L.N.Cottingham, 1787-1847, Architect: his place in the Gothic Revival

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Declaration

While registered as a candidate for the degree for which this submission is made, the author has not been a registered candidate for any other award of the CNAA, or of a University during the research programme.

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Abstract

Through this thesis, the oeuvre of a neglected British architect, L.N.Cottingham, 1787-1847, has been discovered. Sources for the study included unattributed drawings, plans, watercolours, and previously undiscovered letters in archives throughout the UK and America, and contemporary English, French and German periodicals. Cottingham's extensive work in church restoration from 1825, his domestic architecture and design, much of it hitherto unknown, and his influential theories, have been analysed, compared with the work of his contemporaries and set in a wide European context. His influence on the change of Taste from the Classical of the eighteenth century to the Gothic Revival of the nineteenth century, the importance of his Museum of Mediaeval Antiquities, the first major collection of its kind in England, as a catalyst of the Romantic Movement, his lead in antiquarian and preservationist issues as an historian and appreciator of the whole mediaeval period from the despised Romanesque onwards, his position as the first analyst of the Gothic whose studies influenced architectural practice, and his use of the vernacular as a source of style at an early date, have been assessed and his position as a major figure in the development of the Gothic Revival has been established.

It has thus been possible to evaluate Cottingham's importance as an early mediaevalist and Gothic Revival architect of influence in the European context, to assess to what extent his work foreshadows the theory and practice of A.W.N.Pugin, to clarify conflicting views of Cottingham's quality on the basis of a study of his work hitherto unknown, and in so challenging and reviewing the accepted interpretation of the architectural history of this period, to have presented a reassessment of and contributed significantly to the knowledge of architectural developments in the early nineteenth century.

PhD Thesis 1989

Acknowledgements

Abbreviations

BM	British Museum
LNC	Lewis Nockalls Cottingham
NJC	Nockalls Johnson Cottingham
FSA	Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries
ILN	Illustrated London News
GM	Gentleman's Magazine
RO	Record Office
PRONI	Public Record Office of Northern Ireland
UCL	University College Library
ICBS	Incorporated Church Building Society
RIBA	Royal Institute of British Architects
HoP	Houses of Parliament
OAHS	Oxford Architectural and Historical Society
OAS	Oxford Architectural Society
V&A	Victoria and Albert Museum
BNP	Bury and Norwich Post

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Part I

THE THEORY
AND PUBLICATIONS OF
L.N.COTTINGHAM

Preface

Introduction to Lewis Nockalls Cottingham, architect, 1787-1847

The work of L.N.Cottingham, 1787-1847, architect, antiquary and designer, has been overlooked in twentieth century interpretations of architectural history, except for the article by Simon Jervis in 1984 on Cottingham's furniture designs for Snelston Hall which are in the Victoria and Albert Museum (1). The obituary to Cottingham in the *Art Union* in October 1847 gave his occupation as Surveyor to the Cook's Company from 1820, listed some of his major works of church restoration such as Rochester Cathedral in 1825 and Hereford Cathedral in 1841, mentioned his Museum of Mediaeval Antiquities, noted domestic architecture for such patrons as Lord Brougham and Lord Dunraven, and unequivocally established the esteem in which Cottingham was held in his own time (2). Since then Cottingham has lapsed into obscurity, relegated to a role barely worthy of a footnote. The entries for Cottingham in the *Dictionary of National Biography* and Colvin's *Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1660-1840* rely on the *Art Union* obituary with no new information. No collection of personal or family papers and no archive material relating to Cottingham's architectural business which he ran with his son, Nockalls Johnson Cottingham, have yet come to light. My attention was first drawn to Cottingham when I researched a family crest on a set of early nineteenth century Gothic Revival hall chairs which appeared in a Derbyshire saleroom in 1985 (3). The crest belonged to John Harrison of Snelston Hall, a Gothic mansion designed by L.N.Cottingham in 1827 and since demolished. My study of his known works and publications and the discovery of hitherto unknown buildings, church restorations, interior designs, furniture, metalwork, letters, drawings, sketchbooks, and water colours by L.N.Cottingham has been achieved through extensive research in private collections and the archives of his patrons, friends, societies and professional bodies, and contemporary architects and antiquaries, and in record offices, church archives, libraries, museums and local study collections throughout England, Wales and Ireland.

It is known that Cottingham trained for his profession in his native Suffolk, in his own words, 'with a country architect and builder', and continued his studies in London from 1810 'in the various branches of the profession under different gentlemen most experienced in their respective departments of the art'. He then set up in business on his own account as architect surveyor in 1814, living at 66 Great Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields (4). In 1828 he moved to 43 Waterloo Bridge Road, Lambeth, part of an estate of houses and shops and a hotel which Cottingham designed for John Field Esq, in 1825-28, where he housed his collection of mediaeval antiquities and where he remained until his death in October 1847.

Cottingham, as an architect born in 1787, was trained in the classical tradition of the eighteenth century and his early works reflect the styles that prevailed at the turn of the century. The classicism of Robert Adam (1728-1792) and William Chambers (1726-1796) was continuing in the next generation of architects, George Dance II (1741-1825) Henry Holland (1745-1806) James Wyatt (1747-1813) John Soane (1753-1837) and John Nash (1752-1835), followed by Cottingham's contemporaries such as Robert Smirke (1780-1867) William Wilkins (1728-1839) J.Cockerell (1788-1863) and Charles Barry (1795-1860). The influence of Cottingham's classical training and the prevailing Greek revival style of Wilkins Downing College of 1806 and Smirke's Covent Garden Theatre of 1808-09 are reflected in Cottingham's austere classical facades for the Waterloo Bridge Road estate of 1825, in his competition designs for the Salter's Hall of 1821, and in the impressive competition plans of 1832 for the Fishmongers' Hall with its giant Ionic order and classical symmetry. The influence of the Picturesque theory of the late eighteenth century was evident too in the work of this period, in John Nash's combination of classicism and Reptonian informality in his Regent's Park planning, and this Picturesque quality appears in Cottingham's mansion, Snelston Hall in Derbyshire for John Harrison Esq of 1826, in the siting of the Hall, its dramatic skyline and landscape design, and in the book of watercolour drawings for cottages ornees for the Snelston estate village. Gothic, or a form of the eighteenth century 'Gothick', epitomised by Horace Walpole's Strawberry Hill of 1749 or the fantasy of James Wyatt's Fonthill Abbey 1795, for the arch-Romantic Beckford, continued as an

element within the Picturesque with Nash and Repton as its chief exponents. In the early part of the nineteenth century Gothic was also seen as a second string for most of the Greek Revivalists. Smirke, Wilkins, Cockerell, Barry and Goodwin all tried to master its details from a study of the available publications. Smirke's Gothic Lowther castle of 1806-11 and Eastnor of 1812-15, for example, show little knowledge of Gothic forms or construction, but indicate his ability to design in any style to suit the patron or the situation.

Another influence, however, proved the strongest in Cottingham's development. Amongst his close friends, listed in his obituary, was John Carter (1748-1817). Carter was an antiquary and draughtsman to the Society of Antiquaries of London, who, between 1798 and 1817 wrote some two hundred and twelve articles in the *Gentleman's Magazine* attacking the neglect, destruction, and ill-judged and ignorant attempts at repairs of English mediaeval buildings and monuments. Carter imparted his ideas on preservation and his passion for the mediaeval to the young Cottingham, encouraging his archaeological study of Westminster Hall and Henry VII's Chapel between 1818 and 1821 at a time when Carter was carefully scrutinising Wyatt's restoration of Westminster Abbey. Cottingham's interests and efforts, from this date on, were to be directed towards serious and scholarly study of mediaeval art and architecture, possibly as a reaction against the eclecticism of the day, and certainly as a reflection of this growing desire to preserve the few remaining examples of the mediaeval architecture of England. In a letter of 1832 Cottingham wrote:

> 'From the earliest period of my practice, I have been ambitious of arriving at excellence in my profession. My leisure time and patrimony have consequently been expended in ardent research to qualify myself accordingly. I now have a studio and museum of models and practical designs which are considered to be unrivalled.'

Cottingham's publication of detailed studies of Westminster Hall, Henry VII's Chapel and working drawings of Gothic ornament between 1822 and 1829 made clear his intention to preserve the reviled Gothic against the prevailing taste for classicism, and his structural analysis of Gothic, designed to educate and inform architects, made a contrast with such contemporary publications as A.C.Pugin's mediaeval studies which reflected the topographical work of the late eighteenth century.

Cottingham's studies therefore place him as one of the earliest promoters of an archaeologically correct Gothic Revival. His Museum of Mediaeval Antiquities, amassed between 1814 and his death in 1847 reveal Cottingham as an extender of the term Antiquities to cover works held in disdain by the cognoscenti of the eighteenth century. His archaeological discoveries made during his surveys of mediaeval buildings and the resulting publications, and his passionate efforts as a preservationist to save threatened mediaeval structures, through the publication of pamphlets, through subscription, and through giving his services as architect gratuitously, together indicate his importance and influence as an early appreciator and disciple of the architecture and sculpture of the mediaeval period.

This thesis shows Cottingham's significance as a promoter of the Gothic Revival in the early nineteenth century. His contribution to the history of Taste is revealed, for it was Cottingham who re-examined both the Romanesque and the Gothic styles and re-introduced them to the English stylistic repertoire at a crucial moment in the development of styles. His links with the mediaevalist architects in France and Germany demonstrate patterns of intellectual intercourse between England and the Continent which continued the close contact shown in the eighteenth century, for example by Chambers and LeRoy and Adam and Clerisseau, and provides evidence of how the taste of the nineteenth century developed in part out of that of the eighteenth century. It is shown, that as a major nineteenth century mediaevalist architect, Cottingham's work foreshadows that of A.W.N.Pugin, and establishes Cottingham as an important figure in the English architectural tradition, one who influenced developments on the Continent. This thesis presents a reappraisal of the work of a man, highly esteemed in his own day, but who has merited only a passing reference in twentieth century interpretations of architectural history, with consideration of the possible reasons for this neglect as a concomitant.

The development in his work is revealed from the eclecticism of his eighteenth century training towards an increasingly important contribution to the Gothic Revival at a very early date in the nineteenth century, namely the extending of antiquarianism and preservationism as an influence upon architectural practice. Every

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aspect of his known work is considered including his extensive church restoration practice beginning with Rochester Cathedral in 1825 and ending with Hereford Cathedral in 1847, analysed in the light of his theories and demonstrating qualities which pre-empt the aims and ideals of Ruskin and Morris; a concern for standards of design to keep abreast of industrial and technological developments, exemplified in his publication on cast ironwork of 1823; and in domestic architecture his impact on the mediaeval revival through such works as the Gothic Snelston Hall of 1827 and the Norman revival Brougham Hall of 1830, and in the recognition of the English vernacular as a source of style for his estate village of 1827-40 and country schools of the 1840s, an important step predating a major aim of the Arts and Crafts architects of the late nineteenth century. Cottingham's work is examined in the context of English and Continental architectural theory and practice, in comparison with contemporaries, in the idea of the Mediaeval, ideas of Patronage, theories of Taste, and the development of historical thought in the nineteenth century.

Cottingham's publications, his extant work known to date, buildings, furniture, stained glass, metal work, interior design, and church restoration, extension and building have been examined, and reference made to extensive contemporary comment on his work in such journals as the *British Magazine,* the *Gentleman's Magazine, The Builder,* and the *Ecclesiologist,* enabling us to see Cottingham as his contemporaries saw him and to place him within the complexities of the social and architectural context. Much of Cottingham's domestic work, church interiors and design, has been swept away and his restoration work undone or overlaid by later 'improvers', and in a working life of twenty three years, a great deal of it concerned with restoration work, his output appears small by comparison with his long lived contemporaries such as Edward Blore or Anthony Salvin, yet his powerful influence is made clear in this examination of his work. A study of original written sources, for example his own writings, letters, publications and reports, which more than anything give an impression of his personality, his passions, prejudices and his attitudes to his work, and primarily visual sources like Competition designs, sketchbooks, watercolours, plans and etchings, together demonstrate his qualities as an architect, engineer, artist, designer, antiquary, and above all, serve to reinstate

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Cottingham as a figure of major importance to the Gothic Revival in the nineteenth century.

Chapter 1

Cottingham as Promoter of a Gothic Revival

1 LNC in context: development of a Gothic Revival in Europe from the eighteenth to nineteenth centuries.

In order to establish Cottingham's importance as an early practitioner in the Gothic Revival, to consider his influence upon architectural theory and practice through a close analysis of his publications, to examine his work in church restoration and in his domestic building, it is necessary first to place him in the context of Gothic Revival developments in Europe. His contribution to the mediaeval revival, to antiquarianism, to preservationism, restoration practice and to museology must also be assessed by comparison with the work and ideas of his contemporaries. His influence on Taste will be assessed through an examination of the nature of the patronage he received.

The background to the chronological development of the Gothic Revival, first written about by Eastlake in 1872 (5) and Clark in 1920 (6), has been widely researched by Frankl (7), Germann (8), McAulay (9), Frew (10), Mowl (11), McCarthy (12), Cocke (13), Colvin (14), and Crook (15) and others, and a brief résumé of the leading theorists and practitioners from the early eighteenth to the early nineteenth century will suffice in order to place Cottingham in the sequence of developing Revivalism. Gothic architecture had been despised by the classicists from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century; It was described by Vasari in 1550 as 'monstrous and barbarous' (16), expressing a prejudice that continued to the nineteenth century for Cottingham in 1822 expected 'the censure of the classicists' for his praise of Gothic (17). John Evelyn in his translation of Fréart de Cambray's book *A Parallel of the Ancient Architecture with the Modern* of 1707, spoke of 'congestions of heavy, dark monkish piles' and although Wren and Aubrey showed some understanding of the history and chronological development of Gothic, Evelyn's view went unchallenged for thirty years (18). By the mid eighteenth century however attempts had been made to appreciate and even imitate mediaeval Gothic. Some distinction between ancient, 'massive', and

modern Gothic, 'light and delicate', was made by Richard Neve in his
Builders' Dictionary of 1736 and in 1750, Christopher Wren in
Parentalia introduced a two phase analysis 'Saxon and Gothic', that
was widely disseminated [19]. Attempts at building in Gothic were
carried out by Vanburgh in 1717 in his mediaeval fortress house at
Greenwich and by Kent at Esher Lodge and Rousham of 1730, a
'Kentian Gothic' popularised in the publications of Vardy, Halfpenny,
Becker, Lightholer, and Batty Langley who in 1742 paid Gothic the
compliment of formalising its characteristics into orders [20]. In 1748
Horace Walpole and his friends enlarged and Gothicised Strawberry
Hill in a Revivalist spirit, drawing upon mediaeval sources [21].
Cottingham paid tribute to their attempt at archaeologically correct
Gothic by including some of the designs in his volume *Working
Drawings of Gothic Ornament* of 1823 [22].

A more serious research into Gothic was begun in 1758 by James
Bentham, Canon of Ely, who saw the need for a treatise on mediaeval
architecture. He collaborated with James Essex, the architect and
antiquary who was at that time engaged in research on Kings' College
Chapel at Cambridge [23]. Although none of their material at this date
was published, the work interested the poet Thomas Gray who wrote in
1754 a criticism of Kent's Gothic at Rousham, and in 1762 the accuracy
and knowledge of Bentham's research was praised by Walpole. Essex
as a practising architect was concerned with the structural principles of
Gothic, an important part of his work on King's College Chapel, but as
an antiquary his interest lay in stylistic analysis as a valuable aid in
dating buildings and monuments in the absence of documentary
evidence [24]. Analysis of the structure of Gothic architecture was by
contrast part of the French tradition and found a wide following in the
writings of de L'Orme in 1648 [25], Charles Perrault (1628-1703) who
praised the 'Gothic-like lightness' of the Louvre colonnade in 1673 in
Parallel des Anciens et des Modernes, the theories of Abbé de Cordemoy
in 1714 [26], and particularly in the writings of A.F. Frézier (1682-1753)
who in 1730 analysed the structure of Gothic arches and vaults with an
expertise unequalled in his day and which provided the basis of studies
by later nineteenth century architects such as Lassus and Viollet-le-
Duc [27]. Blondel (1705-1774), Soufflot (1713-80) and later Boullée all
considered Gothic from a purely structural point of view, and the

writings of Abbé Laugier in 1753 and 1765 on the economy and
rationality of Gothic construction underlined the French concern for
structural analysis in architecture, ideas that were influential in
theories and methods of church restoration in France (28). Laugier's
volumes *Essai Sur L'Architecture* of 1753 and *Observations Sur
L'Architecture* of 1765 were well known in England. Cottingham for
example would have read the favourable review of Laugier's theories
which Isaac Ware included in his *Complete Body of Architecture* of
1756, a volume known to have been in Cottingham's library (29).

In England, by the end of the eighteenth century, an understanding of
Gothic was developing. Gray, Bentham and Warton were influential in
its promulgation as was Francis Price who in *Observations on Salisbury*
of 1787 distinguished different stylistic phases, and further
mediaevalist research continued with Walpole, James Wyatt and
Sanderson Millar (30). A very important influence in the development of
mediaeval archaeology and preservationist ideas was the Society of
Antiquaries under the directorship of Richard Gough (31). He was a
mediaevalist in an age of classicism and his many communications in
the *Gentleman's Magazine* from 1770 onwards contributed to a growing
spirit of antiquarian curiosity, and attempts by a small section of
antiquarian opinion to start imposing certain standards upon
architectural behaviour (32). Gough decided to commit the Society to an
active role in publications, firstly with plates and then with the first
volume of *Archaeologia* in 1770. Antiquarianism was not yet equated
with mediaevalism, still less with an interest in mediaeval architecture
and in the first 8 volumes up to 1786 only 23 out of 323 papers held
mention of the mediaeval (33).

Other factors in the late eighteenth century also contributed to a
growing interest in English antiquities. Access to Europe for travel
and study was denied due to Revolution and inspired too by the
Picturesque debate, attention was increasingly turned to the
previously neglected architectural riches of the British countryside and
its antiquities. The proof of this new interest lay in the publication of
many works on monastic and cathedral antiquities, increased
popularity of topographical publications and an escalating membership
of the Society of Antiquaries (34). Essex in his *History of Gothic
Architecture* had widened the mediaevalist vocabulary and amongst

the many publications that followed were Roy's *St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster* of 1795 and the *Antiquities of Exeter Cathedral* of 1797, Alexander Hogg's *Antiquities of England and Wales,* 1795, and Murphy's *Batalha* of 1792-5, a work that inspired Wyatt's Fonthill Abbey of 1795. Through Gough's influence as a mediaevalist more publications showed an increasing bias towards the mediaeval. Cottingham's friend, John Carter, a draughtsman and antiquary employed by the Society, published in 1795 his *Ancient Architecture of England,* the first history of mediaeval architecture ever published, his intention stated in the preface 'to inform those embarked on insensitive and ignorant restorations of mediaeval buildings of the true character of mediaeval architecture' (35), and Gough's effort to improve the quality and accuracy of draughtmanship led to the appearance of works of measured drawings such as Henry Emlyn's *St George's Chapel, Windsor* of 1790. Gough continued to stress during the 1790s the importance of accurate drawings to mediaevalist research, ideas echoed by William Chambers in the third edition of his *Treatise on Civil Architecture* (1791) in which he criticised 'incoherent prints' and called upon persons' duly qualified to undertake a correct, elegant publication of our Cathedrals and other buildings called Gothic before they totally fall to ruin' (36). William Wilkins in 1797 carried this a stage further when, in a paper read to the Society, he criticised Soane's work at Norwich Castle, alterations which 'palpably violated the original style and purity of the building now bereaved of its ancient beauty ... surely what additions were necessary might have preserved the same character and apparent date of architecture with the mutilated parts', a clear indication that for the first time there could be interaction between mediaevalisim and contemporary architectural practice (37). These attitudes brought on a fierce debate in the Society of Antiquaries and growing criticism of James Wyatt's cathedral restorations developed. Gough had written to the *Gentleman's Magazine* from 1786 onwards to protest about the destruction of mediaeval remains and suggested that the Society's activities should be widened to include protection and preservation of ancient monuments. It seemed illogical, he said, to 'study with interest' and yet allow 'without remorse to run to ruin' (38). Frew has described this letter as the first coherent preservationist manifesto, for now the antiquary was perceived as a

protector and not simply a researcher and a concern for the Mediaeval had grown from a passive scholarly subject into an active force which sought to determine contemporary standards of architectural behaviour (39).

Gough's ideas were taken up by younger members. The Rev. John Milner, a Roman Catholic priest, later to be Bishop of Wolverhampton, wrote a dissertation on the *Modern Style of Altering Ancient Cathedrals* in 1798, protesting at Wyatt's modes of restoration (40), and John Carter between 1798 and 1815 wrote some 380 articles published in the *Gentleman's Magazine* called 'In Pursuit of Architectural Innovation' in which he stressed the need to preserve mediaeval antiquities almost to the exclusion of other relics and vehemently criticised Wyatt's work, such as the destruction at Lichfield of the altar screen and monuments, huge quantities of exterior and ornamental stonework at Hereford, and the demolition of the Hungerford and Beauchamp chantry chapels at Durham (41). These alterations came under the heading of 'improvements' and Carter identified the difference between 'improvements' which usually involved some destruction of existing work, and 'necessary repairs'. Improvements had a long tradition back to the Middle Ages, ideas that formed the basis of restorations of Inigo Jones (42), Wren (43) and, later, Essex at Ely Cathedral and even Wyatt's late eighteenth century work on mediaeval fabric (44). Gough, Carter and Milner all criticised Wyatt on the grounds too of his ignorance of Gothic. Milner described Wyatt's organ case and Bishop's throne at Salisbury as 'an incorrect attempt at the florid Gothic whilst the style of the building itself is in plain Gothic two centuries earlier' (45). Gough wrote of 'many proofs of the grossest ignorance in almost every architect who has attempted to imitate, restore or repair the best specimens of Gothic architecture' (46), and Carter wrote that this 'want of true knowledge of our ancient Architecture...shows professional ability at a stand or utterly worn out' (47).

Thus preservationism transformed antiquarian opinion and guaranteed that Wyatt's activities, such as his restoration at Westminster of 1820, examined by the ever vigilant Carter, should be closely scrutinised (48). It was also clear that a thorough knowledge and understanding of stylistic developments was essential for those undertaking works of restoration. The increased knowledge and

research resulted in important publications. John Britton, a disciple of Carter's and a passionate preservationist published 14 volumes on the *Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain* from 1805-1810. A reviewer of the works in the *Quarterly Review* noted that a 'compact chronological view of the ancient styles of building in Britain has long been awaited and an enumeration of the criteria by which the different eras of our Gothic architecture might be accurately ascertained' (49). The Rev. Milner published *A Treatise of Ecclesiastical Architecture of England during the Middle Ages* in 1811, in which he 'mourned over the buried remnants of ancient art as over the grave of a friend' (50). Efforts grew to end the explanation of Gothic based purely on visual analysis as in the eighteenth century and in the nineteenth century an awareness of the structural properties of Gothic developed. Thomas Rickman's *Attempt to Discriminate the Style of English Architecture* of 1817 was a culmination of the previous antiquarian research of which Carter's efforts to establish a precise delineation of styles explained in his *Ancient Architecture of Great Britain* is a precursor. Rickman produced the definitive chronological sequence and nomenclature of the various stages of development of Gothic and early innovators in structural analysis were T. Kerrich and G. Saunders who in *Archaeologia* of 1811 gave an analysis of the construction of vaults in determining the Gothic style (51). However, it was L. N. Cottingham with his *Plans etc of Westminster Hall* of 1822 and *Plans etc of Henry VII's Chapel* of 1822 and 1829, who produced the first works of major importance in the structural analysis of Gothic architecture, work intended to directly influence architectural practice in an archaeologically correct revival of the mediaeval style. The volumes of A.C. Pugin and E.J. Willson, *Specimens of Gothic Architecture Selected from Various Edificies*, Vol I of 1812 and Vol II published in December 1822, although intended as they said 'to assist in perfecting the practical knowledge of Gothic architecture' and giving a chronological sketch of English architecture, were more in the tradition of the antiquarian studies of the earlier works of Britton and Carter and made no such forceful statements on Gothic related to architectural practice as Cottingham did in the Preface to his volume on Henry VII's Chapel (52).

Many of Carter's fervently held beliefs are echoed in Cottingham's writing. Carter said of himself that he was 'an illustrator'; he did not have 'scientific knowledge', his 'technical knowledge of Gothic structure was limited' and he could not have attempted the systematic task of Henry VII's Chapel - it was too 'mighty' for him (53). In these statements Carter was expressing recognition of the great importance of Cottingham's work, making plain the separation between the appreciation of Gothic found in the writings of Bentham, Gray, Milner and his own, and that contained in the studies of Cottingham, work of structural analysis that was to be continued in the writings of Robert Willis, Jacksonian Professor of Science at Cambridge, and an antiquary of note (54), and those of James Savage, Cottingham's friend and fellow preservationist, architect of St Luke's Chelsea in 1821 (55). Cottingham's importance in these developments was acknowledged in his own time. For example, in 1843, William Burge wrote in his account of the restoration of Temple Church, 'the lovers of Gothic architecture will acknowledge its obligation to Bentham, Carter, Rickman, Milner, Cottingham, Pugin and Savage (56), and in a letter of 1852, an appreciation of Cottingham's influence was expressed:

> 'The published details of Henry VII's Chapel showed how laboriously he worked to make himself acquainted with the details of Gothic mouldings. At the present time owing to the works of Britton, Pugin, Le Kemp and others we possess accurate knowledge, but 50 years ago these details were unknown and Cottingham was one of the early workers. His Henry VII's Chapel was one of the first publications of details given to the public, before that all was chaos...' (57).

This appreciation stresses that Cottingham was seen in the mid nineteenth century to be a figure of major importance in the development of Gothic.

2 L N Cottingham's Publications of Westminster 1822-23

Westminster as one of the major sites of mediaeval interest in Europe and England held a great fascination for Cottingham. Here it was that he developed his passion for the mediaeval, studying, measuring, analysing the structure and making many models and casts of details, from the timber work of Westminster Hall, tracery of windows, whole sections of vaulting from Henry VII's Chapel, minute details of

ironwork, mourners on the Royal Tombs in the Abbey, reproductions of whole monuments, tombs, statues, busts, and countless architectural and sculptural details with which he filled his Museum of Antiquities (58). He was a close friend of Thomas Gayfere, the Abbey mason (59), and was on sufficiently close terms with the Rev. John Ireland, Dean of Westminster Abbey, for the Dean to make him a 'Nomination', resulting in a reduction in fees for Cottingham, when he sent his sons Nockalls Johnson and Edwin Cotton to King's College School in 1832 (60). Another friend was antiquary William Capon (61) who made many drawings of the destroyed parts of Westminster and its surroundings, works that Cottingham was instrumental in selling to the Society of Antiquaries on behalf of Capon's widow, after Capon's death in 1827 (62). His mentor John Carter too spent much of his time at Westminster before his death in 1817 ensuring that the restoration work under Wyatt, begun in 1793 and completed by 1822, was conducted in a properly sympathetic and sensitive manner and adhered strictly to the approved specifications, no doubt at the same time encouraging Cottingham in his 'mighty task'. The quality of this restoration, conservative and restrained by eighteenth century standards and those of Wyatt in particular, made an impression on Cottingham for in his volume on Henry VII's Chapel he wrote a detailed account of the background and progress of the restoration, and the extent to which the work was archaeologically correct.

Cottingham's first publication, *Plans of Westminster Hall* of 1822 consisted of four folio sized plates, the first inscribed:

> 'this Print, representing a Geometrical Elevation of the Principal Entrance to Westminster Hall from actual admeasurements. Built in the nineteenth year of the reign of King Richard II 1397, And restored in the reign of his present Most Gracious Majesty King George IV 1822' (Fig.1).

Plate II (Fig.2) has detailed plans, sections and elevations showing roof timbers with full measurements of the scantling of the principal rafters, details of restoration work to be undertaken, drawings of the original Norman doors with restored mouldings, the 'Modern' door and steps leading to the House of Commons, the panelling in the doors taken from specimens in the Hall, the mutilated niches restored, pinnacles above the niches too imperfect to be restored, and details of statues removed and placed in storage. Plate III (Fig.3) is a transverse

section through Westminster Hall looking North, and Plate IV (Fig.4) elevations of one of the 5 sided canopies in the Tower with detailed drawings of the cap and weathering to the buttresses, mullions and architraves of the North gable window, plans of external buttresses, coping to the staircase tower, details, plans and elevations of the battlements, staircase, turret at the North end, the entrance doors, niches, and arms of Richard II in the spandrels of the large arch of the entrance door. There is no text to accompany these plates but in the Preface to his next volume of measured drawings, his intention to bring for the first time, structural as opposed to purely stylistic analysis into mediaevalist research in order to extend antiquarianism as a direct influence upon architectural practice is clearly stated.

Plans, Elevations, Sections, Details and Views of the Magnificent Chapel of King Henry VII at Westminster Abbey Church, the History of its Foundation and an authentic account of its Restoration was presented in two volumes in 1822 and 1829, the first illustrative of the exterior of the Chapel and the second of the interior. In the Preface to Volume I Cottingham wrote that his aim was to present a work 'different from previous where embellishment, fine engraving and picturesque effect was of first importance', a work that was to be primarily 'really serviceable to the architect and practical builder'. At the outset he underlined the essential difference between his work of structural analysis and that of such writers as Roy, Hogg and Murphy of the 1790s (63) with their topographical views of mediaeval antiquities, and stressed the point further by dedicating his volumes to

'The Young Architects of Great Britain for whose use and improvement the work in principally intended...I have endeavoured to present you with a set of accurate working drawings of the exterior of this august pile, and of the interior, in which IShall endeavour to show you the principles on which it is constructed so as to render this, not only a work of real practical utility, but an epitome of the beauties of Gothic architecture'.

He continued

'in speaking with admiration as I do of Gothic architecture, I am fully aware that I subject myself to the censure of some of my profession whose prejudice in favour of the Grecian style prevents them seeing merit in any other'

This statement emphasises the fact that few architects at this date, apart from A C Pugin and James Savage (64), were prepared to consider Gothic architecture worthy of such serious consideration, and

Cottingham no doubt had in mind Greek Revivalists such as Wilkins, or Charles Barry, or indeed Soane, whose drastic renovations at Westminster around 1820 showed little sympathy for the original mediaeval fabric, work described by Cottingham himself in 1831 as 'the late merciless demolition of the ancient Royal Palace' (65). A W Pugin, in his publication *Contrasts* of 1836 made this same point, naming the classicists Burton, Basevi, Wilkins and Inwood in comparison to mediaeval architects (66). Making no apology for his decision to promote a revival of the Gothic Cottingham went on to describe the Chapel as 'allowedly one of the finest ecclesiastical structures of its age and size in the Kingdom', and making reference to his own efforts and those of his friends at preservation he continued

> 'the desire evinced at present for the preservation of this species of building, and the probability that many of you may be engaged to repair or erect in the same style, must render the production on the subject calculated to promote and extend the enquiries of the young architect, of the greatest benefit ...'

Perhaps he saw the costly restoration of Henry VII's Chapel funded from the national purse (67) and the £1 million voted by Parliament in the Church Building Act of 1818, as hopeful signs for the future, but here was Cottingham in 1822, pressing for a Gothic Revival in church building and restoration, pre-empting A.W.Pugin and the Ecclesiologists by some 15 to 20 years. Cottingham continued in his Preface, advising the Young Architects to consider the exterior of Henry VII's chapel which was, 'a perfect grammar of the architectural art', a grammar which contained every rule necessary to 'the erection of a fabric of the same species', and in order to render a delineation really beneficial to the professional man he had prepared a separate and detailed account accompanied by plates,

> 'in which truth and accuracy should be studied rather than the fineness of the engraving'.

Again Cottingham stressed his intention not only to inspire the students with his passion and feeling for the beauties of the Gothic but to lead them towards an understanding of its archaeology.

The first volume contains 45 plates of Imperial size, all drawn on a scale sufficiently large to 'exhibit the minutest decorations of the parts they relate to', and Cottingham continued,

> 'where its magnitude in nature precluded, even on that scale, the mouldings etc from being represented large enough to work from,

such mouldings are given on the side of the plate, full size, in several, the ornaments are shown as large as the originals'

Plate III (Fig.5) of Volume I for example shows an elevation of the North side of King Henry VII's Chapel in a scale drawing of immense detail and clarity, and Plate XXV (Fig.6) a detail of Gothic ornament with oak leaves, a grotesque mask and winged angel.

The second volume published in 1829 contains 65 plates devoted to the interior of the Chapel, 'with all its multifarious decorations', including a ground plan of the Chapel with its entrance porch, geometrical diagrams and transverse and longitudinal sections for constructing the magnificent stone ceiling and different arches, and an elevation of the East end. The frontispiece is a perspective view of the interior of the Chapel taken from the centre of the small eastern chapel at the end of the chancel looking west. Cottingham depicted Henry VII and his Queen, Elizabeth, standing at the angles of their tomb in the royal costume of the period, and noted that the tomb itself

'presents a woful deviation from the architecture of the chapel and very poorly accords with the magnificent brass screen that surrounds it' (Fig.7).

Cottingham was referring to Torrigiani's tomb of 1509, one of the first tombs in the Abbey to show the influence of the Renaissance, contrasting 'wofully' with the mediaeval chapel and the screen of English Gothic designs by Thomas Ducheman [68]. Cottingham was not the first to protest against the cluttering of Westminster Abbey with tombs in classical style for John Gwynn in 1776 wrote with disgust of 'mixing Gothick and Modern architecture in the same pile of buildings' [69]. Cottingham in expressing the nineteenth century Gothic Revivalist loathing for the classical intrusions in mediaeval churches pre-empted Pugin's influential denouncing of the classical style as 'pagan' in his *True Principles* of 1841.

Plate IV (Fig.8) shows a plan and elevation of the entrance gates inside the Chapel and Plate VIII (Fig.9), a longitudinal section through the Chapel showing the South side of the nave and entrance porch with part of the groining of Henry V's chantry. Three of the small chapels off the chancel are shown with niches and statues and the third with the screen work in front. Part of the screen had been taken down but Cottingham was able to ascertain the arrangement of the panelling from the heading of the stones into the architraves of the piers, showing

the quality of his research and knowledge. These 110 plates,
Cottingham noted, made an illustration,

> 'more extensive, and its author thinks he may with truth aver, more
> complete than has ever yet been bestowed upon a single edifice in
> this or any other country'.

Cottingham continued his Preface to Volume I, with an account of the
restoration of Henry VII's Chapel. John Britton, in his *Architectural
Antiquities of Great Britain* in 1809 had described the extent of the
external dilapidation, the crumbling stone walls corroded in places to a
depth of 8", many of the sculptures and ornamental parts entirely
obliterated, and the structural security of the fabric seriously
threatened (70). The necessary restoration was decided upon by a
committee of eminent antiquaries, patrons and preservationists
including the Dean of Westminster, the Earl of Stamford and
Buckingham, Lord Aberdeen, Thomas Hope, Townley, R.P. Knight,
and the artists and sculptors, Flaxman, Banks, and Westmacott (71). The
committee ensured that Wyatt's restoration practice was closely
scrutinised throughout. Cottingham described how badly weathered
stone was removed and replaced with new stonework cut in exact
imitation of the original highly elaborate and intricate work, ladders
and scaffolds were erected to take measurements, plaster casts and
accurate drawings, and how new moulds and models were made of
existing architectural details. Reference was made to early engravings
and pinnacles were added to the roof of the Chapel as shown in print by
Hollar of 1668 and following the design of fragments found on the spot
(72). Wyatt's task as Surveyor was to superintend the repairs as outlined
by the committee, but his failure to examine and return contractors'
bills to the Audit coupled with protracted absences led to him being
stripped of the post of College Surveyor. He continued as Fabric
Surveyor, but delays were caused by his failure to convey orders to
Gayfere and his masons. The task of supervision and his substantial
contribution to the restoration led to Gayfere demanding to be paid as
'an Artist in conducting this work' (73). Cottingham in his Preface refers
to a controversy over the design of the parapet of the Chapel. All
vestiges of the original had disappeared and Gayfere submitted a
design of his own, based on the parapet surmounting the porches of
King's College Chapel, Cambridge. This drawing, reflecting the
developing ideas of archaeological accuracy in restoration work, was

rejected in favour of a plain design by John Dixon, Wyatt's assistant. In a letter to Gayfere of March 11, 1811, Wyatt wrote that their design was preferable:

'for though our forefathers paid but little regard to strict regularity, yet whenever that regularity can be obtained without sacrificing effect, it must always be desirable, and in this instance the parapet drawn by Dixon must have a good effect'.

Cottingham added a footnote giving his friend Mr Gayfere the last word:

'I am authorised by Mr Gayfere to state that every part of this building has been restored in strict conformity to the original design except the battlement alluded to in the above letter for which no vestige remained. The pinnacles above this battlement were restored from fragments found on the spot' (74).

Gayfere died before the publication of Volume II in 1829, and in describing Plate I, a geometric elevation of the East end of the Chapel, Cottingham wrote:

'the whole, a faithful restoration of the original except for the perforated parapet which would have been more correct if the coping had been angled on the back, similar to the parapet over the porches at King's College Chapel, Cambridge. It is but justice to my late revered friend, Mr Gayfere to state that he made a design to that effect which was set aside' (75).

In the discussion over this detail we see the concern for an archaeologically correct restoration in contrast to Wyatt's preference for the 'strict symmetry and regularity' of classical theory, ideas that caused him to sweep away much Gothic work in his earlier restorations at Hereford, Salisbury and Lichfield.

In Volume II Cottingham wrote a scholarly history of the development of Gothic architecture, based as he said on many years of studying 'the construction and gradual development of its character'. He wanted to point out to students of architecture that there are three distinct classes in which it ought to be studied,

'the confounding of which has brought so many of our modern imitators into contempt for it is just as barbarous to mix the first class of pointed architecture at the beginning of the 13th century with the 3rd class in the latter end of the 15th century as it was for architects of the 17th century to endeavour to unite the Roman and pointed arch and in the same building' (76).

Here Cottingham was echoing the criticisms of Gough, Milner and Carter that architects, in particular Wyatt, displayed 'the grossest ignorance' of the different styles of Gothic, and again stressed the need for study to achieve an archaeologically correct revival (77).

Describing the Early English pointed style of 1200-1272, he traced its development from the Romanesque and spoke of a 'fraternity of operatives who travelled from one nation to another wherever there were churches to build', showing his understanding of Gothic developing in a wide European context. He said:

> 'the development by the Normans from the established style was by
> no means as sudden as many antiquaries suppose. The slender
> clustered columns which form so bold a feature in the pointed style
> may be found in the various parts of Norman building in this
> country and many Churches on the Continent'.

Cottingham described in detail the leading features of the early pointed style, the massive round piers with slender attached columns and a kind of attic base channelled out; the plain moulded and deeply undercut capitals; the bold arch ribs some with delicately indented ornaments; simple cross springers united by a plain intersection of the mouldings and oftener foliated boss; the uncut parapet with moulded coping, the simple buttress with plain pinnacles and enriched finials, the highly pointed lancet windows unadorned with tracery and the double doors at the principal entrance. These characteristics Cottingham had identified during his travels to study the ecclesiastical architecture of Europe. He listed the Churches in which he found the finest example of the leading features of the style,

> 'in various parts of Winchester, Lincoln, Ely, Rochester, Wells,
> Lichfield, St Alban's and nearly perfect in Salisbury and
> Westminster Abbey ...'.

He continued:

> 'It is not a little surprising to find that in a country which abounds
> in specimens of this plain style of pointed, scarcely anything should
> have been done either in restoration or imitation of it. It is very
> simple in its conception, bold and solid in execution and might be
> used with the most perfect harmony and consistency of character
> without a single ornament - For Churches and Chapels on a modest
> scale it is very suitable' (78).

In speaking of his 2nd class of style, termed the 'glorious era' and dating from the reign of Edward I 1272 to the end of Edward III's reign in 1377, he stated that it was striking in appearance, of beautiful totality of composition, durable in materials and solid in execution, work in fact like nature 'after being examined again and again continues to unfold new beauties...'. He continued with a structural analysis of the style, describing the development of pier construction, the round clustered columns giving way to 'diamond shaped piers, the slender shafts of which were built into the solid masonry and, by

delicately turned sweeps or small hollows and fillets retained all the original lightness with great additional strength'. He described the gradual change in the ornament of the capitals from the single leaves or sprigs in an upright position in the early part of Henry III's reign to the braided more elaborate open foliage and the division into two parts with the large vase shaped hollow filled with rich foliage and little tufts or single leaves alone, a style to be found in Edward II's reign. He explained a great technical detail the structural development of the vaulting, the introduction of the ridge-band leading to increased numbers of minor ribs, 'the first movement towards that beautiful variety of tracery in the groined roofs of the period which soon influenced all the component parts of the building'. He described the various developments in windows with mullions and tracery, the geometrical and the luxuriant variety of flowing delicate foliage; architraves of doors and windows; buttresses now more highly elaborated with decorated pinnacles; niches with statues in profusion; the cruelle of the battlements introduced about the time of Edward II and the perforated battlements of Edward III's reign with fine specimens of the flower or leaf used as a finish above the cornice; and detailed analysis of towers and spires, crockets, finials and spandrels. Again Cottingham demonstrated the vast extent of his travelling and scholarship by giving examples of all these detailed developments from his study of ecclesiastical architecture throughout the land, advising the reader to see 'the elegant effect of flowing lines of tracery' at the east end of Lincoln Cathedral, at Exeter and the nave of York; 'the great variety of mouldings and luxuriant variety of the most delicate foliage', with beautiful examples at York, Beverley, Ely, Sleaford, Grantham, Melrose, Rochester, and the east end of Carlisle, a nine bay windows 'of exquisite design'. Howden Church in Yorkshire, Worcester, Winchester, Lichfield and the north porch at St Mary's Redcliffe were 'well worth attention'; the steeple and spire of St Mary's Oxford, 'a fine composition', and Howton Church Nottinghamshire; Newark; St Nicholas Church, Newcastle; Finedon, Northants; Boston and Lincoln for transition from 1st to 2nd class; Tewkesbury Abbey, St Albans, and Gloucester where the monument of Edward II is the 'finest piece of tabernacle work of this style in England'. Above all, Cottingham recommended Heckington Church, Lincolnshire,

'unquestionably one of the finest specimens of the middle class of Pointed we have'. Heckington was to become one the the most visited English churches by lovers of Gothic. A.J. Beresford Hope for example echoed Cottingham's phrase in a letter published by Didron, the editor of *Annales Archeologiques* in 1847. Cottingham concluded his description and analysis of the 2nd class of Pointed by again suggesting a revival,

> 'in this class we are fortunate in many any splendid remains, and I think it not too much to say it might be revived in all its original truth and splendour' (79).

