary schemes and 6 contract drawings); 17 in the SPAB collection including the master drawings on linen, d. January 1895 and later, at least 2 in private collections. There are contemporary photographs, taken for Webb by Weir and Winmill, in the BJTP collection (3 of the exterior were illustrated in Lethaby, 'Philip Webb', B, 1925, 128, pp. 944, and 129, pp. 76, 100. Webb inspected the colleges with Kett on 14 January 1895 (SB 1892-96).

119. The contract with Estcourt was signed on 5 June 1895; Weir was paid £3 a week, half by Webb and half by Baird as he was not on site all the time; Estcourt's account was settled in June 1897, 12 months after completion; Webb charged seven and a half per cent, as at Forthampton; James Kennedy was the quantity surveyor (all from the CB).

120. Kelmscott CB. Jack adhered to Webb's drawings.

121. SB 1892-1900, 9 October 1896; Webb underpinned the walls of Jelfe's house, turned its porch into a bay-window, inserted a lantern over the main staircase, formed open areas on its long sides to light and ventilate the menservants' bedrooms he created in the basement, and built a verandah on the south front (now a sun-room). The enlargement was far larger than even Webb envisaged; his original estimate was for only £11,896 (CB).

122. Webb demolished the old library, billiard-room, and some offices but retained the game larder and re-used many materials and fittings (notes on his drawings, and SB 1892-96, 28 June 1895).

123. Some of the wainscot was specially purchased Jacobean panelling; Webb thought that the billiard-room was 'in all ways a very fit and pleasing room' (SB 1892-96, 13 July 1894, and SB 1896-1900, 9 October 1896).

124. In George Jack, 'Appreciation', p. 5. Thomas Elsley made this grate and others to Webb's designs (CB).

125. Information kindly given to the author by Mrs Antony Crosthwaite Eyre (in conversation, July 1982) and Dr Nigel Temple (by letter, 25 May 1983). Webb entitled his drawings 'Warens' or 'Warens House'.

126. In 1868, through Morris and Co., Webb designed a pier glass, and designed and supervised alterations and decorations, and in 1869 designed a cabinet, for 'Mr



Spottiswoode' (Morris & Co. AB). Eyre played a major part in the early history of New Forest conservation.

127. Webb inspected the house on 19-20 March 1897 (SB 1896-1900); on 19 November 1897 Webb showed the plans to Mr and Mrs Eyre, who found them satisfactory (ibid.). Webb's drawings: 15 in the SPAB collection (7 contract and 8 working drawings); BAL [45] 1-30 (working drawings).

128. SB 1896-1900, 16 February 1898. Webb got on well with the builder William R. Franklin.

129. The contract was signed on 24 March 1898; SB 1896-1900, 4 October 1899; AB; the design for the butler's pantry cupboards was not commissioned until 18 July 1900 (note on drawing, SPAB collection). No clerk of works was employed, Webb having ascertained that Franklin's foreman Thomas Clarke was competent to work without one; George Jack spent time on site at vital stages (SB 1896-1900, 29 April, 2-3 August 1898).

130. Mr Antony Crosthwaite Eyre had aerial photographs taken before demolishing Webb's wing and the large chapel (added in the 1930s). It is wrongly stated in the BAL Catalogue, ed. Lever, (p. 192) that in 1985 Webb's work existed unaltered.

131. SB 1896-1900, 2-3 August 1898. For this window Webb repeated Nash's detailing; he insisted that each stone of the conservatory parapet was removed, numbered, stored carefully, and replaced exactly as before (instructions on drawing BAL [45] 14).

132. Joseph Hill of Romsey made the new clock (Add.B, fol. 103). Webb added another wind-vane to the new stack on the garden front; he extended the cellars, installed new hot and cold water supply systems and a new heating furnace (Nash had provided partial central heating, some double-glazing, and an ingenious system of under-floor chains and weights to ensure that doors moved smoothly).