Of the '3rd class' dating from 1377 to 1509, the Perpendicular Gothic and the subject of his study, he noted that it had always been considered a debasement when compared with earlier works, and he suggested that a closer examination of its development and the causes of the alterations would show 'that perhaps we have more reasons to admire than condemn'. He suggested that as society changed, with new mercantile wealth, improved laws and security, there was no need for castellated, fortified mansions with narrow windows and massive walls. Also the new improved church architecture was being introduced into many of the chapels attached to these residences and soon alterations took place in domestic architecture. Windows were made wider, and arches flattened to adapt to 'lightness and splendour, comfort and convenience'. Cottingham cited Crosby Hall, the London residence of Sir Thomas More, as an elegant example of a fifteenth century courtyard house. The Hall, at the time of Cottingham's study was increasingly dilapidated, and had been 'degraded to a packer's warehouse' (80). The lessees altered the interiors, destroyed much carved work, and inserted floors below the springing of the roofs (81), and at this time Cottingham rescued a complete ceiling before its destruction and reassembled it in his Museum (82). By 1832 Crosby Hall was threatened by demolition and Cottingham played a part in the successful campaign to save it (83). Cottingham went on to describe the characteristics of the Perpendicular style in the church architecture, the diamond shaped piers now much thinner between the arches in consequence of the attached columns required to support the springing of the groins; the two kinds of roofs, the exceedingly rich groined roofs with fan tracery and pendant drops and the other, ceiled in panels as at Crosby Hall; the square-headed mouldings to doors and windows; the transoms now

introduced into windows with great variety and perpendicular mullions running up to the mouldings of the arched heads; flying buttresses and diagonally presented buttresses; greater divisions and enrichment of mouldings and cornices with reversed ogees and hollows with plain faces between; infinite variety of beautifully carved oak screens, door tracery, tabernacle work, rich ogee canopies and ornament extremely diverse and rich in cornices, corbels and panelling. Cottingham gave details of many beautiful fronts, porches, towers and spires in existence, many examples from which,

> 'every document necessary for erecting or restoring a perfect building in this splendid class, with all its appendages may be gathered' (84).

Cottingham concluded his observation on Gothic Architecture with a strong recommendation to the young architect to:

> 'study the buildings themselves, which will prove the best vocabulary. It is from these that he must gain his information. Books and prints are good finger-posts to direct the student's attention, but these alone will not qualify him to practise as a Gothic architect. Our venerable cathedrals afford the best course of introduction: it is from actual observation that he can gain the desired information - it is from them that he must learn EFFECT, COMPOSITION, DECORATION, CHARACTER & CONSTRUC-TION' (85).

Cottingham urged the student to note down the impression made on his mind of their varied forms as a whole, to examine the arrangement of the component parts, to study the mode of applying the numerous ornaments and to observe with what strict propriety the character of each class is maintained by their application, and to consider and ascertain the mechanical construction

> 'by which means these mighty structures were raised and have for centuries remained unshaken, except for the barbarous hand of spoilation, or what is even worse by the ignorance of modern 'improvers' (86).

In these publications Cottingham's appreciation of all Gothic architecture through his work as a devoted antiquary is made clear, his understanding and study of its construction, and his strong promotion of a Gothic Revival through informed restoration of mediaeval buildings, and through using Gothic as a magnificent example and style for building anew. He continued his analysis of Gothic in his publication of 1823 on Gothic ornament and also included designs for a Gothic mansion, bearing out his suggestion in the Preface to *Plans etc of Henry VII's Chapel* that a serious study of the principles of Gothic

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architecture could be 'applied to domestic architecture with the greatest advantage', once again stressing the difference between his archaeological study of the mediaeval and all that had gone before.

Working Drawings of Gothic Ornament, and Designs for a Gothic Mansion 1823.

Cottingham's volume of working drawings produced in 1823 was enlarged and reissued in 1824, indicating that it was widely used as a handbook for many architects of the Gothic Revival. Cottingham paid tribute to his late friend Thomas Gayfere by using one of his working drawings of the chantry chapel of Edmund Audley at Salisbury Cathedral, as the frontispiece to his volume (Fig.10) (87). The drawing, with plans, section, and elevations is of the west window of the elevation facing the chancel which is subdivided into an asymmetrical arrangement of a door and window, with tall narrow ogee pointed crocketed niches, quatrefoil compartments, fruiting vine frieze above and cornice of cusped trefoils. Gayfere's elevation had been used in 1772 to form the facade of Horace Walpole's Chapel in the Woods at Strawberry Hill (88). Cottingham acknowledged the use of the drawing in his Preface, thanking Mr Gayfere, 'the present Abbey mason, for his liberality'.

Cottingham continued his Preface announcing 'Working Drawings selected and composed from the best examples, consisting of capitals, bases, cornices, friezes, finials, pendants, crockets, spandrels, bosses, roses, battlements, doors, windows, various specimens of mouldings and a design for a Gothic Mansion'. He continued,

'Mr Cottingham, having been engaged several years in forming a collection of Gothic ornaments is desirous of offering a select portion of them to the public'.

The plates with friezes of fruiting vines and cornices of cusped trefoils, brackets and pinnacles of Early English foliage, flowing tracery with a variety of ball-flower, Tudor rose bosses, grotesque masks and elaborate mouldings of reverse ogee form with intricately wrought foliage and angels heads, show the very highest quality of draughtmanship, fine examples of the new lithographic process (Figs.11-14). Forty plates show details drawn from Westminster Abbey, but Cottingham also included two more plates from Strawberry Hill, the cresting and frieze of fruiting vines and savage beasts from the

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Chapel in the Woods and the chimney piece in the north bedchamber which had been designed by Walpole and modelled on the tomb of Bishop Dudley of Durham at Westminster (89). It is significant that Cottingham should include Gayfere's drawings for Strawberry Hill for they forge a link with the eighteenth century attempts at archaeologically correct Gothic and his own work. Walpole had seriously intended a faithful representation of the original in his Chapel in the Woods, a building that drew praise from Eastlake 'for a very creditable performance' (90), and for that reason Cottingham included the designs in his book of Gothic Ornament. His plates had the archaeologically correct, working drawings clearly intended to educate and inform, to be used by architects as a manual of Gothic design. This intention sets Cottingham's publications apart from those of A.C. Pugin and John Britton whose works were intended as scholarly studies to further antiquarian knowledge. Cottingham wished 'to inform the public', and in particular, architects, with these illustrations from his collection of mediaeval antiquities, in order that a sound knowledge of Gothic art and architecture might transform current architectural practice. Cottingham chose a 'select portion' of his collections as examples for architects to study, at the same time including in his volume an elevation and plan for a Gothic Mansion, a combination carrying the clear message that a Gothic Revival was not a matter of simple copyism. A revival should stem from an archaeologically correct basis, but at the same time create an architecture that related to the needs of its own time, for as Cottingham stated in his Preface, no mediaeval house 'would be habitable for the nobleman of the present day'. In Gayfere's use of the mediaeval precedent accurately drawn from the original source but transformed to a new use, and in Cottingham's volumes of drawings promoting a Gothic Revival, we find the logical outcome of the efforts of such men as Carter and Britton to study the original mediaeval sources and transform the Gothic, 'the wild, false and fantastick' for a new age (91), in the same way that Robert Adam used his study of the antique to recreate classicism in the eighteenth century.

The influence of Carter in Cottingham's ideas is very clear. The importance of structural analysis in the preservationist sense had grown from the efforts of Gough and Milner, but Carter was responsible

for taking the vital step beyond Preservationism towards Revivalism
(92). As early as 1776 he argued that Greek and Roman architecture
should be confined to mansions of ease and pleasure for only the Gothic
style could induce an 'effect on the mind, conveying devout ideas' (93),
and then in 1799 he wrote in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 'Why have
minds of Englishmen for two centuries been deluded to imitate Roman
and Grecian styles?' (94). At a time of Nationalism and growing
Romanticism Carter wrote 'to stimulate his countrymen to think well
of their own national memorials, ... classical was Pagan, and Gothic,
English' (95). Romanticism, however, was tempered by sound
antiquarian knowledge, and imitation originally conceived as a
principle of restoration procedure now, when extended to Revivalist
architecture, demanded an archaeological exactitude that
distinquished it from eighteenth century Gothic. These ideas were
extended by John Britton, who, as early as 1808, although a passionate
advocate of imitation in the sphere of restoration, rejected its wider
application. Not only was slavish copying 'impracticable' it was also a
denial of creative genius (96).

Cottingham, in his Gothic Mansion, an attempt at a serious Gothic
Revival domestic architecture of the fifteenth century, was putting
these ideas into practice. The principal front, plate 36 in the Volume of
Gothic Ornament, is symmetrical with six buttressed bays on either
side of a massive cloistered entrance and two storeyed hall, with the
service wing and turreted gatehouse showing beyond (Fig.15). The
symmetry may be indicative of Cottingham's classical training, but
often in a Tudor plan the house has two showfronts, the outermost
usually of symmetrical design terminating in a turret at each end, with
the front of the house facing into the courtyard of asymmetrical
arrangement (97). The principal storey windows of Cottingham's
mansion are square headed sash windows of eight panes, no fifteenth
century mullions or tracery, but enriched with ogee pointed mouldings
inset with quatrefoils. The use of practical sash windows indicates
Cottingham's concern with utility and convenience. In his description
of the development of the '3rd class of Gothic' in his *Plans etc of Henry
VII's Chapel*, Cottingham had noted the changes that arose in domestic
architecture as the need for fortification lessened. Windows were
enlarged, arches flattened to adapt to 'lightness and splendour, comfort

and convenience', an architectural style developing through necessity. Cottingham, in his use of large practical windows, was making the point that utility should not be subservient to mediaeval precedent, ideas to be seen later in Philip Webb's Red House for example, of 1859, but which may well have been influenced by French architects and theorists such as Blondel. The first storey windows, again of eight panes have square hood moulds above and a panel of blind tracery below. The whole is surmounted by a parapet pierced with quatrefoils and at each end is an identical stair turret with foliate crocketed pinnacles and pointed windows with square hood moulds.

The front elevation is dominated by the octagonal two storeyed hall which has echoes of the apse of Cottingham's beloved Henry VII's Chapel, with blind tracery, pierced quatrefoil parapet, a great Perpendicular window of five lights with transoms, mullions and tracery reminiscent of the great window in the entrance front to Westminster Hall. The octagon is supported by flying buttresses elaborately pierced with a variety of roundels, the traceried front door has an ogee pointed arch and the cloistered way has Perpendicular arches, the spandrels filled with cinquefoil decoration. In his description of the facade Cottingham stressed the formal value of his great two storeyed hall. It would, he said:

> 'add much to the dignity of the building by the rich and splendid assemblage of its turrets, battlements and pinnacles and the bold depth of shadow produced by its buttresses; and the additional regularity of outline caused by its great projection from the main building'.

He suggested that the ground floor would make an imposing entrance, the first floor a chapel or music gallery and the attic floor could house visitors' servants. Cottingham's idea of the two storeyed hall in this early design, as far as we can see, relates more closely perhaps to the eighteenth century top lit grand ceremonial entrance hall with staircase rising from it to a galleried first floor, than to the mediaeval two storey living hall, separate from the staircase, with a great fireplace, screens -passage and open timbered roof which Cottingham developed at Snelston Hall in 1827 to a certain extent and achieved with historical correctness at Brougham Hall in the 1830s [98]. Although there is no elevation of the front facing on to the fountain court it is clear from the ground plan that the grand staircase forms a projecting

bay with a massive window of seven lights and symmetry is sacrificed to function in the back staircase turret and a smaller attached bay containing the vestibules and water closets.

The plan of the 'Principal Floor' (Fig.16) shows a Tudor plan of four wings surrounding an inner Fountain Court like that of Crosby Hall, circa 1466, a building that Cottingham knew well, or Cobham Hall and Minster Lovell Hall (99). The Tudor period saw a great expansion of wealth and royal magnificence and therefore increased hospitality. So too the continual making of religious pilgrimages and the progresses of the Abbots with retinues of fifty and more could bring ruinous expenditure on the part of the hosts and greater demands for accommodation (100). As a result the short wings of the Elizabethan H plan manor house were extended to house guests and ranges of kitchens quarters until the Tudor architects arrived at the forecourt flanked, and eventually enclosed by buildings. The two-storeyed hall at Cottingham's mansion has cloisters and appears to have a groined roof and a vestibule leading to the grand staircase. The principal rooms are arranged around the courtyard, the library, dining-room, drawing room, study, billiard-room, with access to each room from an inner passageway, on the plan of monastic buildings with inner cloisters. Cottingham wrote:

> 'It has been found that no scheme is so economical and convenient as that of a cloistered monastery. This allows ample accommodation for arranging the grandest suite of apartments and every minor room connected with the establishment of the first distinction, and at the same time affords full scope for imitation in the style of architecture proposed'.

Here Cottingham states his two intentions, his desire to revive the style of the Gothic period and at the same time to adapt it to contemporary needs and function:

> 'the Mansion is intended to imitate the style of architecture for the 15th century and to afford accommodation for the family of a gentleman of rank and fortune in these times of elegant refinement. The present system of education in this country has so completely altered the manner of living that there are no houses of the date above mentioned which would be habitable for a nobleman of the present day, without considerable alteration and additions'.

Again Cottingham showed his concern for the usage of his own time, without clinging to historical precedent in a rigid way. He explained that the plan of a cloistered monastery was economical and convenient, allowing scope to arrange the apartments as required, and that was the

reason he used it, not simply because of its mediaeval source. He saw that society was changing and evolving through popular education and social progress. It was possible to use his antiquarian knowledge to revive a period, but the Romantic's passion for the past had to be tempered and balanced by modern requirements. In his own description Cottingham stressed the formal aspects of the Gothic principles and decoration, the circulation and procession of the main rooms, rather than the religious and historical connotations and associations of his sources. The great Perpendicular windows lit stair-halls, armour halls, and music galleries, and the cloistered ways led to billiard-rooms and parlours. As we shall see, these early plans for a Gothic Mansion provided Cottingham with a starting point when he was commissioned to design a country house for John Harrison in 1826.

In these first publications of 1822 and 1823 Cottingham is revealed as the first analyst of Gothic, and as a serious promoter of a Gothic Revival, a revival based as a combination of Romanticism which expressed the beauty and spirit of Gothic as part of the national heritage, a heritage that should be loved and preserved, and a sound archaeological knowledge and study of its development and construction, including an appreciation of all period of Gothic. In later publications under his antiquarian pursuits, Cottingham displayed an equally informed and advanced appreciation of the Romanesque, its history, development and construction, and chose the Romanesque style for the building of a new church in 1845. In 1822 he advised a study for those 'who may be called upon to restore or erect churches in the Gothic style', and further he suggested that a serious study of the principles of Gothic architecture could be applied to domestic architecture, the principles of Gothic, not a simple copying of its stylistic features. Here is a statement of the utmost importance to the development of architecture in the nineteenth century, a suggestion that there should be a break with the styles of the classical tradition, a changing attitude towards the styles of the past with their incontrovertible rules, and one that looked forward to freedom from the trammels of style, but one still based firmly in the English mediaeval tradition. Cottingham, in a sense, was moving towards eclecticism in Gothic, and in so doing was foreshadowing the only uniting aspect of Victorian architecture. Equally, he was following the very English

tradition of taking aspects of original sources, as Adam had done with classical antiquity, and using them to create an architecture for a new age. Cottingham also at this early date was postulating ideas that led to his examining the vernacular buildings of different regions such as Suffolk and Derbyshire where he was to build houses between 1827 and 1845 that reflected mediaeval precedents, ideas to be taken up by A.W.N. Pugin who wrote 'it is not a style that we are trying to revive but a principle' (101), and by Butterfield, Webb, Morris and the later Arts and Crafts architects. Cottingham's writings at this date may be seen as the first manifesto of an archaeologically correct Gothic Revival, setting standards of restoration practice and for building anew that were to influence the course of nineteenth century architectural theory and practice.

3   Cottingham's influence and attitudes to Gothic Revivalism in Europe.

It is significant that Cottingham's publications promoting an archaeologically correct Gothic Revival were widely used. Copies of his works were to be found in the libraries of major nineteenth century architects or were accessible through the libraries of the Society of Antiquaries, the Oxford Society for promoting the study of Gothic Architecture after its founding in 1839 (102), and the Magdalen College Library (103). Sir John Soane made a request for a copy of *Plans etc of Henry VII's Chapel*, Vol I, in January 1822. He was working on the Law Courts at Westminster at the time and would have been interested in detailed drawings of the mediaeval buildings there (104). Sir Robert Smirke, who was to undertake a structural survey of Rochester Cathedral to confirm Cottingham's findings in 1825 (105), and his brother Sydney owned copies (106), and a copy of Henry VII's Chapel was in the collection of Owen Jones, an influential design reformer of the nineteenth century (107). Most significantly, to establish Cottingham's work as a positive and far-reaching influence upon the nineteenth century, A.C. Pugin owned copies of all Cottingham's publications, which were used not only in the education of his son A.W.N. Pugin, who in 1834 wrote in admiration of Cottingham (108), and his other pupils Benjamin Ferrey, Thomas Walker, F.T. Dolman, and Talbot Bury (109),

but also formed a strong link in the spreading of Gothic Revival influence to the Continent.

Cottingham, in his Preface to *Plans etc of Henry VII's Chapel* echoed Carter's sense of Romanticism in relation to Gothic architecture, urging the young architect to 'note down the impression made on his mind by their varied forms as a whole', combining Romanticism with a rational concern for structure. Pevsner, in analysing 'Englishness and Frenchness' in the appreciation of Gothic, wrote that the French approach to Gothic is purely rational, and the English, by contrast is emotional, and only in A.W.N.Pugin, being of French descent, are both tendencies to be found (110). However, a consideration of the development of Gothic Revival and preservationism in Europe indicates that there were close links and mutual influences from the early nineteenth century onwards and Cottingham's structural approach to Gothic underlies many French ideas.

A Gothic Revival was slower to begin in France due to the hiatus caused by the French Revolution and far fewer people were to recommend its adoption as a universal style, but by 1830 very strong influences flowed from England when the new conception of Gothic begun by Cottingham was assimilated by émigrés. F.R. Chateaubriand (1768-1848) was most important in this respect, his writing showing a fusion of the supposed English Romanticism and the French rationalism. In his publication, *Genie du Christianisme*, a key work in the development of Revivalism in France, he described the life-giving character of Gothic as opposed to classical, linking 'religion and the history of the motherland with such sweet memories' (111). He was acquainted with the theories of the origins of Gothic that had been debated fiercely in the pages of the *Quarterly Review* for example, in 1811 by the Rev Milner and Dr Whittington (112), and wrote of the Gothic churches evoking religious awe through the magnificent rationality of their structure, although he revealed no particular analytical appreciation for the formal properties of Gothic architecture (113). Like Chateaubriand, Count Montalembert (1810-1870) spent part of his youth in England and maintained close connections with the Catholic Revival in England, with Ambrose Phillips, the Earl of Shrewsbury, patious of A.W.N.Pugin, and with Pugin himself, and he was a passionate preservationist and scholar of mediaeval art and

architecture, writing in 1833 an article entitled 'Du Vandalisme en France' in which he called for the preservation and imitation of mediaeval architectural monuments [114]. This article was written at a time when Cottingham's well publicised efforts to save the Lady Chapel at St Saviour's, and Crosby Hall were taking place, and his highly regarded and widely reported restorations of Rochester and Magdalen College Chapel were in progress. Montalembert formed links between the activities of antiquarian societies such as the Society of Antiquaries and the Oxford Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture, and preservationists in England and France, and wrote about architectural developments taking place in England, spreading ideas that were influential later in France when architects such as Viollet le Duc and Lassus became directly involved in Gothic Revival restoration and building, Montalembert was particularly interested in English Gothic Revival church architecture, writing in 1833:

'If these copies...lack the vitality imparted by original inspiration, they nonetheless have the great merit of being completely in accord and harmonising with the ideas they represent'.

He went on to note that,

'the Gothic reaction has now passed from religious architecture to secular architecture: wealthy estate owners are having castles built ... whilst private individuals, corporations, diocesan districts and committees are making enormous sacrifices in order to conserve in or to restore to their original condition any monuments that have survived from these periods...' [115].

Other writers in France such as Alexandre de Laborde (1761-1839) who suggested the adoption of Gothic as a universal style [116], Victor Hugo, writing of Notre Dame as a 'logical well proportioned building', as well as his aim to instil a sense of respect for the national mediaeval heritage, possibly in response to Montalembert's 'Du Vandalisme' which took the form of a letter addressed to Hugo [117], Ludovic Vitet, who, as Cottingham did in his Preface to *Working Drawings of Gothic Ornament*, associated Gothic with a sense of liberty and community, 'Gothic is bourgeois', Vitet wrote, 'it is French, English, Teutonic' [118], and Chateaubriand and Montalembert all spoke in defence of Gothic in the first decades of the nineteenth century. Joined by the preservationists such as Arcisse de Caumont, the Normandy antiquary, their main concern was with the conservation of mediaeval monuments rather than with advocating a Gothic Revival in new building.

In Germany, similar associationist and Romantic ideas about Gothic, strongly influenced by English theory, had developed. in the eighteenth century, an aspect of the Gothic Revival traced by George Germann. Hirschfeld, (1742-92) a Professor of philosophy and a landscape theorist, advocated the use of Gothic building as a means of heightening the atmosphere of Romantic landscapes [119], and Wilhelm Heinse (1749-1805) in his novel *Ardinghello* of 1787 wrote of the sublime feelings engendered by Gothic Cathedrals, expressing the same emotion to be found in Carter's and Cottingham's impressions of Westminster. In Germany, Cologne Cathedral inspired Romantic ideas of the 'infinite nature of the universe', and Georg Forster in 1790 wrote in admiration of the 'splendid choir whose vault curves up towards Heaven', appreciating the sublime quality of the architecture as a work of art and regretting that 'such a magnificent building must remain unfinished' [120]. Goethe, in his work *Von deutscher Baukunst* of 1722, wrote of the impression made on him by Strasbourg Cathedral, seeing it as the epitome of German artistic genius, and stressing the national aspect of Gothic, a work 'stemming from the workings of a powerful, rugged German soul' [121]. The architect K.F. Schinkel (1781-1841) a close contemporary of Cottingham, at an early date was a fervent admirer of Gothic, making drawings of Italian mediaeval buildings in 1804 and in 1809 publishing a design for a Gothic Church [122]. Nationalism in Germany, as in other countries, developed after the Napoleonic Wars and in 1814 Crown Prince Ludwig of Bavaria put forward the idea that the Germans should complete Cologne Cathedral as a monument to their liberation [123]. The leading German architect and antiquary Sulpice Boisserée (1783-1854), another exact contemporary of Cottingham, and Ernst Zwirner were involved in this major work which led to communication and intellectual exchange and co-operation between architects and antiquaries in France and England, with antiquarian societies such as the Oxford Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture [124]. Boisserée, who had begun drawings of Cologne in 1806, travelled in France in the 1820s, met with antiquaries, studied ancient mediaeval architecture, absorbed the developments stemming from England and produced a folio publication on Cologne Cathedral in 1823 [125]. Boisserée, acclaimed as one of the leading European antiquaries after the

publication of *Domwerk*, had restricted his archaeological studies to a single building, just as Cottingham had done in his *Plans etc of Henry VII's Chapel*, and Boisserée's work formed the basis for the completion of Cologne Cathedral [126]. Although no documentary evidence has yet come to light of Cottingham's travels in Europe, he wrote knowledgeably of Continental Gothic churches in his *Plans etc of Henry VII's Chapel*, and in his Museum of Antiquities were items from Nuremburg, Cologne and Heidelberg [127]. It is reasonable to assume that as a leading mediaevalist architect of his day, he made journeys to the Continent for study as did many of his contemporaries, and may have met Boisserée when he visited Cologne Cathedral. Bossieree too may have been familiar with Cottingham's work for according to current research being undertaken by Michael Lewis, Boisseree appears to have been the principal conduit between English architects and Germany from the early 1820s to the 1840s. His diaries indicate that he was constantly visited by young English architects and consistently bought their books, promoting a scholarly interchange [128].

In France particularly, notable similarities are to be found between the French and the early Gothic Revival theory and practice of Cottingham and others such as Willis and Savage who showed none of the mediaevalising tendencies of the later Gothic Revival in England, and contrary to Pevsner's view of Romantic and emotional English as opposed to structural and rational French, we find the English concern for structural analysis and use of materials close to that of the French, if not a direct influence upon it [129]. Robert Willis, engineer and architectural historian, who confirmed Cottingham's assessment of structural damage at Hereford Cathedral in 1841, published works on Italian mediaeval architecture in 1835, and between 1842 and 1863 wrote articles explaining and illustrating the complexities of Gothic construction, particularly vaults, as well as architectural histories of Hereford and other Cathedrals [130]. His article on vaults appeared in *Revue Générale de l'Architecture* in 1842 and Viollet-le-Duc in Volume IV of his *Dictionnaire Raisonné* used sketches of vault surfaces reminiscent of Willis' drawings and he made direct reference to Willis' article [131]. Reyner Banham has suggested that Viollet-le-Duc's rationalist approach to Gothic architecture was of English extraction from Willis, therefore stemming as we know now from the early work

on structural analysis by Cottingham, and only elaborated in France by Viollet le Duc (132). I believe, however that it is more likely a result of mutual influences, the traditional French rationalist view of architecture as expressed in the eighteenth century for example by Laugier in his *Essai Sur l'Architecture* of 1753, as well as the new conception of Gothic and an appreciation of its structural logic as the basis for a revival of architecture, promoted in England in the early nineteenth century by Cottingham. Viollet-le-Duc and Willis both examined the construction of Gothic, but Viollet-le-Duc wrote of his search for universal principles in historic construction which might then be applied to current architectural design. He argued that Gothic elements such as rib vaults, and flying buttresses were originally derived from structural engineering, and he proposed that modern architectural elements might be derived in the same way from the newly available materials of the age, theories, as we have seen, very close to those expressed by Cottingham in his *Plans etc of Henry VII's Chapel* and in his *Working Drawings of Gothic Ornaments*, and carried out in his practice (133).

Cottingham's friend and collaborator in preservationist and antiquarian issues, James Savage, (1779-1852) the architect of St Luke's Church, Chelsea of 1821, with its stone vaulted ceiling, was an architect engineer who also took up Cottingham's ideas of the importance of structural analysis of Gothic as the basis for a new style to suit modern requirements (134). In his *Observations on Style in Architecture* of 1836, he wrote:

> 'The most splendid works of architecture, those which most affect and control the mind, have always been produced by men who were eminent for their full mastery of the principles of construction. This knowledge is absolutely essential to any design that should combine the most valuable of all qualities, originality and simplicity ...' (135).

In this publication he elaborated further ideas expressed by Cottingham in 1822 and 1829 on issues of copyism and fitness for purpose, ideas which will be found closely echoed in the writings of Lassus in France in 1840. Imitation of style Savage wrote was of value to pupils but a confession of incapacity in a professor. The style of the ancients grew out of a 'turn of thought' and arose from uniformity of purpose:

'We see the consequence of tamely copying and repeating forms, which copied, are destitute of that living principle which first prompted them'.

The essential qualities, the 'harmony of the totality and the singleness of intention are thus lost'. Rules, Savage asserted, might act as guides, but the expression of the mind was the great essential. He went on to reiterate Cottingham's notion of fitness for purpose as the basic principle in building anew, addressing the 'young architect of the day' as Cottingham had done, and stressing that in Gothic, 'every essential part is dictated by some actual necessity' (136). Savage's writings exerted influence also through *Frazer's Magazine, The Quarterly Review* and *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, journals which conducted debates on 'imitation' and originality in design, and these notions of functionalism were further propounded in the powerful polemics of A.W.N. Pugin's *True Principles* of 1841 (137).

In France, Jean-Baptiste - Antonine Lassus (1807-1857), who collaborated with Viollet-le-Duc on the restoration of Notre Dame in 1842 (138), wrote articles from 1845 for *Annales Archeologiques,* a journal edited by Didron and devoted largely to mediaeval archaeology. Lassus expressed his views on Gothic in relation to architectural practice (139). He advocated a serious structural analysis of French national monuments, 'built for our needs and in our materials', for those qualities which are admirable in Gothic architecture stem, he said, from the technical perfection of the parts composing a unified whole, but unlike Viollet-le-Duc, who based his whole doctrine on the 'technical miracle' of Gothic, Lassus continued that the spirit and genius played an important part. Without it,

'l'Architecte ne serait plus autre qu'une machine a bâtir' (140).

On the subject of copyism Lassus stated that it was ridiculous 'for our century with different needs and uses to take Gothic architecture as a model'. He despised 'pastiches du gothique' and servile copying, but in building anew, architecture should take as its point of departure the finest period of France's national art,

'Build anew', Lassus wrote, 'but ask yourself how each question would have been treated in the 13th century. Search for, try to guess by analogy what form would have been employed ... if you have studied and understood the spirit of the art ... thus you benefit from the experience of the past, and as well, you will have responded to the needs of the present ... this will lead to a unity of style and a transformation of Gothic to a new expression of that art which is essentially national and of our time ...' (141).

Lassus, it will be seen, made quite different assertions when postulating theories of restoration, ideas that once again relate very closely to the English ideas of the early nineteenth century, and to those of Cottingham in particular. In this writing, Lassus expresses, even paraphrases, those same ideas and theories set out by Cottingham twenty three years before and reiterated by Savage and Pugin after him. In the use of materials too, both Viollet-le-Duc and Lassus were close to Cottingham's practical approach to using techniques of engineering and new materials, an aspect of his work to be considered more closely in later chapters of this thesis. Although the French attached great significance to masonry, they never made the mistake of regarding Gothic buildings as stone building alone. Restoration projects and archaeological studies had shown them the importance of iron cramps which appear in mediaeval buildings. Cottingham used iron for structural restoration processes in many instances, and even in an inventive way in the construction of the organ case at Magdalen College Chapel in 1829 [141], Viollet-le-Duc wrote on the subject of iron in his *Dictionnaire Raisonne* [142], and earlier in the *Annales Archeologiques* Didron published a paper on 'chainage' [143], but, as Georg Germann points out the Germans and Austrians were less enlightened on this subject for when Ferstel's Votivkirche in Vienna was completed in 1879 it was proudly pointed out that no iron cramps had been used in the construction [144].

It is clear from a consideration of the appreciation of Gothic developing in England and on the Continent in the early nineteenth century that antiquarianism leading to revivalism, attitudes to mediaeval Gothic both associationist and structural, the ideas of imitative architecture and use of new materials, and the relation of theory to practice, shows that whilst there were mutual influences and a scholarly interchange of ideas, England was the leading force in the developments. Ruskin and Morris were later to change the emphasis of the Gothic Revival in England, but the ideas of A.W.N. Pugin, considered the most influential theorist of the nineteenth century, were rooted in the early work of such theorists as Gough, Carter, Britton and his father A.C. Pugin. His theories on the role of the architect and artist working in society to bring about change, were linked to the intellectual ideas of the age expressed in the early decades of the nineteenth century by

such writers as J.S. Mill, Thomas Carlyle and Robert Southey, and Kenelm Digby, who in his *Broadstone of Honour* of 1822 described and recommended the mediaeval way of life (145), but the influence stemming from Cottingham upon the progress of the Gothic Revival in Europe and upon such influential figures as A.W.N. Pugin, through his theories on structural analysis and appreciation of Gothic towards an archaeologically correct revival, his practice as antiquary, preservationist and restorer of the mediaeval, and as builder in it, has been hitherto unacknowledged.

CHAPTER 2

Cottingham as Preservationist of the Gothic: contributions to Preservation issues in the 1830s.

1 Background to developing preservationism in the early nineteenth century.

Mediaeval antiquarianism and a concern for national mediaeval antiquities, the churches, domestic buildings and monuments that were being allowed to crumble to dust or were being demolished to make way for new bridges, banks and docks in the great expansion of commercial enterprises in the Regency period, led to works of restoration, campaigns to save threatened Gothic remains, and attempts to set up national societies for conservation of antiquities in the early decades of the nineteenth century. Cottingham, from the time of his report in *Plans etc of Henry VII's Chapel* of 1822, of Wyatt's archaeological restoration at Westminster and the beginning of his own works of restoration at Rochester in 1825, was an influential figure at the centre of these forces. The great triumph of the Preservationist lobby in the early 1830s, the saving of the Gothic Lady Chapel of St Saviour's Southwark, was largely due to his efforts and inspired further campaigns throughout the country.

The dilapidated state of many churches injured 'as much through the hurtful botching of unskilled restoration' as the wear and tear of centuries reflected the general decline of the Anglican Church (146). The Reverend Suckling in his *History and Antiquities of Suffolk* for example reported in 1810 that at Market Weston Church, a church Cottingham was to restore in 1844,

> 'the whole fabric is in such a wretched state of repair and neglect, the foliated tracery of the windows has disappeared...every tint of the painted glass has vanished'.

At Bungay there were 'but picturesque remains of its former splendour, the Chapel of the Augustines at Clare had been converted to a barn and the spacious crypts at Hemingfleet had recently been degraded into cottage residences' (147). The Church was brought further into decline by the spread of Non Conformism. The Vicar of Tuddenham in Suffolk, for example, wrote of his church in 1844 that the fabric was in a deplorable

condition, the Parish in a disordered state, 'overrun with dissent, the church nearly empty, and no money for restoration as all the land occupiers were bigotted dissenters' (148). Much of Cottingham's working life was devoted to works or restoration dependent on the ecclesiological revival that was to restore the Anglican Church, its fabric and liturgy. The factors that led to this revival have been well documented and analysed, from the Church Building Act of 1818 when Parliament voted £1 million for the construction of churches to combat the spread of Non Conformism and threat of revolution from 'the unchurched milions', the Oxford Movement beginning with Keble's Assize Sermon in 1833 and advocating a revival of the liturgy and a return to 'the beauty of Holiness', and the founding, in 1839, of the Cambridge Camden Society by a group of undergraduates led by J M Neale, later to be know as the Ecclesiologists, whose aim 'was to promote a study of Ecclesiastical Architecture and Arts, and the restoration of mutilated architectural remains' (149). Of more importance to this thesis is the period before these developments, that is prior to 1835, a period generally overlooked in accounts of preservationist developments in the nineteenth Century. Nikolaus Boulting for example in asking the question 'When did people start to be concerned about the preservation of antiquities?' leaps from Carters' protests of 1780 at Wyatts' restoration, to the founding of SPAB noting,

> 'the mantle of Carter was first assumed by Pugin and then by Ruskin and it was their passionate interest in mediaeval architecture and especially their concern at restorations which provoked Morris into forming SPAB' (150).

As we now know 'The mantle of Carter' was assumed first by Cottingham through his friendship with Carter and his continuation of Carters' passionate belief in careful, restrained, and informed restoration procedures, and influence upon Pugin therefore stemmed most directly from Cottingham.

In the early 1820s when Cottingham was rising to fame and contributing to the beginnings of the Gothic Revival, the pages of the *Gentleman's Magazine* give evidence of the destruction of mediaeval buildings taking place and also of the voices raised in proteSt St Katherine's church by the Tower founded in 1148, which 'had survived the shocks of Reformation and the puritanical frenzy of the succeeding

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age' (151) was demolished in 1825 in order to make way for the New St Katherine's Dock, (152) despite 'earnest appeals to Parliament' by the society of Antiquaries (153). E.I.Carlos wrote an emotional account of the last service, in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, adding 'your late ever to be lamented correspondent J.Carter is spared the pain of witnessing this destruction' (154). Suggestions to remove the mediaeval church stone by stone to Regent's Park had been ignored, but during the demolition both Cottingham and A C Pugin rescued architectural features for their collections (155). The destruction continued throughout the 1830s, the *Gentleman's Magazine* and the *Mirror* noting the destruction of St Bartholomew the Little, the monastic buildings attached to St Saviours that were removed for the London Bridge approaches, the threatened demolition of the French Protestant Church in Threadneedle Street, and the Church of St Benedict demolished 'on the slightest excuse' to make way for the Sun Fire Office, new banks and The Royal Exchange creating 'a disgraceful precedent where ancient buildings fell prey to improvements' (156). Reports too were published of the destruction of provincial mediaeval buildings such as the Church of St Edward on the Bridge of Exeter, and St Michael's, Stamford, which 'due to meddling without proper architects when they tried to widen the span of the arches for a better view' fell in a mass of ruins in 1832 (157). Mediaeval domestic architecture too suffered heavily at this time (158). In 1826 E.I.Carlos sent drawings to the *Gentleman's Magazine* of a sixteenth century demolished house in Leadenhall Street, noting that 'relics of ancient art in the metropolis are every day lessened by the hand of improvement or innovation' and he could find little evidence that 'any notice was taken of the subject', and in the same issue of the journal a writer from Liverpool described the wholesale 'levelling to dust' of ancient halls, towers, and castles of the nobility, and more humble houses including the remaining example of 'the post and petrel' near the Church of St Nicholas and Elizabethan stone houses with mullioned windows (159). Cottingham's friend, the barrister and antiquary William Twopenny noted in his volume on mediaeval domestic buildings, the destruction of The Stranger's Hall at Canterbury and a twelfth century house at Barnack in 1830 (160), and in 1836 the Old Golden Lion in Fulham, dating from the time of Henry VII and known as Bishop Bonner's Palace, was demolished (161). Even the

monuments in Westminster Abbey were not safe from vandals in 1825. A writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* deplored the 'custom of playing football in the more curious parts of the Abbey' which resulted in 'the mutilation of brasses and tombs' (162).

In the face of such disregard for the mediaeval heritage, and the disinclination of the Government to thwart powerful vested interest, any successful attempt to stay the demolition of a mediaeval building that stood in the path of 'progress' was a major triumph. The only one to be reported in the journals of the time was the campaign to save the Lady Chapel at St Saviour's, led by Cottingham and James Savage.

2 Preservation of the Lady Chapel, St Saviour's, Southwark and Crosby Hall, 1832.

In 1832, the introduction of a Bill into the House of Commons for the purpose of clearing the New Bridge approaches and the recommendations of the London Bridge Committee posed a serious threat to the Lady Chapel of St Saviour's, Southwark. The Chapel, described by Cottingham as 'one of the most chaste and elegant specimens of thirteenth century architecture', was part of St Saviour's, the 'third Church of the Metropolis' and was of major importance in the history of English mediaeval architecture (163). The choir and Lady Chapel were built by Peter de Rupibus, Bishop of Winchester 1205-1238, the nave of earlier date, transepts and tower were altered in the fourteenth century, but the choir and Lady Chapel with their solid pillars, acute arches, lancet windows, and simple groined roof were identified by Cottingham as unaltered buildings of the thirteenth century (164). The choir had been restored by George Gwilt in 1822-24, partly to Cottingham's designs, the choir vaults remodelled using the old ribs strengthened with cast-iron trusses, (165) and further repairs were undertaken to the choir in 1832, a report in the *Gentleman's Magazine* noting

> 'the singular pinnacle at the north east angle covering a staircase turret (which is now concealed by a casing of brick and crowned with a low tiled roof) has been restored from a careful survey and measurement made by Mr. Cottingham to whom indeed the credit of the restored design is justly due' (166).

The nave of the Church however, was in a dilapidated state and narrowly escaped demolition in 1826. A letter in the *Gentleman's*

Magazine from the Society of Antiquaries to the Parochial Authorities of St Saviour's regretted to learn that it was contemplated to demolish the nave of St Saviour's, 'among the purest, most valuable specimens of the early pointed style now existing in the Metropolis'. They praised Gwilt and Cottingham's restoration of the choir, continuing:

> 'We trust you will not harshly destroy the most important portion of this noble fabric which, if it can be preserved unmutilated and undefaced will continue to be one of the most venerable and distinguished ornaments of the capital' (167).

The nave was not demolished but was still roofless, 'lying open to the Winds of Heaven, to sapping damp and frosts' in 1837 (168). Now in 1832 the Lady Chapel was under threat:

> 'There should be no national pride nonsense to deter them, the ratepayers should not be deluded by ancient fame or the magnificence of masonry, the removal would be a pecuniary advantage in making room for banking houses and commercial warehouses ...' (169).

Pleas were made to the vestry, passionate letters were printed in the *Gentleman's Magazine* in defence of mediaeval architecture (170) and at a meeting of January 28th, Cottingham proposed a resolution to preserve from demolition and to restore the Lady Chapel, seconded by James Savage, in which he answered the claims of 'pecuniary advantages' through demolition, by suggesting that restored, the mediaeval church would enhance the neighbourhood by becoming an attraction to visitors. St Saviour's, he said,

> 'is a splendid specimen of Gothic architecture and when restored will be a magnificent ornament to the southern approach to the new London Bridge and in conjunction with that object is well calculated to improve the neighbourhood and make the Borough the occasional resort of all persons of taste and curiosity and will consequently increase the trade and prosperity of the inhabitants...' (171).

This was an important and farsighted comment, not only recommending the preservation of mediaeval remains, but also the enhancement and prosperity of an area through its attraction as a resort. Taking this idea further as a positive measure Cottingham went on to move that funds be instigated for the restoration work, and the London Bridge Committee should he asked 'to allow more ample space for the view of the edifice by the public' (172).

Cottingham and Savage then published a pamphlet at the request of 'some highly respectable gentlemen' entitled *Reasons Against Pulling down the Lady Chapel at the East End of St Saviour's Church, usually denominated 'the Consistatorial Court'* (173). They made their

impassioned plea for its survival by listing seven reasons to support their case. They pointed out that it was one of the most important specimens of thirteenth century architecture, was a necessary appendage to the ancient Collegiate church and could not be removed without destroying the architectural effect of the whole structure. They asserted that far from being a later 'excrescence' it was in fact of the same date and in unison with the side aisles of the newly restored Choir. A long and scholarly letter in the *Gentleman's Magazine* composed by Cottingham and Savage, substantiated this view [174]. The nave and transepts had been rebuilt in the fourteenth century therefore the exterior features of the Choir and Lady Chapel were difference from the other parts of the fabric, but the mullions in the windows of the north aisle of the choir were identical to those in the south side of the Lady Chapel, and the four gables which form the east termination of the Lady Chapel had triple lancet windows in two series in unison with the clerestory of the choir except that there the central arch alone was pierced, the others being blank, for fear of weakening the choir walls. Before the restoration the rough flinty walls of the choir showed plainly the workmanship of one period and in the interior the connection was even more striking. A viewer, standing in either aisle of the choir would, if the wooden partition were removed, see the aisle terminated by a lancet of three lights and if he looked to the vaulting he would see it to be continuous in a uniform design from the east wall of the transept to the lancet window without interruption or change of ornament. 'How can it be called an excrescence? - it is the appropriate finish, the harmonious termination of a grand and beautiful design?' In answer to the further argument by the would-be destroyers that it was not wanted for purposes of public worship according to the ritual of the Church of England [175], the writers argued that its existence should not simply be a question of utility, but to preserve the beauty and integrity of the building. 'It bears a resemblance to the ground plan of the matchless Cathedral of Salisbury - if any part be destroyed the harmony of the whole design is injured' [176].

In their pamphlet Cottingham and Savage continued that the Eastern wall of the choir was never intended to be exposed below the roofs of the Consitatorial Court as shown by the ancient doorways of the clerestory communicating with the roofs of this building. In addition, the walls

below were not of sufficient thickness to contain recessed arches deep enough to correspond in style with the architecture of the Choir without destroying the remains of the magnificent Altar piece. A new design would be required for the parts exposed by the removal of the Chapel,

> 'to correspond with the able restoration already made of the choir ends above the roof of the Chapel, and for which new designs there is not nor can be any authority whatever'.

Despite the neglect of the building in their opinion it was still stable and firm in all its bearings, its beautiful clustered pillars truly perpendicular, its pointed ribs not at all displaced from their centres, the walls and 'elegant windows' of the interior nearly perfect, while those of the exterior,

> 'although neglected have sufficient remains of their various parts to guide the architect to a perfect restoration of the whole, without the slightest innovation, a circumstance of the highest importance as it enables us to hand down to distant posterity, in all their original purity, these splendid works, illustrating the skill and imaginative genius of our forefathers, and which through neglect and want of taste, or more sordid motives, are daily suffered to crumble into dust'.

Cottingham and Savage in these statements were stressing the need for restoration work to be based upon and guided in every detail by the remains of the existing fabric, 'without the slightest innovation', a plea for an archaeologically correct and conservative approach, one that can be seen in Cottingham's own work. Further, and most importantly, Cottingham and Savage were treating the Gothic with the highest respect insofar as they were using the arguments of the rationalists from Alberti and Brunellischi on, in that they used the relation of the part to the part and the part to the whole, taking account of proportion, harmony and regularity. In so doing, they were placing Gothic architecture on a par with others.

They concluded by condemning the 'unworthy motive in destroying the Chapel, for the building of houses would again encumber and obstruct the public view of this beautiful pile of building'. As the third Church of the Metropolis it possessed sufficient merit to attract the attention of all foreigners of taste visiting the country, to whom,

> 'it has ever been a subject of regret that our public buildings should, from an ill-judged parsimony, be exhibited to so little advantage'.

Their campaign was successful and public subscriptions were instigated to fund the restoration. Cottingham himself produced a fine

folio plate of the Lady Chapel which he published for the benefit of the Restoration Fund (177). This preservationist success further identified Cottingham as a leading authority on mediaeval architecture, a powerful advocate of its conservation, and through the reports of the restorations undertaken with Gwilt, in which cast-iron trusses were used to strengthen the original beams, established him as a restorer of technical skill who based his work upon an archaeological study and examination of the existing fabric.

Other preservation issues were raised in 1832. A.J Kempe wrote in the *Gentleman's Magazine:*
> 'We have saved the little gem of the Lady Chapel, but what about the nave? St Alban's is rapidly sinking into ruins, the gates of York, a fine specimen of ancient military architecture, are about to be removed, Waltham Cross is tottering, and Crosby Hall threatened' (178).

Cottingham was called in to save St Alban's (179), and he was also part of the campaign to save Crosby Hall, a rare remaining example of a mediaeval courtyard house at Bishopsgate, of 1466, in London, built by Sir John Crosby, a rich merchant and alderman of the City of London. Richard, Duke of Gloucester, lived there in 1483 and Crosby Hall was famous for the allusion to it made in Shakespeare's Richard III, Act III, Scene 1.
> *'Gloster*: Shall we hear from you Catesby, ere we sleep?
> *Catesby*: You shall my Lord.
> *Gloster*: At Crosby Place, there you shall find us both.' (180)

It was also owned in 1523 by Sir Thomas More.

By 1832, the Hall was progressively falling to ruin and was degraded to commercial usage as a packer's warehouse. The trading Company, Holmes and Hall, had made many alterations, removing walls, staircases, much of the carved work and panelling, and even caused further destruction by inserting floors beneath the springing of the roofs (181). Cottingham, the devoted antiquary, had known the neglected ruin of a building for what it was, and had rescued the carved oak ceiling from the Council Chamber of the Hall, complete with its painted and gilt corbels, spandrels and pendants, and reassembled it in the First Gallery in his Museum (182). By the time the lease of the trading company had expired, Crosby Hall was considered too dilapidated to be capable of repair and its demolition to make way for new houses was

proposed. A Preservation Committee composed of antiquaries and architects, most of them members of the Society of Antiquaries, was set up to raise subscriptions to save the Hall. An anonymous benefactor, 'a member of a neighbouring family' donated sufficient funds to secure the purchase and publications on its architecture and historical background were prepared, to which Cottingham subscribed, as a means of funding the restoration work (183). Edward Blore on this occasion 'gave his valuable services gratuitously', and in collaboration with the architect, John Davies, Crosby Hall was gradually restored over a period of 10 years, finally to be re-opened as a Literary Institute (184).

Cottingham's efforts as a preserver of threatened mediaeval buildings led to his election in 1832 as an honorary member of the Society of Antiquaries and later, of the Oxford Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture, an aspect of his activities to be considered in the next chapter.

3 Attempts to found Preservation Societies and Preservationism in the European context.

The strenuous efforts of antiquaries and preservationists such as Cottingham and his friends, their campaigns, and continual reports of the endless demolition of ecclesiastical and domestic architecture and monuments, from the early 1820s until 1840 led to attempts to set up a society for the protection of antiquities. In 1786 Richard Gough had suggested a Select Committee which would receive reports of threatened buildings, but to no avail (185). A.J. Kempe in 1832 wrote,

> 'that we should form a Conservative Fund for our ancient English architecture, so regulated as to shut out all jobbery, neutralise all jealousy and secure its application to its proper purpose',

and found a Society for the 'fast decaying remains of the ancient architecture in this country' (186). John Britton too made strenuous efforts trying throughout the 1830s to influence the Government to act. In 1832 and again in 1837 he wrote to the *Gentleman's Magazine* proposing a National Society for the Preservation of Antiquities (187), and in 1840 he wrote to Joseph Hume, M.P. giving many examples of the worst acts of destruction and mutilation and describing the dilapidated state of the few remaining examples of mediaeval antiquities (188). He referred to the Commission of 1832 'to enquire into

the Ecclesiastical Remains of England and Wales' and the subsequent report of 1835, drawn up from statements by Chapter Clerks, filled with 'intentionally imperfect and irrelevant information'. The resulting conclusion was that the Cathedral and Collegiate Churches of England and Wales were well preserved and sustained. Hume pressed the subject, a Committee was formed, and witnesses examined, again to no avail (189). In 1845 Thomas Wyse M.P. made an unsuccessful motion to the House of Commons for the formation of a Commission for the Preservation of National Monuments (190), and it was another 33 years before the founding of SPAB and 40 years before the Government took action with the Ancient Monuments Act of 1882. Britton, in his letter to Hume made an unfavourable comparison between England's efforts at preservation and those of France, pointing out

> 'the laudable example of the French who have been zealously examining Cathedrals, noting blemishes of injudicions alterations and lamentable neglect' (191).

As in England, the development towards preservationism in France was found in the work of antiquaries who turned their attention to the art and architecture of the Middle Ages, much of which had suffered from dilapidation, appropriation, and destruction during the Revolutionary period.

Montalembert, as well as disseminating English Gothic Revival developments, also followed the English lead in preservationism by calling for the conservation of mediaeval antiquities in France. An important antiquary in the early nineteenth century in France was Arcisse de Caumont of Caen, who encouraged study of Romanesque and Gothic architecture (192), publicised deplorable acts of vandalism which continued 'despite the efforts of all enlightened men', encouraged the setting up of collections and provincial museums to preserve antiquities, and founded the Societé pour la Conservation des Monuments Historiques in 1832 (193). The *Archaeological Journal* in England received a publication reporting the activities of de Caumont's Society, because it 'shared similar views to the British Archaeological Association' and mentioned the zeal and talent of de Caumont, the many meetings at Clermont, Le Mans, and Cherbourg and the outings to visit churches and museums (194). In his *Bulletin Monumental*, published between 1834 and 1841, de Caumont noted, as Britton did, the praiseworthy efforts of the French Government and the enlightened

administration of M Guizot who founded in 1831 a Comite Historique des Arts et des Monuments which published works on historical monuments and undertook a complete antiquarian survey of France before beginning a programme of restoration (195). The emphasis of de Caumont's publication and his Conversation Society was to promote scholarly research and study rather than to influence the methods and theories of actual works of restoration which were to begin later in France then in England. By this date, 1834, Cottingham for example had completed his major restorations of Rochester, St Alban's and his full-blown Gothic Revival restoration of Magdalen College Chapel and was beginning work at Armagh Cathedral. De Caumont reported the antiquarian activities of many Societies (196), reviewed publications on Gothic architecture by French and English writers and outlined the development of the study of Gothic by English theorists from the seventeenth century (197). He corresponded with Boisseree in Germany who was making studies prior to his drawings for Cologne Cathedral, and with Schweighauser, the director of the Protestant Seminary at Strasbourg (198), and had close connections with many English architects and antiquaries. A.C. Pugin for example visited France in 1825 to make studies for his publications and according to Benjamin Ferrey, 'met many distinguished antiquaries to whom he owed much, M. Langlois at Rouen, members of the Society of Antiquaries of France, and M. de Caumont the learned antiquary' (199). Although no documentary evidence has come to light to show that Cottingham himself met de Caumont and other French antiquaries, it is reasonable to assume that notable developments such as Cottingham's recent publications, all of which A.C. Pugin owned as we know (200), his widely known restoration abilities, and his antiquarian studies at Rochester which revealed a buried fourteenth century tomb in 1825, would have been the subject of discussion. Other friends and associates of Cottingham's who visited Normandy in the 1820s, and knew de Caumont and other French antiquaries were the Rev. M. Whewell, Robert Willis, M. Gally Knight and John Sell Cotman (201), who in 1835 was drawing master to Cottingham's sons at King's College School (202).

De Caumont in his own preservationist studies and publications such as his *Essai sur l'architecture religieuse du moyen age, particulierement*

en Normandie of 1822, acknowledged his debt to the studies in the concept of historical development of Gothic that stemmed from England and the establishment of the new terminology (203). He was a disciple of C.A. de Gerville, a French émigré who was in contact with English antiquaries such as Francis Douce, a friend of Cottingham's, and who in writing to Auguste le Prevost, in 1812, coined the phrase 'architecture romane' to describe the round arch architecture of Normandy (204). The Rev. James Dallaway in 1806 had already written in *Observations on English Architecture, Military, Ecclesiastical and Civil*, that 'our own Gothick was brought to us from Normandy and France', an advanced insight when Gothic was regarded as a specifically English style by writers such as Robert Lugar in 1805 (205). Rickman in 1817 in his *Attempt to Discriminate* etc, also described Gothic as English believing it to have originated in England (206), but Cottingham in his history of the development of Gothic to be found in the Preface to his publications of 1822 and 1829, and his analysis of the Romanesque in Burge's *Temple Church etc* of 1843, showed the extent of his knowledge and understanding of the origins and development of Gothic based in a wide European context.

De Caumont in his *Bulletin Monumental* also reviewed the progression of scholarly works on mediaeval antiquities in France from the early work of le père Montfaucon and Abbe le Boeuf, the work of Séroux d'Agincourt from 1816, le Prévosts' study of the buildings of Haute Normande in 1814 with MH Langlois at Rouen; from 1818-23 the départment du Calvados was explored and preservationist issues identified by Mm Lambert, Thomine, Lechaude d'Ausy, de Joliment, and de Caumont himself; in 1819 de Gerville catalogued the churches of department de la Manche and de Caumont established chronological classification of religious monuments at Caen; Langlois and Achille Deville wrote histories of the Abbey of St George de Bocherville and M Deshayes a history of the Abbey of Jumièges, all giving evidence of the increasing and extensive efforts in France to study mediaeval antiquities, both in the Gothic and Romanesque modes and to promote preservationist concerns (207). Clearly the close contact between England and France in these early decades of the nineteenth century, promoted the idea of preservationism, fostered public awareness of the mediaeval heritage as in Cottingham's forceful campaign to save the Lady Chapel

at St Saviour's, and continued scholarly interchange. France, with its administration of centralisation, state funding, and state control was far ahead of England in setting up its Comite Historique and instigating major works of restoration throughout France such as the repair of St Denis by Debret from 1830, yet in England a much wider and more varied involvement in preservationism was the result of the more flexible system, with a greater possibility for influence upon the restorations that followed the preservationist campaigns, and upon restoration theory and practice through criticism at every level of involvement, an influence that, as will be shown, was exerted powerfully through the antiquarian societies in England.

CHAPTER 3

Cottingham as mediaeval archaeologist

1 LNC's Membership of Societies and his contributions to Journals

The prestigious societies and their journals which disseminated theories and knowledge throughout Europe had a very strong influence in the widespread development of preservationism and mediaeval antiquarianism and had an effect upon architectural practice. Cottingham's growing eminence as an ecclesiastical architect, preservationist and antiquary led to his involvement in learned societies. He was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries on May 10th 1832 (208). A testimonial presented and read recommended Cottingham as a 'gentleman well versed in the antiquities of this country' and was signed by A.J. Kempe, keen preservationist and friend of Cottingham's, Henry Brandreth, Thomas Amyot, and John Gage, all eminent members of the Society (209). Cottingham's election occurred immediately after the vigorous campaign to save St Saviour's Lady Chapel, in which Gage also played a part, and only a week after a paper was read to the Society by A.J. Kempe in which he described the sepulchral effigy of John de Sheppey, Bishop of Rochester in 1352, an effigy discovered by Cottingham during his restoration works of 1825 (Fig.17) (210). Doubtless hidden during the iconoclasm of the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries, the effigy was found in a remarkable state of preservation, walled up in the extreme eastern arch of the north side of the choir and covered in two cart-loads of chalk. The recumbent figure was lying on an altar tomb over which was a double curved Gothic arch. Cottingham had carefully sifted through the rubble and found fragments and mutilated portions of the decoration of the tomb, figures of the Virgin, the infant, Jesus, the prophet Moses, pieces of other small statues, branches of the vine, clusters of grapes, crockets and pinnacles, some of them carved, painted and gilt, remnants which enabled him to reconstruct the tomb surround (211). In addition to the illustrations for Kempe's paper in *Archaeologia*, Cottingham published a series of prints illustrating his discovery of the tomb and the fragments that he

salvaged (Figs.18-21). Cottingham himself in 1841 contributed to *Archaeologia*, the Society's journal begun by Richard Gough in 1770, the results of further antiquarian research into Westminster, in particular the findings made during an examination of the floor of the Chapter House (212). Cottingham, the acknowledged authority on Westminster through his publications of 1822 and 1829, had been requested by the Societies of the Inner and Middle Temples to examine the whole fabric of the Temple Church and make a full report to them on its condition (213). Owing to Sir Robert Smirke's illness in 1839 the responsibility for the church's restoration fell to James Savage, architect to the Societies, and advice was sought from 'the most eminent architects in London' - L.N. Cottingham, Edward Blore, William Etty, and Thomas Willement (214). The restoration was described in the *Gentleman's Magazine* as being 'carried out with true antiquarian feeling' (215) and the Committee of the two Societies were 'exceedingly anxious that every part of their Church should be restored and adorned in the most correct manner' (216). In order to have a precedent for floor design of the right period, Cottingham and Savage obtained permission from Sir Francis Palgrave to examine the floor of the Chapter House, Westminster, for specimens of painted tiles. The Chapter House of circular or polygonal form, a characteristic English type found at Worcester, Salisbury, York, and Southwell for example, was possibly completed by 1253, close in date to the construction of Temple Church (217). Cottingham's report in *Archaeologia* described their finds. On lifting a portion of the boarded floor they uncovered the original pavement in a 'perfect state with scarcely a tile broken and the colour as brilliant as when it was first laid'.

The tiles, of sizes from 5¾" to 9½" square had incised coloured figures, patterns consisting of geometrical forms divided by narrow borders and the tiles and borders were decorated with leopards, lions, flowers and foliage. These tiles were to be described later by Lethaby as 'the finest of their time now existing' and are similar to some found at the Abbeys of Chertsey and Halesowen (218). Cottingham included traced and copied drawings with his report, and gave a description of the most interesting tiles. One represented St John the Evangelist dressed as a pilgrim requesting alms of Edward The Confessor. However strange this story may seem now, Cottingham wrote, the greatest credit was given to it in

former times and Edward II at his coronation in allusion to it offered at the altar a pound in weight of gold modelled as a King holding a ring in his hand, and eight ounces of gold in the form of a pilgrim extending his right hand to receive it. Other figures represented Henry III, his Queen and a mitred Abbot, seated on state chairs listening to the notes of ancient ministrelsy, the Cock and the Fox, emblems of vigilance and subtlety, and the arms of Henry III. The chimerical figures filling the spandrels formed by the point of the shield, Cottingham noted, were of the same pattern as those found on the walls of the old Painted Chamber at Westminster. Cottingham concluded:

> 'The other designs show great delicacy in the pattern and execution, and the whole floor, when open to view must have presented a gorgeous display of the exquisite taste of the Gothic architects of the Middle Ages' [219].

Cottingham's report displays his scholarly knowledge of the historical background and art of the thirteenth century, and also conveys his passion for the Gothic in his obvious excitement at making these discoveries of 'delicate, gorgeous, exquisite' specimens of mediaeval art. The designs of Cottingham's tiles were published in J.G. Nickol's *Examples of Inlaid and Eucaustic Tiles* of 1845, with due acknowledgement to Cottingham, for 'the kindness with which he furnished the very careful drawings.' Copies were made by Minton's and widely used [220]. Evidence can be seen at Davington Priory, owned and restored by Thomas Willement in the 1840's, where the tiles below the fireplace in the entrance hall have designs from the Chapter House (Fig.22) [221], and in his own works of restoration and in his Church of St Helen at Thorney, of 1845 for example, Cottingham used geometric two colour encaustic tiles which he based on the Westminster designs [222]. Nickol's book of 1845 was listed in publications recommended by A. Didron in *Annales Archeologiques* [223], a French journal in 1846, extending the influence to Europe, and such designs as the fabled Cock and the Fox found resonance in Viollet-le-Duc's major work of rebuilding and decorating the interiors and exteriors of Pierrefonds in 1857 in the mediaeval manner [224].

During his examination of the Temple Church itself, Cottingham discovered ancient lead coffins containing the bodies of the Knights Templar under the spot where the effigies of the Knights were placed. He communicated this find in *Archaeologia*, describing the coffins as

very corroded, some 6'8" long with ornament of embossed crosses and foliage in patterns 'resembling the ornaments of Norman architecture', which had been cast in the solid lead sheets, and dating the coffins to 'no earlier than the beginning of the 13th century' (225). Cottingham took casts of the ornament for his collection and Lot 1240 in the *Catalogue of Sale* of his Museum read 'Seven casts of very beautiful foliated Early English ornament taken from the leaded coffins of the Knights Templar in the Temple Church'. Another very important find was Cottingham's discovery of a Norman circular window in the Temple Church above the Western doorway (226). He wrote a long article describing the window for the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1841 which announced

> 'the following communication from a distinguished architect whose well-known experience in ecclesiastical architecture has occasioned his opinion and co-operation to be solicited on the repairs to Temple Church'.

Cottingham had begun his examination in the circular part of Temple Church, 'that being the most ancient'. The window had been bricked up on the interior and the exterior in 1700, Cottingham surmised,

> 'when the ordinary buildings which press like an unsightly incubus against the north side of this unique edifice were erected',

and he described it as 'an Anglo-Norman wheel window' of Caen stone, composed of 8 spokes like small Romanesque columns of 3" diameter with a groove for glass on each side of the columns. Cottingham's phrase 'Anglo-Norman' demonstrates once again his wide knowledge of the mediaeval, in this case the Romanesque style, as derived from Northern Europe and varied in the hands of English masons. The construction of the window, he said was 'a masterpiece of masonry', and went on to give a detailed analysis of its structural features. He took the opportunity to promote an archaeologically correct Gothic Revival by stressing the necessity of studying and understanding the historical development and construction of the different periods of the mediaeval:

> 'I beg leave to impress upon architectural draughtsmen, particularly those concerned with Gothic works, the necessity of accurately ascertaining the modes of construction used buy the ancient masons at different periods. It will stamp a value on their works and be a sure stepping-stone towards a correct revival of the Middle Ages'.

Clearly in these remarks Cottingham was suggesting that all Mediaeval art was as worthy of study as the art of any other period. At this early date Cottingham was saying that it should not simply be

accepted or appreciated through antiquarian interest, but should be given full architectural status. He went on to explain the derivation of the term Catherine Wheel windows, the emblem of the fourth century Saint, who was tortured upon an 'engine of four wheels', but as there was no reference to this 'horrid machine' he surmised instead, that the wheel formation of the window may have been the Norman architect's imitation of the wheels of sculptured chariots which adorn Roman buildings, and compared it to a Roman bas-relief in his Museum. Here Cottingham gives an insight into his understanding, from his own study and observation, of the classical origins of some mediaeval ornament, another example of the breadth of his knowledge, and the use of his collection of antiquities as a source for study. The links with Roman antiquity as a source of the Romanesque or Norman style were part of the prejudice against it. The *Ecclesiologist* disliked it partly for this reason and described it as 'rude, bald, and unworthy of the refinement of the age' (227). Cottingham went on to cite other windows, for example, at Barfreston Church in Kent, the East window of the Bishop's Palace at St David's, the Chapter House at Margam Abbey, Bridgewater Church and the west end of the remains of the great Hall at the Bishop of Winchester's Palace, Southwark, an indication again of the extent of his knowledge, travel, and pursuits, and his desire to impart his discoveries to others.

The report of Cottingham's examination of the Temple Church which he undertook at the request of the Societies of the Inner and Middle Temples, is now missing from the archive (228), but William Burge of the Inner Temple in 1843 wrote an account of its restoration and repairs, in which he quoted extensively from Cottingham's report (229). Burge wrote a brief history of the Church founded by the Knights Templar in the twelfth century, describing how it narrowly escaped the flames of the Great Fire in 1666; in 1682 was 'beautified and the curious wainscot screen erected'; was wholly whitewashed, gilt and painted and the round pillars wainscotted to a height of eight feet in 1706; further extended and repaired in 1707 and again in 1737 when the figures of the Knights were painted and cleaned and the iron work gilded. He wrote of the revival of interest in Gothic architecture and referred to the restoration begun by Sir Robert Smirke in 1825 in which the arcade was restored and defaced monuments renewed. Restoration continued

after a lapse under James Savage from 1830, and Sir Sydney Smirke and Decimus Burton from 1841-1842, incurring a total expenditure of £70,000 (230). Burge, in writing his account of the church, had asked Cottingham for observations on 'the peculiar style and character' of the Temple Church, explaining,

> 'the acknowledged taste and skill of that gentleman and his intimate acquaintance with the Norman and Early English styles, give them great value'.

Cottingham wrote that the Temple Church is the building which at once decides the long disputed point about the origin of the pointed style of architecture, at least, in this country, for the structure proves that the pointed style was not imported into England in a perfect state. The transition from round to pointed arch was by no means sudden, Cottingham continued, and in the round part of the Church

> 'we find the Architect endeavouring to obtain an altitude and lightness in the character of his building which compelled him to trespass on the solemn grandeur of the Norman style'.

Although the circular arch prevails throughout the exterior of the rotunda Cottingham noted its lighter character, the carved work of the entrance doorway, the capitals of the window columns fully showing that a transition was taking place and the circular colonnade in the interior allowed by its elevation a greater quantity of light than the Norman style would admit. He contended that the round and square parts of the Church were designed by the same mastermind. The central archway into the choir was not an afterthought, it was carried up with the original circular wall work, and the lightness and elevation obtained by this movement from the circular to the pointed style led to the entire adoption of the pointed style in the square or choir part of the Church. He doubted that any of the round churches in this country were ever complete rotundas, citing as examples the Norman Chapel at Ludlow built soon after the Conquest and the later specimen of the kind at Mapleshead where the round and square parts were of the same date. He examined this transition from Norman to the pointed style in the minor details of the Church, noting the circular headed windows with slender columns at the angles terminated by foliated capitals of a transitional character, the pointed arch recesses formed by a series of columns above the stone bench in the aisle on the north and south side of the entrance, which retain the Norman square abacus in the capitals

of the columns and billeted mouldings in the arches and the triforium ornamented by an arcade of interlaced arches, a portion of Norman decoration retained long after the ascendancy of the pointed style (231):

> 'No building so completely develops the gradual and delicate advances of the pointed style over the Norman as this church, being commenced in the latter and finished in the highest perfection of the former... the groining of the ceiling is in perfect unison with the whole design, the ribs, light and elegantly moulded rise from the caps of the slender marble columns, and branch out in such palmy and graceful lines that the mind is quite prepared to meet the flowery canopy which they are made to support'

Cottingham concluded his comments by remarking how rejoiced every lover of our ancient church architecture must be to see the

> 'the plague-spot of Gothic architecture (whitewash) swept from its painted ceilings, the 'pew-lumber' from its floors, the monstrous Pagan altar-screen, the glaring monumental tablets from its walls and pillars, and the 'preposterous' organ case from closing up its centre arch. If one step further could be taken, by removing the houses which crowded against the Churchs' north western front, it would be 'a glorious triumph for Gothic architecture indeed' (232).

In these statements, written in 1841, Cottingham was listing aspects of restoration procedures that he had begun in his own works of restoration in 1825, for example at Rochester Cathedral and others which will be examined closely in Part II, Cottingham's influence on ideas of restoration in the early ninetenth century is unmistakable, for the *Ecclesiologists* in 1841 were just beginning their campaign for restoration along these lines, with pamphlets such as 'A Few Words to Church Wardens' in 1843.

A major controversy had arisen after the organ and its screen had been removed from the central arch in the Temple Church. Deeply impressed with the beautiful effect produced by opening the centre arch between the two churches, the round and the square, they felt an insurmountable objection to destroy it by replacing the organ there. Cottingham gave his opinion, supporting Savage's view that the organ should be housed in a chamber to be carried out from the centre window of the north side, the window to be retained to form the front of the organ. Cottingham described the position of organs in all the great Cathedrals, continuing,

> 'At Armagh, St Alban's Abbey Church, and Ashbourne Church, I have had the gratification of removing the organs from the centre of the Church into the Transepts, and I hope the increasing taste for restoring the legitimate character of Gothic buildings will induce the Societies of the Temple to build a chamber for the organ at the back of the centre window on the north side. The instrument would

be heard quite powerfully enough and the chapel-like effect of the projecting building would not affect the integrity of the interior, nor look out of character externally, on the contrary, there are innumerable instances in our ancient churches of such projections which greatly add to the picturesque effect of the whole design'.

Alternative suggestions by Blore and Etty were overruled and finally Cottingham and Savage's plan for the siting of the organ was approved and agreed by Sydney Smirke, Willement, Blore and Etty (233). It is plain from this account by William Burge that Cottingham's opinions and knowledge and his authority as a mediaeval expert were highly respected, not only from the scholarly viewpoint of other antiquaries, but by his fellow architects. Cottingham and his friend James Savage shared similar views, and their 'strong and unanswerable' recommendation for the resiting of the organ was put into effect. Cottingham's final contribution to the work at Temple Church was to design the stall ends and elbows, consisting of grotesque masks with foliage, described by Smirke and Essex in their book on Temple Church as

'the endless luxuriance and variety displayed in the carvings of the stalls and benches which were executed from ancient examples, supplied by L.N. Cottingham from his collection of architectural antiquities' (234).

Cottingham's involvement in Temple Church, advising on its repairs as 'a distinquished architect of well known experience in ecclesiastical architecture', of 'acknowledged taste and skill and intimate acquaintance with the Norman and Early English styles' (235) highlights all aspects of his work as a mediaevalist of importance and influence in the nineteenth century. His notable appreciation of the early Mediaeval, the Romanesque, is in contrast to the Ecclesiologists who favoured fourteenth century Gothic as the ideal and to A.W.N.Pugin, who after his Romanesque style church at St Michael's, Gorey of 1839 favoured only the Gothic (236). Cottingham is revealed as a true mediaevalist. It shows too his high esteem in his own day, his ability to analyse and properly interpret and date his antiquarian findings and the mediaeval buildings through structural analysis and his knowledge of the art and sculpture of the different period of the Middle Ages, and through this, to exert an influence upon architectural practice and restoration procedures.

In addition to his membership of the Society of Antiquaries Cottingham was elected as Honorary member of the Oxford Society for Promoting the study of Gothic Architecture, at their meeting of May 9th 1842 (237). Cottingham acknowledged receipt of the communication announcing his election 'for which distinguished favour I feel most highly gratified' (238). The society had grown out of the Oxford University Genealogical and Heraldic Society of 1835-39, changing its title in 1840 as the Gothic Revival gained impetus. This society predated the influential Cambridge Camden Society, founded in 1839 and to be known as the Ecclesiologists in 1841, and there is evidence of close links between the two societies. There were members common to both Societies, men of major importance to the later Gothic revival in the nineteenth century, such as John Ruskin, John Henry Newman, and architects such as Anthony Salvin. Salvin as a member of the Ecclesiologists restored the Round Church, Cambridge, as a model of the Ecclesiologists principles of restoration in 1842 (239). The *Ecclesiologist*, the Cambridge Camden Society's periodical reviewed the activities of the Oxford Society and when the Oxford Society published a book on the model restoration of the Abbey Church at Dorchester in 1845, a copy was dedicated to the Cambridge Camden Society (240). The Report of *Proceedings of the Oxford Society's* meeting of May 9th 1842, noted 'the interest in all parts of the country in promoting the taste for a study of Gothic architecture', and went on to discuss the report by Dean Merewether on the proposed restoration of Hereford Cathedral by Cottingham. At the meeting of 1848 this restoration was described as 'perhaps the very greatest work of Church restoration which has been witnessed for many years'. The first president of the Oxford Society for promoting the study of Gothic Architecture was Dr Routh, from 1839-1844 (241). Dr Routh, as President of Magdalen instigated a highly influential Gothic Revival restoration of Magdalen College Chapel at the early date of 1829, an open competition won by Cottingham (242). Cottingham's election as an Honorary member of the Society reflects the esteem in which he was held in antiquarian circles, and in 1843, amongst the fifteen other distinguished Honorary members were Sir Henry Ellis, Edward Blore, R.C.Hussey, Sir F.Palgrave, A.Salvin, Dawson Turner, William Twopenny, Thomas Willement, B. Ferry and J.O.Halliwell. The Society's library possessed copies of Cottingham's publications and

lithographs like his 'View of the Abbey Gateway at Bury St Edmunds' of 1843 (Fig.23) (243). This Society, its membership, influence, patronage and relationship to other societies, and through it, Cottingham's influence has been considered in the wider European context.

2 Proliferation of antiquarian societies in England, and influence through close communication with European antiquarian societies and journals.

Antiquarian societies, with an increasing emphasis on mediaeval studies proliferated in the provinces in the 1840s, as a direct result of the efforts of the Oxford Society Promoting the study of Gothic Architecture, and were composed usually of the local landed gentry, with squires and clergymen as President and Vice Presidents and the majority of members aristocrats, gentlemen and noted scholars and antiquaries (244). The Bristol Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture for example was inaugurated in 1841. The *Minutes of Proceedings* note that messages of good will were read from the Oxford Society, and demonstrating the close connections, from the Cambridge Camden Society as well, and at the third meeting a paper by J. Markland was read, entitled 'Past and Present Sepulchral Memorials with some Suggestions on improving the condition of our Churches', which contained a favourable report of Cottingham's recent restoration (of 1839-1841) of the thirteenth century Ashbourne Church (245). Markland noted that parts of Ashbourne Church had 'been strangely cut away and defaced in order that monumental tablets might be more conveniently put against them', and he went on to say that under the direction of Mr Cottingham these tablets 'were judiciously removed to places more suited to their reception'. For example,

> 'one large monument of the age of James I, which interfered with a beautiful lancet window, has been placed against a blank wall and partly sunk into the ground without any portion of it being hidden. This may be successfully followed in other places' (246).

This is an example of how Cottingham's influence was spread, for Markland drew attention to the qualities of Cottingham's work, a sensitive concern for the original mediaeval fabric and its restoration, but at the same time a sympathetic and sensible treatment of later intrusions. Markland's publications on restoration and antiquarian topics were widely publicised in European journals such as the *Annales*

Archeologiques, further disseminating Cottingham's influence. Cottingham himself was involved in the activities of the provincial societies, in particular through their publications which were often produced as fund raising ventures for proposed works of restoration. Amongst those known to us, he subscribed to C.R. Lewis' *Illustrations of Kilpeck Church, Herefordshire, with an Essay on Ecclesiastical design and a descriptive interpretation* of 1842, a small Norman church of great significance which Cottingham was to restore in 1846, and to H. Davy's *Antiquities of Suffolk* of 1840.

Oxford in the 1840s was a centre for the promotion of mediaeval antiquarianism. J.H.Parker (1806-1884) was an important figure in antiquarian society and publishing circles. He succeeded his uncle as a bookseller and publisher, was a writer of architectural works such as his *Glossary of Terms used in Grecian, Roman, Italian and Gothic Architecture* of 1836 (247), and was also Secretary to the Oxford Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture. His premises were used for their meetings and he was involved in their publications. He also published the *Archaeological Journal* begun in 1844 by Albert Way for the British Archaeological Association, and his many letters to Way indicate the development and growth of interest in mediaeval antiquities by the 1840s from its beginning in the early decades of the nineteenth century and reveal too the extent of the contacts and exchange with French and German antiquaries, giving evidence of wide co-operation and involvement (248). He described his tour of Normandy in 1843, the prescribed route for English travellers from Le Havre to Rouen, visiting Caudebec, Jumièges, Ivreuse and Caen, as well as remote villages like Noré near Bayeaux 'where Rickman and Whewell were once arrested as suspicious characters' (249). In a letter of March 1844 to Way he noted that

'there is a want of a good shop in Paris for architectural and artistic works. I found it out when I published the *Memorials of Oxford* of which I sold hundreds in Germany and none at all in France...'.

In the same letter he gives a clear picture of the increasing passion for the Mediaeval:

'The interest taken by the public in Gothic Architecture seems to increase daily and to spread more and more widely in France and Germany as much nearly as in England, even the Americans are beginning to catch the infection' (250),

and because of this he regretted the title 'Archaeological' for Way's Journal. The words 'Middle Ages' should appear, he said.

'Architecture, sacred emblems, costumes, stained glass - these are the subjects of the day, Archaeological suggests everything, Greek Roman, Norwegian, South American, everything that nobody cares about - *Middle Ages* - arts, architecture are the subject on which all the information is wanted - it ought to stare them in the face...' (251)

The *Minutes of Proceedings* of the Oxford Society and the extensive correspondence addressed to Parker as the Secretary indicate its importance to preservationism and attitudes to restoration, for the Society, in common with the *Ecclesiologist* and the Incorporated Church Building Society were overwhelmed with requests for advice on works of restoration and of church building throughout the land and as far afield as India and Australia (252). G.R. Lewis wrote in a letter to Parker of October 1840:

'You and the Cambridge Camden Society will in the end be the means of bringing much lost information on ecclesiastical design to light and having religious architecture established again in this Christian land' (253):

and A.W.N. Pugin wrote in 1843:

'I look upon the Oxford Society as being the means under God of working a great reform in ecclesiastical architecture' (254).

Pugin, from the time he visited Cottingham's restoration of Magdalen College Chapel which he admired without reservation (255), had been involved with Oxford, building the gateway at Magdalen in 1844 and making designs for Balliol College, and clearly approving of the aims and ideas of the Oxford Society in its promotion of Gothic architecture (256). An extensive correspondence was also maintained with the Oxford Society and German antiquaries, including long reports from Dr Scholz and Dr Cloeggerault in Bonn, on the progress of the Cologne Cathedral restoration, and requests for the Oxford Society to form an association for raising subscriptions for that major work (257).

These influential societies, with their reports and journals, in which Cottingham's major role in the development of a Gothic Revival was fully appreciated and acknowledged, led to similar developments in Europe. Publications, important to Continental concerns for the preservation of mediaeval architecture and the promotion of a Gothic Revival were begun in France in 1844, the *Annales Archeologiques*, edited by A.N. Didron, the Secretary to the Comile Historique des Arts etc des Monuments, and in 1843 the *Kolner Domblatt* was published in

Germany as a monthly magazine by Auguste Reichensperger. The aims and influence of these journals were similar to that of the *Ecclesiologist* although as we have already seen the French and Germans during the 1840's did not attempt to influence church building design, liturgical arrangements or restoration practice to the extent of the Ecclesiologists and in general were more concerned with antiquarian and preservationist studies (258). In the first volume of *Annales* for instance Didron wrote of the growing movement for the preservation of ancient monuments, their study and repair, the 'vandalism' of unworthy restorations, gave notice of his intention to report on such restorations as Notre Dame, St Denis, St Vincent de Paul and Rheims (259); he included such topics as the Musée de l'Hôtel de Cluny, Christian iconography (260), and a detailed and swingeing criticism of the restoration 'inflicted upon the Church of St Denis' (261). Didron, in the early 1840's, showed the French leanings towards restrained restoration at this date, an influence stemming from England, and directly from Cottingham as the 'most eminent Church restorer of the day' (262). Didron, in his first volume, included a model and plans of a church of the thirteenth century to encourage a revival of this early Gothic style, a style Cottingham had suggested in *Plans etc of Henry VII's Chapel* for its simplicity (263), archaeological news from provincial societies, a bibliography of all works and periodicals of interest to the mediaevalist which had been published in France, England, Germany, Italy and Spain (264), reviews of works by Pugin, de Lassaulx, Heideloff, and de Roisin, reports from Reichensperger in Bonn and Cologne and Goertner and Ziebland in Bavaria (265). Didron announced excursions to Oxford where Cottingham's restoration of Magdalen Chapel would be viewed, to Birmingham, Cologne and Munich, the visits to be guided by Pugin, Boisserée, de Lassaulx and others, and he included many articles and illustrations in the first volume by Geefs, Overbeck, Albert Way and Thomas Wright on antiquarian studies (266).

The *Kölner Domblatt* published extensive articles on the restoration of Cologne, theories by Boisseree of its conception from an original design by Master Gerhard disproved by discoveries of its relationship to Amiens (267), articles by Zwirner, the architect in charge of works (268), and Lassaulx, described by Didron as the 'Pugin in Germany', who favoured an eclectic approach to the design of the Cathedral,

'combining the good elements of all periods providing they are basically compatible' (269). The *Kolner Domblatt* also considered all aspects of preservationist concerns and considered the suitability of Gothic as a revival style, and in contrast to the French and English views expressed in the *Annales* and *Ecclesiologist* advocated the Romanesque as a style to be used 'for its rich and dignified construction', views promoted by Prisac and Heinrich Hubsch (270). Cottingham, in his *Plans etc of Henry VII's Chapel* of 1822 had suggested the thirteenth century Gothic as suitable for revival, views strongly promoted by Didron and Lassus in *Annales*, again showing himself as a true mediaevalist, with none of the prejudice of the *Ecclesiologist* and Pugin for fourteenth century Gothic, by choosing Romanesque for his own church of St Helen's, Thorney in 1845, views that place him very close to the European tradition.

Close contact between Didron, Reichensperger and Beresford Hope of the Ecclesiologists were maintained through visiting, exchange of articles, and reviews, reports of church building, antiquarian discoveries and theories. Didron and Reichensperger visited England in 1846 for the consecration of Pugin's St Giles church at Cheadle. Didron wrote a full account in the *Annales* of his visit. He spoke of the freedom of the English in comparison to the over-governed French, he delighted in the discovery that in England 'l'art national, c'est l'art gothique', the pointed style appeared in churches, colleges, schools, hospitals and stations of ancient and nineteenth century date; he described his visits to the Cathedrals, Canterbury, Rochester, Salisbury, escorted by M.H.Gérente, an antiquary and stained glass designer friend of A.W.N.Pugin, and gave an extensive descriptive and critical analysis of Pugin's St Giles (271). At Oxford he visited J.H. Parker who wrote to Albert Way that M. Didron 'was very friendly'. Parker gave him numbers of the *Archaeological Journal* and arranged for the continuation to be sent regularly and then took him to view Oxford, including Cottingham's Magdalen College Chapel (272). Reichensperger spent time in London with G.G.Scott, Barry and Didron, and travelled widely in England and Scotland. At Cambridge he met Robert Willis, and also visited Parker at Oxford, Parker writing to Way that he was 'very much pleased with him...he would be a valuable foreign correspondent...' (273). Reichensperger regarded

England as 'the land of the Gothic Revival...England is more Germanic than Germany...' (274). Reichensperger's impressions were published in the *Kolner Domblatt, Annales Archeologiques* and the *Ecclesiologist* and in 1847 Beresford Hope visited him in Cologne (275).

Evidence of the extensive communications between the various antiquarian societies establishes firmly the pattern of intellectual intercourse and mutual influences between the Continent and England. Contributions from the Archaeological Association, the Society of Antiquaries, the Oxford Society, and articles from *Archaeologia* and the *Archaeological Journal* were frequently published in the European journals and reports of new buildings, criticism of restoration, advances in knowledge and research on many mediaeval topics were widely disseminated (276). Reviews and reports are to be found throughout the *Annales* and the *Kolner Domblatt*, articles often circulating between the two as well as appearing in the *Ecclesiologist*. Reports of the *Annales, Kölner Domblatt* and extensive reviews of foreign publications are also to be found in the pages of the English societies' journals such as the *Archaeological Journal*. Amongst regular contributors abroad were A.W. Pugin, Roach Smith, Stapleton, Albert Way, Thomas Willement, Henri Gerente, J.H. Parker, Thomas Wright and Longueville Jones. Both Didron and Reichensperger published reports on the Society of Arts, Society of British Architects, Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle and the Yorkshire Architectural Society. Didron considered the Oxford Architectural Society, as the Oxford Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture became known, of which Cottingham was an Honorary Member in respect of his illustrations career, to be the most important and prestigious:

> 'for its rich collection of books etchings and models, and not least the importance of its members, high Anglican clergy, dignitaries of the University, professors, and eminent architects and archaeologists'
> (277).

There can be no doubt of Cottingham's influence, as one of the 'eminent architects and archaeologists', whose books and etchings were in the Society's libraries, whose celebrated restoration of Magdalen College Chapel of 1830 was visited by all who went to Oxford, and whose restoration of Hereford Cathedral was described at a Society meeting as 'perhaps the very greatest work of church restoration which has been

witnessed for many years'. The archives of these societies show the astonishing extent of the co-operation and friendship in the widespread promotion of a Gothic Revival, or as Didron described it when stressing the benefits of exchange of work, memoirs, monographs, and research - 'le rapport archeologique' (278). Many of the foreign architects and antiquaries were members of the societies beginning as early as 1822 when Francis Douce, the distinguished antiquary friend of Cottingham's proposed Auguste le Prevost of Rouen for honorary memberships of the Society of Antiquaries praising his 'consummate skill and achievement as an antiquary, and his well known kindness to many of our countrymen...' (279).