133. The tiles are reputed to have been brought back from the Middle East by George Eyre (information from Mrs Antony Crosthwaite Eyre); the Hopton Wood Stone Company made the columns and capitals from the models Laurence Turner prepared from Webb's drawings (BAL [45] 12); Longdens made the grate (see BAL [45] 16). The Eyre insignia was painted in the panel above the chimney-piece c. 1980, when Webb's two small clerestory lights--installed for ventilation--were removed (their dormers remain). The common-room is now the dining-room.

134. SB 1896-1900, 4 October 1899.

135. Information from Mrs Antony Crosthwaite Eyre.

## CONCLUSION

1. Letter, Webb to Percy Wyndham, 16 August 1886, LB 2, fols. 62-65 (fol. 62).

2. Letter, Webb to Lethaby, 3 July 1904 Webb (1935), p. 138.

3. Ibid., p. 88. If present and future architects accepted Webb's contention that they have a duty to respect the landscape, and if planning officers and conservationists learnt from Webb's example that to respect the local vernacular it is not necessary to produce repetitive pastiches of it, British architecture would greatly benefit.

4. Webb's aim in Lethaby's words (ibid., p. 18). Other architects influenced the Arts and Crafts or English Domestic revival houses, notably Shaw, Nesfield, and Ernest George (1839-1922), but none so much as Webb. Any reader who doubts this is recommended to study Webb's buildings and the wide selection of houses illustrated in T. Raffles Davison's Modern Homes: Selected Examples of Dwelling Houses (London: George Bell & Sons, 1909): almost every one of the latter reveals Webb's influence in some way.

## CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF BUILDING WORK

The list has been compiled from Webb's drawings, letters, and Account Book; it excludes work for Morris and Company and the SPAB. The dates are those of the designing of the work. (Abbreviation: clt: client.)

1858-59: Red House, Bexleyheath, Kent  
clt: William Morris.

1860: Sandroyd, Cobham, Surrey  
clt: John Roddam Spencer Stanhope.

1860-61: estate cottage, The Moated House, Tottenham,  
Greater London (demolished)  
clt: William James Gillum.

c. 1860-65: offices and stables at Hatfield  
(demolished)  
clt: C. Drage.

1861: nos. 91-101 Worship Street, London: shops,  
workshops, and dwellings  
clt: William James Gillum.

1863: Arisaig House, Arisaig, Highland Region  
(destroyed by fire, rebuilt to another  
design)  
clt: Francis Dukinfield Palmer Astley.

1864: Arisaig House: gardeners' bothy, Borrodale  
Farmhouse, and farm buildings.

1864: no. 1 (14) Holland Park Road, London  
clt: Valentine Cameron Prinsep.

1864: Sandroyd: enlargement of offices.

1864: village school, Heathfield School, East Sussex  
clt: unknown.

1864: Red House: extension (unexecuted)  
clts: William Morris and Edward Burne-Jones.

1864: Bradford Wool Exchange drawings (unfinished)  
(competition).

c. 1864: no. 16 Cheyne Walk, London: studio  
clt: Dante Gabriel Rossetti.

c. 1864-65: Washington Hall, Washington, Tyne and  
Wear: rear extension  
clt: Isaac Lowthian Bell.

1864-67: Cranmer Hall, Sculthorpe, Norfolk: enlargement  
clt: Sir Willoughby Jones.

1866: Arisaig House: chapel (unexecuted).



1866: estate cottage at Ware, Hertfordshire  
 clt: Salisbury Baxendale.

1866-67: Washington Hall: entrance extension.

1866-67: Newcastle upon Tyne: offices, Grainger Street  
 (unexecuted)  
 clt: Newcastle upon Tyne Council.

1867-68: no. 1 Palace Green, London  
 clt: George Howard.

1867: Bell Brothers Ironworks, Port Clarence,  
 Cleveland: clock tower (demolished)  
 clt: Isaac Lowthian Bell for Bell Brothers.