Cottingham from the 1820s onwards was widely known and respected through his publications, his preservationist and antiquarian activities, his Museum of antiquities, and his early works of restoration 'to restore the legitimate character of Gothic buildings' (280), all of which exerted an influence upon the Gothic Revival at a most crucial time in its development. Even after his death his work continued to receive favourable reports, in the *Archaeological Journal* for example, which was widely circulated in Europe, with reports of visits to his works of restoration such as the Norman Tower at Bury 'recently preserved from impending decay under the skillful directions of the late Mr Cottingham', and St Mary's Church, Bury, which 'was in a very insecure condition and was repaired with much care by Mr Cottingham...' (281) Some of Cottingham's close friends too played a leading role, and, as a man of 'generous, benevolent disposition' he gave them the benefit of his advice and made available his collection for study, friends such as Henry Shaw with his publication on ancient furniture of 1836 and a work on cast iron designs of 1834 similar to Cottingham's *Founder's Director* of 1823 (282), Sir Samuel Meyrick, the owner of Goodrich Court, famed author and collector of armour (283), Sir Walter Scott, a leading inspiration in the passion for the Mediaeval, and William Capon, antiquary and stage designer who in the 1820s made drawings of Westminster Place (284). All of these men were friends of Cottingham's and friends of Francis Douce, and remaining letters from Cottingham, Willement, Capon, Shaw, Meyrick, Scott and others to Douce in the 1820s and 1830s give an illuminating insight into the passionate fervour and dedication with which these gifted men pursued

the preservation and revival of the mediaeval ideal (285). It enables us to assess Cottingham's importance in the context of this group of scholars and antiquaries and in the dissemination of his influence through the societies and their scholarly exchange, transforming the work and theories of a small preservationist and revivalist group at the turn of the century into a sweeping national movement of Gothic Revival by the end of the 1840s.

CHAPTER 4

Cottingham as Collector:
Museum of Mediaeval Antiquities 1812-1851

1 Analysis of Arrangement and Contents of Cottingham's Museum

In order to extend his knowledge Cottingham spent thirty five years building up a library and a vast collection of original specimens, models casts of monuments and architectural features, furniture, stained glass and decorative arts, which formed 'a complete practical illustration', a study collection of Greek and Roman antiquities, and above all, of English and Continental architecture, both ecclesiastical and domestic, of the mediaeval period, from the Romanesque onwards (286). It is typical of Cottingham that he was anxious to share his knowledge and promote a study of Mediaeval, not only through his publications but through his museum which he made openly available to all to view and study. As early as 1822, in his preface to *Plans of Henry VII's Chapel*, he announced that

> 'Mr Cottingham gives lessons on civil architecture for which purpose he has made an extensive collection of models and casts from the best remains of Grecian and Gothic buildings.'

By 1840 his collection, now housed in his own house in Waterloo Bridge Road had grown enormously. The *Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal* described a visit by 'numerous party to a conversatsione' at Cottingham's Museum:

> 'We were certainly never so surprised on passing through numerous rooms to witness such an immense collection of specimens, about 31,000 we understand, of domestic and ecclesiastical architecture, painting, sculpture and furniture. Every architect, artist and lover of antiquity should not fail to visit this museum' (287).

Cottingham himself wrote that his collection, the outcome of vast outlay of labour and cost, the expending of his 'time and patrimony', was considered unrivalled, and had been viewed by

> 'Several noblemen of acknowledged taste and many distinguished literary characters as well as by numerous professional friends.' (288).

The collection was sold by his family on 3rd November, 1851, four years after his death. The date of sale, places it in the same year as the Great

Exhibition, which opened in April a coincidence that serves to set Cottingham's contribution to the Gothic Revival in sharp relief; his collection, begun in the early decades of the nineteenth century when admirers of Gothic were few in number, sold and dispersed at the very time the Mediaeval Court, designed by A.W.N.Pugin, presented an expression of the passion for the mediaeval at its height of influence (289). A *Descriptive Memoir* of Cottingham's Museum was published by Christie and Manson, prior to the sale (290), and the preface in the *Catalogue of Sale* itself (291), written and compiled by the distinguished antiquary and writer friend of Cottingham's, Henry Shaw, together provide a comprehensive view of the contents and arrangement of his collection of mediaeval antiquities (Figs.24 & 25) (292).

As the catalogue makes abundantly clear, the vast majority of items in the museum were carefully moulded and cast in composition, the moulds afterwards destroyed to render the copies unique (293). Numerous examples of architectural details were cast from the Cathedrals of Winchester, Salisbury, Lincoln, Hereford, Wells, Peterborough, Rochester, Rouen, Westminster, St Alban's Abbey and Melrose Abbey, St Stephen's and Henry VII's Chapels, the Painted Chamber and Speaker's Lodgings at Westminster, and innumerable churches in this country and on the Continent. Not only were duplicates cast but details of the finest monuments of the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries had been carefully modelled, the mutilations restored and many of them 'fully emblazoned in imitation of the ancient colouring'. The examples were chosen to illustrate and exemplify the progression of style and were then arranged in room settings of each period (294).

The specimens of Anglo-Norman and transition decoration were described by Shaw as 'judiciously chosen for practical purposes but are not as numerous as those from the enrichment of later and more refined styles'. The illustration of Early English,

> 'the most elegant, the most gorgeously beautiful of the various gradations of pointed architecture are almost endless, and comprise nearly every conceivable variety of Capitals, Bosses, Finials, Corbels and other details calculated to assist the architect in composing new designs, or guide the workman in carrying them out with appropriate character and feeling'.

Examples of the Decorated and Perpendicular styles were equally numerous, varied and useful, particularly in the specimens of groining and 'other complicated features peculiar to the richly elaborate

architecture of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries'. Elizabethan architecture was represented by many and original features in the shape of ceilings, chimney pieces and panelling, besides copies from 'choice examples in various celebrated buildings' (295). Domestic architecture was also largely illustrated by many examples in wood and stone including whole ceilings, panelled rooms, fireplaces and windows which had been rescued intact before the demolition and destruction of the buildings themselves, again, an indication of Cottingham's advanced appreciation of their use for antiquarian study, and also of their value to posterity.

The museum consisted of a range of apartments, an Elizabethan parlour and ante-rooms, two large galleries connected by an intermediate room, a Chapel with a series of vaulted chambers, two rooms devoted to monumental sculpture and a number of studios filled with objects of architectural detail of every description. The richly panelled ceiling of Elizabethan plaster work with its surrounding frieze in the 'Elizabethan Parlour' was the original one from 'the ancient Palace of Bishop Bonner in Lambeth, many years since destroyed' (296). The Palace of Bishop Bonner was also known as The Old Golden Lion in Fulham, described in a *History of Fulham* by Thomas Faulkener in 1812 as a mansion of the time of Henry VII, and traditionally known in the neighbourhood as the residence of Bishop Bonner. It was demolished in April 1836 (297). The walls of the Elizabethan room were decorated with brackets supporting busts, cast from various monuments, of Queen Elizabeth, Mary Queen of Scots, Sir Walter Raleigh, William Camden with his 'Britannica', and Lady Elizabeth Fane, Frances, Duchess of Suffolk and Sir Thomas Bromley, Lord Chancellor to Queen Elizabeth, all cast from their monuments in Westminster Abbey. The elaborately carved oak door of six panels with medallions containing busts and foliage was complete with its surrounding framework of richly carved pilasters. frieze and entablature and a shield of arms with the date 1652 carved on a panel. The carved oak panelling and bookcases were of the same date as the door (298). The chimney-piece was of carved stone with pilasters and the mullioned window, carved inside and out was filled with stained glass depicting the white rose en soleil of the House of York, the fleur de lis of Henry VII and the pomegranate of Catherine of Aragon (299). Furniture

included a sidetable of rosewood and lignum vitae 'formerly in the celebrated Palace of Nonsuch' (300), a carved and embroidered sofa, reputedly used by Queen Anne Boleyn when she was confined in the Tower, an elaborately carved walnut cabinet of the seventeenth century, a carved giltwood chandelier from the Palace of Heidelberg, and on the mantelpiece two early Flemish carved oak groups of mounted figures in armour of the time of Henry VI, formerly in the Church of St Sebald in Nuremburg and bearing the name of the artist 'Hendric Roose' (301).

The adjoining anteroom was also in Elizabethan style with oak panelling, plasterwork ceiling, richly carved Caen-stone fireplace, mullioned window, furnished with Elizabethan oak trestle tables, fine carved oak cabinet, William III highbacked chairs, and ornamented with full size cast figures of St George in armour and Henry VI with sceptre and ball, a pair of female figures reclining on couches, a pair of full length figures of composition in imitation of bronze of St John the Evangelist and St James of Compostella, numerous busts, shields of arms, a Flemish chandelier and a pair of enamelled fire-dogs, formerly belonging to Sir Thomas More (302). Other curious items were a bust of Shakespeare from the monument at Stratford 'the original mould very carefully made under the late Mr Cottingham's immediate superintendance, and this was the only cast taken from it', and a canette of German stoneware dated 1604, found in Shakespeare's garden at Stratford in 1818 (303).

The First Gallery according to Shaw, had 'obtained quite the rich subdued tone of an apartment of the Middle Ages, and may be considered the beau ideal of an Architect's Studio'. The highly enriched panelled ceiling of craved oak, with its corbels, spandrels, and pendants painted and gilt, was taken from the Council Chamber of Crosby Hall to save it from further dilapidation and possible demolition, and before the campaign, in which Cottingham played a part, was instigated to save it from destruction in 1832 (304). The three stone windows of the First Gallery, one over the staircase leading to the basement and one measuring nine feet by six feet, were Early English with tracery panels and mullions resting on moulded corbels and had all been saved from 'the Chapel attached to the Alms Houses of Queen Katherine in the Tower when that charitable foundation was removed to the Regent's

Park' (305). The Collegiate Church of St. Katherine by the Tower, founded in 1148 was situated on the east side of the Tower of London and was attached to the oldest ecclesiastical community existing in England. It was demolished as we have seen in 1825 to make way for the new St. Katherine's Docks (306), despite pleas that 'with the advice of an architect of taste the whole of the columns, arches and other architectural details might with care be removed and reconstructed in a new situation as some atonement' (307). Clearly Cottingham was able to salvage five of the windows and other architectural fragments. A.C.Pugin, also a collector of mediaeval remains, had acquired portions of the destroyed church as well for they appear in the sale of his collection in 1833 (308). Other features of the First Gallery included a magnificent altar-screen of Flemish workmanship of the date 1490, richly painted and gilt, containing one hundred and thirty figures in high relief, with fleur-de-lis surmounting each compartment placed there by the command of the Duke of Orleans (Philippe Egalite) while the screen was in his possession; the stone fireplace, 8 feet wide and 15 feet high, constructed from parts of the original one from the Star Chamber at Westminster; a series of panelling modelled from Winchester Cathedral and eighty five linenfold panels in carved oak from the ancient Palace of Layer Marney in Essex; and a series of eight carved stone panels from the Cathedral at Rouen and two pairs of stone capitals circa 1200 from the Church of St. George de Bocherville near Rouen. The walls were covered with a series of models of Saints, Bishops and Prophets on brackets, modelled to the same scale 'from authorities in countless Cathedrals' (309). Thirty one of these models had been made by Cottingham for the altar screen at Magdalen College Chapel which he restored in 1829, 'but were not employed in consequence of objection taken to their introduction by the College authorities' (310). Cottingham's Saints had been rejected by Dr. Ellerton, the Senior Fellow, who, although not an Evangelical, was bitterly opposed to High Church principles, and Cottingham had to exchange his Saints for a frieze of angels, the niches remaining empty until 1865 (311). Ranged around three sides of the First Gallery were cases containing, a vast collection of works of mediaeval decorative arts in stone, wood and metal, 'all of them examples of the utmost utility as studies'. The Gallery also contained a colossal oak bookcase, carved with linenfold panels of 24 feet in length and two others of lesser size,

sets of William III carved chairs, screens, an oak reading desk, and 'a richly carved chair, of the time of James I presented to the late Mr. Cottingham by Sir Walter Scott, Bart' (312). This gift reflected the value that Scott must have placed on his friendship with Cottingham. Clive Wainwright points out in *The Antiquarian Interior*, that at Strawberry Hill and Abbotsford antiquities presented to their owners played an important part in their creation. 'It is a tribute to both Walpole and Scott that their friends thought highly enough of their friendship to present antiquities to them'. Scott too presented a Scottish sword to Sir S. Meyrick and ' was thanked in the Catalogue of Meyrick's collection' (313).

The next room formed a small ante-room connecting this Gallery with the North Gallery and had a carved oak pendant ceiling of the time of Henry VII, two stone mullioned windows of two and three lights complete with label heads and glazing from St. Katherine's Church, and numerous models and casts such as the children of Edward III from his monument in Westminster Abbey and Phrophets from the tomb of Henry VII. The North Gallery again had a fine mid fifteenth century ceiling with bold moulded principals, spandrels and elaborate bosses at the intersections, stone mullioned windows, and the walls lined with compartments from tombs, a very large model with a figure from one division of the screen leading to Edward the Confessor's Chapel, a triple canopy of elaborate design showing canopied niches with figures of St. Anne, the Virgin Mary, St. James and other Saints, many canopies, niches with cast figures of Bishops, pinnacles, corbels, colossal heads, shields, Flemish carved lions on pedestals, and fourteenth century wood carving and examples from subsellae. This suite of rooms was terminated by an elaborate model, full size, and 'executed with the greatest care' of the doorway to the Chapter House at Rochester Cathedral with its enriched arch mouldings containing niches with figures of Prophets, praying angels and a figure representing the ascent of the soul to paradise (314).

The staircase to the Basement was lined with carved panels, perforated tracery, carved stoppings for beams, and the staircase itself had balustrades with quatrefoil tracery and newels surmounted by lions holding shields. The first part of the basement was fitted up as a chapel with an altar screen 12'8" by 10' high with eleven niches filled with

angels, a rich cornice of angels and pierced tracery, and a panelled altar 6 feet long with buttresses, pinnacles and polychromed monograms. There was also a set of six rare thirteenth century stall ends with the return standard ends and portions of the Throne with boldly carved groups of figures. Shaw wrote that 'they are of foreign manufacture and afford the strongest evidence of being the production of the same Artist as the matchless stalls of the Church of St. Gereon de Cologne' (315).

Shaw described the walls, ceilings, side vaulted chambers, recesses and passages round this Chapel as being completely filled with every conceivable detail connected with mediaeval architecture, from the most delicate fan tracery of a groined canopy to colossal specimens, including facsimilies of nine tombs, lifesize figures of St. George and the Dragon, 11 feet high equestrian figures of Edmund Crouchback and Henry V, a model of an angel with wings outspread from the destroyed St. Stephen's Chapel under an elaborate triple canopy, with figures in niches on either side; the model of a 12 foot high doorway and its stone work surround with triple attached shafts with moulded capitals, the whole composition crowned by a panelled and embattled parapet (316). In addition to these recesses and vaulted chambers there are seven rooms containing even larger models and including 'a vast quantity of exceedingly fine casts of the grandest remains of Greece and Rome procured at vast expense, many of them direct from abroad' (317), together with a large collection of carvings in detached pieces in Cabinets, chimney pieces, panelling, tracery, an oak ceiling from the former cloisters at Westminster and an open timber roof of the time of Edward III which

'would admirably suit the requirements of any gentleman desirous of obtaining a Baronial Hall roof for his mansion',

complete with diagrams and measurements to enable its accurate reconstruction (318). Listed separately in the Catalogue were architectural models of buildings. These were Cottingham's model of the restoration of St. Stephen's Chapel which he constructed during the preparation of his plans for the Houses of Parliament Competition, models to scale of Canterbury Cathedral, St. Alban's Abbey Church, the screen of York Minster, one half of the nave of Armagh Cathedral, one side of King's College Cambridge, the end of Westminster Hall in

its original state and a very beautiful model, by Salter, of St. Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, shown as it originally existed; prepared for his late Majesty William IV (319).

As Shaw wrote 'nothing but the long, minute and careful inspection of a connossieur could enable one to form an idea of the extent of Cottingham's collection' (320) but from an analysis of the two thousand two hundred and five lots listed in the Catalogue we can gain some sense of his passion for the Mediaeval, his efforts to promote a knowledge and understanding of the architecture of the Middle Ages, his desire to preserve examples for posterity, the sheer colossal work and cost involved in collecting, modelling, casting, painting and gilding and researching his examples, and the extent of the travels he undertook in pursuit of his consuming interest. Some seven hundred lots, mainly models and casts, were from named English sources, of which forty six are identified, including all major Cathedrals, Churches and Abbeys. The evidence shows that he made models from three hundred examples of architectural features, tombs, carvings, corbels, pillars, groining, tracery and statues in Westminster Abbey alone, from the Chapter House, Henry VII's Chapel, Westminster Hall, St.Stephen's Cloister, the Painted, Star and Jerusalem Chambers. His interests were not in ecclesiastical work alone, and he showed an understanding, rare at this time, of the importance of ancient domestic precedent, for his studies included details of architectural features from unnamed domestic sources, from Leeds and Hever Castles in Kent, great manor houses at Cobham, Barsham in Norfolk, Franks in Kent, Snelston Hall and others in Derbyshire and Herefordshire, the residence of Cardinal Wolsey in Fleet Street, and the Old Golden Lion in Fulham. As a fervent preservationist he rescued fragments as well as whole ceilings, rooms, windows from a number of named sources of ecclesiastical and domestic buildings that were falling into ruin or were actually demolished, such as Crosby Hall, Layer Marney, St Katherine's Church, the Chapter House, Cloisters and St. Stephen's Chapel at Westminster, destroyed churches in Kent, the church at Westley in Suffolk, old London Bridge, Snelston Manor House, and other items such as lot 532, a cast full-size, complete with tomb, recumbent effigy and elaborate wooden canopy, of the monument of

Philippa, Duchess of York, who died in 1433, 'all of which has been destroyed'.

As another source of items for the Museum, Cottingham bought at auction from sales of other collections, or made models of items belonging to other antiquaries. He owned two 'cases of ornament' from A.C.Pugin's collection which was sold in 1833 (321), a fine Elizabethan wrought iron lock and handle with iron escutcheons and two pieces of iron railing from the tomb of Henry V from the antiquary John Carter's Collection, sold by Sotheby's in 1818, other mediaeval fragments from the collection of Mr. Gayfere, the Abbey mason (322), Roman and Greek remains such as a cast of the Elgin horse's head, a head of the Niobe and a cast of the Venus de Medici from the collection of Colonel Samuel Hayward, and a statue of Venus and a figure of Cupid from Robert Adam's Collection (323). Listed under a Collection of 'Casts of Old French and Louis Quatorze Examples' was a 'very beautiful original model of two reclining figures, with a lyre between them, from the collection of Mr. Nash, architect to George IV' (324). Cottingham had also studied mediaeval arms and armour, for amongst the items were figures in 'suits of armour very carefully modelled from the originals in the collection of Sir S.R.Meyrick at Goodrich Court, Herefordshire'. Sir Samuel, well known antiquary, writer, and armour expert had reorganised Queen Elizabeth's Armoury in its new museum at the Tower in 1828. No doubt Cottingham also bought from the well known antique dealers of the day such as Edward Hall, John Webb and Samuel Pratt who was a close friend of his (325). Other friends supplied him with antiquities, collecting for him on their travels. A.W.Pugin, for example, made a note in his diary for December 1840, 'Figures for Cottingham' (326), and in letter from Cottingham's son, N.J.Cottingham to R.B.Phillips, he wrote that he and his father thought Heckington Church so perfect that they spent £100 having casts and drawings made (327).

From the evidence of a wide range of items from Continental sources it would seem most likely that Cottingham travelled widely (328). Some of the Greek and Roman casts were described as 'procured at vast expense many of them direct from abroad', and the Catalogue lists mediaeval architectural fragments and casts from Germany, St.Sebald's Church at Nuremburg, St.Gereon de Cologne and the Palace at Heidelberg,

churches in Belgium at Malines, many from France, from the Church of St.George de Bocherville and the Cathedrals of Rouen and Chartres, as well as many items from unnamed sources, Flemish carvings, screens, and 'French work of 1600 and Louis XIV examples' (329). Cottingham with his knowledge of the development of Continental Gothic church architecture, which he displayed in his Volumes of 1822 and his passion for the Romanesque undoubtedly would have been amongst those architects who visited Nothern France for the purposes of study. Many of Cottingham's friends in the Society of Antiquaries and the Oxford Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture travelled abroad and of course A.C.Pugin, and his son also enlarged their collections of antiquities by bringing them direct from France (330).

In the *Descriptive Memoir* Shaw pointed out the 'practical utility of the valuable assemblage of works of art' and continued 'to the professional Architect it must be acknowledged to be the most perfect reference for study and analysis of the principles of Ancient art ever formed in this or any other country, indeed quite unique'. He hoped that the entire collection would be purchased by some patron of the Arts sufficiently wealthy and liberal to procure it for one of the Societies 'established throughout the Kingdom for the study of Mediaeval Architecture', or that the Government might form the nucleus of a National Museum of English Architectural Antiquities, 'the want of which has so long been felt by all engaged in the pursuit of the Architectural and Industrial Arts'. The *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1850 commented on the excuse that there was a problem of space for such a collection, 'yet the Parisians find space for their mediaeval antiquities, at the Palais des Thermes and L'Hotel de Cluny and L'Ecole des Beaux Arts; even a suburban locality would do, even the terminus of a railway station, or like the riding house at Brighton...' (331).

The Government failed to respond. This idea was not new. In 1844 Cottingham's pupil, E.B.Lamb wrote 'a spirited letter' to the Trustees of the British Museum calling for the instigation of a separate gallery for British Antiquities and the classification of Gothic architecture. He wrote 'I have an earnest desire that both the public and the architectural profession should become more familiar with and better able to appreciate the architecture and arts of the Middle Ages' (332). The reply then was the same as their reply in 1850-51, ' The Trustees are

not prepared to recommend the Government to provide in the Museum for any collection or remains of the Gothic architecture of Great Britain' (333).

This attitude in 1851 brought a sharp response. Reports in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (334) and the *Builder* (335) expressed 'regret and aprehension' at the sale, with bitter remarks about the British Museum's lack of interest and their failure to buy it intact. In his Preface to the Sale Catalogue Shaw wrote of the value of the Schools of Design, 'having done much to improve the character of numerous articles', but such a collection as Cottingham's could supply a means of educating employers and employed in the principles of composition and the character of materials. As the Government had failed to see this opportunity, he hoped that some of the collection might be procured as an adjunct to the Schools of Design. Other efforts to save the collection were made, including a subscription instigated by G.G.Scott, supported by Alfred Waterhouse, Norman Shaw, J.Clarke and E.Seddon and others, but to no avail (336). The collection was dispersed and sold to a variety of collectors and private buyers, the *Builder* noting on the 8th November that

> 'It is a matter of regret that the members of the architectural profession have not yet availed themselves so extensively as they ought to have done, nor have representatives of any of the Schools of Design been present hitherto.'

A portion of the collection however formed the basis of the Architectural Museum at Cannon Row, Westminster, set up in 1850, and other buyers included those who were starting their own collections such as 'Mr Purnell of Stanscombe Park' and Mr Lacy for 'the New York Museum now forming', the total figure of the twelve day sale of the 2205 lots amounting to £2009.13.6d (337).

Cottingham's Museum represented a life's work, 'the expending of his patrimony and his leisure time to qualify for excellence in his profession', to which end he travelled to study, to collect, and to save from destruction, examples of Mediaeval antiquities, to understand fully the structure, the development of the different stages of Gothic through minute analysis, the art and sculpture, and the historical background to the entire mediaeval period in Europe. He used his study and his collection as a source for his publications on Gothic architecture, *Henry VII's Chapel* and *Westminster Hall* of 1822, and

1829, the *Working Drawings of Gothic Ornament* of 1823, and for his designs in cast iron through a knowledge of classical antiquities, and as a major source in his work as a church restorer attempting to achieve an archaeologically correct revival of Romanesque and the true Gothic, and in his Gothic revival and mediaeval revival domestic architecture and design. He made his collection available to antiquaries, architects, literary figures and his students for study and example in his efforts to promote a Gothic revival, a Revival to be achieved not through simple copyism, but through an understanding of the structure, and the spirit and intention of the mediaeval architects, transformed to new uses and a new age. To examine the full importance of Cottingham's Museum and its influence, it is necessary to view its precedents, its development, arrangement and content by contrast with others and to consider its place within a wider European context.

2 Cottingham's Museum in the European Context

Cottingham's Museum of mediaeval antiquities followed the Renaissance tradition of a House Museum in which the collector's private residence served as the repository for the collection, and also shared with other early nineteenth century collections the characteristics of the Greek Mouseion, the idea of a Temple of Arts, a combination that David Watkin has described 'as an age of transition from the private collection to the public museum' (338). The first private collections were founded in the villas of the ancient Romans with magnificent collections of paintings, sculptures and relics of antiquity looted from the entire Mediterranean world (339). In the Renaissance the idea of collecting was revived and the 'museum' arose to describe the collections formed by princes and artists signifying great wealth, prestige and learning. A concern with antiquity showed in the assembling of antique statues and fragments in villas and gardens and soon cabinets and galleries were designed to house collections (340).
Rubens designed an antiquarium at his Antwerp townhouse based on the Roman Parthenon to house his antique sculptures (341) and this tradition spread to England in the early seventeenth century when Ruben's patron, Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel first assembled a vast collection of antiquities (342). Neo-Palladian sculpture galleries were designed for the great collections at Holkham Hall, Castle Howard,

Newby Hall and remained an influential prototype well into the nineteenth century (343). The curiosity cabinet, or chamber, for the display of smaller objects with its connotations of connoseurship and study, which related closely to the formation of Cottingham's Museum, stemmed from the Renaissance quest for universal knowledge, with many examples throughout Europe including the 'closet of rarities' of John Tradescant and his son in the early seventeenth century, which formed the basis of the Ashmolean Museum, England's first public and pedagogical museum. By the end of the eighteenth century the passion for collecting antiquities of Greece and Rome was at its height, and as well as the famous collections of such dilettants as Charles Townley, William Fitzmaurice, Charles Lennox, and Richard Payne-Knight, many other small, private cabinets were to be found in London. John Timbs in his *Curiosities of London* of 1828 listed such museums as:

> 'Mr Chaffers with 1000 specimens discovered in London excavations; Saull's Museum in Aldersgate Street, a private collection of antiquities, open to view on Thursdays: Mr P.Marryatt's large collection of ceramics; Lord Londesborough's selection of antiquities, shown at conversationes given in the London season; the private collections of Mr H.Magniac, Mr Octavius Morgan, Mr Slade's and Mr Bernal's - all available to view upon written request...' (344).

Cottingham in his work for his patron John Harrison of Snelston Hall in 1827, was required to design a large display cabinet or sideboard to house Harrison's collection of treasures, items of classical antiquity, mediaeval artefacts and Renaissance metalwork, a type of commission many architects in the first half of the nineteenth century were called upon to undertake.

A well known house museum that also aspired to the Temple of Art ideal was that of Thomas Hope in Duchess Street. Cottingham, in his pursuit of knowledge would no doubt have visited Duchess Street and his links through patronage with the Hope family confirm this supposition (345). Hope believed that a study of ancient art would improve standards of design and propagate a modern style, and he made his collection of classical antiquities, amassed during his Grand Tour and through such purchases as Sir William Hamilton's second collection of vases, available for study (346). He devoted a storey of his residence to a museum, open from 1804 and arranged a sequence of model rooms filled with antique paintings and furniture, composed of a sculpture gallery,

a picture gallery, vase room, Lavarium, Flaxman's room, and Egyptian and Indian rooms (347).

M.Passavant, a German visitor to England in 1836, described the impact of Hope's Museum:
> 'Luxuriously adorned in the usual style at the beginning of the century, when taste for the antique, however imperfectly understood, prevailed.' (348).

Thomas Hope was a confirmed classicist but his intention to educate and improve design through his collection and his publication *Household Furniture* of 1807, as well as the French parallel, the *Recueil de Decorations Interieures* of 1801 and 1812 by Percier and Fontaine, perhaps influenced Cottingham, whose Museum was also concerned with the history, instruction and creation of architecture.

Sir John Soane's private museum in Loncoln's Inn Fields was another house museum established in the first decade of the ninetenth century, a 'perfect Neo-classical miscellany' as Susan Feinberg in her analysis of Soane's Museum described it, a shrine to its creator (349). John Britton in 1827 wrote an account of Soane's Museum appropriately entitled the *Union of Architecture, Sculpture and Painting*, and Soane, in his own description of the house and museum did not give a catalogue of the 3000 exhibits but a descriptive account of his collection within its designed setting as Shaw was to do later in his *Descriptive Memoirs* of Cottingham's Museum, stressing not simply the value of the objects but the manner in which the rich variety of objects were combined. Soane's Museum closely followed the sixteenth century tradition of the 'Cabinet' with its vast array and clutter of artefacts, pictures close set, casts, sculpture and relics arranged with no attempt at chronology (350).

G.F.Waagen, the Director of the Royal Gallery in Berlin, in 1838, gave a personal view of Soane's Museum, describing it as
> 'a pattern card of the most diverse styles of architecture. Sometimes happy, for the most part failures - the whole, notwithstanding a certain picturesque fantastic charm in consequence of this arbitrary mixture of heterogeneous objects, something of the unpleasant effect of a feverish dream. As a splendid example of English whimsicalness which can only be realised by the union of colossal English wealth and the English way of thinking...' (351).

Waagen in this description highlights the qualities of Soane's Museum, a highly subjective, whimsical, picturesque, fantastic mixture, a clear

contrast to Cottingham's archaeologically correct approach. Soane's Museum included a 'Monks Parlour' or mediaeval closet which housed a collection of plaster casts and fragments of Gothic architectural finials, crockets and grotesques. Some of the architecture, remains were acquired by Soane in the early 1820s during his heavily criticised demolition of the old House of Lords at Westminster, but again, Soane's intention was not to imitate Gothic structural elements nor provide a visual history of the mediaeval, but to create a picturesque mock-period room, or, as John Summerson has suggested, a satire on Gothic antiquarianism (352). Soane had of course suffered the humiliation of having to replace his Palladian facade to the new Law Courts with a Gothic design in 1825, and he condemned the 'blind attachment to modern Gothic structures' (353). He was critical of the 'incongruities so frequent in modern Gothic Buildings' although he scorned imitations of Gothic, and in his lectures to students at the Royal Academy in 1812 he advised them 'to study that style with the most serious attention, not for its taste, but for the effect in mass and detail' (354). Perhaps in this attitude to the Gothic Soane was echoing the approach to Laugier in France, who in his *Essai* of 1753, wrote in appreciation of the structural rationality of Gothic but condemned the Gothic taste in ornament. He showed respect for serious archaeological study of the Gothic however, for he requested a copy of Cottingham's *Plans etc of Henry VII's Chapel* of 1822 for his own library. Cottingham as we know lived close by in Lincoln's Inn Field and no doubt knew of the Museum and its Monk's Parlour well (355). Certainly Soane, as well as creating picturesque effects and glorifying the art of architecture, intended his collection to function as a classroom or a private architectural academy, and his first recorded purchase of architectural plaster casts dates from 1792 (356). Other collections of casts had been amassed by Robert Adam, Henry Holland, Charles Tatham, Samuel Hayward and others, and as we saw, both Cottingham and Soane bought items from these collections during the early 1800s as they came up for auction (357). John Button wrote of the advantages of casts over drawings for the student to learn the subtleties of proportion, mass, light and shade, and Cottingham, in 1822, in advertising that he gave lessons on civil architecture noted 'his extensive collection of models and casts from the best remains of Grecian and Gothic buildings' (358).

Soane's Museum was predominantly classical, differing completely in arrangement and content from Cottingham's Museum of Mediaeval Antiquities, which was specifically intended to promote an authentic achaeologically correct Gothic Revival. Others such as A.C.Pugin collected mediaeval remains with examples from England and the continent as a means of instructing his son and his other students (359), and William Bullock, a Liverpool goldsmith, took his collection of curios from his private house museum and exhibited them to the public in the Egyptian Hall in Piccadilly prior to their sale in 1819. In his Liverpool museum he had arranged a room 'in the Gothic manner' with a figure in a suit of armour under a Gothic arch, lit by a stained glass window 'to kindle respect for the memory of our forefathers' (360), but apart from these efforts little serious attention was given to the collection of mediaeval antiquities. Cottingham's Museum therefore was the first major Museum of national mediaeval antiquities in the country, significant not only for its content at the early date of 1822 when in general Gothic was despised by the cognoscenti, but also for its chronological arrangement in suites of rooms, as Shaw said,

> 'forming a complete illustration to the study of English Architecture, Ecclesiastical and Domestic, from the Norman Invasion to the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign, the most perfect reference for study and analysis ever found in this or any other country...' (361).

The concept of period rooms as a means of display is rooted in antiquity for example at Hadrian's Villa, Tivoli, where the Emperor returned with his collection and recreated the finest monuments that he had seen in his 10 years of travel, reproducing the celebrated halls of Athens and Delphi and the Vale of Tempe in Thessaly (362). An example of a museum designed as a sequence of period rooms that predated and may have influenced Cottingham for it was devoted to the Mediaeval, was to be found in France in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Laugier was an early appreciator of aspects of Gothic, but the true precursor of the Gothic revival in France was Alexandre Lenoir (363). In Lenoir's volume *Musee Royale des Monuments Francais* of 1815, it is related in the Preface that Lenoir, during the revolutions of 1790 'at the peril of his life', saved from destruction a major part of the royal monuments. From that time he continued to buy and save from being vandalised other mediaeval antiquities, opening a museum in the

converted convent of Les Petits Augustins, which he administered under the surveillance of the Minister of the Interior. Lenoir, during the 24 years of the Museum's life, restored, recreated from fragments and arranged his exhibits in chronological order, 'composing a history of the French monuments through the arts, costumes and uses of the people of antiquity' (364).

He explained in his volume that through a visual journey from one century to another all the variations of architecture, the monuments, the needs of life and domestic usage would be clearly set out from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century (365). The Salle d'Introduction contained a chronological display of examples from all the centuries, a visual ' list of contents', the room lit by stained glass windows to 'create a Gothic atmosphere', and then proceeded through a sequence of correct historical suites composed of original and facsimile monuments, ornaments and decorative arts of each era, exactly as Cottingham was to do in his Museum of Mediaeval Antiquities (366).

Lenoir's Musee won international fame and was no doubt visited by keen antiquaries on their travels in Northern France. The *Annals of Fine Art* of 1818 reported that it was a 'historic illustration of the arts, to which we have nothing in this country to compare' (367), and Lenoirs description and catalogue which listed 572 entries was widely distributed, Soane having four different editions in his library (368).

Lenoir's Musee was the first museum devoted to mediaeval works of art, inspired by his passion to preserve and restore remaining examples of the national art and architecture and by his desire to educate and inform. Hope and Soane with their predominantly classical collections and subjective approach cannot be compared, but Cottingham, with his unique collection of English Mediaeval Antiquities, his chronological arrangement from the Norman to Elizabethan age, his passion to preserve from demolition remaining monuments, his plaster casts and painstakingly modelled and painted replicas, and his declared intentions to promote a Gothic Revival, is Lenoir's exact counterpart in England (369).

Later collectors in France acknowledged their debt to Lenoir, such as Alex du Sommerard whose Hotel de Cluny, a mediaeval building in Paris housed his collection of mediaeval and Renaissance objects from 1832. In the prospectus to his five volumes *Les Arts au Moyen Age* of

1838-46, du Sommerard noted the contribution of Montfaucon to antiquarian studies but he continued, it was Lenoir's Musee, 'so well described, so picturesquely classified which focused attention on the importance of these antiquities', an achievement that was exactly mirrored by Cottingham and his Museum (370). The Cluny exists today, and its present Guidebook describes how du Sommerard's Museum was the haunt of litterateurs, artists and patrons, and it became the acknowledged centre of the growing cult for the Middle Ages among Romantics (371). Cottingham, it will be remembered wrote in 1832 that his collection had been viewed by 'noblemen of acknowledged taste, distinguished literary characters and numerous professional friends'. Amongst his noble patrons was Lord Brougham, the Chancellor, for whom Cottingham built a mediaeval baronial hall, and he was friend and mediaeval advisor to Sir Walter Scott, perhaps one of the greater influences on the European Romantic movement through his novels of the Middle Ages. Francis Taylor, writing of Lenoir said that his Musée, as the first museum of mediaeval art in France, 'was the catalyst of the Romantic movement and the herald of the Gothic Revival in France' (372). Perhaps if the strenuous efforts of Scott, Waterhouse, Shaw, Clarke, Christian and Seddon in 1851 had been successful in saving Cottingham's Museum of Mediaeval Antiquities from dispersal and persuading the government to fund it as a National Collection, Cottingham's contribution as the catalyst of the Romantic Movement and the herald of the Gothic Revival in England, through the far reaching influence of his Mediaeval Museum would have been properly acknowledged.

CHAPTER 5

Attitudes to materials:
Cottingham as designer in cast iron.
Publication:
The Ornamental Metal Workers Director 1823

1 The use of cast iron for architectural ornament, eighteenth to nineteenth centuries

Cottingham, as a man of wide ranging interests concerned himself with many aspects of architecture and design, and in addition to his publications on Gothic architecture and ornament and antiquarian and preservation issues, he published a volume of designs for cast iron production in 1823, entitled *The Ornamental Metal Workers Director*, a work in widespread use that ran to a further two expanded editions in 1824 and 1840 under the title of the *Smith and Founder's Director*.

In Europe iron casting as an industry was practised in the first half of the fifteenth century, accounts of foundry processes appearing in such works as *De Re Metallica* by Georgius Agricola of 1556, and in England began at some time in the fifteenth century. By Henry VIII's reign the production of cast iron was fully understood with objects such as cannon, shot, firebacks, firedogs, andirons, and grave slabs made from the metal and in 1532 London's Worshipful Company of Founders erected its first Hall (373). Cottingham as a widely travelled antiquary knew Penshurst Place in Kent, Haddon Hall and Compton Wyngates with their examples of sixteenth century fireplaces with cast iron firebacks and andirons (374), and in his Museum he had examples of early cast metal such as iron locks, one from Hever Castle (375), pieces of portcullis, sconces, escutcheons (376), an Elizabethan cast iron grate (377), an 'ancient iron casement from the Manor House at Barsham' (378), and examples of wrought ironwork such as brackets from the time of Charles II (379), railing and cresting, some 'bought from the collection of the late John Carter' (380), a perforated door of the 15th century (381); an iron lock formed of tracery panels and buttresses (382), and other examples of cast iron, cast brass and wrought iron, a collection of items demonstrating the width of his interests and his knowledge of the

domestic uses of cast iron and its decorative qualities in previous centuries.

The use of architectural ornamental cast ironwork dated from the early eighteenth century with such work as railings of baluster form, alternating massive cast iron rails with slender wrought iron ones, made to surround St Paul's Cathedral in 1710 by Richard Jones to Thomas Robinson's designs. Robinson had worked under Sir Christopher Wren and Jean Tijou, who had introduced the French mode of working iron in his publication of 1693, *A New Booke of Drawings*, and the French idea that ironwork could be used as a barrier, but a transparent one (383). The railings were cast in the Sussex Weald, an ancient ironmaking area before the Industrial Revolution, and the early designs for cast metal in general imitated the simple wrought iron patterns (384). Other pattern books of the eighteenth century promoted the use of iron, such as the translation in 1723 of Sebastian Le Clerc's *A Treatise of Architecture with Remarks and Observations* in which he noted that

> 'Balconies of iron will do much better than those of stone as being lighter and less subject to decay. If they be gilt they will be exceedingly magnificent and a proper ornament for a Palace,'

a plea for the use of iron for practical reasons as a substitute material that could be disguised to give an impression of great richness. James Gibbs also used cast iron railings for his church of St. Martins in the Fields similar to the St. Pauls railings, showing designs in his 1728 *Book of Architecture*, and Isaac Ware in his *A Complete Body of Architecture* of 1756, a publication that Cottingham had in his library (385), made a promotional statement about cast iron:

> 'Cast iron is very serviceable to the builder and a vast expense is saved in many cases by using it. In rails and balustrades it makes a rich and massy appearance when it has cost very little and when wrought iron, much less substantial would cost a vast sum...' (386).

Now the implication of the economy of the casting process over hand crafted wrought iron are stressed as well as the aesthetic qualities of its massive appearance for use as architectural ornament.

The use of iron became more widespread in the eighteenth century, encouraged by the London Building Act of 1774 which made restrictions on wood ornament and by the end of the century cast iron had almost replaced wrought iron for architectural ornament such as the balconies that were a feature of the terrace houses of London.

Robert and James Adam in their *Works in Architecture* of 1773 and 1779 gave examples of ironwork designs with classical ornament for balcony panels, railings, fanlights and lamp holders incorporating urns, swags, round or oval paterae and a bold anthemion pattern (387). Other books of designs for cast ironwork were published in the late eighteenth century including William Wrighte's *Grotesque Architecture, or Rural Amusements* which contained 28 designs for Picturesque follies fitted with cast iron fences and balustrades and C.Middleton's *Designs for Gates and Rails Suitable to Parks, Pleasure Grounds, Balconies* etc with ironwork in Gothic and Chinese fret designs (388).

The early nineteenth century brought a vast expansion in the use of cast iron, and the need arose for pattern books, a need that Cottingham saw as early as 1823 and fulfilled with his publication. Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the London estates of such wealthy landowners as the Dukes of Bedford and Westminster were divided into streets and squares for building. Brick was the usual material used, and from the 1770s stucco was increasingly used, often in imitation of stone, to improve the appearance. The Adam brothers, for example, used stucco for their Adelphi speculative housing scheme begun in 1768 (389). Stucco became a fashionable surfacing material in the Regency period for entire public buildings such as Nash's terraces around Regent's Park and in the architecture of spa towns like Cheltenham and Brighton, and the need for cheap ironwork for these vast new housing schemes promoted the production of cast ironwork. Repetitive architectural items of innumerable patterns could be produced at a fraction of the cost of wrought iron and answered the need for uniformity in the design of the terraces. The decorative qualities of cast iron were also exploited for interiors such as those by Porden with tracery and cast iron balustrades at Eaton Hall in 1804-12, and by Hopper in the elaborate fan vaulted Gothic Conservatory of 1811-12 (390). John Nash at Brighton Pavilion in 1818-21 created ironwork staircases and cast iron bamboo and palm trees using the metal for architectural ornament and for structural purposes such as the supporting framework and lengths of cast iron tubing bolted together for chimney cores (391).

This enormous increase in cast iron production of architectural ornament and the demand for designs for the many interior and external fittings and furnishings led to Cottingham's publication of 1823, the first of its kind in England in the nineteenth century. In France architectural cast ironwork had been used for balconies as early as 1727. E.G and J.Robertson, in *Cast Iron Decoration, a World Survey*, noted a report in the *Journal de Verdun* which stated:

> 'The new cast iron balconies are made in one piece and are enriched with anything of which a wooden sculpture can be made; animal figures, festoons, flowers, and those superb balconies cost less in iron than they would in wood', (392).

following de Clerc's promotion of the practicalities of cast iron of 1723. Napoleon I's urban planning projects led to monumental blocks of housing dependent on the infinite repetition of the same formula, in which the windows generally reached to floor level, making cast iron balconies, balconettes and window guards necessary at all levels, creating the characteristic facades of the Parisian apartment through utilitarian and decorative concerns. Percier and Fontaine, architects and designers for many of Napoleon I's projects of rebuilding and restoring the palaces which suffered during the Revolution, redesigning interiors and furnishing, brought out a volume of their works entitled *Receuil de Decorations Interieurs* of 1801 and 1812, in which they stressed the need for good design, and the highest quality of materials and craftmanship (393). Their publication influenced the designs of Thomas Hope in his *Household Furniture* of 1807 and those of Henry Holland and Charles Tatham in the early part of the 19th century, design influences which can be seen in Cottingham's The *Ornamental Metal Workers Director* of 1823.

2 Cottingham's publication

Cottingham's *Ornamental Metal Workers Director* of 1823, a pattern book for cast iron designs, contained 60 plates, and a further 22 plates were added to the edition of 1824 and 1840. In the Preface to his 1823 volume, Cottingham explained his purpose in producing this pattern book:

> 'The extensive application of metal in securing, decorating and furnishing every class of building, from the superb palace of the monarch to the social villa of the retired citizen, renders any apology for introducing a work of this description unnecessary.'

In his opening statement Cottingham made it plain that he appreciated the uses of cast iron in the construction of buildings, for ornamental architectural purposes and for interior furnishings and fittings, applications to be employed in the widest possible type of building and for all classes of patron. He went on:

> 'The great improvement that has taken place in our Brass and Iron Foundries within these last twenty years has elevated this branch of English manufacture far above that of any other country, and raised the articles which were formerly considered as merely gross and ponderous into the scale of ornamental embellishment in which utility and security are united with the lightness and elegance of classical designs...'

Iron foundries had developed under important iron masters in the eighteenth century such as Abrahan Darby who developed the iron industry in the Severn area, successfully smelted iron with coke in place of charcoal, substituted cast iron for brass for many products and founded in 1708 the forerunner of the Coalbrookdale Company, which by the early nineteenth century was a very large and advanced foundry (394). Others such as Isaac Wilkinson and the Walker brothers set up famous companies, and the Carron Works, begun in 1759 in Falkirk, Scotland, helped it build up the industry until its state of pre-eminence in the 19th century with the growth of more companies such as the Phoenix Works in Sheffield, a state now acknowledged by Cottingham (395). In mentioning the desirability of 'combining utility with the lightness and elegance of classical design' Cottingham was possibly referring to the fact that in the eighteenth century, the Adam brothers were closely linked to the Carron Works, with John Adam as a partner in 1764, their contribution leading to the production of high quality design and delicacy and precision in manufacture (396). Also at the time of his writing in 1823, the classical style was universal. Cottingham's own Competition Plans for the Salters' Hall of 1821 were neo-classical and in 1825 he was to begin designs for John Field's housing estate in Lambeth in a severe and simple classical manner. Designs for fittings and furnishings at this date would therefore show 'the elegance and lightness' of classical designs to be in keeping with the prevailing style, and Cottingham, as a man of his time, involved in every area of architectural development, set out to provide what was needed. His publication was intended, he said, to promote high quality design, 'calculated to improve the taste of the Smiths and Ornamental

Metalworkers', and to 'excite emulation in getting up their patterns'. Cottingham continued:

> 'The favour shown by gentlemen of fortune and liberal minds, to those ingenious tradesmen who could combine utility and elegance'

had induced him to use every means in his power,

> 'to introduce a collection of designs as a guide in forming correct and tasteful compositions'.

Cottingham was making it clear that he knew of patrons of discrimination and taste who sought high quality design, a 'correct' interpretation and usage of sources, and he intended to help the tradesmen by providing means to achieve this end, for this was the only way to

> '...insure a preference for British manufacture in every class, and prevent the inundation of foreign goods which have long obstructed the rising fame of our artists in the higher departments of their art...'

Cottingham was most likely referring to the supremacy of French design and industry at this date. Napoleon I had strongly promoted a revival of the decaying industries of France, the manufacturies of Gobelins, of Sèvres and of the Savonneries and instigated exhibitions of the finest products of French Art manufacture beginning in 1797 at St Cloud and continuing with the founding of a Temple of Industry and expositions in 1801, 1802 and 1806, and after the revolutionary interlude, a major exposition in 1819 under Louis XVIII that lasted for 35 days and had 1700 exhibitors (397). Notably too, in the early decades French designers such as Jacob Desmalter, were employed in the interior designing and furnishing of Windsor Castle, bringing the influence of French classicism and the high standards of design and craftmanship promoted by Percier and Fontaine (398). In his comments Cottingham reflected the growing sense of nationalism in a desire to improve and promote British industry.

Many of the designs in the *Director* were 'executed from the designs of the most eminent artists' and those composed by Cottingham 'the several hundred specimens of the choicest productions of the Grecian, Etruscan, Roman and Gothic schools of art', were from accurate drawings and casts in his possession. Cottingham used his Museum collection as a source for his designs, looking at antiquity itself for inspiration, just as Robert Adam had done in his interpretation of antique sources in the mid eighteenth century, recreated for new needs.

The designs, Cottingham announced, consisted of 'Entrance Gates to Public buildings, parks and gardens'. The 'eminent artists' were unnamed but some of the designs were from named sources such as thye entrance gates to 'Waterloo Place, the Town residence of John Nash Esq.', erected in 1822; the entrance gates to the Vintners' Hall of 1822, and plans, elevations and details of Cumberland Gates, one of the entrances to Hyde Park, (Figs 26 & 27). There were designs for 'Verandahs, Fences, Balcony, Area and Window Guards', those requirements determined by the prevailing form of building. The terrace houses had basement areas bridged to allow access to the entrance door, and iron palisades and grilles prevented the passer-by from falling into the area, and also allowed light to reach the basement windows; first floor balconies gave access to fresh air and sunlight, provided ease of window cleaning and where the balconies ran in a row, could serve as a fire escape, and window guards were used on upper floors where the windows did not reach floor level (399). Patterns for balustrades and newels for staircases and galleries were drawn, and fanlights, lamps and brackets for entrance doors (Figs 28 & 29). The nineteenth century had brought an expansion of new uses for cast iron, and Cottingham included designs for lamp posts for the newly developed coal gas, and 'grand stands for gas lights', evidence again that he was a man of his time and interested in all the technological developments. Heating systems were represented with designs for hot air stoves for churches, chapels and public offices. Cottingham, as an engineer architect, was to instal entire heating systems in Magdalen College Chapel in 1830 and in Armagh Cathedral in 1834, and at Armagh would not entrust its insertion to the local 'Irish undertaker', but insisted on supervising every detail himself (400). 'Elegant stoves and fenders for drawing rooms', candelabra, candlesticks, chandeliers, vases and pedestals were drawn in profusion in meticulous detail.

'These designs', Cottingham concluded, were to
> 'facilitate the operations of the professional artist and afford matter
> for the mechanic to study from, to whom it will be excellent practice
> to draw the smaller ornaments three or four times the size given in
> this work'.

Cottingham intended this publication, just as his works on the Gothic, *Plans of Henry VII's Chapel* of 1822 and the volume of *Gothic Ornament*

of 1823, to be used as a means of improving design practice, to influence manufacture, and to educate and inform the artist and the 'mechanic'. Cottingham saw that through the advances in ferrous technology, the art of the carver of patterns, and the craftmanship of the technician, cast iron could be transformed by the founder's hands into complex patterns and forms creating architectural ornament of the highest quality and beauty and widely available to all because it could be cheaply made. The evidence of Cottingham's influence through his *Smith and Founder's Director* is to be found throughout the world.

Amongst the designs by 'eminent artists' for 'Window Guards and Balcony Railings executed in London' was a Robert Adam design of bold anthemion below a wave motif, one of the most commonly used English balcony patterns. It appears at No.7 Adam Street, a survival of Adam's Adelphi scheme, and has been traced as far afield as Gloucester Street, Sydney Cove West, Australia, taken from Cottingham's *Director* (Figs 30 & 31) (401).

In their *Cast Iron Decoration, a World Survey*, E.G & J.Robertson traced examples of Cottingham's designs 'from North America to Australia' [402]. In Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, for example, the early nineteenth century Bishop Stevens house at Society Hill has a cast iron balcony design of a leopard or lioness leaping through scrolling foliage, exactly copied from Cottingham's *Director* of 1824, (Figs 32 & 33) [403] and at Corio Villa, Geelong, Victoria, Australia, the urns outside the cast iron fronted house, made and sent out by Charles D. Young and Co. of Edinburgh in 1855, were of the 'Medici Vase pattern' illustrated by Cottingham in 1824 [404]. In Boston, America, at No.1 Louisburg Square and at houses in Commonwealth Avenue in the Black Bay, the balcony railings have Cottingham's palmette and anthemion designs (Figs 34 & 35) [405]. A panel of light openwork design with classical motifs used by Nash at Hanover and Cornwall Terraces was illustrated by Cottingham and in 1831 was used for the portico of a house in Tasmania, the architect of Hythe, Wilmore's Lane, near Longford having asked the owner to order two very light sets of ironwork from England (Figs 36 & 37). Another drawing from the *Director,* from 'Enrichments for Borders, Pannels etc in the Grecian and Roman style', of a skull decorated with ribands, cornucopia with fruit and mythical creatures on either side of an urn was the source for a balcony on the

Hotel Grande Bretagne of 1842 in Athens, and another variation with dolphins, shells and Neptune's trident is echoed in Leningrad on the Anichkov Bridge of 1839 (406).

In England too Cottingham's designs were widely used, for example at Leamington Spa in Lansdowne Crescent two of Cottingham's patterns, numbers 4 and 7 from 'the Patterns for Gates and Window Guards', are combined for a light balustrade with wide bands of Greek key and athemion designs (Fig 38), and a drawing from his series of designs for Piers and Lamps for Gates, and Palisade Fences', with bands of athemion alternating with faceted spiked rails, was used at Regent's Park. Again, a balcony over a porch in Belgrave Square designed in the 1820s by Basevi and built by Cubitt's, has cast iron of athenion and rosettes identical to a drawing by Cottingham for balustrades (Figs 39 & 40) (407).

A volume of line and wash drawings by Cottingham, illustrating balusters, staircases, verandahs and balconies, indicate that the ironwork was often painted in shades of yellow, green, and brown. Some of these designs were inscribed with the name of the patron such as 'The Manchester Bank' (408). It is likely that this refers to the Bank of England, King Street of 1845 by C.R.Cockerell, which has very simple cast iron railings, window guards, entrance gates and balconies (409). Another inscription referred to 'Lord Dover's Whitehall', a house designed by James Paine in 1754, with additions by Henry Holland and bought by Lord Dover in 1830 (410), and another to 'Mr Balfour, Grosvenor Square' (411). The drawings consist of a series of 39 designs for staircases and banisters, some with lanterns, of full page plates, four full page verandahs, three coloured balustrade designs on one page and a group of 34 pen studies of ornamental gates and fences, described by Weinreb and Breman in their *Catalogue of Cast Iron Trade Catalogues* as 'a particularly fine series, all in delicate colouring' (412). One of the drawings shows a rinceau balustrade terminating in a candelabrum decorated with acanthus leaves (Fig 41), another a staircase with panels of scrolling foliage and central rosettes similar to the main staircase in the Royal Academy of Arts (Fig 42), and a third staircase with each baluster composed of bold anthemion within scrolling acauthus and rococo ornament (Fig 43). One of the full page drawings for a verandah is by contrast very simple with slender uprights finely

ribbed and terminating in anthemion, the roof ornamented with anthemion cresting and rosettes to the frieze (Fig 44) (413).

Cottingham's concern in his *Smith and Founder's Director* was to elevate standards of design, encouraging taste to keep pace with an expanding industry, to suggest new forms and designs for the new uses of iron in relation to technological developments, and through this to promote British manufacture in the face of competition from foreign goods. His designs were mostly classical, based on Greek, Roman and Etruscan precedents, and related to the prevailing style in architecture and design, showing influence from Europe and contemporary Regency England, although he also included some mediaeval designs for metalwork, stoves and altar fittings for Gothic churches. Amongst his sources for design he used the work of such 'eminent artists' as Robert Adam and John Nash, based on designs on his own study of classical antiquities to be found in his collection, and may have studied the publications of Thomas Hope and Percier and Fontaine, for there are similarities between the design motifs but no direct copies. *The Director* was largely concerned with ornamental architectural cast iron work in response to the needs of the time but Cottingham's training as an engineer architect and surveyor and his understanding and familiarity with the properties of the metal led him to use it for structural purposes in his works of restoration, an aspect of his work to be examined in a later chapter of this thesis, but one that leads to a consideration of attitudes to materials, and in particular the use of iron in the early decades of the nineteenth century.

3 Attitudes to cast iron and its use in the early nineteenth century

The qualities of cast iron particularly that of great compressive strength, were recognised in the eighteenth century on the Continent and in England with many examples of its use as structural support columns and roof struts in architecture, for example in Portugal in 1752 at the Monastery of Alcobaca, Rinaldi's Marble Palace of St. Petersburg in 1768, and Soufflot's cast iron roof over the stair hall in the Grande Galerie at the Louvre of 1779 (414).

In England at St. Ann's Church Liverpool, cast iron columns were used in 1770 (415), and Darby's Coalbrookdale Foundry cast the iron elements

for Pritchard and Darby's Coalbrookdale Bridge of 1777. The application of iron for bridges continued in the work of Thomas Telford in which he combined the metal construction of the bridge span with masonry features such as his Egyptian columns at Menai Bridge of 1819 and the castellated towers of his Conway Bridge, highlighting the separation between architecture, viewed as masonry building and engineering, which was the iron structure, and for industrial building with William Strutt's calico mill at Belper of 1792 which employed cast iron stanchions to carry timber beams, and aan all cast iron skeleton designed by Boulton and Watt for the Salford Twist cotton mill in 1799 [416]. Architects such as Soane in his Consol's Office at the Bank of England where he covered the 20 foot oculus with a lantern of iron and glass [417], and as we saw, Hopper, Porden and Nash all used cast iron structurally as well as decoratively, but it was its use by Rickman and Cragg as a substitute material for stone and carved wood in their Gothic Revival churches that highlighted the attitudes towards cast iron that developed in the nineteenth century. Cottingham used cast iron from 1821 at Southwark Cathedral to reinforce the roof [418], he renewed decayed beams by encasing the rotten ends in iron to avoid renewal of the ancient timbers [419], and invented a system of heating iron bars to bring leaning masonry back to upright [420], but he did not use it as a substitute for the traditional building materials as Rickman did in his churches of the 1820s. Cottingham, in his church restoration work and building laid stress on the best quality of materials and craftmanship, a characteristic of his work greatly admired by A.W.N.Pugin [421]. Pugin was to take up the ideas of a Gothic Revival linked to Nationalism, first propounded by Gough and Carter, and continued in the writings of Cottingham, but in his religious fervour and his passion for the Gothic above all else, he equated Gothic art and architecture with religion and morality. In his publications *Contrasts* of 1836, *True Principles* of 1841, and *An Apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture in England* of 1843, he propounded his ideas of society, style and principles in architecture, of truthful materials, materials undisguised in construction [422]. 'Cast Iron' he said, 'is a deception, it is seldom or never left as iron' [423]. Pugin saw its value in the construction of new building types such as railway sheds, but not in the revival of a Christian architecture. Cast iron could not be viewed as

a mediaeval material therfore its use was unjustifiable. Pugin may have accepted the fact that in mediaeval times iron cramps and tie bars, coated with lead, were used to bond pieces of stone (424), but he made no distinction between decorative and structural ironwork in architecture; it was all bad. Only carved wood or stone could convey the mass, solidity and the sculptural and spiritual qualities created by the mediaeval craftsman. The slender proportions of cast iron columns and Rickman's cast iron work viewed as thin, flat, unmeaning, repetitive imitations of the mediaeval materials were despised also by the *Ecclesiologists* who closely paralleled Pugin's principles, influential views that led to Bishop's refusing to consecrate iron churches (425). The Ecclesiologists however, allowed cast iron, prefabricated churches to be sent to the colonies, practical necessity overcoming their prejudice in the desire to promote church building and regardless of climatic considerations (426). John Ruskin, in his *Seven Lamps of Architecture* of 1849 continued this disparagement of iron arguing that only 'natural materials', stone, wood or clay were permissible, and the moment 'iron in the least degree takes the place of stone or wood...the building ceases to be true architecture' (427).

The fact that iron was cast in a mould, could be quickly and economically made, enabling unlimited repetitive architectural components, the very features that prompted Rickman and Cragg's use of it for church building in 1820 was seen as a denial of the mediaeval qualities of joy in craftmanship an aspect which Ruskin and later Morris were to stress, ideas which underly the emergent Arts and Crafts movement of the 1860s (428). Unlike wrought iron which has to be hammered by hand, a process seen as craftmanship, the casting technique of pouring molten metal into moulds is production and therefore a process of industry. Mechanical methods of production led, as Pugin said in 1841 'to the present decay in taste', particularly in metalwork and he castigated those 'inexhaustible mines of bad taste', Birmingham and Sheffield, the great industrial centres (429).
These attitudes, stemming from Pugin, and culminating in great criticism for example of Paxton's iron and glass Crystal Palace of 1851 (430), had little impact in France where the optimism and rationality of the eighteenthth century regarding new materials and techniques

continued into the nineteenth century, with such architects as Viollet-le-Duc whose concern was for an architecture that related to society, was secular, egalitarian, rationalist and progressive (431), and yet depended on a structural analysis of Gothic transformed through new techniques and materials (432).

Cottingham's volume on cast ironwork was first published in 1823 before the English attitudes inspired by Pugin, towards the use of iron developed. Cottingham's intention was to make the best use of technological advances, an attitude inherited from eighteenth century ideas of improvement through scientific discoveries and new industrial processes, and by this means to make a huge range of goods available to all, from the 'noble prince to the retired citizen'. Cottingham, in his approach to iron, a rational, practical approach close to that of the French, when he first brought out his publication, was not hidebound by the religious morality that developed in England with Pugin, Ruskin and others, and in the material discovered so far, there is no evidence that his attitudes changed in the 1840s. Perhaps this approach indicated his independence of thought and heralded the nineteenth century concern to raise the standard of design and taste to match the manufacturing skills, in order to 'combine utility with elegance', a concern of all design reformers from Pugin onwards, even though many shared the moralistic ideas, including Cole, Redgrave, Owen Jones, Christopher Dresser and Ashbee and Lethaby later in the nineteenth century, and also foreshadowed the aims of a Select Committee of 1835 to enquire into the best means of extending a knowledge of the arts and principles of design among the manufacturing population of the country' (433). His idea too that British manufactured goods should be improved through high quality of design, techniques and craftmanship in order to prevent the inundation of desirable foreign goods was a notion that was well in advance of its time.

Cottingham's *Smith and Founder's Director* was issued in three editions by 1840 and has been described by John Harris in his survey of English cast ironwork as the most comprehensive publication that has appeared in England on ironwork (434), directly influencing the quality of ironwork in the first half of the nineteenth century (435), an influence that we have seen, was worldwide (436).

Cottingham's *Director,* its intention to improve and elevate manufacturing design, and his volumes, *Plans etc of Henry VII's Chapel Westminster Hall,* and *Working Drawings of Gothic Ornament* all published before 1825, not as scholarly works to extend antiquarian knowledge but to influence contemporary practice of architecture and design through a study and application of original sources, places Cottingham as one of the most far sighted and influential architects of the early nineteenth century.

Chapter 6

Public Buildings:
Designs for Unexecuted Works by L.N.Cottingham:
Competition Plans:
Salters' Hall 1821, Fishmongers' Hall 1832,
Houses of Parliament Competition 1836

1 Fishmongers' Hall 1832

A consideration of Cottingham's competition entries is revealing of many aspects of his work and development as an architect, of architectural practice of the time, and of the changing taste of the early nineteenth century.

Cottingham's plans of 1821 and 1832 reflect the prevailing classicism of the day, and the choice of Gothic by the authorities for the Houses of Parliament Competition of 1836 is highly significant in underlining the change in styles from the classical or the mediaeval, a development in which Cottingham himself had played a major role. Other aspects of Cottingham's attitude and approach to his work are revealed, his integrity and honesty in all his dealings, the thorough and meticulous preparation of plans and drawings, his concern for the practicality and function of the buildings designed, and his concern to provide the highest possible quality of craftmanship, materials and service to his patrons. It may be that one reason for Cottingham's neglect despite his undoubted eminence in his own day, is that he never won a commission for a major public building; although he entered his designs in competition. His disgust at the corruption, 'jobbery and jealousy', that surrounded the instigation and conduction of competitions in the first half of the century precluded his entry for any more after the Houses of Parliament Competition.

Cottingham entered designs for the Salters' Hall Competition in 1821. Two of the drawings remain, a front elevation of extremely simple, stripped neoclassicism and a ground plan showing the staircase plan and entrance hall (Figs 45 & 46). Little is known of the competition and no prizes were awarded. The little remaining archive material relates that the company's surveyor, H.Carr, designed a building based on

several of the entries to the competition (437). Cottingham's drawings and letters however, relating to the Fishmongers' Hall still remain, allowing an examination of his competition entries of 1832.

The old Fishmongers' Hall had been demolished in 1830 due to the building of the new London Bridge, and a Building Committee composed of Wardens of the Fishmongers' Company was set up to determine the requirements of the new Hall (438). The Company's surveyor, Richard Suter and the New London Bridge Committee envisaged a new Hall that would relate in detail, scale and mass to the Bridge and Suter himself prepared plans and proposals. The Committee however decided to instigate an open competition offering premiums for the three best designs (439). The requirements were for a building with two important frontages, one to the river and one to the viaduct leading to the Bridge. The difference in level between the wharf side and the road level was to be used as a basement area for warehousing, cellars, offices and the Hall kitchens; the upper storeys were to be faced with Bath or Portland stone and the lower parts faced with granite. The details were sent to two hundred and twenty three architects and there were eighty three entries including Cottingham's.

Cottingham had hopes of winning this competition, expressed in a letter to Dr. Routh at Magdalen College, Oxford:

> 'I am one of the successful candidates and as I expect all three architects whose designs are approved will have to undergo a strict examination as to their capability of carrying their plans into effect, I have some hope of being employed as architect to it, having taken very great pains with the estimate' (440).

He continued in the letter to ask for a written testimonial of his professional ability, required by the Fishmongers' Court, from Dr. Routh, 'if my proceedings at Magdalen College Chapel should have given you satisfaction'. The decision however, went against Cottingham. Henry Roberts was awarded the first premium, John Davies the second, and Cottingham received the third prize for his designs.

An examination of the remaining sixteen plans and drawings of Cottingham's Competition folio, confirms the quality of his work, his skill as an artist and draughtsman, and his meticulous attention to detail (441). The view of the Eastern or Bridge front from the South approach to London Bridge shows an imposing building of classical

symmetry on a podium with two identical storeys and a third Palladian storey of lower height; the entrance at ground floor level approached by a flight of steps had tetrastyle attached Ionic columns of a giant order; a massive attic storey and entablature with dentil cornice and pediment enriched with the arms of the Fishmongers' Company and the whole surmounted by a dome expressing the great central two-storey Hall within (Fig 47). The detail of the buiilding was restrained and elegant with the battered effect of the architraves creating a subtle sense of movement. Cottingham had hoped to design a portico but severe shortage of space for the building on the available site rendered this impossible. His concern for the cramped quality of his entrance led him to write to the Fishmongers Court suggesting the inclusion of a clause in the Bill before the House of Commons for improving the approaches to the New London Bridge which would

> '...allow you to bring the columns out to where the steps commence being in a line with the West side of the foot pavement, a portico thus formed would add greatly to the comfort as well as the importance of the building with very little addition to any present estimate' (442).

This improvement would have answered the criticism levelled at Cottingham's design in the Barbican Art Gallery Catalogue, *Getting London in Perspective* of 1984 that:

> 'The Ionic portico on the East side is disconcertingly close to the top of the bridge stairs which would have resulted in ferry passengers tangling with dinner guests and the dome above the East front would have looked off-centre from the Bridge' (443).

Cottingham's perspective view of the Fishmongers' Hall as it would appear from the North approach to London Bridge, the front facing the river, showed a boldly rusticated basement of open plan to allow for unloading from the wharf (Fig 48). Here Cottingham echoed the heavily rusticated arches and square pillars for example of Queen's College Library, Oxford of 1693 or William Chambers' Somerset House of 1780, but he changed the strict regularity by alternating large wide arches with narrow smaller ones, producing a rhythm to contrast with the measured symmetry of the fenestration of the three upper storeys. Above the projecting basement arcade he placed a covered walkway or verandah with coupled columns, again of subtle rhythm, in turn supporting the balcony of the second storey at riverside level, which was the entrance floor at road level. The columns were articulated in the balustrading of the balcony and capped by pairs of classical urns.

The attic storey was surmounted by a large plinth with a boldly modelled reclining figure with a spouting dolphin, possibly to represent a merman and dolphin from the Fishmongers' Coat of Arms. Cottingham was well versed in classical architecture. To our certain knowledge in his large library he possessed a collection of Isaac Ware and Henry Holland's designs (444). The influence of Sir Robert Smirke's Greek Revival architecture too appeared in his giant Ionic order and yet his handling of this river front showed originality of composition with the arrangement of his arcaded basement, its varied arches creating an almost Piranesi-like effect as they receded beneath the building, totally in keeping with the massive vaulting of the new Bridge. Cottingham's river front made an interesting contrast to Roberts' winning design.

Roberts unified his block facing the river with a massive engaged hexastyle range of Ionic columns of a giant order raised on a basement podium of regular rusticated arches. Here Roberts created the impression of a Greek Temple which happened to be placed at a riverside, but Cottingham, whilst creating an imposing front, conveyed a sense of the building's use, reflecting perhaps the form of the eighteenth century warehousing along the river front, and in his fine watercolour elevation, he stressed his intention by depicting men at work unloading from the wharf to the basement cellars.

Other drawings included an elevation of the East front designed to show the fireproof warehouses and cellarage stores below the finished line of the Bridge pavement and an elevation of the South front showing warehousing and wharves (Figs 49 & 50). The planning of these areas was of importance for the basement was to 'produce the greatest possible Value or Rental' (445). A perspective view of the Great Hall gave the measurements as 76 feet by 36 feet. Here Cottingham has used two storeys, the second and the lower height third storey to create a magnificent space made more imposing by a central coffered dome giving a height to the room of 44 feet. The central dome was flanked by a boldly coffered elliptical ceiling sections and the two tiers of windows of twelve panes and six panes had finely reeded and strongly defined architraves with full height Corinthian pilasters on either side. The view looking North, also depicted the music gallery, intricately wrought with classical motifs and supported on Corinthian columns

(Fig 51). As we saw from his *Smith and Founder's Director*, Cottingham was well acquainted with the drawings of Percier and Fontaine, Charles Tatham and Thomas Hope, and it is possible to see these influences in his interior design for his Fishmongers' Great Hall. Another plan, a transverse section through the Great Hall, showed the arrangement of his main reception rooms, with a large entrance Hall divided by Corinthian columns leading to the West end of the Grand Staircase and the entrance to the dining room, and above, a two storey court with a smaller dome than the Great Hall (Fig 52).

Cottingham was gratified to be awarded one of the premiums in the Competition but must have been very disappointed to lose in the final selection to Henry Roberts. In a letter of 15th February 1832 thanking the court for awarding him a prize, Cottingham hinted at the irregularities that frequently attended the running of architectural competitions at this date when he wrote:

> 'I cannot but express the high satisfaction that I feel at my plan having so far met with your approbation as it was completed without the advantage of a conference with anyone from which I might doubtlessly have been better enabled to meet your wishes and conveniences which you may deem requisite...' (446).

He continued that he had made a complete set of drawings of the old hall before its demolition which in some measure assisted him, but he hoped that he could have an interview for the purpose of 'entering further into explanation upon the plan' in order to make any minor alterations that may be necessary. These could be arranged without materially affecting the principle of the design 'which is a practical one with due consideration of the mode of carrying all its details into effect'. He stressed that he had made careful specification of the works, correct estimate of expenses and was prepared to produce respectable builders who would give ample security to perform and complete the work at the amounts stated in the particulars. J.S.Curl in his *Life and Work of Henry Roberts* points out that Roberts had been a pupil of Smirke's, had worked with him during the erection of the New Post Office, the British Museum, and the restoration of the Custom House, and at the time of the Fishmongers' Hall Competition, Smirke was supervising the planning of the approaches to the New Bridge (447). Inevitably some competitors assumed that Smirke had persuaded the Committee in favour of his young assistant (447a) but Cottingham in his letter made it

plain that he was aware that other competitors may have had unfair advantages in the form of deeper discussion on the requirements which in the original instructions had been fairly brief and unspecific, and he also distanced himself from architects of lesser quality who would enter drawings of fine picturesque effect and no practical value and totally unrealistic estimates of cost. These were aspects of the competition system that were to bring Cottingham bitter experience four years later in the Competition for the building of the New Houses of Parliament.

Cottingham's entry for the 1832 Fishmongers' Hall Competition highlights his standing in the architectural profession, his meticulous authoritative, and highly professional approach to all aspects of his work. In his plans and elevations for this competition, which he came very close to winning, he showed accomplishment as a *classical* architect, one able to design in the accepted style for the public buildings of the metropolis, his work reflecting the Greek Revival style of the 1820s to early 1830s, and based too upon his own study of antique precedents.

In 1832, at this same time, he was engaged in major works of restorations of the Mediaeval, at Rochester, completing work begun in 1825, at St. Alban's Cathedral, at Magdalen College Chapel where his full revival of the Gothic was in progress, at Snelston Hall where his Gothic mansion was nearing completion, and the Gothic extensions at Coombe Abbey and Elvaston Hall were being planned and his first drawings for the baronial hall at Brougham were under way, and in addition in 1832 he was deeply involved in preservation campaigns to save threatened mediaeval buildings.

Now, in 1836, Cottingham at the height of his influence as the leading mediaevalist architect of his day, prepared Gothic designs for the Houses of Parliament Competition.

2 Competition Plans : Houses of Parliament 1836

The destruction by fire of the main part of the Palace of Westminster, including the House of Commons and the House of Lords on October 16th 1834, provided the opportunity for the major architectural competition of the nineteenth century. Accommodation at the Palace of Westminster had been increasingly strained in the 1830s. Since the

sixteenth century 500 members had been housed in St. Stephen's Chapel which was altered by Wren in 1692 and again in 1707 when the number was increased by the 45 Scottish members. The chamber of the House of Lords in Parliament House was equally overcrowded and with the additions of the Irish Peers after the Union with Ireland they moved into the old Court of Requests. St. Stephen's Chapel was partially destroyed to make room for the Irish Members of the Commons and additions were made piecemeal by Wyatt and Soane (448). A select Committee of 1833, under the chairmanship of Joseph Hume, the radical MP, heard lengthy evidence including a long interview with James Savage on the proposed rebuilding and plans were drawn up by several architects and amateurs. Amongst them were J.Soane, B.Wyatt, J.Savage, J.Deering, E.Blore, F.Goodwin, Decimus Burton, G.Basevi, J.Wyattville, George Allen and Hanbury Tracy (449). Savage's own design was classical with a Grecian portico and rotunda (450). After the fire Sir Robert Smirke carried out temporary works including reroofing the House of Lords for use by the Commons and the Lords moved into the Painted Chamber. Smirke's Gothic designs for a new Palace of Westminster were abandoned in favour of an open Competition. This idea, in tune with a Reformed Parliament was promoted by Hume and by the Tory Sir Edward Cust. Having the support of all parties a Select Committee for Rebuilding the Houses of Parliament was appointed in March 1835. Members included the Chancellor Lord Russell, the Marquess of Chandos, Lord Stanley, Sir Robert Peel, Sir J.Hobhouse, Sir J.Graham, Lord Egerton, Sir R.Vyvyan, Mr O'Connell, Mr Hume, Sir R.Inglis, Mr Hanbury Tracy and Mr Bernal (451). On June 5th, the Committee published the terms of the open Competition. The style was to be Gothic or Elizabethan, reflecting the developing Gothic Revival and notions of Nationalism, the entries were to be on a scale of twenty feet to one inch and in monochrome, Westminster Hall was to be preserved, three perspectives only from set viewpoints were allowed, and no models or estimates were required (452).

A great deal of research and writing has been devoted to the Competition, extensive discussion of the controversies surrounding the choice of Gothic or Elizabethan as opposed to classical, the composition of the Committee of judges, soon to be dubbed the 'gentlemen

amateurs', the complex requirements of the specifications and the exigencies of the site, analysis of contemporary reporting of the progress of the Competition, the accusations of corruption and 'jobbery', the unrealistic time allowed for preparation of designs and the time allowed for properly judging 97 entries and some 1400 plans, the controversy over exhibiting the competitors designs and those of the four winners, considerations of the value or demerit of competitions for public buildings, criticism of the Committee's decision making, the inability of English architects to plan on a massive scale, the over-ecclesiastical nature of most of the designs, and finally, the choice of Charles Barry, protegé of Sir Edward Cust, winner of the competition, whose designs, the ground plan and general designs were declared by Hanbury Tracy to be 'far superior to any other plan that has been submitted' (453).

Cottingham in his entries, brought his knowledge and passion for the mediaeval and his understanding of its structure through his own study and travel, creating from mediaeval precedent his own vision for the English seat of Government in the nineteenth century; and he took the opportunity in his designs to stress his views as a preserver of the Gothic by planning a full restoration of St. Stephen's Chapel and Westminster Hall to their former mediaeval glory.

His three plans for the competition following the prescribed viewpoints survive and include a perspective view of the new House, the Speaker's residence and the restoration of the mediaeval St. Stephen's Chapel, given from the pavement in front of the Westminster Bridge Commissioner's office on the Surrey side of the river at the Bridge foot (Fig 53). Another is a perspective view of the entrance gates to the speaker's new residence, the Servant's office attached to Westminster Hall and the north west fronts of the Law Courts as seen from the north east angle of St. Margaret's Church yard. The third plan is a perspective view of the south west front given from a point of view on the west of Abingdon Street (Fig 54) (454). Few of the architects attempted to handle a monumental facade using the thousand feet of available river front and Cottingham was no exception. Instead he used the long narrow north eastern rectangle between the Hall and the River for his massive Speakers House, forming a distinct unit. He enlarged the Old Palace Yard by removing the ruins of the old Court of

Common Pleas and revealing two full bays of St. Stephen's Chapel. Westminster Hall with its surviving flèche he restored without addition or embellishment and, pulling down the ruin of the Palladian Royal Courts of Justice, he rebuilt them in mediaeval fortified Gothic but retained the scale and mass of the original. Cottingham drew upon his detailed study and knowledge of the Gothic of Edward III and Richard II's time, describing Perpendicular Gothic as

> 'the invention of a noble minded race of men who dared to look at hill and dale - at rise and fall, advance and recess, and by imitating nature, introduced into their designs beauty and grandeur, by powerful contrast without encroaching on utility and convenience'
> [455].

Here Cottingham was echoing the ideas of previous writers who likened Gothic architecture to nature, and no doubt he had read William Stukeley's *Account of the Antiquities and Remarkable Curiosities in Nature thro' Great Britain* of 1724 in which he expressed his admiration for Gloucester Cathedral in these terms [456].

Cottingham achieved this looked-for movement and grandeur in his New House by designing eight great projecting five storey square castellated and pinnacled towers with six recessed bays divided by stepped buttresses on either side of a hexagonal centre section. A three stage Perpendicular octagonal fleche reminiscent of Ely Cathedral surmounted the whole and had flying buttresses, pierced quatrefoils and crocketed pinnacles, and traceried windows echoing the Westminster Hall window. The windows throughout the Speakers and Lords Houses were pointed with stone mullions and square or pointed hood moulds and the repeating buttresses were capped with tall crocketed pinnacles reminiscent of the late fourteenth century Oxford Colleges such as New Hall or the quadrangle of Magdalen. For his Speakers residence he again used symmetrical bays, here divided by projecting tall octagonal battlemented turrets with narrow slit windows and blind tracery. The central buttressed bay was dominated by a two-storey turreted gatehouse tower or porte ochère with Perpendicular windows, niches for statues and blind quatrefoil tracery. The Law Courts attached to Westminster Hall, by contrast, were simpler rugged battlemented Gothic or mediaeval domestic architecture such as the Northern fortified castles and manor houses like Aydon and Naworth and Warkworth, all know to Cottingham,

while his tall octagonal turrets revealed his knowledge of the great houses such as Nonsuch Palace and Layer Marney in Essex (457).

Cottingham attempted to achieve a unity of design and effect, without tame repetition, an aim of several architects such as H.E.Kendall and Thomas Hopper who claimed to have treated 'the entire mass of building...as a single edifice'. Some preferred to compose in a variety of styles to avoid what Cottingham described as 'the all-round-alike monotony of ditto repeated' (458). *The Architectural Magazine* of 1836 wrote a critical survey of many designs, dismissing Mr Hakewill's as 'extremely poor', Mr Cockerell's as 'having some beauties' and Mr Salvin's, 'though possessing originality would look infinitely better as a state prison or a hospital than as a Senate House'. Cottingham's designs were awarded a full paragraph but were considered to be

> 'scattered about in such a way that you can get no pleasing view of them, but by the help of a little maneouvre he makes one good group in his design. A spire is placed on Westminster Abbey and it just comes in the centre of the Speaker's House at that particular point which the view is taken from, but move it a little to the right or left and the charm is gone...'.

This appears a most curious criticism for changing perspectives are an intrinsic part of any architecture and its charm. The critic continued:

> 'Certainly it would be an additional beauty to the Abbey, but why take Salisbury spire as a model? This design is overpowered with gigantic buttresses and pinnacles; and there is little to satisfy the general observer except that it covers a large portion of the wall of the exhibition room. Mr Cottingham has given his idea as to the restoration of St. Stephen's Chapel.(459)

The *Gentleman's Magazine* reported that the exhibition afforded 'a convincing proof that the architecture of their own country has formed no part of the study of our present race of architects' (460). Instead, some architects had looked to Continental models for inspiration. Morgan for instance borrowed features from old German domestic architecture, Donaldson incorporated a 260 foot tower and spire apparently based on Brussels and Bruges (461), and Salvin's massive designs reflected his knowledge of German Rennaisance architecture (462). Architects largely drew upon ecclesiastical sources for their designs, or as the *Gentleman's Magazine* pointed out 'ransacked Britton's *Antiquities of Great Britain* of 1821 for precedents (463). Cottingham had travelled widely and studied mediaeval domestic architecture as his Museum of Antiquities demonstrated, but at this date there were few detailed studies of domestic architecture available apart from Britton's work, A.C.Pugin

and E.F.Willson's publication of *Gothic Architecture selected from Various Edifices* of 1822 and 1831 and A.C and A.W.N.Pugin's *Examples of Gothic Architecture from Measured Drawings* of 1832.

The problems of style and precedents for the architects were only part of their difficulties. Charles Fowler wrote that

'No unity of design can be preserved, and the Hall and St. Stephen's Chapel being mixed up with the new building will not only fetter the arrangement but will frustrate all the skill and endeavours of the architect...the magnificent monuments will lose their own proper identity and the whole will be rendered confused and ineffective...' (464).

The *Gentleman's Magazine* noted that 'restoration as a prominent and valuable feature of the general design has been almost entirely overlooked' (465), but Cottingham as a fervent preservationist welcomed the instruction to retain Westminster Hall and he included a complete restoration of St. Stephen's Chapel in his designs. He also made a model to demonstrate the feasibility of this restoration (466).

A storm of protest arose after the first prize in the Competition was awarded to Barry. Cottingham was one of several architects including Thomas Hopper, William Wilkin, James Savage and C.R.Cockerell who met at the Thatched House Tavern in St. James' St. to formulate their protest at the manner in which the Competition had been planned and judged (467). A sub-committee of the architects organised a petition signed by thirty four and presented to the Commons by Hume, a member of the Committee of Taste who had been critical of proceedings. The petition requested a Commission of Inquiry before the decision of Barry's favour was finalised (468). They protested that the decision was made by a consideration of elevation alone, instead of by plan, included a print of Barry's ground plan to demonstrate its deficiencies, and put their case to the Chancellor of the Exchequer and to Sir Robert Peel (469). Cottingham in particular protested that Barry had appropriated his ground plan for the Houses of Parliament after it was exhibited. Unfortunately Cottingham's ground plan has not come to light for us to compare and analyse the two plans and the changes that Barry alledgedly made. Cottingham felt so strongly that he went to the length of petitioning the House of Commons to order an enquiry into the matter and redress the injustice (470), stating that the unacknowledged appropriation of the essential and peculiar arrangements of his plan

was a wrong that should be remedied, for the use of it now rendered Mr Barry's plan practicable where before it 'was manifestly defective'.

Cottingham's serious allegations of plagiarism have been seen as 'disgruntled competitors attempts to upset the award' (471) and Sir Edward Cust writing in defence of the Committee said:

> 'Few architects would be found willing to compete if a professional brother was to be made the depository of any little novelty or ingenuity their talents had devised and of which they would be most unwilling that another in their profession should take advantage'.

He continued, citing Mr Cottingham, who thought that the public exhibition of his design 'had furnished a hint to Mr Barry on the revisal of his original plan'. He dismissed this as jealousy and the 'unjustifiable exertion of those who were straining every nerve to deprive Mr Barry of the prize' (472). Thomas Hopper in his forceful reply to Sir Edward, supported Cottingham's accusations:

> 'The Commission stated that Mr Barry's plan, although richer in appearance was infinitely less costly than many others and would not exceed £500,000. Parliament...required an estimate, the Commission met again when, instead of the prize plan, another plan was laid before them, estimated at £724,984, which plan appears more Cottingham's than Mr Barry's. If Mr Cottingham's drawings have been copied into Mr Barry's plans, ought he not to be paid for them?'

Sir Edward Cust had said that Cottingham thought his 'plans had furnished a hint to Mr Barry'. Hopper declared bluntly, 'Mr Cottingham said no such thing, he alleged that the plan was in essential parts his, and the exhibition of the drawings *afterwards* enabled him to detect the piracy and prove the fact'. The reluctance of the Commission to exhibit the prize drawings was due mainly to their consciousness that 'a great portion of his plans had been transferred to Mr Barry's...' (473).

Cottingham's friend James Savage also contributed to the controversy by writing an important and hard hitting analysis of the faults of the competition, observations on issues of copyism and the role of the architect, but to no avail (474). The petitions were not successful, and according to H.M.Port, Hanbury Tracy had 'little difficulty in showing the specific allegation to be largely unfounded' (See Appendix I) (475).