1868: no. 19 Park Hill, Carshalton, Greater London  
 clt: William Hale White.

1868: Upwood Gorse, Caterham, Surrey  
 clt: John Tomes.

1868: Church Hill House (demolished)  
 clt: William James Gillum.

1868: West House, Glebe Place, London  
 clt: George Price Boyce.

1868: no. 19 Lincoln's Inn Fields, London:  
 solicitors' offices  
 clt: Leonard Rowe Valpy.

1868: Red Barns, Coatham, Cleveland  
 clt: Thomas Hugh Bell.

c. 1868: Cortachy Castle, Tayside Region: repairs and  
 library fittings (probable)  
 clt: Lord Airlie.

1868-69: Airlie House, Tayside Region (unexecuted)  
 clt: Lord Airlie.

c. 1868-72: Thurstaston Church, Cheshire (unexecuted)  
 clt: Adam Steinmetz Kennard.

1868-73: 77 Park Street, Oxford Street, London:  
 alterations and refitting (demolished)  
 clt: Dr Dowson.

1869: Church Hill House: stables and lodge.

1869: no. 1 Tor Villas, Campden Hill, London: studio  
 (demolished)  
 clt: Robert Braithwaite Martineau.

1869: Beaumont Lodge, Shepherd's Bush, London:  
 conversion of stables to studio, minor house

- alterations
  - clt: Edward Poynter.
- 1869: Great Malvern Villas (by Bodley): design of one or two details, and supervision of last stages of construction
  - clt: George Frederick Bodley.
- 1860s: Washington Parish Church, Tyne and Wear: preliminary sketches (unexecuted)
  - clt: Isaac Lowthian Bell (presumably).
- 1870: Joldwynds, Holmbury St. Mary, Surrey (demolished)
  - clt: William Bowman.
- 1870: Sandroyd: enlargement.
- 1870: no. 8 Holland Villas Road, London: alterations
  - clt: Constantine Alexander Ionides.
- c. 1870-72: Rougham Hall, Norfolk: preliminary scheme for rebuilding (unexecuted)
  - clt: Charles North.
- 1870-72: Hunsden Church, Hertfordshire: repair
  - clt: Salisbury Baxendale.
- 1870-71: Lockleys, Welwyn, Herts.: picture gallery and conservatory (unexecuted)
  - clt: George Dering.
- c. 1870-71: Toft Hall, Bexton, Cheshire: possible minor alterations
  - clt: Rafe Oswald Leycester.
- 1871: Fairfield Lodge, no. 6 Addison Road, London: alterations (demolished)
  - clt: Euphrosyne Cassavetti.
- 1871: no. 16 Cheyne Walk, London: alteration to studio.
- 1871-72: Rounton Grange, East Rounton, North Yorkshire (demolished)
  - clt: Isaac Lowthian Bell.
- 1871-72: no. 6 Cheyne Walk, London: alterations
  - clt: Rafe Oswald Leycester.
- 1871-72: Cobham Church, Surrey: work on ceiling, and a new lych-gate
  - clt: Revd Banks.
- c. 1871: Atherstone Colliery, Lancashire: large chimney and engine house (unexecuted)
  - clt: Herbert Fletcher.

1872: The Briary, Freshwater, Isle of Wight  
(destroyed by fire)  
clt: George Frederic Watts.

1872: Oast House, Hayes Common, Greater London  
clt: Lord Sackville Cecil.

1872: Pusey House, Farringdon, Oxfordshire: offices  
and alterations  
clts: Mr and Mrs Bouverie Pusey.

1872-74: Brockham Warren, Tadworth, Surrey:  
alterations and extension of conservatory  
clt: Sir Benjamin Brodie.

1873: Upwood Gorse: extension of offices.

1873: Bell Brothers Ironworks: blowing engine house.  
(demolished).