Another aspect of Barry's plan was brought into question at a later date. When works were in progress fears as to the fate of St. Stephen's were voiced. Cottingham had planned a full restoration of St. Stephen's as a fine example of thirteenth century Gothic, but in 1842 a

controversy arose over Barry's intentions. In the *Ecclesiologist* letters were written quoting Barry's description of his designs for the Competition in which he stated that the 'crypt and cloister are proposed to be restored' (476). The *Athenaeum* too 'misunderstood' Barry, describing 'the fine effect that will be produced by the eye ranging upwards through the old Chapel of St. Stephen's with its light attached pillars and richly groined roof' (477). Barry replied that it was an error to suppose that the restoration was a part of his designs. The only portion he intended to retain of the ancient Palace were the crypt and cloisters. A perfect restoration of St Stephen's was:

'impracticable in every way; it could be restored and used for ecclesiastical purposes, but according to my plans adopted, it was impossible' (478).

The *Ecclesiologist* retorted that 'such a want of true feeling for ancient art was to be lamented in an architect of such high standing and eminent talent...' (479). The *Ecclesiologist* in commenting on Barry's lack of provision for St. Stephen's restoration and seeming confusion between his plans and apparent intentions, was in effect echoing Cottingham's and others protests at the manner in which Barry's plans were adopted by the Committee without proper consideration in every particular, and without concern to ensure that all the requirements of the specifications were fulfilled. Cottingham, in 1836 had protested at Barry's lack of adequate provision of space and planning and the subsequent adoption of his own superior arrangements in their place, and now the *Ecclesiologist* highlighted the preservationist issue. The *Ecclesiologist* by 1842 was increasingly influential in the concerns for the restoration of churches and the preservation of mediaeval remains, and they were blunt in their condemnation of Barry's want of true feeling for ancient art'. According to Barry a restoration was 'impracticable, although the chapel could be restored for ecclesiastical purposes...', but expediency and the excuse that his plans, 'as those adopted' must stand, overcame the *Ecclesiologist's* objection and those of the preservationist lobby. The *Ecclesiologist* implied that Barry might be an architect 'of eminent talent', able with the advice of the Gothicist Pugin to supply the required Gothic Houses of Parliament, but no true mediaevalist imbued with a passion for the mediaeval English heritage, could have dispensed with St. Stephen's Chapel on so slight an excuse.

Cottingham maintained a dignified silence following the failure of his petition and the highly contentious matter of Barry's success, but perhaps it would not be unreasonable to assume that the patronage offered to him later by Sir Robert Inglis, a member of the Select Committee was to some degree a compensation for this patent lack of justice (480). It is hardly surprising that Cottingham did not enter any further open competitons for public buildings. Instead he relied upon the recognition of the quality of his work aѕnd his name as a mediaevalist to gain commissions through a network of patronage.

Summary

L.N.Cottingham's true position in the architectural history of the nineteenth century is beginning to unfold through the analysis of his publications and the theories and ideas they contained, his writings, and efforts as antiquary, preservationist, designer, collector, and protagonist in the architectural concerns of his time. A development is revealed from designs in neoclassical styles such as his Salter's Hall and Fishmonger's Hall Competition plans of 1821 and 1832 and his classical designs combining 'utility and elegance' for the *Smith and Founder's Director* of 1823, work that reflected the prevailing classicism of the turn of the century, towards an increasing involvement with an examination of the Mediaeval. The importance of his *Westminster Hall, Plans etc of Henry VII's Chapel* and *Working Drawings of Gothic Ornament* of 1822 and 1823 as the first manifestoes of an archeologically correct Gothic Revival can now be understood. H.R.Hitchcok wrote that A.C.Pugin's publication *Specimens of Gothic Architecture Selected from Various Edifices* of 1821-1822 and J.S.Cotman's *Architectural Antiquities of Norfolk* of 1818 and of *Normandy*, 1824, were the most important volumes of the early decades for the development of the Gothic Revival and particularly for their influence upon A.W.N.Pugin, and he continued:
> 'as in most English architectural publications the illustrations were more important than the text...' (481).

This was not the case with Cottingham's publications, for in the text, Cottingham, at the early date of 1822, posited all the major concerns that were to be central to the development of the Gothic Revival and the means of transforming taste from that of the Classical to the Mediaeval in the first half of the nineteenthth century. His stated intention was to directly influence the restoration of neglected mediaeval buildings through an analysis of the structure of Gothic, an appreciation of the importance of the parts to the whole, an understanding of the integrity and value of each stage of development as shown in its structural form, art, and ornament, and further he suggested a study of the construction of Gothic as the basis for its revival through a reinterpretation for church building, considering the merits of the different periods of Gothic, and for its application to

domestic architecture. In his antiquarian and preservationist writings, such as his,survey and discoveries in Temple Church of 1841 and his analysis of the Lady Chapel at Southwark of 1832, he reiterated these theories, promoting a Gothic Revival based on sound knowledge and study of original mediaeval sources, with overwhelming evidence of his authority and esteem as a mediaeval expert through his analysis of historical, architectural, and social developments of every period of the mediaeval in a European context, and through his own collection of mediaeval antiquities begun at a time when Gothic was generally despised. J.M.Crook, writing of John Britton, editor, publisher and antiquary, said that his influence upon the English Gothic Revival through his acquaintance and preservationist pursuits 'ranked with that of A.W.Pugin and John Ruskin', a claim that can surely be applied to Cottingham (482).

Cottingham's influence upon the European Gothic Revival showed not simply from passive antiquarian and historical study of the mediaeval, rooted in the early efforts of Gough, Carter and Britton, involvement in learned societies, archaeological surveys, preservationist concerns, or the amassing of a collection of mediaeval antiquities, but through the application of these studies as a direct influence upon architectural practice, the most important and far reaching aspect of Cottingham's contribution to the Gothic Revival and one that predated the work of A.W.Pugin and the Ecclesiologists, Ruskin, Morris and the Arts and Crafts architects. Eastlake wrote in 1872 that for a national taste to be effective:

> 'It must be instructed and before it is instructed it must be created...'
> (483).

Cottingham's contribution to the creation and instruction of the Gothic Revival and the nature and quality of his work will be considered in Part II of this thesis, through an examination of his church restoration and his domestic architecture and design, viewed in the light of his theories, compared with the work of his contemporaries, and its importance and influence assessed in a European context.

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161   op.cit, *Sale Catalogue*, L.N.C's Museum, 1851.

162   *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1825, July-Dec, p.623.

163   Cottingham,L.N, Savage,J, *Reasons Against Pulling Down the Lady Chapel at
the East End of St. Saviour's Church, Southwark*, Rd. Taylor, Red Lion Court,
1832.

164a   ibid.

   b   *Gentleman's Magazine*, Feb 25th, 1832, pp.103-106.

165a   ibid, Letter from E.I.Carlos.

   b   Pevsner,N, Metcalf,P, *The Cathedrals of England*, 1985, p.148. George Gwilt's
epitaph describes him as 'a scientific man'. (Cottingham's involvement at
Southwark has been overlooked in this volume.)

166   op.cit, *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1832, pp.103-106.

167   *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1826, Vol.I, p.163, Letter from the Society of
Antiquaries.

168   ibid, 1837, Vol.I, Report of Institute of British Architects, p.68.

169   ibid, 1832, Vol.I, p.38, Report of a Meeting, Jan 5th, Mr Weston a banker
proposed the demolition.

170   ibid, pp.36-40, pp.101-106.
ibid, Vol.II, 1832, p.17, p.209, p.640.

171   Presentation and Restoration of the Lady Chapel, St. Saviour's, Southwark,
Report of a Meeting held at Freemasons' Tavern, Jan 28, 1832, British Library.

172   ibid, Resolution 4.

173   op.cit, Cottingham and Savage, Pamphlet 1832.

174   *Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol.1832, p.34, Anonymous letter to Mr Urban. Letters
were frequently unsigned. Two others on the subject of St Saviour's were by
A.J.Kempe and E.I.Carlos, regular contributors. It is reasonable to assume
that the letter referred to was by Cottingham and Savage containing an
expanded version of their pamphlet.

175   It is interesting to note that this was written in 1832, before the liturgical
reforms of the Oxford Movement and the CCS gained momentum.

176 op.cit, *Gentleman's Magazine,* 1832, p.34.

177₁ ibid, p.106, Letter from E.I.Carlos.

₂ op.cit, Pevsner & Metcalf, pp.144-146. It is not clear in this account that the Lady Chapel was saved and restored in 1832, for they say 'the retrochoir was restored...and the Lady Chapel, ie, Bishop's Chapel was destroyed in the 1830s. After the removal of the obstructions and its restoration the Lady Chapel was so clearly part of the original plan of the Church that it became known as the retrochoir, and some confusion has arisen in recent times over which Chapels attached to St. Saviour's were actually destroyed in the 1830s. The 'spacious and once handsome Chapel of St. Mary Magdalen was removed in 1826 from the south side of the choir which latterly it disfigured', and by 1832, the small Bishop's Chapel which abutted the Lady Chapel had been removed. E.I.Carlos, writing in the *Gentleman's Magazine* referred to a print in which the 'perfect lancet window of three lights is substituted for the arch of communication below this Chapel and the former Bishop's Chapel' and in 1837 we read of
> 'a visit to the Priory Church of St. Saviour's as has been restored. The Archbishop of Canterbury, and Bishops of Winchester and Killaloe, and the Earl of Lonsdale and numerous ladies were received and conducted through the ruined nave to the transept, choir, altar screen, and the Lady Chapel'.

See *Gentleman's Magazine,* 1832, Feb 25th, pp.103-106, 1837, p.68.

178 ibid, 1832, p.303. Letter from A.J.Kempe, Mar 25th.

179 The restoration of St. Alban's will be examined in Part II.

180 Hammon,H.J, *Architectural Antiquities of Crosby Place, London,* London, 1834.

181 ibid.

182 op.cit, *LNC's Museum Sale Catalogue,* Lot 291.

183a Blackburne,E.L, *Architectural Antiquities of Crosby Place,* London, 1834.

 b op.cit, Hammon, Cottingham is listed as a subscriber.

 c *Athenaeum,* 1832, p.338. Account of the Presentation of Crosby Hall meeting on May 8th. The first list of subscribers included, W.Cotton, R.Wigram, E.Blore, Sir R.Inglis, F.Chantry, J.Gage, A.Salvin, W.Tite, W.Twopenny, E.I.Carlos, W.Etty, A.J.Kempe, T.Rickman.

 d *Gentleman's Magazine,* 1832, p.386, p.424, p.506.

184 op.cit, Hammon, Introduction. In 1910, Crosby Hall was again threatened. Subscriptions were raised and the Hall transferred to Chelsea and rebuilt on part of the site of Sir Thomas More's Chelsea Garden.
See also Wood,M, *The English Mediaeval House,* London, 1965, 1983 and 1985, p.56, p.60, p.320.

185 op.cit, *Gentleman's Magazine,* 1786, Vol.LVI, p.1048.

186 *Gentleman's Magazine,* 1832, p.303.

187 ibid, 1837, p.140.

188 Britton, John, *An Autobiography in II Parts,* London, 1850, Part II, pp.73-81.

189 ibid.

190 ibid, p.81.

191   ibid, p.75.

192   *Bulletin Monumental,* ed, Arcisse de Caumont, Paris, 1834-41.

193a   ibid, Avertissement Vol.I, 1834.

   b   *Archeological Journal,* Vol.I, 1844, p.81, Séances Générales Tenues en 1841 par la Societe pour la Conservation des Monuments Historiques, Caen, 1841.

194   ibid.

195a   ibid, p.90.

   b   *Achaeological Journal,* Vol.I, 1844. Revue of Publications, Iconographie Chretienne par M.Didron. Secretaire de la Bibliotheque Royale, Secretaire du Comite Historique des Arts et Monuments, Paris, 1843, p.72.

196   ibid, *Bulletin Monumental,* p.108. Meeting of Council at Caen. Progress Report, 6 Nov 1834.

197   ibid, p.121, de Caumont wrote of Langley, Walpole, King, Dalloway, Bentham, Warton, Grose, Milner, Britton, Ducarel, Cotman, Dawson Turner, A.C.Pugin.

198   ibid, Vol.II, 1834, p.94.

199   Ferrey,B, *Recollections of A.W.N.Pugin,* pp.18-19.

200   op.cit, *Sale Catalogue,* A.C.Pugin.

201   op.cit, *Bulletin Monumental,* Vol.II, pp.9-16.

202   op.cit, *King's College School Archive,* Cotman taught N.J.Cottingham from 1835. N.J.C won the Drawing Prize for Landscape in 1835.

203   de Caumont, Arcisse, *Essai sur l'Architecture religeuse de Moyen Age, particulierement en Normandie,* Communique a la Societe d'Emulation de Caen, Dec 1823, lu a la Soc. des Antiquaires de la Normandie, 1825.

204   op.cit. *Bulletin Monumental.*
      op.cit, Germann.

205   Lugar, Robert, *Architectural Sketches for Cottages, Rural Dwellings and Villas in the Grecian, Gothic and Fancy Styles,* London, 1805, p.12.

206   op.cit, Rickman, pp.37-38.

207   Langlois,M.H, *Memoires sur les Tombeaux Gallo-Romane,* Rouen, 1829. (A.C.Pugin had copies of Langlois, Willemin etc in his library; see Sale Cat 1833).
      Deville, Achille, *Abbaye de St. George de Bocherville,* 1823.
      Séroux d'Agincourt, J.G, *Historie de l'Art 1811-23.*
      Prevost,A, *Les Monuments d'Haute Normandie,* 1814.

208   Society of Antiquaries, *Minute Book,* 1832. Burlington House, London.

209   Evans,J, *A History of the Society of Antiquaries,* Oxford, 1956, p.226. John Gage was a keen preservationist, fought for retention of Lady Chapel and Crosby Hall, Thomas Amyot was a Civil Servant, and A.J.Kempe, preservationist and friend of LNC.

210   Kempe,A.J, Description of the Sepulchral Effigy of John de Sheppey, Bishop of Rochester, discovered in Rochester Cathedral, AD 1825, with illustrated drawings. Paper read May 3rd 1832, *Archaeologia,* Vol.XXV, pp.122-126.

211   ibid, p.125. Cottingham's work at Rochester will be examined in detail in later chapters.

212 Cottingham,L.N, Letter communicating the results of the Examination of the Chapter House floor, Westminster, Jan 14th 1841, *Archaeologia*, Vol.XXIX, 1841, pp.390-391.

213 Cottingham,L.N, Letter dated 17th Dec *Gentleman's Magazine*, Jan 1841. p.18.

214a Burge,W, The Temple Church, *An account of its Restoration and Repairs*, London, 1843, p.15.

   b Crook,J.M, 'The Restoration of the Temple Church' *Architectural History*, Vol.II, 1964.

215 op.cit, *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1841, p.18.

216 ibid, p.18.

217 RCHM, (England), London, *Westminster Abbey*, Vol., 1924, pp.10-12.

218 ibid, p.9.

219 op.cit, *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1841, p.18.

220 *Exhibition Catalogue*, Minton Encaustic Tiles, 1839-1935, Stoke-on-Trent Museum, 1984, p.9.

221 Wainwright, Clive, 'Davington Priory', *Country Life*, Dec 9th, 1971.

222 Cottingham's Tiles used in Church restoration will be considered in Part II, Chapter 1.

223 *Annales Archaeologiques*, 1846.

224 *Architectural Design*, Profile, Viollet-le-Duc, 1814-1879, Academy Editions, 1980, p.64.

225 Cottingham,L.N, Letter to Sir H.Ellis, 18th Mar, 1841, *Archaeologia*, Vol.XXIX, p.399.

226 op.cit, *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1841, p.18.

227 *Ecclesiologist*, 1845, Vol.I, New Series, pp.133-134.

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229 Burge, William, MA,FRS, FSA, *The Temple Church An Account of its Restoration and Repairs*, London, 1843.

230 op.cit, Crook.

231 op.cit, Burge, p.15.

232 ibid, p.16.

233 ibid. p.31.

234a ILN, 1842, p.411, *Report of Reopening of Temple Church*.

   b Smirke,S, Essex,W.R.H, *The Architecture, Embellishments and Painted Glass of the Temple Church*, London, 1845, p.14.

235 op.cit, *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1841, p.18.
   op.cit, Burge, p.11.

236 This aspect will be considered more closely in Part II, Ch. Restoration Chapter III, 2.

237 *Report of Proceedings,* Oxford Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture, 1840-42, Meeting, May 9th, 1842, p.12.

238 Correspondence, *Oxford Architectural and Historical Society.* Cottingham,L.N, Letter dated May 15th 1842, Bodleian Library d538.

239 White, James, The *Cambridge Movement,* 1962, p.24.

240 Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture, *Some Account of the Abbey Church of St. Peter and St. Paul Dorchester,* Oxfordshire, Pub. 1847 J.H.Parker, Oxford.

241 OAS, Draft Reports, June 22nd 1841, (Ox. Soc. for Promoting Gothic Architecture 1839-1848. In 1848 became known as Oxford Architectural Society, and in 1860 became the Oxford Architectural and Historical Society).

242 Magdalen College Archive, MSS 735.

243 *Report of Proceedings,* Oxford Society for Promoting etc. Meeting of Feb 22nd 1843. Present received. View of the Abbey Gateway at Bury by L.N.Cottingham, p.22.

244₁ Evidence gained from a study of the Reports of Meetings of Societies in Suffolk, Yorkshire, Nottinghamshire etc.

₂ Dellheim,C, *The Face of the Past: The Preservation of the Mediaeval Inheritance in Victorian England,* London, 1982. Dellheim examines the growth of Provincial Societies.

245a *Report of the Proceedings of the Bristol Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture,* Bristol, 1841.

b Markland,J.H, *'Remarks on the Sepulchral Memorials Past and Present, with some suggestions on improving tyhe condition of our Churches',* Oxford Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture. 1840.

246a ibid.

b See Oart II, Chapter 1, Appendix IV, for the restoration of Ashbourn Church.

247 Parker,J.H, *Dictionary of Architecture, A Glossary of Terms,* Oxford 1846, 4 editions up to 1875. Facsimile, 1986, New Orchard Editions, Poole.

248a Parker,J.H, Letters from JHP to Albert Way, 15th April 1843 to December 1845. *Society of Antiquaries Archive.*

b *Oxford Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture,* Bodleian Library, OAHS, Cat. of Correspondence, 1835-1900, by R.E.Poole, dep. d538.

249 op.cit, *Society of Antiquaries Archive.* Letter from J.H.Parker to A.Way, Sept 22nd 1843.

250 ibid, J.H.P to A.Way, Dec 2nd 1843.

251 ibid, March 16th 1844.

252 ICBS Archive, Lambeth Palace Library.

253 op.cit, *Letters Soc. of Antiquaries Archive,* G.R.Lewis to JHP, Oct 26th 1840.

254 ibid, Letter from A.W.N.Pugin to J.H.P, May 13th 1843.

255 op.cit, Ferrey, pp.86-87.

256 Colvin,H, *Unbuilt Oxford,* London, 1983, pp.105-116.

257 op.cit, *Soc. of Antiquaries Archive.* Letters from Dr Scholz, March 1843, March 25th 1843, to JHP; from Dr Cloeggerault March 24th; Rev T.G.Smyth in Bonn, March 27th 1845: Draft replies etc 1843, Cat. Nos.140-145.

258a My examination of the *Annales, Kolner Domblatt,* and *The Ecclesiologist* up to 1850 substantiates this view.

   b op.cit, Germann, Germann has analysed the three journals from a Gothic Revival viewpoint and does not expand on restoration matters in any great detail.

259 *Annales Archaeologiques,* Ed. Didron aine, Paris, Tome Premier, 1844, Intro by Didron, p.2, pp.55-56.

260 ibid, p.5, Stained glass at Strasbourg, by Lassus, eglise de St. Germain L'auxerois.

261 ibid, p.230.

262 *Ecclesiologist.* Report on Armagh Cathedral, Vol.XIII, pp.8-15, 1855.

263 op.cit, *Annales,* 1844, Introduction, Comparisons between English and French ideals for imitation will be considered in Part II.

264 ibid, pp.89-90. Didron praised the quality, for instance of the Archeological Journal, its content, quality of illustration etc.

265 ibid, pp.2-4.

266 ibid, p.4, p.170, p.264, p.268.

267 *Kolner Domblatt,* Amtliche Mittheilungen der Central-Dombau-Vereins, mit Beifragen historischen, kunstgeschichtlichen und technischen Inhalts, Koln, Ed. A.Reichensperger, 1843, 22nd October, Article by Erast Weyden.

268 ibid, Oct 29th 1843.

269 ibid, 23rd Feb 1845, *Annales* 1846, p.355.

270 ibid, *Annales,* 2nd, 9th, 16th October, Article by Prisac,H.W.

271 ibid, *Annales,* 1846, Vol.5, pp.258-294, Promenade en Angleterre by Didron. Beresford Hope replied to this article in *Annales,* 1847, pp.65-70, 1874, pp.244-246.

272 op.cit, *Soc of Antiquaries.* Letter from JHP to A.Way. JHP wrote that Didron bought a complete set of journals for his brother and paid for them ('a marvel from a French bookseller'!) They viewed the Bodleian, Radcliffe, New College, Magdalen, Christ's Church, Martyr's Memorial, The Univ. Galleries, St. John's, Worcester College and the Univ Printing. Hence, Didron repeatedly said he must come again and stay for a week'.

273 Pastor Ludwig, *Augustine Reichensperger (1808-1895),* Freiburg im Breisgau, 1899, Vol.I, p.207. Reichesnperger visited Canterbury, Salisbury, Cambridge, where he met Willis, Ely, Peterborough, Lincoln, Hull, Beverley, Ripon, Durham, Berwick, Melrose, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Oxford, Birmingham, St. Marie's, Oscott, Worcester, Portsmouth etc.

274a ibid, p.307.

   b op.cit, Soc of Antiquaries. Letters, Didron to A.Way, 21st Nov 1846, remarks on his visit to Oxford and Parker etc, intends to promote Archeological Journal in Paris, 'our friend Gerente with whom I stay at Ramsgate M.Pugin sends his compliments'.

275 op.cit, *Annales*, 1847, p.241, article by Reichensperger. *Ecclesiologist*, NoXV 1846, pp.81-91, Vol.II, Jan 1846, pp.55-67, Vol.III, July 1846, pp.75-76.

276 *Annales*, 1847, pp.241-245. Didron discussed many societies including the split in the British Archeological Assoc. and the *Arcehological Journal*, founded by Wright and Roach Smith, ed. by JHP, two opposing camps, Smith & Wright and Parker & Way, division into Archeological Institute of GB & Ireland with Way, Bromet, Blore and Hawkins as principal supporters and *Archeological Journal* with Parker as editor, and the archeological Assoc. with Conyngham, Pettigrew Smith, and Wright, and the *Journal of the Britiah Archeological Association*.

277 ibid, 1847, p.246.

278 ibid.

279 *Soc of Antiquaries*, Correspondence Francis Douce to the Secretary, 20th May 1822.

280 op.cit, Burge, Cottingham's report on Temple Church, p.15.

281 *Archeological Journal*, Vol.XI, 1850, pp.305-307, and Vol.XI, p.397.

282a Shaw, Henry, *Specimens of Ancient Furniture, drawn from existing authorities*, London 1836.

   b Shaw, Henry, *Examples of Ornamental Metalwork*, London 1836.

   c Robertson,E.G & J, *Cast Iron: a World Survey*, 1977, p.21.

283 Meyrick, Sir S, *A Critical Inquiry into Ancient Armour as it existed in Europe etc*, London, 1824.

284 Bodleian Library, *The Douce MSS*, Correspondence, Letter from W.Capon to Douce, 4th June 1827, June 13th, 1827.

285 ibid.

286 *Descriptive Memoir*, Museum of Mediaeval Architecture and Sculpture founded by the late L.N.Cottingham FSA, Christie and Manson 1850, V & A Library, Box file 1.79E.

287 Editorial Report, *Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal*, July 1840, p.249.

288 Cottingham,L.N, *Letter to Fishmonger's Court, Feb 15th* 1832, Guildhall Library, MS F843, File 14.

289 Illustrated Catalogue, Great Exhibition, *Art Journal*, London 1851.

290 op.cit, *Descriptive Memoir*.

291 *Catalogue of Sale*, The Museum of Mediaeval Art Collected by the late L.N.Cottingham FSA. Sold by auction by Messrs Foster and Son, on the premises, 43 Waterloo Bridge Road on Monday 3rd November 1851, and subsequent days.

292 Shaw, Henry, *Specimens of Ancient Furniture*, 1836. This was an influential bok, bringing to notice examples of British Mediaeval 16th and 17th cenutry furniture and objects. Shaw's aim 'was to further extend historical correctness in art'.

293 op.cit, *Sale Catalogue*, Preface by Henry Shaw.

294 This arrangement with reference to chronology was an advanced notion at the time, and will be discussed in the next chapter. LNC's Museum will be compared with that of Lenoir in France and Soane and others in England.

295 op.cit, *Sale Catalogue*, Shaw.

296 ibid, *Sale Catalogue*, Lot 61.

297a *Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol.I 1838, p.600 - refers to two fireplaces which were engraved for the GM. Also the article notes that the wainscoting of the house was taken to Southam, 'Lord Ellenborough's venerable and interesting seat near Cheltenham'.

  b Falkener, Thomas, *Historical and Topographical Account of Fulham including the Hamlet of Hammersmith*, 1813.

  c Murray,J, *The Quest of the Golden Lion*, Fulham and Hammersmith Historical Society 1981, Chapter VI.

298 op.cit, *Catalogue of Sale*, Lots 37, 41 and 42.

299 ibid, Lots 43 and 46.

300 'Nonsuch Palace - begun in reign of Henry VIII; Earl of Arundel purchased it of Queen Mary and completely finished it; 1591 reconveyed to the Crown and was a favourite residence of Queen Elizabeth; Charles II granted it to his mistress, Barbara, Duchess of Cleveland who demolished the house, sold the materials, dispatched the land, and pocketed the money.' See *Mirror*, 1828, Feb 16.

301 op.cit, *Sale catalogue*, Lots 73, 74, 79, 47 & 48.

302 ibid, Ante-Room, Lots 1-36.

303 ibid, Lots 1-14.

304 A major campaign was launched in 1832 to save the remains of Crosby Hall to which LNC subscribed, and it was restored.

305 ibid, Lots 365-367.

306 *The Mirror*, Aug 6th 1825, p.97.

307 *Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol.II 1825, p.391. Letter from E.I.Carlos.

308 *Sale Catalogue*, Original Drawings, Books of Prints and an extensive Architectural Library...unique colleciton of Basso Relievo casts from Rouen Cathedral...auction by Mr Wheatley. Tues 4th June 1833, and three following days. Lot 20, Soane Museum Library.

309 op.cit, *Sale Catalogue*, Lots 295, 309, 327, 290,243.

310 ibid, *Sale Catalogue*, Lot 83. Quote from an entry in the catalogue for lots 83-124.

311 Boase,T.S.R, 'An Oxford College and the Gothic Revival'. *Journal of the Warburg Institute*. Vol.XVIII, 1955, p.171. Footnote re Dr Ellerton. See also Part II Church Restoration Magdalen College Chapel.

312 op.cit, *Sale Catalogue*, Lot 303.

313 Wainwright,C, *The Antiquarian nterior*, PhD Thesis, Univ of London, 1987, p.54. LNC's connections with Scott and his influence upon the interest in the Mediaeval will be considered in later Chapters.

314 ibid, North Gallery, Lots 162-234.

315 ibid, Basement Vaults 3 & 4. Lots 347-351, and 352-360.

316 ibid, Lots 835-883.

317 op.cit, *Descriptive Memoir.*

318 ibid, *Descriptive Memoir.*

319 op.cit, *Sale Catalogue,* Lots 829, 1508-1514. Stephen Salter of Hammersmith was a celebrated model maker of the day. See Chapter 2. Restoration of Armagh Cathedral.
Curl,J.S, *Life and Work of Henry Roberts,* p.64.

320 op.cit, *Descriptive Memoir.*

321 *Sale Catalogue,* Catalogue of Original Drawings, extensive Architectural Library etc, etc, of the late A.Pugin Esq, 4th June and 3 successive days, 1833. Wheatley & Sons, London, Soane Museum, Sc XXXIII, No.3.
Pugin's Catalogue included all Cottingham's publications. This aspect of C's influence and the attitudes to collecting will be discussed in later chapters.

322 See *Plans etc of Henry VII's Chapel,* 1822.

323a *Sale Catalogue,* The Collection etc etc of the late Mr Robert Adam, on May 20th and 21st, Christie and Manson, 1818.

  b op.cit, Sale Catalogue, LNC's Museum. Lots 1801, 1805, 1807, 376, 1831, 1840.

324 ibid, Lot 2060.

325a Ferrey,B, *Recollections of Pugin,* 1861, 1978 Edition with Introduction and Index by C & J Wainwright, p.XXIV.

  b *Brougham Papers,* Original Ms, Letters, diaries etc, University College Library Archives, London.

326 Wedgwood,A, *Catalogue of Architectural Drawings in the Victoria and Albert Museum, A.W.N.Pugin and the Pugin Family,* London, 1985, p.49.

327 Cottingham,N.J, Letter to R.Phillips, Oct 19th 1849, Belmont Abbey Collection, National Gallery of Wales, Bundle 29.

328 To date I have traced no documentary evidence to substantiate this, but other supporting evidence suggests strongly that he did travel on the Continent.

329 op.cit, *Sale Catalogue,* LNC's Museum.

330 This aspect of the subject will be examined at length in later chapters.
op.cit, Ferrey, p.XXIII.

331 *Gentleman's Magazine,* 1850, p.629.

332 *Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal,* Letter from E.B.Lamb, August 1844.

333 ibid, 18th Nov 1844. Letter from I.Forshall, Secretary to the Trustees of the British Museum.

334 *Gentleman's Magazine,* June 1850, p.629.

335 *Builder,* 27th Sept, 1851, p.742.

336 Jervis,S, *High Victorian Design,* 1983, p.31.

337 Handwritten notes on the sale Catalogue of LNC's Museum, V&A Library.

338 Watkin,D, *Thomas Hope,* p.29.

339 Taylor,F.H, *The Taste of Angels,* London, 1984, pp.20-21.

340 ibid, pp.60-63.

341 Baudouin,F, *La Maison de Rubens*, Maison de Rubens, 1977, pp.14-16.

342 op.cit, Taylor, pp.223-226.

343 Feinberg,S, Sir John Soane's Museum, An Analysis of the Architect's House Museum in Loncoln's Inn Fields, University of Michigan, *PhD Thesis*, 1979, p.231.

344 Timbs,J, *Curiosities of London*, London 1st Ed, 1828.

345 See Part II, 'Patronage'.

346 op.cit, Watkin.
     op.cit, Taylor, p.489.

347 Law,H.W & I, *The Book of the Beresford Hopes*, London 1925, pp.17-20.

348 Passavant,M, *Tour of a German Artist in England*, 2 Vols, 1836, Vol.I p.223.

349 op.cit, Feinberg, p.299.

350 Summerson,J, Ed, *A New Description of Sir J.Soane's Museum*, 7th Revised Edition, The Trustees of Sir John Soane's Museum, 1986.

351 Waagen,G.F, *Works of Art and Artists in London*, 3 Vols, 1838, Vol.II, p.181.

352 op.cit, Summerson, p.31.

353 op.cit, Crook & Port, *The King's Works*, Vol.V, pp.504-512.

354 op.cit, Feinberg, p.163.

355 op.cit, Part I, Chapter 2:2, Cottingham as Promoter of Gothic Revival.

356 op.cit, Feinberg.

357 See Part I Chapter 4, Analysis of Cottingham's Museum,
     op.cit, Summerson, Soane bought items from Robert Adam's Collection.

358a Britton,J, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture and Painting. An Account of Sir John Soane's Museum*, London, Preface.

   b op.cit, Cottingham, *Henry VII's Chapel*, 1822, Preface.

359 op.cit, *Sale Catalogue*, A.C.Pugin's Collection 1833.

360a op.cit, Girouard, p.72.

   b Bullock,W, *A Companion of the Liverpool Museum*, 17th Edition 1816.

361 op.cit, Shaw, *Descriptive Memoir of L.N.Cottingham's Museum*, 1851.

362 op.cit, Taylor, pp.20-21.

363a Bazin,G, *The Museum Age*, New York 1967.

   b op.cit, Taylor, pp.565-566.

364 Lenoir, Alexandre, *Musée Royale des Monuments Francais*, Paris 1815, Preface.

365 ibid, p.12.

366 ibid, p.26.

367a *Annals of Fine Art*, II 1818, p.124.

   b op.cit, Feinberg, p.257.

368 ibid, pp.257-258.

369 ibid, p.263. Feinberg gives a brief description of Cottingham's Museum taken from Shaw's *Descriptive Memoirs*, although she is unable to date its inception, and in comparisons with Soane and Lenoir, she quite rightly suggests that LNC 'is the English Lenoir'.

370 du Summerard,A, *Les Arts au Moyen Age. Prospectus. L'Hotel de Cluny, issu de ses ruines et les objects d'art de la collection du Sommerard*, Paris 1838-1846. Preface.

371 Wainwright,C, 'The Romantic Interior in England', *NACF Review*, 1985, p.88

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373 Lister,R, *Decorative Cast Ironwork in Great Britain*, London, 1960, pp.5-7, pp.86-87.

374a op.cit, Cottingham, *Plans etc of Henry VII's Chapel*, 1822, Preface.

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   b Robertson,E.G & J, *Cast Iron Decoration: A World Survey*, Thames and Hudson, London, 1977, p.16.

   c Downes,K, *Christopher Wren*. London 1971, Chapter 6.

   d Whinney, <m, *Wren*, London 1971, p.130.

384 ibid, Robertson, p.16.

385 Harris,, *A Catalogue of British Drawings in American Collections*, NY 1971, The volume by Isaac Ware was inscribed L.N.Cottingham.

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390 Hitchcock,H.R, *Architecture, 19th & 20th Centuries*, 1958, p.172-173.

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1792, but in the 19th century Thomas Rickman and the iron master John Cragg, impressed by the potentialities of cast iron as an economical material, extended its use to the entire interior structure and ornament. In St. George's Church, Birmingham for example, of 1823, Rickman used cast iron pillars, tracery arches and gallery panels and cast iron gate piers with castellated tops.
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op.cit, Robertson, p.32.

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APPENDIX I

Explanation in full of Cottingham's Petition to the Commons
Commons Journal XLII, 10th May, 1837

In his petition Cottingham stated that he had applied at the Office of His Majesty's Woods and Works for a plan of the site, with printed particulars, paid the sum required, and noted the advertisement in the *London Gazette*, of 3rd November 1835, which stressed that non-compliance with the particulars would cause a rejection of the designs. He continued that he delivered his plans having performed all the requirements laid down. His design was not selected but the first premium was given to Mr Barry for a design which did not comply with the particulars issued in as much as:

> 'those particulars required sitting room to be provided in the body of the House for from 420 to 460 members, but Mr Barry's prize plan provided room for no more than 306 members, the particulars also required that accommodation should be provided for the remainder of the galleries, not exceeding 1,200 feet in all, but Mr Barry's prize plan had only 986 feet of sitting-room, a deficiency of 214 feet'.

This was not all. The particulars also required that the Guard Rooms be detached but in Barry's plan they were embodied with them; also required were two apartments for private interviews, a vote office, an apartment for masters in Chancery, another for Counsel attending the House, another for agents and solicitors, and a waiting room for messengers:

> 'These rooms and several others were omitted from Mr Barry's prize plan, and the general arrangement of his design was greatly deficient in light, air and convenience...',

matters to which Cottingham claimed to have paid particular attention.

The petition then stated that to obviate these solid objections to Barry's plan, 'recourse was had to Cottingham's plan'. The important parts of his plan were transferred to the plan substituted for Barry's plan and presented to the Select Committee. The substituted plan made the length of the Houses and additional lobbies nearly the same as Cottingham's, being almost twice the length of Barry's prize plan, and enlarged the area of the House of Commons to the size which Cottingham had given it, nearly double the size of the

> 'plan for which the Commissioners awarded the first prize, that, by the adoption of these important parts of Cottingham's plan (which may be made evident by the inspection of the respective plans), the deficiencies of light and air in Mr Barry's prize plan have been obviated, and the plan which was so manifestly defective as to be incapable of being carried into execution for the purposes required, has been rendered practicable'.

This unacknowledged appropriation of the 'essential and peculiar arrangements' of Cottingham's plan, without compensation was a wrong which should be remedied, the

petition declared, and the House should instigate an inquiry into the truth of the allegations.

No inquiry took place.

Volume II

Part II

L.N.Cottingham's Practice

Part II

L.N.COTTINGHAM'S PRACTICE

Chapter 1

CHURCH RESTORATION, CHURCH BUILDING AND DESIGN

Part II
L.N.COTTINGHAM'S PRACTICE

CHAPTER 1
Church Restoration, Church Building and Design

1.1 Introduction

Cottingham's structural analysis and study of all mediaeval
architecture from the early Romanesque of the Temple Church to the
late Perpendicular Gothic of Henry VII's Chapel equipped him to
undertake many works of restoration such as the Norman Tower at
Bury, Armagh Cathedral built in the Early English style, and
Magdalen College Chapel, built in the 15th century, works to which he
brought his scholarly understanding of the developments in structure
and design, an appreciation of the art of all periods, and a
perservationist fervour, to save as many parts of an ancient building as
possible without reworking or rebuilding. In his *Plans etc of Henry VII's
Chapel* he urged the young architects, 'who might be called upon to
restore' Gothic fabric, to learn the relationship of the parts to the whole,
to study the 'mechanical construction' and to observe with what strict
propriety the character of each class of the mediaeval was maintained
through its structure and ornament. He deplored the 'ignorance of
modern improvers' and stressed the need for accuracy, 'a sure stepping
stone towards a correct revival of the Middle Ages' (1). He was aware of
the value of saving even the smallest fragments of the English
mediaeval heritage, noting,

> 'It is most fortunate circumstance for the revival of our national
> architecture that a certain impress or stamp is given to the minutest
> fragment of a moulding or vestige of enrichment so as to mark the
> era of a building and enable the architect to restore or design with
> certainty and the antiquary and historian to record with truth ...'

At every opportunity Cottingham begged for the preservation of all
mediaeval remains, in terms of history, of style and as monuments to
the past,

> 'How truly admirable and honourable it is then to preserve these
> time honoured remains from total destruction for when perishable
> manuscript is lost and all record gone a single capital or base of a
> column, a small fragment of foliage...may serve to fill up a hiatus on
> the page of history ...' (2).

At times, for example, in his work at Rochester and Bury St Edmunds, Cottingham carefully sifted through the dust and debris of centuries to find fragments to guide him to a correct restoration of mouldings, tracery, tombs or sculpture.

Unlike some restorers of the nineteenth century, for example, G.G. Scott, who wrote and lectured upon the need for restrained restoration but who at times undertook drastic rebuilding work to return the fabric to some imagined ideal, Cottingham, in his works of restoration, invariably followed his own rules for the sensitive handling of the original mediaeval building. It is difficult to talk of a development or growing maturity in his approach to restoration apart from the authority gained through greater experience of *ecclesiastical* architecture, for Cottingham's principles of restoration were fully fledged when he began his major work at Rochester in 1825 and those principles and working methods he retained with the highest integrity throughout his career. For example at the Magdalen College Chapel restoration instructions were repeated throughout the *Bill of Works* to restore by mending the decay rather than by total renewal and to use only the finest quality of materials and craftmanship (3). Whitewash was removed from marble pillars, and carved wood, pavements lowered to their original positions revealing the bases of columns as at Rochester in 1825, and funerary monuments and tablets such as those at Ashbourne Church that disfigured piers and traceried windows were removed to a more suitable part of the church. Some of the churches that Cottingham was to restore, Armagh and Hereford Cathedrals, St Alban's Abbey and the parish churches of St Mary's Bury, Market Weston and Milton Bryan, were in imminent danger of collapse after centuries of neglect or ill-judged repairs, and to these Cottingham brought his skill as innovative engineer. At Armagh and Market Weston he restored the leaning walls of the nave and towers 'by an ingenious application of science' of his own invention without dismantling or removing a single stone, and at St Mary's Bury and St Alban's he encased decayed roof beams in cast-iron shoes to avoid removing and renewing the ancient carved timbers. These were new processes and were widely reported upon and admired at the time. When new work was required Cottingham went to great lengths to find a precedent for his designs, as at St Mary's Bury, where,

'every part of the old was restored with a faithful adherence to the original design, and all that was new was done in the same spirit and made to harmonise with the old...' (4).

Cottingham's techniques are revealed through an analysis of his restoration work, his restrained treatment of the fabric, his antiquarian knowledge enabling archaeological correctness, his passion for the Gothic at times leading him to give his services free, and his Gothic Revivalist disdain for the fittings of the Classical period, described by Cottingham in 1841 as 'pagan' and which had obscured and damaged the structure and ornament of the original Gothic building (5). Another vital aspect of restoration work in this period was the influence of the Oxford Movement's doctrinal reform of the Anglican Church, dating from Keble's Assize Sermon of 1833, and from 1839 onwards, the efforts of the Cambridge Camden Society to repair the neglected fabric of churches and to restore correct liturgical arrangements. Cottingham, as early as 1829 at Magdalen College Chapel, Oxford, undertook a full Mediaeval revival interior, predating A.W.N.Pugin and the Ecclesiologists, and, as at Armagh in 1834 and Hereford in 1841, he met with some opposition to his plans to reintroduce the full imagery and symbolism of the Gothic Church in the form of statues in niches and the reintroduction of rood screens. It was a measure of his authority as a mediaeval expert and the force of his determination to restore the Gothic Church in every detail that on occasions he over-ruled his patrons.

Most importantly Cottingham expressed an advanced appreciation and understanding of all periods of the Mediaeval, particularly the despised Romanesque, which even in the later nineteenth century was considered 'rude, shabby, bald, and grotesque' (5a). He viewed all stages of the Gothic as architectural developments worthy of serious consideration and importantly, recognised the relation of each part to the part and the part to the whole, an aspect which he stressed in his advice to architects who might be called upon to restore Mediaeval buildings. Cottingham brought this understanding to his architectural practice, leading him in his works of restoration to treat with respect the parts of a building that were of different dates, each as a valid development and each as an important part of the whole design. In this respect Cottingham introduced a new approach to Mediaevel architecture, in complete contrast, for example, to the eighteenth

century works of restoration of James Wyatt and the theories of Laugier, an aspect that was a vital element in the change of attitude to the Mediaeval marking the difference between the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries. The quality of Cottingham's work stands in notable contrast to much contemporary English and French restoration work of the nineteenth century, an aspect to be considered later in the chapter. Cottingham's works of restoration are discussed chronologically, Rochester in 1825, Magdalen College Chapel, 1829-33, St Alban's Abbey, 1832-33, Armagh Cathedral, 1834-41, the Norman Tower and St Mary's, Bury St Edmunds, 1842-49, and Hereford Cathedral, 1841-49. Church furnishings and his own church of St Helen's, Thorney of 1845 will be examined separately and works of restoration not discussed fully in the text, for example those of Great Chesterford, Horringer, Theberton, *Milton Bryan, Market Weston,* Barrow, Louth, Ledbury, Brougham, Roos, St Mary's, Nottingham, St Mary's Clifton, and Kilpeck, are listed in Appendix 4 with details, sources, and illustrations.

1.2   Rochester Cathedral 1825-29

It was agreed in 1825 by the chapter at St Catherine's Audit that the interior of the Choir of Rochester Cathedral should be restored (6) and 'returned to its primitive state' (7). Cottingham 'being recommended to the Chapter as an *Architect well skilled in Gothic Architecture*' (8) was requested to make a report, and give an estimate of the probable expense. However, Cottingham found the state of the fabric of the Norman Cathedral in such serious disrepair that it involved 'setting aside to a great extent of restoration in an ornamental sense' (9). The roof, and the supporting beams and oak roof plates of the choir and east transept had dry rot and were in danger of collapsing, part of the south wall between the main transept and the chapter ran dangerously out of perpendicular with great masses of brick inside and massive triangular buttresses outside causing worse subsidence, and the central tower consisted largely of rubble and was incapable of supporting the spire which dated from 1749 (10). Rochester, like many ecclesiastical buildings had suffered from piecemeal repairs and mending over the years, or, in Cottingham's words 'the barbarous hand of spoliation or what is even worse the ignorance of modern improvers' (11), and the

Chapter Acts book gives evidence of anxiety at the ruinous state of the building, the drastic repairs undertaken, and the serious lack of funds that led to inadequate and shoddy restoration (12). (See Appendix I).

Taking Cottingham's advice, Dean Robert Stevens, Dean of Rochester from 1820-1870, and The Chapter deemed it right to abandon the idea of restoring the interior and to look to the stability and security of the fabric. As a further justification for their proceedings they sought the opinion of 'another architect of eminence', and Robert Smirke made a survey in March 1825 corroborating Cottingham's findings and endorsing his proposed plans for the restoration (13). Cottingham, bringing his knowledge of mediaeval structure, at Rochester the early Norman period and his experience as a structural engineer, reported that the building was damp due to poor drainage, there were two fractures in the wall at the east end of the choir, the turret at the south west angle of the nave was totally decayed, the upper window at the east end was decayed and the tracery at the heads of the mullions 'must be replaced with new stone'. The stonework at the jambs of all windows was crumbling and,

'for the better appearance of the Fabric those jambs which have been repaired with Brickwork ought to be replaced with stone...'

The great west window, cornices, parapets, gutters and the external wall of St Edmund's Chapel was also in need of repair. The roof was in a ruinous state and Cottingham and Smirke advised that the ceiling should be repaired,

'very carefully preserving all that remains of its original construction',

a statement that gives evidence of Cottingham's approach to restoration, one that he adhered to whenever possible. The tower and spire were in imminent danger of collapse requiring the rebuilding of the belfry floor after removal of the spire and replacement of the previous piecemeal repairs in brick which contributed to the downward pressure causing the bulging of the tower walls (14).

Cottingham carried out the main structural repairs within the year, renewing the roof of the choir and transepts, the roofs of St Edmund's and St William's Chapels, repairing fractures in the north wall near the altar, the two west turrets, the crumbling parapets, 'laying new ones where there were none', renewing the great West windows, 'which was reported in a very dangerous state and incapable of being repaired',

and the battlements above it, and restoring the great East windows which were largely replaced 'with the exception of some parts of the tracery' (15). An engraving by John Coney of 1816 of the Norman West front before Cottingham's restoration shows the great Perpendicular Gothic window inserted in the twelfth century facade (Fig.55). Although Cottingham had knowledge of Romanesque architecture through his studies, he respected the work of later Mediaeval periods for here he retained the Perpendicular tracery in all its intricacy, merely repairing and renewing the crumbling stonework, and made no attempt to return the West front to its mid twelfth century original state (Fig.56) (16). Cottingham, in his repairs to the East end, through the removal of a large Corinthian altar piece of Norwegian oak, revealed the original composition of the East end of the choir consisting of three Early English arched recesses and fifteenth century windows that had been bricked up. Again he retained the windows and simply renewed the fourteenth century tracery of the lower windows. In so respecting and repairing the alterations of later centuries Cottingham's work made a direct contrast to G.G. Scott's restoration of Rochester in 1871. As J.G. Palmer wrote in 1897,

'Cottingham merely restored the ugly upper windows and left it for Sir G.G. Scott to erect in its stead the more appropriate tier of lancets...' (17).

Scott, in his report, deplored the state of the East end,

'the upper range of windows was taken out in the fifteenth century and a very uncouth window substituted, again renewed in our day... I feel it ought to be restored to its original form... I am inclined to think it should give way to the integrity of the Early English design. The stained glass which these windows contain could be fitted to some other windows...' (18).

Cottingham's enlightened appreciation of all periods of the mediaeval at this early date of 1825, and Scott's later more drastic measure of returning the fabric to some earlier supposed ideal, raises the question of attitudes to conservation and preservation, an aspect which will be examined in later chapters. Cottingham continued his restoration at Rochester, and, with a care to retain as much of the ancient work as possible, renewed the ceiling of St Edmund's Chapel,

'with the exception of the curious woodwork which has been restored and brought clearly into view with all its grotesque figures',

as Dean Stevens wrote in his Notebook (19). Cottingham, in restoring and 'bringing into view' examples of grotesque carving, showed an

appreciation of the 'crude and barbaric' art of the early mediaeval period that was unusual at this date.

Cottingham solved the problem of the south wall between the main transept and the chapter which leaned twenty three inches out of the perpendicular, by removing all the unsightly brick supports and building up the outer wall with a face of ashlar as an invisible buttress, a measure that saved the demolition and rebuilding of the entire wall, and restored the leaning, ancient walls on the interior to their original condition (Figs.57 & 58) [20]. The decayed spire was taken down and Cottingham began reparation of the tower. As Dean Stevens reported, 'the main timbers which perforated its walls were so entirely decayed that they would ere long have given way and if so, the Tower and Spire must have fallen down'. Cottingham renewed the belfry floors and began raising and encasing the tower. At this point the Dean, due to 'apprehensions entertained by some that the Architect in raising the Tower was charging the piers with a weight they are unable to bear', decided to have the opinion of another architect. Mr Wyattville was unable to attend and Mr Savage, 'who built the new Gothic Church at Chelsea' was sent for. Savage's long report was included in full in Dean Steven's Notebook and gave a detailed technical report on Cottingham's restoration of the Tower. The angles of the Tower as well as the walls had been of rubble work and were fractured and cracked all the way down, with all the connection on the inside gone, and the buttresses on the outside as the only union. This was largely due to the 'ill-contrived' wood frame inside the Tower with iron stays connecting the bell frame to the walls of The Tower, every vibration affecting the walls in the way 'best adapted to shake them down'. Cottingham in his 'judicious repairs' had removed the decayed beams of the belfry floor, iron-tied and strutted the walls of the Tower 'in a very effectual manner', lightened the weight over the centre of the arches by inserting a double window in the centre of each face of the Tower and removed the spire which, due to wind pressures had 'shaken the masonry with the energy of great leverage'. The piers, Savage confirmed were well able to support the proposed weight of recased tower and pinnacles and he would not hesitate to 'raise the Tower fifty feet higher on the same piers if required'. He endorsed Cottingham's work, praising the quality and thoroughness of the restoration without reservation. He concluded,

'I think it will be obvious that the repairs and alterations now going on at Rochester Cathedral will place it in a better state than it has ever been heretofore and are well calculated to give the highest satisfaction to all who take an interest in that beautiful and venerable pile' (21).

During his structural repairs to the tower, Cottingham discovered under the eighteenth century recasing fragments and rubble from the original tower of the Early English period, and he used these as a basis for his design of rebuilding the tower above the belfry stage. He published a lithograph showing the rubble tower and spire of 1749 and his new tower, including drawings of the stone tracery and mouldings that he found, entitled 'Elevation of the Tower, as restored with sundry fragments found in the modern casing of the old one; the style corresponding with the Early English date of the side aisles and transepts (Figs.59-61) (22). Despite the expert knowledge of Cottingham and Savage the Dean was overwhelmed by a strong conviction amongst the townspeople, particularly local builders, that the piers were being overloaded, and Cottingham was compelled to modify his designs, leaving the tower without a spire (23).

Cottingham worked throughout 1825 and 1826 on the restoration of the interior of the Cathedral, as funds were raised, his intention to restore and reveal the full beauty of the mediaeval structure. He removed a brick wall characteristic of previous shoddy repairs, that had been built up to the ceiling over the doorway leading to St William's Chapel and which had obscured the range of arches; he reopened and partially restored the blocked up windows to the left of the Chapter room and the recesses to the right, and reopened the arches of the crypt under the East window and two windows at the east end of the crypt for light and air and had the build up of earth dug away (Fig.62). As well as removing the eighteenth century oak altar piece which obscured the original window of the East end, Cottingham freed other parts of the Cathedral from encumbrances (Fig.63). A painting by Benjamin West, *The Angels appearing to the Shepherds,* fixed up against the altarpiece was also removed and deposited 'pro tem in the Deanery as no determination is yet come to us as to what is to be done with it'. The Dean added laconically, 'It is not an admired composition', an interesting reflection of the changing taste from the eighteenth to nineteenth century (24). At the same time a heraldic shield of the Kings

arms over the West door which concealed the lower part of the West window and the upper part of the doorway arch was removed to the organ gallery, the beginning of Cottingham's practice of removing additions such as momuments which defaced or obscured the original mediaeval structure, to a more suitable part of the church (Fig.64). He also took down a Grecian wooden cornice of the late eighteenth century that covered the mouldings of the wall over the side seats of the choir and the panelling below it to reveal a wall painting of 'a kind of Roman facade done in the time of Charles II' (25). The *Gentleman's Magazine* described the painting as consisting of 'birds and beasts, fleurs de lis, lilies, crescents, stars, foliage, fleury-crosses, and lacework borders arranged in the most beautiful order, and finely contrasted in the colours which consist of the brightest crimsons, purples, azures and greens' (26). St John Hope writing in 1900 stated that this discovery was obliterated by later restoration (27), but in fact, despite Cottingham's obvious excitement at uncovering this 'display of architectural elegance' Dean Stevens would not tolerate it and wrote in his note-book, 'A most misearble and unsightly performance. This has been effaced', James Irvine, Clerk of Works to G.G. Scott, was later to make a comment on this aspect of working for Cathedral authorities when he said,

> 'They allowed excavation work to be done, but did not appreciate its significance and often ordered obliteration of painting and early work simply because they did not like them...' (28).

Cottingham, however, made other important discoveries which were not effaced. On moving the pulpit and cleaning whitewash from the wall which was done 'painstakingly with a penknife' (29), a thirteenth century wall painting of the Wheel of Fortune came to light (Fig.65). A report in the *Mirror* related its discovery and printed a drawing of it, describing it as a 'masterpiece of art'. The writer suggested that it depicted the martyrdom of St Catherine but an editorial comment pointed out that it possibly represented the progress in life of an individual to the highest seat of pre-eminence, with his Monarch as stay and support in the middle and might be an allegorical history of the rise and fortunes of Gundulph, the founder and builder of Rochester Cathedral. After describing the fresco, the writer then gloomily and wrongly predicted,

'this peculiarity it will not long possess as it is more than probable that before this notice can appear in print... it will have been obliterated for ever by the merciless touches of a mason's chisel' (30).

Again Cottingham's careful preservation of this example of thirteenth century art gave evidence of his scholarly knowledge of the decoration of mediaeval churches and illustrated his advanced appreciation of all aspects and all periods of the Mediaeval.

The most important discovery, on clearing away chalk and masonry from the blocked up arches of the choir, was the tomb and effigy of Bishop Sheppie who was consecrated Bishop of Rochester in March 1352, appointed Chancellor of England in 1356 and died in 1360. As we saw, an account of the discovery was written up in *Archaeologia* by A.J. Kempe and Cottingham himself wrote an account of the discovery illustrated by detailed engravings of the effigy and of fragments of the tomb, the figure of Moses, crocketed pinnacles and a frieze of rich scrolling and fruiting vines. This plate he inscribed to his friend William Twopenny, barrister of the Inner Temple 'whose accurate sketches and observations on subjects of antiquity has afforded the Author much information' (31). The uncovering of the tomb aroused great interest and another etching depicted the handsome Mr Cottingham pointing out the beauties of the monument to the Dean and worthies of Rochester whilst workmen carefully salvaged from the surrounding debris, the shattered remains of the canopy (See Figs.18-21) (32). Cottingham's overwhelming concern for archaeological correctness in his works of restoration, based on his study and knowledge of mediaeval precedent was fully developed in his work at Rochester, for now he used the fragments from the tomb as models for his reconstruction of Bishop Sheppie's canopy, and with the care of a committed antiquary he carefully preserved the original pieces in the crypt (Figs.66 & 67). The effigy itself was in a remarkable state of preservation. Palmer wrote carelessly, 'Unfortunately Cottingham had it recoloured though the fact seems generally forgotten' (33). This was not the case. In fact, the Dean wrote,

> 'As the colouring of the Effigy (which was in most parts quite perfect, though at the most prominent parts entirely rubbed off by the rubble) was likely now it was exposed to the action of light and air, to fade and peel off, it was judged advisable by the Architect to prevent this if possible by means of a little varnish or by some process that might be recommended by a person well skilled in these matters'.

Unfortunately, the Dean continued, an artist was sent from London who either misunderstood or disobeyed orders and proceeded, in the absence of Cottingham and the Dean to recolour the effigy. After the mischief was done the Dean sent for Cottingham who,

> 'instantly came down and fortunately succeeded in almost entirely
> removing the mischief so that the colouring which was visible when
> the effigy was discovered appears to my eye nearly the same as it
> was before it was touched' (34).

Far from recolouring the effigy in a vandalistic way as Palmer in his report suggested, Cottingham displayed a sensitive approach to the preservation of the mediaeval sculpture in trying to save the original remains of its decoration and in immediately attempting to resolve 'the mischief' done to it in his absence. This approach was in contrast to the eighteenth and early nineteenth century disdain for the polychromy of the Mediaeval period, when much of the art of the Middle Ages was obliterated by whitewash or destroyed in order to attain Neo-classical uniformity, seen for example, in the restoration work of James Wyatt. Cottingham, in showing such appreciation of Mediaeval coloured stonework at this early date of 1825, and in going to great lengths to preserve it and to publish his findings, influenced nineteenth century attitudes and led the way to a revival of richly coloured and decorated interiors, for example, at A.W.N. Pugin's St Giles at Cheadle of 1846 and Viollet-le-Duc's restoration of La Sainte Chapelle of the same date. Further restoration work to the interior of Rochester involved the lowering of the altar and its pavement to its original position, revealing the bases of the Purbeck marble pillars. These Cottingham left in their original unrestored condition showing his restraint and respect for the natural signs of age in ancient buildings (Fig.68). He cleaned whitewash from the Purbeck marble columns throughout the Cathedral revealing ornaments in the groups of vaulting shafts rising from finely carved brackets (Fig.69). The grouped corbels on the south side of the choir had been 'dreadfully mutilated' on the erection of a wooden episcopal throne, but were restored by Cottingham, 'so completely as to defy the power of discriminating between the old work and that which has been renewed' (35). Cottingham removed paint from the choir stalls later to be discarded by G.G. Scott and cleaned and restored the crypt, again revealing the bases of the original twelfth and thirteenth century columns (Figs.70 & 71). The Chapter room doorway

he found to be partially bricked up to allow a square-headed door to be inserted, 'a most barbarous arrangement' (36) and he replaced it with a traceried oak door in keeping with the fourteenth century surround. He restored the mutilated and headless figures in the niches of the archway, an aspect of his restoration at Rochester which has been criticised (Fig.72). Palmer wrote,

> 'much fault has been found with him for turning the first,which is thought to have been a female figure, into a mitred Bishop holding a cross in his right hand, a model in his left to represent 'Church'. The blindfolded synagogue by her broken staff, tables of the Law reversed in her right hand typifies the overthrow of the Mesaic dispensation' (37).

G.G. Scott later remodelled the figures when he restored the doorway, replacing 'the head of the bishop with a female head more suited to the body' (38). It is interesting to discover the lengths to which Cottingham went to research the origins of the mutilated figures and to find precedents for a restoration of the missing parts, evidence again of his passion for archaeological correctness and his own wide knowledge of mediaeval art. William Twopenny had introduced Cottingham to the respected antiquary and keeper of Manuscripts at the British Museum, Francis Douce, as we saw, and Cottingham took him sketches of the Chapter house doorway and,

> 'two casts of the hands of the figure on the identity of which there is so much doubt' (39).

Lengthy discussions and correspondence followed of which only Cottingham's letters to Douce remain, leaving us to guess Douce's replies. Cottingham wrote to him in May, 1826.

> 'I intend bringing with me a sketch for the restoration of the figures. The Dean is delighted beyond measure at the discovery you have made and begs to return you his best thanks for the trouble you have taken, but he agrees with me in regard to the male figure being a Bishop instead of a King and we hope to gain your sanction on this...'

Cottingham was fortunate in having the support and interest of a Dean who was interested and scholarly enough to press for a full restoration of the mediaeval beauties of his Cathedral, and who also brought his knowledge to bear on the problem of the headless figures. Cottingham continued his scholarly interpretation,

> 'Our point is simply this, the female figure being symbolical of the obstinacy of the Jews at the coming of Christ, the male figure must be emblematical of his Church. I suppose the figure to be a Christian Bishop with a Church in one hand and a staff with the same ensigns as the York Bishop in the other. Would it not bear the following

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reading? As an emblem of Christianity the figure of a Bishop with a Church and pastoral staff surmounted by a cross under which Christ's banner of pure white linen is suspended in the other. The mitre you will observe in the York figure is inlaid with the bloody cross instead of the usual jewels. However, I will not attempt to stress my Hobby any further till I have the pleasure of seeing you for fear you should turn him into pasteboard' (40).

Douce had sent Cottingham a tracing from an old brass which had some bearing on the matter and clearly Douce agreed with Cottingham in favour of a Bishop's head over that of a King. Cottingham wrote to him further,

'I think your judgement so correct when compared with Master Bradshaw's (a fellow antiquary and FSA) that I shall be able with the assistance of the Bishop to lay their Majesties' spirits should they attempt to rise up against us... to be serious, I have not yet been able to draw out the heads for your inspection...' (41).

At a later date, after Cottingham's restoration, other authorities argued that the figure of the Church should have been female, following the precedent of figures at Strasbourg and Amiens and not at York as Cottingham and Douce had thought (42). On the strength of the Continental precedents Cottingham's reinstatement of the figures, clearly based on deep knowledge and extensive research, was misleadingly branded as 'ignorant and uninformed', a misapprehension of the nature of Cottingham's restoration processes as can now be seen (43).

Cottingham completed various works at Rochester over the next twenty years including the substitution of a 'rich and elaborate' ceiling of the main crossing for his earlier plain one of 1825,.Charles Spence writing in 1840 described it as an 'elegant and appropriate' roof in keeping with the Early English clustered columns of the crossing, an example of a horizontal oak panelled roof, richly painted and adorned with pendant bosses which,

'although original in themselves are in strict accordance with those in various parts of the transepts, choir, a sure proof of real and pure taste which far from attempting to display any modern rivalry of the inimitable production of the ancients, rather chooses to assit in handing on to posterity the beautiful character of these models which they alone originally invented' (44).

Cottingham also completed the canopy to Bishop Sheppey's tomb and designed an oak pulpit, Bishop's throne and a stone font (45). The expenditure up to the end of 1826 amounted to £9000, and the Dean and Chapter were so well pleased with their architect that in 1827 they awarded him an honorarium of £100 as a token of the ability and zeal

that he had shown in the much-praised restoration of their Cathedral.
Contemporary accounts of the work referred to the 'highly-talented
architect of the Cathedral' (46), noting the unusual quality of his
restoration work,

> 'a more careful and attentive architect could not have been selected,
> as the result has amply proved in a more correct restoration of the
> architectural peculiarities of this very ancient Cathedral than is
> usually exhibited' (47).

Cottingham's work at Rochester has been overlaid by that of G.G. Scott
in 1871-77, J.C. Pearson in 1888 and by Hodgson Fowler in 1904
(Fig.73), but Cottingham's restoration of Rochester was a very early
example of a restrained and sympathetic Gothic Revival restoration,
one that in contrast with others, such as G.G. Scott as we have seen,
showed an enlightened appreciation of all periods of Norman and
Gothic development, for example in his preservation of the early wall
painting and grotesque carving of the thirteenth century, and his
careful mending of later mediaeval windows instead of replacing them
to achieve uniformity with the original date of the structure.
Cottingham's restoration of the mainly Romanesque building also gave
evidence of his knowledge of all periods of the Mediaeval and his
concern for archaeological correctness shown in his painstaking search
for original fragments to guide him in his designs, and displayed too the
Gothic Revivalist disdain for the fittings of the classical period which
had encroached upon the structure and decoration of the original
Gothic architecture.

1.3   Magdalen College Chapel 1829-1833

In 1829 Cottingham was the successful candidate out of more than
thirty competitors for the restoration of Magdalen College Chapel,
Oxford (48). At Rochester Cottingham showed his knowledge of
Romanesque and Early English architecture, now at Magdalen he was
to accomplish an archaeologically correct revival of the fifteenth
century Gothic, reflecting the Chapel's founding date of 1473. The *Book
of the Chapel* which lists changes from the Chapel's dedication on
October 2nd, 1476, to the present day, described the classicising of the
interior that had taken place from 1635 until James Wyatt's
replacement of the open framed timber roof with plaster rib vaulting in
1792. The Chapel had suffered the vicissitudes of iconoclastic frenzy,

firstly during the Reformation when between 1547 and 1562 the painted tables were defaced, figures of Our Lord on the Cross, St Mary Magdalen and St John were destroyed and replaced twice, the High Altar and other altars were pulled down three times, and the Cross at St John in the Pilgrim's Gate was destroyed; and secondly in 1649 when the Chapel windows were destroyed, the Blessed Virgin pulled down from the gate and the organ conveyed to Hampton Court by Cromwell's order where it remained until the Restoration (49). What was left untouched by these barbarous hands was dealt with by the hand of 'modern improvers' (50). In 1635 the floor of the choir had been laid with black and white marble, a new organ and screen with triangular pediments and a fanlight above the gateway and a great West window based on Michaelangelo's *Last Judgement* were installed, the back row stalls with their lining and canopies alone remaining (51). The remnants of the great Gothic reredos with its figures in niches desecrated at the Reformation was plastered over and covered by a huge Renaissance painting of the *Last Judgement* with wainscoting on the wall below decorated with pilasters and swags. As James Ingram, writing in 1837 said,

> 'a taste for foreign art was gradually introduced into England to the neglect and disparagement of our ancient architecture. Hence a large picture by Isaac Fuller (studied under Perrier in France) was thought a good expedient to cover the mutilated remains of the old tabernacle work...' (52).

In 1740 the tapestry was removed from the back of the altar and a Corinthian altar screen was erected with elaborate reeded columns and decorated capitals, festooned with swags, cherubs, and laurel wreaths, and panelled stalls with classical entablatures and masks as ornament were installed (53). These alterations completed a transformation of the fifteenth century chapel, creating a classical interior of the kind denounced as 'pagan' by Cottingham in his writings (54) and by A.W.N. Pugin in his *True Principles* of 1841. James Wyatt in 1790 inserted a plaster vaulted ceiling to replace the decayed ancient timber roof and created niches with 'heavy obtruding canopies of plaister' in eighteenth century Gothick, work that drew the scorn of the Oxford antiquaries John Buckler and his son John Chessel Buckler in their defence of mediaeval remains (Fig.74) (55). A drawing by G.G. Cooper of 1811

shows Wyatt's plaster vaulted ceiling and the canopied plaster niches which replaced the wall ribs and clearly illustrates the classicising of the interior that Cottingham, as a mediaevalist, so deplored (Figs.75 & 76). The Chapel suffered further repairs in 1794 and the many plans for its restoration were not carried out owing to lack of funds. (See Appendix II).

By 1828 other building projects at Magdalen, such as the rebuilding of the east and south cloister wings were completed and the College instigated the competition for the refitting of the Chapel (56). Cottingham won the first premium of £105 and a young Oxford architect 'Mr Plowman, junior' was awarded 25 guineas for a creditable design (57). James Savage had been called in to advise on the designs and Edward Blore was consulted before the awards were made and Cottingham's Gothic Revival restoration was approved (58). A water-colour by Cottingham remains at Magdalen and is so close to the built design that it is no doubt Cottingham's finished proposal for the East end of the Gothic Revival interior, showing his restoration of the reredos, panelled walls, fifteenth century carved pews, vaulted ceiling, and most significantly, a floor laid with mediaeval armorial tiles to replace the black and white seventeenth century marble flooring (Fig.77) (59). At this early date of 1829 Gothic design encaustic floor tiles were not yet in production and were not available for such advanced restoration work as Cottingham's at Magdalen. It was not until Cottingham's discovery of the mediaeval tiles in the Chapter House at Westminster in 1841 that Minton and other firms such as Worcester began producing tiles based on the mediaeval designs (60). Cottingham's drawings for Magdalen therefore show his scholarly knowledge of all aspects of the Mediaeval, and his desire to restore fully every detail proper to a Gothic church of the fifteenth century. Another water-colour, also attributable to Cottingham, shows the West end of the Chapel with the stone organ screen, stone panelled walls instead of the oak of the finished designs, carved pews and an alternative and more elaborately traceried vaulted ceiling (Fig.78). No record was kept in the archive of the other entries but Anthony Salvin's designs for the Competition have come to light and show an elaborate reredos filled with canopied niches, rich tabernacle work to the stalls and organ case and a simple quadripartite ceiling (Figs.79-81) (61). Dr Routh, The

President of Magdalen and later the first President of the Society for Promoting the study of Gothic Architecture, was clearly an early promoter of an archaeological Gothic Revival and had no doubt been influenced by the strenuous preservationist activities of John Buckler and his son. Buckler wrote that Dr Routh was a man 'of exalted talents, and refined taste whose knowledge of English ecclesiastical architecture in particular is too profound to betray him in to approbation of useless and expensive finery' (62). Cottingham too found him sympathetic to the ideas of a Gothic Revival and presented him in 1830 with a copy of his *Plans etc of Henry VII's Chapel* for the College Library, writing,

> 'should the few plain remarks I have made on the pointed style of architecture meet your approbation I shall be highly gratified' (63).

Later Cottingham involved the President in subscriptions to the restoration of the Lady Chapel at St Saviour's, Southwark and sent him a copy of his engraving, 'A view of the Lady Chapel as Restored' (64).

The *Bill of Sundry Artificer's Works* drawn up by Atkinson and Brown of Goswell Street, London, the firm who worked for Cottingham at Rochester and who now carried out the Magdalen restoration to Cottingham's specifications, indicated the extent and quality of the works, reflecting Cottingham's concern to use only the finest seasoned oak, best Painswick and Portland stone and to reuse and repair the old stone and timber wherever possible (65). The Bill of Works described how the floor of the choir was lowered to its original level,

> 'laying the Choir and High Altar with the ancient marble paving polished and laid in diamond form after the original manner providing and fixing solid marble steps of the same quality'

The old, defective stonework of the Altar end, revealed after the removal of the Corinthian altar-piece and Fuller's *Last Judgement* was restored where possible and replaced in Painswick stone, 'reinstating and firmly securing foundations, working mouldings, carving enrichments and fixing new Altar-end in sound substantial manner'. Cottingham intended the triple row of niches based on the original fifteenth century reredos to be filled with figures of saints which he had modelled on 'the best authorities in countless Cathedrals', and which resembled the arrangement of niches at Henry VII's Chapel of the same date as Magdalen, but as we saw the models remained in his Museum of Mediaeval Antiquities due to Dr Ellerton's objections to High Church

principles and the niches remained empty until 1865 when figures were supplied by Earp (66). A frieze of angels carrying heraldic shields was allowed however, and an Anunciation and Visitation in the spandrels of the doorways in the eastern end. A carved stone figure group in full relief representing Christ meeting Mary Magdalen 'executed in a most superior manner and under the immediate direction of Mr Chantrey' was placed above the reredos, and a 'splendid High Altar table' was supplied, carved to Cottingham's designs in a 'very select kind of Painswick stone and in the most superior stile of workmanship' (67). A lithograph by C.V. Richardson made after the completion of Cottingham's restoration clearly shows the empty niches in the reredos, Chantrey's figure group above the reredos, a naturalistic scene with palm trees, and the stone carved altar table flanked by brass tripod candlesticks dating from 1858 (Figs.81 & 82) (68). Cottingham's restoration of the mediaeval interior at Magdalen was of great influence on the development of the Gothic Revival. It was visited by architects and antiquaries, admired and written about, and it was also of immediate influence upon contemporary restoration work (69). Cottingham made plans and advised George Gwilt freely at Southwark Cathedral during repairs to the choir in 1832 to 1833 (70) and no doubt encouraged the removal of a wooden altar piece, for the fifteenth century reredos was revealed with only two string courses remaining of the original erected by Bishop Fox in the early sixteenth century. The reredos was restored by Robert Wallace and closely resembled Cottingham's Magdalen, with two tiers of standing figures in canopied niches, friezes and demi-angels, although, as at Magdalen, the images were viewed as Popish and were not inserted until 1907 (Fig.82a) (71). This work at Southwark, a restoration showing concern for the original mediaeval fabric and an attempt to reinstate a reredos of appropriate design reflected Cottingham's efforts to instigate repairs of the Mediaeval that were archaeologically correct, exemplified in his own work at Rochester and now Magdalen.

Cottingham continued his work at Magdalen by removing Wyatt's cusped decoration from the vaulted ceiling, and his despised plaster canopies from the wall ribs and from the stalls. Possibly the reinstatement of an open timber or stone vaulted roof would have been too costly and Wyatt's plaster ceiling was left, but Cottingham

reworked the moulded ribs and corresponding bosses, lengthened timbers and rejoined the vaulting into the new masonry at the Altar end, the whole 'reinstating, washing, stopping, lining and jointing in imitation of the ancient Masonry' (72). Cottingham, in his removal of Wyatt's Gothick plaster ornament, demonstrated his authority as an expert on the Mediaeval, his knowledge of the structure and ornament and the use of materials that were proper to the mediaeval period such as the carved stone and carved wood that he reinstated, a knowledge gained from his detailed antiquarian study of original sources and one that was unusual at this date. Cottingham inserted a new carved organ screen and entrance from the Antechapel, using 'select Painswick stone' with stairs leading to the organ loft in Portland stone (73). In the screen he introduced a string course of a number of grotesque winged figures playing on musical instruments modelled on fifteenth century figures from the nave of Westminster Cathedral (74), again showing his knowledge of appropriate precedents, the whole finely carved with blind quatrefoil tracery, crocketed ogee arches, relief carved ball-flower ornament and an intricately pierced cusped frieze (Fig.83). The organ of course was an intrusion in Mediaeval Churches that had known Plainsong and in many of his works of restoration, for example at Armagh Cathedral in 1834, Cottingham tried to resite the organ in a position where it would detract as little as possible from the beauty of the mediaeval architecture. At Magdalen, Cottingham's solution for the organ, the incorporation of the Chair organ case into the new stonework, is still admired by experts today, and has been described as a unique example of a stone Rückpositiv, a remarkable piece of engineering with cast iron bracing, all cantilevered from a cast iron beam (75). Cottingham's abilities as a structural engineer and his knowledge of materials, in this instance, cast iron, enabled him to achieve a unity of design with the organ case as an integral part of the stone screen (Figs.84 & 85). The treatment of the Great case was left to the organ builder for a College order of 1832 directed that 'Mr Blyth's proposed alterations in the exterior Organ pipes be adopted'. By 1834 the Swarbrick organ was enclosed in Cottingham's finely carved intricate tabernacle work stone Chair case and a rearranged Great case by Blyth (76). For the carved oak choir stalls Cottingham ordered 'the best Riga oak wainscot selected from a stock seasoned for four years',

executed in a 'most superior stile of molded and enriched carved work' and most importantly, Cottingham stated that they should be executed 'from the originals', those remaining examples of the mediaeval stalls that had been spared in the reconstruction of 1635, with blind quatrefoil tracery and foliate carved finials, another example of his intention to create an archaeologically correct revival of the fifteenth century mediaeval work (77).

In the Antechapel Cottingham continued the careful work, giving instructions throughout to retain as much of the original woodwork as possible. The original oak stalls with misericord were restored, 'cutting out all defective plain and carved works, neatly reinstating the same with new Riga wainscot'. The floor was lowered to its original level and relaid with large slabs of Portland paving stones inset with cast iron gratings which were part of the new heating system. The provision of suitable ironwork for church heating systems and the heating arrangements themselves, were concerns that Cottingham had addressed in his *Smith and Founder's Director* of 1823. At Magdalen he removed the heating stove that Buckler had designed and a new stone fireproof boiler house was constructed at the south-west angle of the Chapel with a fire proof roof and a new door 'of ancient pattern' (Fig.86) (78). Cottingham had a concern for 'utility and convenience', but at the same time utility could be made to harmonise with ancient precedent.

The ceiling cornices of the Antechapel were removed, all crumbling plasterwork of the ceiling and walls renewed and the cornices and mouldings replaced. The decayed stonework of all windows and door surrounds were restored throughout the Chapel and Antechapel and slender stone columns with enriched bases, capitals and corbel heads were reinstated between the windows of the choir. The doors, including the Grand Entrance and side doors were cleaned of paint and varnish, had rotten timbers cut away and replaced to the original design, and all dilapidated stonework and timber of the small Vestiary or Chantry Chapel was also restored, 'making use of the old materials where possible', again with the stress on reusing and preserving the ancient remains and with using the original designs as the source for the new (Fig.87). A new recess was designed in the Antechapel to receive the tomb of Richard Patten, father of the Founder on its return from Wainfleet in Lincolnshire but this was eventually placed in the small

chantry to the north of the sanctuary. A water-colour in the Old Library at Magdalen College, attributable to Cottingham, shows an alternative design for this niche set in the south wall by the altar (Figs.88 & 89), the tomb ornamented in the manner of perpendicular Gothic with depressed arch opening, carved spandrels, and cinquefoil headed ogee arches in the blind tracery, set against a wall identical to Cottingham's traceried panelling of the choir. Two figures in academic dress survey the tomb whilst a cleric looks on from the elaborately carved choir stalls (79).

The *Bill of Works* noted the fixing of the candelabra in the choir, gilt-bronze fittings attached to the choir stalls, of single branching stems with quatrefoil decoration and cusped ornament to the rims of the cups. These have been removed but an example can be seen in the Victoria and Albert Museum (80). The *Chapel Account Book* lists a payment to 'Mr Pratt' in 1833 when the furnishings of the Chapel were being completed. It is most likely that this refers to Samuel Pratt of Lower Grosvenor Street, a well-known antiquarian dealer, cabinet-maker and upholsterer, who made furniture and fittings, both ecclesiastical and domestic, to Cottingham's designs over a number of years (81). Cottingham was greatly concerned to provide the finest quality of craftmanship and materials and he relied on Pratt to produce this. A.W.N. Pugin in following Cottingham on this important aspect of his work, also used Pratt and other top quality craftsmen to execute his designs. When the seventeenth century panelling at the east end was taken down, the opening of the little chantry on the north side and two doors in the eastern wall were revealed. These stone door cases and the small chantry screen, intended *to have been repaired and replaced* according to the *Bill of Works*, were in fact removed and new door cases with deeply undercut and intricate carving were prepared 'from the original models'. Ingram wrote that the two doors were not retained as 'the stone did not harmonise with the other stone used in the edifice' (82). They were preserved and reused at the new church at Theale near Reading, where Dr Routh had been rector since 1810 (83). Routh's sister, Mrs Sheppard, commissioned the new church, designed by Edward Garbett, although the President wrote,

> 'either at my suggestion or approval, the several additons external and internal were erected most of them at my suggestion and all after my approval' (84).

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The doors from Magdalen were inserted, one between the Church and the octagonal vestry, the other as a wall arcade beside the font, and the screen was built into a shrine on the north wall of the chancel (85).

The redecoration of the Chapel was followed by a Sale of its former fittings in the stable yard of the College on 14th December 1837. The catalogue was entitled, 'A Catalogue of the Beautiful, Ancient Carved Oak Fitting, Marble floor etc from Magdalen College Chapel, Oxford, (much of the More Modern Work of the celebrated Grinling Gibbons) removed from the Interior of that College Chapel on account of the late Improvements', and listed oak stalls, canopies, desks, panelling, columns, capitals, cornices, carved figures, oak staircase and columns from the organ loft, and 1250 surplus feet of the black and white marble floor. As T.S.R. Boase pointed out, Grinling Gibbons was not associated with any of the Magdalen work and this is an example of the almost generic use of his name (Fig.90) (86).

The interior of Magdalen Chapel has changed little since Cottingham's restoration. The light fittings were replaced with simple metal rods and plain glass light holders. In 1855 a new organ by Gray and Davidson was installed with a case by J.C. Buckler which included 'the old work as far as practicable'. The installation of the organ proved a difficult task, for a bill itemises 'a second choir organ to suit the stone screen, as altered with new movements', and modifications followed in 1866 and 1877-8. Gray and Davidson's organ was recast in 1936, restored again in 1964 and finally removed in September 1985 to St Edmund's School, Oxford. All that remained was Cottingham's stone chair case (87). A new organ built by Mander with a wooden case designed by architect Julian Bicknell was installed in 1986 (Figs.91 & 92) (88). Possibly only John Buckler or his son, John Chessell Buckler whose imprecations enlivened many debates on proposed alterations and whose passion and conviction aided the progress of Gothic at Magdalen, could find words to express the impression created by the new organ case, which towers with overscaled Gothic ornament over Cottingham's finely carved stone Chair case. It only serves by comparison to emphasise the quality of Cottingham's artistry, his knowledge and understanding of Gothic forms and the spirit of the Mediaeval builders.

Cottingham's work at Magdalen was greatly admired. James Ingram wrote in 1837 that,

'though there may be as usual something to condemn there is much more apparently to admire, and whatever opinion may be entertained of the designs and fancies of the architect, it must be gratifying to behold, in aggregate, such accuracy and beauty of execution' (89).

It is hard to imagine what Ingram meant by 'fancies' but the accuracy reflected Cottingham's intention to bring a new standard of archaeological taste and knowledge to works of restoration, and the detail and 'beauty of execution' shown at Magdalen is an embodiment of his *Working Drawings for Gothic Ornament* and a realisation of his instructions to architects in his *Plans etc of Henry VII's Chapel,* to study closely mediaeval precedents. At Magdalen Cottingham brought accuracy to his reinstatement of the fifteenth century Perpendicular Gothic, just as at Rochester he brought his accurate knowledge of the Romanesque and Early English periods to his restoration there, indicating his ability to work with authority in all periods of the Mediaeval, a rare quality in the early decades of the nineteenth century. Surviving sketchbooks of Cottingham's demonstrate his painstaking study of other mediaeval buildings in Oxford in preparation for his work at Magdalen, with architectural details drawn from St John's, Merton, University, Trinity, Magdalen and other Colleges (90). Cottingham's work at Magdalen too showed a sensitive handling of the original fabric of the Chapel, the use of good materials, a desire to restore by mending the decayed parts rather than by total renewal wherever possible, an instruction repeated throughout the *Bill of Works.* J.M. Crook has described the restoration of the Temple Church in 1840 (91), the removal of 'odious Wrenean overlayings of entablatures and fluted urns' (92), as an early landmark in the Gothic Revival, but Cottingham's complete transformation predates that work by eleven years. Importantly too his work predates the Ecclesiologists' principles and those of Pugin in his *True Principles* by some ten years. The undoubted influence of this restoration will be examined in later chapters, but it is significant that Pugin, who was later to infuse the Gothic Revival with his religious fervour, wrote in a letter of 1834, describing his visits to Hereford and Lichfield Cathedrals where 'the villain Wyatt' had been at work.

'At Oxford I was much delighted with the restoration of Magdalen College Chapel by Mr Cottingham which I can only say is one of the most beautiful specimens of modern design that I have ever seen and executed both in wood and stone in the best manner' (93).

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1.4 St Alban's Abbey 1832-33

Cottingham's reputation was further enhanced by his repairs to St Alban's Abbey Church, not only for his scholarly and able work but for his integrity in completing the work at a cost of £5,700, a third of the original estimate (94). Cottingham's dealings with his patrons and his standing in the architectural profession will be considered in later chapters, but he appears throughout as a man of unimpeachable honesty in all matters of finance, of estimating costs and keeping of accounts, a man who always gave of his best efforts in his aim of restoring the despised Mediaeval to its former beauty, even to the extent of working without payment to achieve this end (95). The *Gentleman's Magazine* reported the dilapidated state of the Abbey, 'a matter of grave importance which interests the feelings of antiquaries and architects', and described how, on February 3rd, 1832,

> 'a large portion of the wall of the upper battlement on the south west side fell on the roof below with such weight that it drove in the leads and timber and everything in its way, into the south aisle of the building'

It fell in two masses at an interval of five minutes and 'so great was the concussion that the inhabitants of near houses described it as resembling loudest thunder'. The writer called for active exertions to create a fund for its repair before 'this matchless monument, admirable for the sublimity of its design would be numbered in the ruins daily crumbling to dust' (96). J.C. Buckler illustrated this event in a watercolour drawing entitled 'South Aisle of the Nave of St Alban's Abbey as it appeared in June 1832', a melancholy picture which underlined St Alban's long history of increasing dilapidation through lack of funds and general neglect and was also a reminder of the Abbey's long and eventful history (Figs.93 & 94). The Abbey had grown from a shrine on the site of St Alban's Martyrdom outside the Roman city of Verulanium and reflected every development of architectural style from the great Norman crossing and transept of Abbot Paul de Caen begun in 1077 to the Early English nave of Abbot John of Cella, the Decorated work of the fourteenth century, and Perpendicular additions by Abbot John of Wheathamstead in the fifteenth century (97). Cottingham described St Alban's as,

> 'the very Alphabet and Grammar of English Architecture, containing the grammar of an art which the genius of a Jones, a

Wren, and a Kent failed to imitate, but whose praises a Chaucer, a
Shakespeare, a Milton and a Scott delighted to sing...' (98).

In this description of English medieval architecture Cottingham was
alluding to the fact that architects before had no concern for the
Mediaeval, even such great architects as Jones, Wren and Kent had
failed to understand the qualities of Gothic architecture. Cottingham in
this idea was echoing Horace Walpole who, although he spoke of the
'unrestrained licentiousness of that which is called Gothic', wrote in
criticism of the Gothic of Jones, Wren and Kent, and then asked, 'Is an
art despicable in which a great master cannot shine?' (99). Cottingham
however went further by saying that by contrast the poets and writers
had appreciated the Mediaeval, and there is no doubt that he saw
himself doing for the Medieval in architecture what the poets had done
for it in literature.