1873: house at Bexton (unexecuted)  
clt: Rafe Oswald Leycester.

1873-74: no. 1 Palace Green: school-room addition.

1873-74: Naworth Castle, Brampton, Cumbria:  
installation of clock  
clt: George Howard for the Naworth Estate Trustees.

1874: Church Farm School, East Barnet, Greater  
London: dairy  
clt: William James Gillum.

1874-75: Naworth Castle: studio conversion.

1874: Nether Hall, Pakenham, Suffolk: enlargement and  
alterations  
clt: Edward Greene.

1874-75: St. Martin's Church, Brampton, Cumbria  
clt: Church Building Committee at George Howard's  
instigation.

c. 1874-76: Rounton Grange: farm workers' terrace, farm  
buildings, and coach-house (1876).

1874-76: Rounton Grange: lodge and rest house  
alterations, farm workers' hostel.

1874-76: artisans' terrace, Brampton, Cumbria  
(unexecuted)  
clt: George Howard for the Naworth Estate Trustees.

1874-80: Berkeley Castle, Gloucestershire (minor  
alterations)  
clt: Lord Fitzhardinge.

1875: Bell Brothers Ironworks: Works Offices



(demolished).

- 1875: Joldwynds coach-house and gates.
- 1875: Red Barns: stables (demolished).
- 1875: Church Farm School, East Barnet: schoolroom  
and cow-house.
- 1875: Hendred College, Berkshire: small alterations  
clt: 'Mr. Galland'.
- 1875-76: Nether Hall: farm buildings.
- 1876: Smeaton Manor, Great Smeaton, North Yorkshire  
clt: Arthur Fitzpatrick Godman.
- 1876: nos. 2 and 4 Redington Road, Hampstead, London  
clt: William Chisholm.
- 1876: Four Gables, Brampton, Cumbria  
clt: George Howard for the Naworth Estate Trustees.
- 1876: village school, East Rounton, North Yorkshire  
clt: Isaac Lowthian Bell.
- 1876: no. 1 Holland Park Road: extension.
- 1876: West House: extension.
- 1876: Fairfield Lodge: enlargement and stables  
(demolished)  
clt: Alexander Cassavetti.
- 1876: Upwood Gorse: enlargement.
- 1876: house, probably in Reigate, Surrey (unexecuted)  
clt: W. A. Cardwell.
- c. 1876: no. 12 Orme Square, London: music room  
clt: Edward Dannreuther.
- 1877: The Vicar's House, Brampton, Cumbria  
clt: George Howard for the Naworth Estate Trustees.
- 1877: Smeaton Manor: stables.
- 1877-78: New Place, Welwyn, Hertfordshire  
clt: Henry Speakman Webb.
- 1877-80: Clouds, East Koyle, Wiltshire (part  
demolished).  
clt: The Hon. Percy Wyndham.
- 1878: Naworth Castle: tower room and library  
fittings.
- 1879: Four Gables: stables.

1879: The Vicar's House: stables.

1879: no. 1 Holland Park, London: enlargement  
(demolished)  
clt: Alexander Ionides.

1879: no. 8 Holland Villas Road, London:  
enlargement.

1881: Red Barns: enlargement.

1881: a mission church  
clt: unkown.

1881-83: Bell Brothers Offices, Middlesbrough, Cleveland  
(constructed 1889-91)  
clt: Isaac Lowthian Bell for Bell Brothers.

1882: Rushmore Lodge, Tollard Royal, Wiltshire:  
internal alterations and decoration  
clt: Augustus Henry Pitt-Rivers.

1883: Hill House, Greatham, Cleveland  
clt: William Thomas Tate.

1883: Coneyhurst, Ewhurst, Surrey  
clt: Mary Anne Ewart.

1884: pump house, Ayot Green, Hertfordshire  
clt: unknown.

1885: Coneyhurst: gardener's cottage.

1885: Great Tangley Manor, Guildford, Surrey:  
offices and entrance hall enlargement  
clt: Wickham Flower.

1885: Rushmore Lodge: entrance lodges (unexecuted)  
and west gates.

1886: Coneyhurst: stables.

1886: Willinghurst, Shamley Green, Surrey  
clt: John Charles Francis Ramsden.

1886: Great Tangley Manor: stables (unexecuted).

1887: Felday House, no. 25 Young Street, London:  
alterations and extensions (demolished)  
clt: Sir William Bowman.

1887: Datchworth Church: repairs  
clt: Revd H. S. H. James.

1887: no. 42 Kensington Square: screen wall  
clt: Sir William Bowman.

1888: Willinghurst: stables.

1888: no. 1 Holland Park: garden house (probably unexecuted).

1888-89: Upwood Gorse: enlargements.

1889: Clouds: reinstatement after fire.

1889: Forthampton Court, near Tewkesbury, Gloucestershire: alterations and enlargement  
clt: John Reginald Yorke.

1889: no. 23 Second Avenue, Hove, East Sussex: picture gallery  
clt: Constantine Alexander Ionides.

1889: no. 1 Holland Park: smoking-room and loggia. (demolished).

1889: no. 37 Cavendish Square, London: repairs and alterations  
clt: Charles Tomes.

1890-91: Goldenfields, Liphook, Hampshire  
clt: Mary Anne Robb.

1890-92: Ledbury Clock Tower: memorial to Elizabeth Barret Browning (unexecuted)  
clt: Tower Committee.

1890-93: East Knoyle Church: repair of tower  
clt: The Hon. Percy Wyndham.

1891: Standen, East Grinstead, West Sussex  
clt: James S. Beale.

1891: Great Tangley Manor: stables and cottages.

1891: Forthampton Court: stables.

1891: Morris Cottage, Much Haddem, Hertfordshire: alterations  
clt: May Morris.

1891-92: Joldwynds: library extension (demolished).

1891-93: Arisaig Village Hall  
clt: Constance Astley.

1982: Forthampton Court: billiard-room.

1892-93: no. 1 Holland Park Road: enlargement.

1893: Great Tangley Manor: library extension.

1894: Upwood Gorse: coachman's cottage.



- 1894: Exning House, Exning, Suffolk: enlargement  
clt: Edward William Baird.
- 1894: no. 1 Pembridge Place, London: alterations  
clt: William James Gillum.
- 1895-96: Standen: cottages.
- 1895-96: Medmenham Abbey, Buckinghamshire: alterations  
clt: R. W. Hudson.
- 1896: Rounton Grange: new servants' hall  
(demolished).
- 1896: Willinghurst: smoking-room (unexecuted).
- 1896-97: Rochester Deaconess Institution, Clapham  
Common, Greater London: chapel (dismantled)  
clt: Isabella Gilmore.
- 1897: Hurlands  
clt: Agneta Henrietta Cocks.
- 1897: Warrens House, Bramshaw, Hampshire: enlargement  
(part demolished)  
clt: George Edward Briscoe Eyre.
- 1897: Willinghurst: lodges (built 1897, 1899).
- 1897: Red Barns: enlargement of bay-window.
- 1898: Standen: hall extension.
- 1898-99: Hurlands: stables.
- 1899-1900: Morris Cottages, Kelmscott, Oxfordshire  
clt: Jane Morris.
- 1900: Willinghurst: gardener's cottage.
- 1900: Caxtons, Worth, West Sussex: repairs and  
clt: Philip Webb.
- 1905: Brampton Church: upper stages of tower  
clt: Church Building Committee at George Howard's  
instigation.

Webb also designed at least 19 memorials (chiefly gravestone), two mausoleums (1887 and 1890), and a few conduits and drinking fountains. He inspected and reported on numerous houses for clients who were considering buying or leasing them, and he reported on the likely effects on clients' houses of proposed adjacent buildings.

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