At St Alban's, Abbot John's alterations of 1420 to 1440, which included
new transept windows, a great west window and a chapel to the south of
the feretory, were barely completed when the Abbey suffered damage
during the Wars of the Roses. After the Battle of St Alban's in 1461 the
victorious Lancastrian troops, 'little better than barbarians', rampaged
through the town and ravaged and plundered the Abbey. Abbot John,
hitherto a strong Lancastrain supporter changed sides at this
treatment and became a staunch Yorkist. A year later he was to plead
unsuccessfully for funds to repair the Abbey. Further disasters
occurred at the time of the dissolution of the monasteries. The fortieth
and last Abbot surrendered the Abbey to Henry VIII in 1539, he and his
monks receiving pensions as compensation. In 1540 The King granted
to Sir Richard Lee, an official of the Royal Works, the monastic
buildings which were immediately destroyed for building materials,
though the Church remained in the possession of the Crown until 1553.
The Mayor of St Alban's purchased the church for £400 when it became
a parochial church and the town obtained a Charter from Edward VII
empowering them to erect a Grammar School within the Lady Chapel
and the retrochoir. The chapel of St Andrew was pulled down, the
arches at the east end of the presbytery were walled up, shutting off the
School, and a public footpath made through the west bay of the
ambulatory, and a steeply gabled porch was built at the north end of
the passage (100). Repairs were carried out at infrequent intervals.

When James I visited St Alban's in 1612 a sum of £2,000 was raised. By 1720 the building was in a serious state of disrepair and money was collected to restore the ceilings and a legacy was used to repair the nave and block up the west end of the aisles with brick walls (101). Between 1721 and 1724 when Nicholas Hawksmoor was called in to advise, several thousand pounds were spent and in an engraving of an Abbey to raise subscriptions Hawksmoor wrote, 'support this Venerable pile from being Martyred by ye Neglect of a slothfull generation' (102), a sentiment echoed two hundred years later by Cottingham, in his engraving to raise funds. Very little was spent after 1724, as an early eighteenth century historian of Herefordshire remarked, 'this noble Fabric, hath, since it became a Parish Church, wanted its Abbot's Zeale and Purse too for repairs'. Lewis Wyatt was called in to survey the Abbey in 1818 and again in 1827, and found the fabric in such a ruinous state that his estimate for repairs and 'improvements' amounted to an impossible £30,000 (103). Nothing was done and it comes to us as no surprise that the nave roof finally collapsed in 1832.

Cottingham, 'the able and learned restorer of Rochester Cathedral and St Magdalen's Chapel Oxford', was immediately summoned to make a report (104). Previous reports of 1818, 1827 and the opinions of an unnamed architect in 1832 had advised the total removal of the nave transepts and side aisles roofs, removal of the spire, total renewing of fifty-one windows, taking down and rebuilding the clerestorey and other such drastic measures (105). At a public meeting it was stated that a restoration could not be carried out for less than £15,000. The *British Magazine* commented on this in an article on 'Repairing and Restoring our ancient Buildings',

> 'An appeal was made to the public upon the report of a gentleman utterly unknown to them as having any knowledge of the ancient Architecture of this country... a wiser course is to resort to the advice of three or four of those architects who are known to the world as having made ancient buildings their study...' (106).

The report and estimate were unacceptable and Cottingham was then called in to make a survey. G G Scott in his *Personal and Professional Recollections* wrote that the nave roof had been declared unsafe and would have met with a similar fate as the nave of St. Saviour's Southwark,

> 'but another architect, Mr Cottingham, let us give him all praise for the act, offered to guarantee the safety of the roof and to give his

services gratuitously to save it, which he effected by inserting cast-iron shoes to the decayed beam-ends' (107).

Cottingham's passion for the mediaeval architecture of this country was such that at many times throughout his career he gave his services free to save threatened structures by undertaking immediate skillful repair work without thought of the cost to himself.

The writer in the *British Magazine* however, disapproved of the Committee accepting Cottingham's offer,

'it is for the mean consideration of saving their own pockets that these noblemen and gentlemen have condescended to accept Mr Cottingham's time and services, which by doing so they are putting themselves under an obligation to him, by taking from him, for their own benefit, so much of the means by which he supports himself and his family' (108).

Nevertheless, Cottingham reported that after a minute survey at the request of the subscribers he found the foundation walls and main arches in a substantial enough state to last for centuries, with only trifling repair, but the roofs of the north and south transepts and the east end of the nave were insecure, the ends of many main timbers were so rotten that they had lost 'the geometrical bond and dependence on the walls', and the great window of the south transept and several minor windows were in a ruinous state (109). He advocated the removal of the spire, the sixteenth centure 'Hertfordshire spike', in order to relieve weight and wind pressure on the Norman crossing tower. Cottingham's friends John Gage and William Twopenny from the Society of Antiquaries had also visited the Abbey and examined the extent of the damage, and corroborating Cottingham's findings, noted that,

'the other parts most in decay are the roofs of the transept and tower, which being built in brick and tile in the circular style are the most interesting parts to lovers of architecture'. (110).

Cottingham's estimate for the work was £5,700, of which £2000 had been subscribed, leaving £3.700 to be collected. Cottingham prepared an engraving for subscribers to the appeal, dedicated to the Earl of Verulam the Viscount Grimson, showing,

'the lantern of the Great Norman Tower, now restored, the Choir of Edward III and the magnificent Altar screen of Henry VII, Wheathamsteads' Monument, and the splendid entrance of the Cloisters' (Fig.95).

Cottingham's antiquarian knowledge of every development in the architecture of the mediaeval period was again brought to bear in his work at St Alban's, enabling him to restore with archaeological

accuracy, the Romanesque tower, the fourtenth century choir and the fifteenth century Altar screen close in style to his newly restored reredos at Magdalen and at Southwark. He went on, 'the figures introduced are in the costume of the fifteenth century and may be supposed to represent one of the Royal Visits soon after the completion of the Altar'. He felt that his print gave but a faint idea of 'the rich and boundless variety in every gradation of style which composes this truly magnificent structure', but he trusted that enough was shown to excite the feelings of all admirers of ancient architecture to contribute 'their mites towards its preservation'. He went on to say that he had found no cause to suppose that the estimate would be exceeded,

> 'in which opinion we have the concurring testimony of Mr Savage, an Architect also eminently conversant in the construction of Gothic buildings...' (111).

Cottingham carried out his structural repairs as specified, beginning with the collapsed roof, and then the nave where his ingenious method of using cast-iron shoes to replace the decayed beam-ends saved a total removal and renewal of the roof. The large window of the south transept blown in during the great storm of 1703 and replaced with wooden frames, and John of Wheathampstead's badly decayed west window of 1401, were also repaired (Fig.96). The progress of the work was again reported in the *British Magazine*,

> 'It may be stated as an interesting fact that Mr Cottingham in making repairs to the nave, opened twenty windows in that part of the building which had been rudely closed with common brickwork, probably since the days of Cromwell...
> The flood of light thrown into the Church by this restroation has an effect indescribably beautiful' (112).

Again Cottingham's concern was not simply to repair the structure through his engineering abilities and knowledge of Gothic construction, but to undo the bad restoration work of previous times and restore the beauty and effect of the original architecture.

The financial constraints allowed only the most crucial repairs, for although Cottingham unblocked twenty windows, early photographs taken before the restoration of 1870 showed the east and north east windows of the Lady Chapel 'slated up whilst used as a grammar school', and the south east aisle of Saint's Chapel bricked up with an iron grating looking into the Chapel (Figs.97 & 98) (113).

A comparison of St Alban's as Cottingham left it and its appearance after the restoration of G.G. Scott and Emund Beckett, later Lord

Grimthorpe, clearly demonstrates Cottingham's ability as a sensitive restorer, one who could combine antiquarian knowledge and technical skill to do only what was necessary to save the building. The anonymous writer in the *British Magazine* who questioned the Committee's choice of architect, anticipated Ruskin and Morris when he wrote,

> 'No greater disaster can happen to an ancient building than that those who have its custody should, if they have ample funds, let loose a spirit of repair and restoration upon it...'

The writer was fearful lest the Dean and Chapter should

> 'cause such a visitation of restoration to be inflicted upon it that it would stand transformed as a complete specimen of nineteenth century work...' (114).

At St Alban's, G.G. Scott was in charge of works from 1856 to 1877. The restoration began with necessary repairs to save the tower, reface the Lady Chapel and renew clerestorey windows, but by 1876 the West front, with Abbot John's fine window, repaired by Cottingham, its flat battlemented roofs, buttresses, and groined entrance porch, so sensitively drawn by J.C. Buckler in 1832, was being dismantled (115). Lord Grimthorpe, wealthy patron and amateur architect, continued the restoration after Scott's death, and his 'ample funds', amounting to nearly a quarter of a million pounds, ensured that St Alban's still stands today, but left it utterly transformed by the depredations of unenlightened nineteenth century restoration (Figs.99 & 100).

1.5   Armagh Cathedral 1834-1841

Cottingham began work at the Cathedral Church of Saint Patrick in 1834, work that was to continue for seven years. Armagh Cathedral had suffered a tempestuous history from the time St Patrick established a church and school in 445 upon the hill top called Ard-Macha, repeatedly sacked, burnt, pillaged, left roofless to ruin and repeatedly rebuilt throughout the centuries until the repairs of the early nineteenth century carried out by Archbishop Stuart in 1802 (Fig.101) (See Appendix 3) (116).

In 1834 Archbishop Lord John George Beresford began a complete restoration of the crumbling fabric employing Cottingham to undertake the work. By this time Cottingham's reputation was such that in writing of Armagh, the *Ecclesiologist* described him as 'the most eminent ecclesiological architect of the day who had carried out the

costly restoration of Magdalen Chapel' (117). It is through contemporary reporting in the *Ecclesiologist* and other journals, remaining drawings of Cottingham's, and letters from Cottingham, Dean Jackson and Lord Beresford himself, and from an architect's report of 1886, that a clear picture of Cottingham's restoration of Armagh can, for the first time, emerge.

A report in the *Ecclesiologist* described the ruinous state of the Cathedral. The tower severely weakened by Primate Robinson's building works of 1765, was in danger of collapse, the walls above the pillars leaned two feet out of perpendicular and the traceried windows had perished. The *Ecclesiologist* also noted the 'ecclesiological ignorance' of former times, when the choir had been walled off from the rest of the church and left to dilapidate, ordinary services being said in the nave, the altar placed against the west door, the building crammed with pews, the Lay Vicars were placed in a gallery and the Chapters and Priest Vicars in one large pew.

An Architect's Report by Carpenter and Bigelow of 1886 referred to Cottingham's drawings, and plans of the church as he found it in 1834. On the basis of his minute survey Cottingham had made a plan which showed the development of the building from O'Scannail's work in 1261 through the different periods of extension and alteration, noting the ruins of the old parish church, the site of the round tower which was destroyed in the storm of 1121, arches blocked up, and his own discovery of lancets in the side walls of the transepts similar to the three lancets over the west doorway (118). Carpenter and Bigelow noted the accuracy of Cottingham's work, his meticulous archaeological survey recording every stage of the architectural developments, his understanding of the history, and the correctness of his plans and drawings,

> 'By the inspection of the very valuable drawings made by Mr Cottingham, not only for the proposed works but also some of the plans of the church as he found it in 1834, one is clearly able to identify the several periods at which alterations were carried out from the 13th century to present time...' (Figs.102 & 103).

Cottingham's drawings showed that the walls were very much dilapidated and were bulging outwards requiring semi-circular arches on the south side as supports. The south arcade wall was twenty-one inches and the north arcade seven inches out of perpendicular so that

the roofs had to be fitted to the walls (119). The tower too was in need of
major repair. Primate Robinson in 1782 had decided to build a tower of
one hundred feet, like that of Magdalen College Oxford, but when it
reached sixty feet the tower piers showed signs of giving (120). The
arches were reinforced and additional buttresses built, and the work
would have gone on, 'but for the fears of some old ladies, out of respect
for whom the Primate pulled down the whole tower' (121). Francis
Johnston in 1786 erected a copy of the original tower, introducing two
instead of one window in each face, and crowning it with a low spire.
Cottingham, in 1834, 'brought his skills as an innovative engineer' to
bear on the problem of the tower. The *Architectural Magazine* described
how the vast superstructure, weighing 4,000 tons, was supported
during the relaying of the foundations of the piers without a single
stone being removed from the upper part of the immense tower, 'by
means of some very ingenious mechanism invented by Mr Cottingham'
(122). The model of the contrivance was apparently to be seen in the
office of the Clerk of Works, Mr Smith (123). Great interest was aroused
at Cottingham's 'bold mechanical skill', and reports of his 'singular
operations' in shoring up the tower and straightening the nave walls
were published in several journals with promises of 'figures of the
modes of proceeding' (124). Carpenter and Bigelow wrote in 1886,

> 'It is to be wished that we could have the lost drawings and model of
> his clever shoring, showing the means by which he carried the
> belfry stage when he took out and rebuilt the piers and arches under
> it'.

Carpenter and Bigelow again expressed their admiration of
Cottingham's abilities as a structural engineer, suggesting that in fact,
practising architects though they were, and 50 years on from
Cottingham's day, without his drawings and models they did not know
how he had achieved it.

The corner stone of the south west pier was laid on May 21st 1834 by
the Right Reverend Dean Jackson with much ceremony, and according
to the drawings, Cottingham took the general proportions of the north
arch of the tower as his guide, formed a similar one on the south and
opened out wider arches on the west and east sides in place of the old
irregular ones. The piers and arches were solidly built and the
architects report noted 'that we cannot but admire the stable character
of the work' (125) Cottingham reduced the superincumbent weight as far

as he could by taking down the spire which was not replaced although drawings were made for its reinstatement. He did not alter the Early English design of the tower, keeping two windows of two lights in each face and a battlemented parapet, but he had alternative designs for a tower with an upper stage and pinnacles, evidently inspired by St Mary's, Southwark, which was not used (Fig.104) (126). Cottingham continued the structural repairs by pulling the arcade walls upright without resorting to rebuilding by means of the contraction of iron bars, bolted and heated in successive operations, a technique he was to use again later at Market Weston Church and the Norman Tower of Bury St Edmund's in Suffolk. The small deeply recessed clerestorey had been bricked up and Cottingham renewed the pointed two light windows with flowing tracery. The aisle windows whose fifteenth century tracery had been removed in 1765, were being renewed to a design of Cottingham's when he discovered fragments of the windows broken up and buried. The new windows were abandoned and he redesigned them following the pattern of the original windows (Figs.106-108) (127). The *Ecclesiologist* noted that Cottingham's instructions to make the restoration archaeologically correct were most precise, but, the reviewer continued,

> 'it is a subject of great regret and criticism that Cottingham did not preserve the west doorway with its richly moulded and cusped arch, canopied niches on either side and pinnacles which filled the space up to the lancet windows'.

It is some vindication of Cottingham as an antiquary and preservationist to discover that in fact his first set of designs described by Carpenter as 'conservative', showed precisely his intention to preserve such features as the west doorway and the original buttresses. Carpenter, who had the benefit of studying all Cottingham's drawings and plans wrote,

> 'Indeed there are two designs of his which show the retention and restoration of this doorway and its side niches, but he was over-ruled for the present doorway and plain ashlar stonework took the place of the old rich work...' (128).

Cottingham had hoped to retain other features of the earlier fabric but again was over-ruled,

> 'for some such reason also the fine and bold buttresses at the west end were removed in order to make way for the present buttressed pinnacles though Cottingham retained them in his first design.' (129).

However, the aisle buttresses, gables and finials were all modelled to the ancient designs, and again, in the chancel with its fourteenth century window openings Cottingham adopted this period,

'designing admirable windows and buttresses in this style, following fine ancient precedents in his details' (Figs.112 & 113).

In the transepts Cottingham respected the evidence of different periods, retaining the two Early English lancets in the west and east sides of the north transept discovered on the removal of plaster, and the single broader lancet in the east side of the south transept, while their end windows were of Decorated Gothic of three lights, the mullions of the south window intersecting (Figs.114-117). The roofs of the nave, transepts and aisles were all restored, described in Carpenter's report of 1886 as,

'the strong and efficient system of Cottingham's with triangular bracing by iron bars one and a half inches square, bolted to each other to butt ends of the tie beams' (130).

The flattened coved ceiling of the nave, dating from Archbishop Margetson's restoration of 1664 was panelled with mouldings and bosses of Tudor design, the flat aisle roofs treated in the same way and the lantern roof panelled and decorated with armorials. Again we have clear evidence of Cottingham's working methods, concern for archaeological correctness, attempts to preserve as much of the old work as possible, and particularly his use of iron, not to replace the mediaeval materials as Rickman used it in his churches of the early decades of the nineteenth century, but as a strengthener to avoid demolition of crumbling stonework and rotting timber, scientifically used as iron casings for beams, bracing and tying, and for pulling walls upright without rebuilding.

Two designs were prepared for the choir, one for lengthening it by thirty feet. Cottingham wrote to Dean Jackson in September 1834 that as Archbishop Beresford 'had hinted something about lengthening the choir' he had prepared,

'a model of the Cathedral restored according to the present plan, accompanied with a shifting piece to show the effect of the proposed addition' (131).

Financial constraints were such that the idea was abandoned and the east wall was rebuilt following the old design in line with the ancient parish church. One bay of the five bays of the nave was used to lengthen the ritual choir, separated from the nave by Cottingham's finely carved

solid stone screen placed between the opposite pillars of the easternmost bay. In lengthening the choir and erecting a choir screen Cottingham, at this early date of 1834, was a clear leader in the moves to reinstate fully the whole architectural form and the liturgical arrangements of the mediaeval church, ideas to be taken up forcefully by A.W.N.Pugin in his building of new Roman Catholic churches and by the Ecclesiologists in their demands for church structure, furnishings and liturgy in the Anglican churches.

One of Cottingham's designs for the screen shows simple trefoil tracery with a traceried door within a cusped arch (Fig.118), but the screen as built was more elaborate with deeply panelled canopied niches, coats of arms in the spandrils of the doors, a frieze of fruiting vines and surmounted by a pierced cusped cornice (Fig.119). The walls of the chancel were panelled in stone, the altar richly panelled and buttressed and emblazoned with the monogram, and behind, a reredos of elaborate canopied niches above a band of blind quatrefoils and a frieze of joyful angels similar to those on the reredos at Magdalen College Chapel (Figs.120-122). Once again as at Magdalen, a controversy surrounded the introduction of figures to the niches. Cottingham had made an etching of the proposed alteration to the Cathedral, 'View of the Interior of the Choir of the Catherdal Church of Saint Patrick now in Progress of Restoration', dedicated to Lord J.G.Beresford, the Primate of All Ireland. The prints by Hulmandel were ready for circulation by September of 1834 (132), and in this view Cottingham showed the stone panelled choir, altar, reredos with figures, and on either side of the east window he included elaborate canopied niches containing full sized statues (Fig.123). Objections were made to these figures in a letter from Dean Jackson to the Lord Primate.

> 'Several things have made their appearance out of the cases unopened when your Grace left us which were not ordered - for instance, two large figures of Saint Peter and Saint Paul in the niches on each side of the East window and a row of angels in the smaller niches over the communion table...'.

The Dean although worried about increasing costs, added, despite himself,

> 'The effect of the figures is good - they are in the original drawing...'
> (133).

Attitudes hardened and a week later the Dean wrote to assure the Lord Primate that Cottingham had been informed of His Grace's

'determination not to use them, as not having been ordered by us'. Unlike Magdalen, the figures were disapproved of not on ecclesiological grounds but on financial considerations. The Dean continued,

> 'Cottingham's answer was that he much regretted it as they formed legitimate and almost necessary decoration in harmony with the other parts of the interior and that the two apostles filling the larger niches, and the angels were in the original lithograph, and, as he conceived, had been approved...'

Cottingham, in insisting that the figures were 'legitimate' and 'necessary' to his designs, was relating his work of restoration to mediaeval precedents known to him. In his 'Observations on Mediaeval Architecture' of 1822 he described the '2nd class' of Gothic, 1272 to 1377, as having 'niches with statues in profusion', and giving examples at Heckington, York, Beverley, Ely, Worcester and Lichfield.

The Dean, torn between his duty to uphold the Primate's instructions and his admiration for Cottingham's work, added persuasively,

> 'The effect of these is certainly good, as breaking the uniformity of the Eastern wall. Cottingham begged that they might not be removed until Your Grace had seen them, and then if condemned he would take them back at his own cost...'.

The Dean made a last attempt to save the figures, adding,

> 'The cost of the two larger figures is only each that of the sum of 35/- ...' (134).

The row of angels in the niches remained but the apostles and their niches were removed. They may have found a place in Cottingham's Museum though they were not listed in the Sale, or they were reused in another work of restoration at a later date. Indeed there may have been some unspecified ecclesiological grounds for rejecting the larger figures for later in 1845, The *Ecclesiologist* in writing a review of a publication by the Oxford Architectural Society of *Designs for Chapels in the Norman and Gothic Styles by Various Architects*, strongly criticised a design by Stephen Lewin saying, 'Open niches, with statues of S Peter and S Paul are the last thing we should desire to see...' (135).

Cottingham made three designs for the carved oak Bishop's throne and existing drawings show details of the spandrils and arch mouldings at the back of the throne, a side view of the second design, plans of the canopy, details of mouldings, elevations and plans of the throne steps and ceiling. Two of the drawings inscribed 'Armorial Bearings on the Panel at the back of the Throne', depict the arms of the Lord Primate, Lord Beresford. The shield is held by four winged angels with crowns

and flowing locks. The angels, well-rounded and of sweet expression present a most un-Gothic appearance and are unmistakably a product of the nineteenth century (Figs. 124 & 125). The throne depicted in Cottingham's lithograph has a canopy with cinquefoil pointed sides and elaborate crocketed finials, but the throne actually made relates closely to the second design which has a square canopy pierced with trefoils and a cusped and crocketed cornice. The pulpit was of carved stone of polygonal form with blind tracery and a canopy, the throne and pulpit facing each other against the north east and south east angles of the crossing. A photograph of the Choir looking West, taken before the alterations of 1888 shows Cottingham's interior intact with the screen, pulpit, throne and his carved oak stalls with pierced quatrefoils and foliate carved finials (Figs.126, 127 128). Cottingham wrote in 1835 that he was engaged in making a complete model of the fittings of the Choir and needed to know the exact number of stalls required and the Latin inscription to be put on the back panel of each (136). Other decorations shown clearly in Cottingham's print and the photograph of 1888 were carved stone angels at the angles of the crossing, bearing shields. Cottingham wrote in November 1834,

> 'Having completed the eight angel corbels and shields for the great aisle of the Tower I am now having armorial bearings painted and gilded on the same...'

He proposed the arms of the City of Armagh, those of the Dean and the Lord Primate, and those of leading subscribers and local nobility, Lord Caledon, Lord Charlemond and Sir Thomas Molineux (137). The font, standing 'properly in the most western bay to the south and side under the arch' according to the *Ecclesiologist*, was modelled on the remains of an octagonal fourteenth century font discovered in 1805 in the burial ground of a Mr Lee, seven feet deep, at the north west corner of the west entrance. E.Rogers, writing in 1888, noted that it was previously supposed to be part of a sepulchral pillar,

> 'but Mr Cottingham, with that knowledge of ecclesiastical archaeology which he was well known to possess at one glance knew the object for what it was intended, sent it to London and from it designed the present baptismal font. The original stone was retained in Mr Cottingham's Museum' (Fig.129) (138).

Other fragments of the font are preserved in Armagh Museum (139).

Here is evidence once again of Cottingham's authority and fame in his

own time as an expert on the Mediaeval, and evidence of the lengths to which he went to obtain archaeological correctness in every particular. Cottingham made other important discoveries during his restoration work. The *Gentleman's Magazine* reported that he had discovered 'beneath the present edifice', the original cryptic structure of the ancient cathedral'(140). The crypt, restored by Cottingham and given a new door at the east end is sixty feet by twenty four feet, supported by ten massive octagonal columns which Cottingham attributed to Archbishop Robinson's restoration of 1765. The crypt was used in 1834 for burying remains disturbed during the works of rebuilding and also 'specimens of art', the scattered remains of monuments destroyed at earlier times, were deposited there for preservation. In 1888 they lay 'covered in dust' (141). In 1988, the remains of carved stone angels playing musical instruments and foliated capitals still lie covered in dust only now are added to the relics the remnants of Cottingham's carved oak stalls (Figs.130 & 131). Cottingham also discovered a stone sculpture in a cavity near the foot of the choir rafters. According to Rogers the sculpture, attributed to the seventh century, depicted Saint Peter with his crozier in a compartment surmounted by shamrocks and Saint Peter with the keys in another surmounted by cocks. The *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1834 referred to a large slab of marble on which were engraved the effigies of Saint Peter and Saint Patrick, 'a very early work of art', and Paterson and Davies suggested that two busts now in Belfast Museum might be the figures of Ss Peter and Patrick, but 'the fate of these statues is unknown' (142). Remains of 'the ancient screen where the high altar stood', parts of 'highly ornamented windows' which Cottingham used as a model, shafts and octagonal columns, and fragments of heraldic shields were discovered in making the excavations to secure the foundations of the Cathedral (143). There is no direct attribution in the *Sale Catalogue* of Cottingham's Museum for the remains of the font, reputedly kept by him, nor for figures of Saint Peter and Saint Patrick, but listed as lots 190 and 214 were 'two busts of male figures' and 'a winged monkey playing a musical instrument from the choir screen at Armagh', and lot 216, 'two Norman and one Early English stone capitals from Armagh Cathedral'. Many fragments, statues, capitals and other pieces of ancient stone have appeared in gardens throughout Armagh, suggesting that they were

carried away at various times during the Cathedral's many restorations or stages of extreme dilapidation, a widespread practice, at variance with the suggestion that Cottingham as one of the nineteenth century vandals, 'succeeded in scattering much of the older work' (144). Cottingham as we have seen took pains to preserve examples of mediaeval work, or to reuse the old remains wherever possible. For instance, in a letter to the Lord Primate, Dean Jackson wrote,

> 'a door case for the north transept has been also put together out of the mass of stonework lying in the north transept. The putting up of this Cottingham says will cost nothing but a few days labour... He proposed to insert it without leave unless I positively forbade it. I did forbid it on the feeling, however, that as it lies there prepared we have no alternative but to make use of it...' (145).

In addition to the early lancets revealed on the removal of plaster, windows 'covered by the bad taste of a later day', Cottingham found corbels with 'different emblematic figures in stone', and on examining the pillars of the arches between the south aisles and the nave that were leaning out of perpendicular, 'clustered columns of a light and elegant foundation were found under the clumsy covering ignorantly adopted to give them support'. Cottingham used the design as a model in his renewed columns and preserved two of the columns which supported the arches at the west entrance (146).

The carving of the stone for the decorative work in the Cathedral was executed under Cottingham's supervision in London and shipped in large consignments from the Port of London to Lisles Wharf at Newry and thence to a wharf at Blackwater, five miles from Armagh. He wrote to the Dean in September 1834, 'having prepared upwards of 150 tons of stonework we shall commence shipping', November saw 60 tons of carved stone despatched, and in January 1835, a ship was laden with '74 cases containing 74 tons of wrought stone', the cargo insured for £1000 (147). The same month Cottingham suggested for the Lord Primate's approval,

> 'the opening of the Stone Quarry at his Grace's estate near the aqueduct...as it is necessary that some arrangement should be immediately made in order to ensure a supply of stone for carrying on the works without subjecting you to the gross impositions which have been attempted by Garrett and others. Smith (Clerk of Works), informs me there is a quarry of good stone about two miles from Armagh which can be obtained at a price much below that which you have hitherto been supplied...' (148).

The red sandstone was used for the major part of the rebuilding. Cottingham's first set of designs, preserving the old fabric wherever possible had been overruled, and the Cathedral was totally refaced. The correspondence between Cottingham, Dean Jackson, the Lord Primate himself, and his two agents Mr Paton and Mr Jones show however that when difficulties arose over certain areas of the work, such as the glazing of the windows, interior fittings, the siting and rebuilding of the organ, Cottingham resolutely stood firm, absolutely insisting on the integrity of his original design, the materials used, the quality of construction, and the value of his judgement over all other considerations. Most of the problems arose over the financing of the work, lack of payments to Cottingham, and attempts to cut corners and compromise the quality of the restoration.

The raising of funds to restore the Cathedral had begun in 1830 and by 1831 the Dean wrote that the repairs would be so considerable that it required calling the Chapter together (149). By April 1834 the Dean was writing about the 'instability of the tower' and hoping 'that the sum we may rely on will at any rate complete the choir and I should reluctantly abandon the most approved design of restoration'. No other references or archive material concerning a competition for the restoration of the Cathedral have come to light, but the Dean, in a letter to the Lord Primate commented,

> 'Mr Cottingham has made the best plan he could and if two, three or four hundred pounds be all the difference between what is excellent and what is only passable, your Grace's donation makes it imperative to adopt the most suitable design, although by a few hundred pounds the most expensive. After a gift of £8000 I will never consent that you should contribute a single additional shilling to the restoration of the choir - the rest is with us...' (150).

By 1836 further works were in hand and Cottingham made an estimate for the repairs in the south transept, the roofing of the nave and transepts, the insertion of eight clerestorey windows and ten new Gothic windows and their glazing, the pulpit, and 'works dependent on the whole', amounting to £2,743. The Lord Primate agreed that the works were 'absolutely necessary' and Cottingham was authorised to proceed. By April 1836, £11,434 had been expended and a further £3,505 was required for workmen's wages in London (151). Clearly the Dean was in the difficult position of explaining the escalating expenditure to the Lord Primate who complained from a distance and

who was supplying the additional funds, at the same time trying to raise money from subscribers in arrears, and allowing small payments to Cottingham at infrequent intervals. Cottingham's letters from 1834 onwards were filled with requests for money. For example, in September he wrote that,

> 'the works performing in London will amount to £1500. I have received £600, the labour being £50 per week and having agreed prompt payment with the stone merchant is putting me to some little inconvenience'.

The Dean noted, that in his opinion 'the remittance ought to be sent' (152). By March 1837 Cottingham was writing that he had sent a considerable amount of works and materials to the Cathedral in the previous eighteen months without any remittance and he was in dire financial straits (153). The Primate's agents Mr Paton and Mr Jones were despatched to Armagh to assist Dean Jackson who wrote in several letters,

> 'I heartily wish your Grace were here to assist in the many questions that are continually arising...'

Paton and Jones were instructed to investigate the expenditure on labour and materials supplied, for any signs of fraud, unnecessary expenditure, and even embezzlement. Paton could find no irregularities whatsoever,

> 'Checked Mr Cottingham's vouchers - I find them all regular and correct, quantities and prices of all stone and other materials... We can trust to Mr Cottingham's character for the correctness in all respects' (154).

Jones carried out his brief in an overzealous and even vindictive manner, writing in June of 1837,

> 'Watching Mr Cottingham - he is not permitted to move a stone without leave, Paton reviews his work four times every day...
> He will not be allowed to play any tricks, although he made several attempts to get at the north transept and also at the buttresses...' (155).

Complaints that excess expenditure had been allowed to escalate without regular accounting were made to Cottingham. Dean Jackson relayed Cottingham's reply to the Lord Primate,

> 'that "no expense had been incurred but what was absolutely necessary for the security of the fabric and its decent renovation". I observed that we would not have meddled with the south transept and at any rate would not have inserted the window had his account been finished sooner. His answer was that we could not have done without the light gained, that we could not have placed the organ near the screen without destroying the whole effect, the side walls of the south transept were in a most dangerous state and the relaying of the foundations of imperative necessity, that the works of

ornament are not more costly that the plainest and most unsuitable if executed by a contractor...'.

The Dean continued that Cottingham was quiet in his manner,
'and to hear him one should believe him to be only zealous for our interest, he takes a pleasure which I believe to be sincerely expressed in the general success of his work...' (156).

Cottingham's patience however was severely tested and Jones reported that,
'this was the day he was supposed to give the estimates and when the Dean asked for them he flew into a rage... I shall not be surprised if this does not lead to a riddance of him. He talked of having done with us. I have urged the Dean to take him at his word. I'm not sure he will follow my advice...' (157).

By July 1837, Cottingham was ill, suffering from a nervous affliction proceeding from want of sleep and agitation of the spirits'. The Dean, a worthy a fair man, wrote anxiously to the Lord Primate,
'I trust we have not been the cause of his indisposition... Your Grace enquires what has he been about so long. I can say that he has been almost constantly superintending the work during the day and great progress has been made' (158).

The Dean further pointed out that Cottingham was not legally bound to an estimate. It was a professional opinion and if the matter were referred to other opinions they would say the work constituted good value for money The excess could be accounted for by the perilous state of the building which could not have entered into a calculation, and,
'the matter of expense may be a just subject of complaint as between us and Mr Cottingham as to the ornamental parts with the introduction of which in the known state of our resources Your Grace is justly offended. I would suggest that after all they form no very serious item of expenditure... The far greater part of the work has been executed under our eye, much of it for the security of the fabric, and for the large sum of wages paid by Cottingham in London there are regular weekly dockets certified by the Clerk of Works. For materials, regular accounts and vouchers for payments are produced. As to the solidity of the work and the style of the restoration there is ground of high praise instead of censure...' (159).

Paton confirmed the reasonableness and integrity of all accounts and said, 'Nothing could be more beautiful than the far greater part of the works at the Cathedral exhibits nor better executed', and in answer to Jones' anxiety to get rid of Cottingham, Paton continued,
'I should be afraid to run the risk of changing the architect for fear of someone not possessed of the same skill who might mar the beauty of the whole by some slight deviation from the proper order in following up the design to completion' (160).

By the end of July 1837 Cottingham gave acceptable estimates for further works to the sum of £4,354. In 1841 £3,706 was expended and

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by 1842 the total amount contributed to the restoration by Lord Beresford, the Lord Primate, was £24,000.

Cottingham had strongly resisted attempts to reduce costs by substitution of inferior materials. A controversy arose over the lead glazing for the windows. Cottingham wrote to the Dean that he had received a letter from the Lord Primate saying that lead glazing had arrived 'without his order or approbation' and that he had been informed on all hands 'that cast metal frames are in every respect to be preferred and are in general use'. The Lord Primate had requested estimates for armorial windows for the side windows to the east end in March 1836. These had proved too expensive and instead Cottingham suggested 'the ancient mode of quarry glazing with plain lights' to which his Grace agreed. The amended specification then read. 'to glaze all windows in the ancient manner and insert iron saddle bars for securing same with copper bands'. He had described the process to the Lord Primate, explaining how it required skillful workmanship and time, 'a mechanical description which had escaped his Grace's recollection'. Cottingham then asserted that the cast metal frames would be more expensive than lead lights, requiring many moulds to be made to fit the different apertures of the window and were no stronger than lead lights - 'I have seen many thousand feet of it remaining in our Cathedrals four or five hundred years old...' (161). On this occasion Cottingham over-ruled the Lord Primate with the sheer weight of his authority as the most knowledgeable ecclesiastical archaeologist of his day.

The question of heating the Cathedral was also dealt with firmly by Cottingham. The Dean wrote that 'in the construction of the boiler and position of the pipes Cottingham assures us there is more nicety required than we apprehend', and added dryly, 'His distrust of Irish undertakers is perhaps not unfounded' (162). The Dean continued,

> 'He entreats us not to adopt any scheme as yet untried on a large scale, and much depends on the laying of the pipes and pipes of four inches alone are suitable. Your Grace may smile at my simplicity but I am inclined to defer to his representations...' (163).

In the matter of the organ, its situation, and the organ case and screen, Cottingham was again adamant. He insisted that the organ should be removed from the south transept as it was twelve feet in depth and there was no room for it near the new stone screen without producing 'a

cumbrous deformity'. An organ , a dismal addition to Mediaeval Churches was to Cottingham incongruous. However, despite his determination to keep the Church as close to the purity of the Mediaeval as possible Cottingham suggested that the organ be sited in the north transept, allowing it as a part of the Anglican rite and so accommodating the adjuncts of the nineteenth century. The Dean agreed with the decision, assuring the Lord Primate,

> 'Your Grace will not regret the absence of the organ from the screen. You will agree on seeing the effect. The interior would have been entirely spoiled as to the view from the western entrance...' (164).

Messrs Walkers of London were to supply the new organ donated by the Lord Primate and Walker at the same time made a design for the organ case (165). Paton wrote that the case by Walker was to cost £150,

> 'but of which Mr Cottingham disapproves, and the other by himself which would cost £200. The latter is certainly very superior in appearance to Walker's...' (166).

Cottingham in fact 'urged strongly the impolicy of using Painted Woodwork and composition in the organ case', especially as the difference in expense between Walker's in deal and his own in oak would not exceed £50. He continued,

> 'The composition ornaments would be shaken and eventually destroyed by the powerful action of the instrument and the painting would require continual renewal...' (167).

The two sets of drawings were sent to the Lord Primate and Cottingham's forwarded to Walker's to work from without reference to Cottingham who had not finished the final measurements. He asked for their return, noting with some asperity,

> 'Until the candour and confidence which are necessary in works of this magnitude be restored nothing but mistakes and misunderstandings will occur...' (168).

The new site for the organ in the north transept was described by the *Ecclesiologist* as,

> 'a very felicitous position, being divided into two and placed against the east walls of the north transept, immediately adjacent to the lantern, the pipes being arranged within a well-designed open case of oak. The organist sits midway between the two portions of the instrument, his chamber being concealed from the choir by a stone parclose (169).

One aspect of the restoration of Armagh that has received criticism was Cottingham's apparent and most uncharacteristic use of plaster instead of stone in the columns of the north transept, the choir windows, and the string course of the transepts (170). An explanation appears in the correspondence. Dean Jackson wrote in June 1837 suggesting 'plaster

instead of stone for economy' and proposing a simple label round the arches of the windows 'at no great expense', and a similar one for the lancet windows of the west entrance (171). The following April, Charles McGibbon, the contractor, deducted £90 from his estimate for 'finishing the north transept windows in the same manner as the choir in plaster instead of stone...' (172), and in June Cottingham wrote 'an angry letter to Mr Paton finding fault with Potts' execution of his part of the work as reported to him'. The Dean, relating the contents of Cottingham's letter to the Lord Primate, continued,

> 'He is jealous of interference with what he considers his provinces as the architect - particularly in the unauthorised substitution of the plaster pillars in the windows for solid stone as in his specification. The man is evidently out of humour at the work not being conducted on the old plan...' (173).

The final works to complete the restoration were the installing of oak pews and choir stalls to Cottingham's designs, gas light fittings by Skidmore and cast-iron gates and railings which replaced the dilapidated perimeter walls (174). There are no remaining designs by Cottingham for the gates and railings but an existing account shows that they were made in 1840 by Thomas Edington and Son at the Phoenix Iron Works in Glasgow. The railings, of simple square section form with restrained crockets and Gothic finials are supported by a low stone wall with repeating projections and cast iron struts, a subtle reference to a Gothic flying buttress (Fig.132) (175) Despite the difficulties that arose over costs, Cottingham's restoration of Armagh Cathedral was highly praised, particularly by the *Ecclesiologist,* not noted for approbation of any but their most favoured architects.

The *Ecclesiologist* admired the bold buttresses of the exterior and approved the stained glass windows by Warrington, by Willement (176) and by Ward and Nixon, one with the arms of the contributors and a window in the choir representing the Evangelists 'by a lady amateur', for they were all based on mediaeval precedent and revived the art of stained glass so important to a restoration of the mediaeval (Figs.133-135). They noted minor points 'which modern ecclesiology would have done otherwise', particularly in the 'constructional choir of three bays'.

The *Ecclesiologist* noted,

> 'A certain solemnity is given to this portion of the church from its being groined...but its seats of oak which range longtitudinally either side, are given up to congregational use...',

an expedient that was forced upon Cottingham when his plans to lengthen the ritual Choir were abandoned for lack of funds (177). They considered the pinnacles on the exterior 'somewhat too high and aspiring in proportion to the tower', and noted with disapproval that Cottingham toned the new stone down on the interior to blend with the old. They concluded by commenting on,

> 'one delightful feature connected with the restoration:- The Matins are sung with a precision and reverence which leaves Armagh second to none in England, important, for the Cathedral system had fallen, except in Dublin, and the Sunday Service at St Patrick's is known as 'Paddy's Opera' (178).

Archbishop Lord Beresford, the Lord Primate, whose effigy now lies under the third bay of the nave in the Cathedral, was well pleased with the final results (179). His complaints during progress of the work were naturally those of a benefactor who gave £8000 and then found he had to give £16000 more. A testimony to Cottingham's work at Armagh was written by him in a letter to Dean Merewether of Hereford Cathedral when the Dean was making enquiries into Cottingham's fitness to undertake the restoration of Hereford.

> 'I do hereby certify that I employed L.N.Cottingham to restore the Cathedral of Armagh which had been dilapidated by time and violence, and that I had much reason to be satisfied with the judgement, skill and good taste which he displayed in executing the work. He had many difficulties to contend with, all of which he surmounted with his ability and resources. The working drawings he designed with so great accuracy, that every stone was found to fit the place which it was intended to occupy; nor did a single incident occur during the whole progress of the work, or a labourer or mechanic experience the slightest hurt or injury. I make this statement at the desire of Mr Cottingham and in justice to his merit as an architect.' December 7th 1841 (180).

Armagh has undergone further works of restoration since 1834. In 1888 Cottingham's stone screen was removed and now stands between the Regimental Chapel and the Choir Vestry, and in 1903 the chancel walls were raised eight feet and faced with stone. At this date the original oak roofs dating from the fifteenth century that had been restored but not renewed by Cottingham were replaced with an oak groined roof. Over the years Cottingham's pews, carved stalls, ceilings, throne and pulpit have been removed. In 1950 windows of the nave aisles and the clerestorey windows were replaced (181). Today, only forty years later they are corroding badly and are still a glaring light coloured unsympathetic stone against the sandstone of the Cathedral, perhaps

following twentieth century ethics and those of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings that recent restoration should be distinct from older work, but not Cottingham's artistry in achieving a harmonious whole (Fig.136). Armagh Cathedral still stands today due to Cottingham's advanced technical brilliance which was recognised in his own time. In Cottingham's work at Armagh are to be seen all those qualities that made him famous, his ability as an archaeologist surveying the site of the ancient Cathedral, a report that has not been superceded; his attempts wherever possible to retain as much of the old work as he could and where impossible, to use the remnants of the original fabric as a basis for new designs to achieve archaeological accuracy reflecting the different stages of the architectural history of the building; his determination to restore every aspect of the true Mediaeval in the structure, the art, and the correct liturgical arrangements; his insistence on materials proper to the mediaeval period with no substitutes to save costs; the finest quality craftsmanship in carrying out the carving, organ building and stained glass; and his advanced technological skill in the use of iron as a means of restoring the mediaeval fabric without resorting to wholesale demolition and rebuilding. In this use of iron Cottingham was, in fact, consciously carrying on the established tradition of the Mediaeval builders. In his detailed study of mediaeval structures he would have seen that iron had always played a part in the building as tie bars to strengthen, for cramping pieces of wood or stone together, for backing, and for copings and cornices, finials and pinnacles (181a). Certainly Armagh was transformed 'as a specimen of nineteenth century architecture' on the exterior owing to its total refacing, but Cottingham has never been given credit for trying to preserve wherever humanly possible the traces of antiquity, nor for staying close to the spirit and intentions of the mediaeval builders through his passion for and knowledge of Gothic architecture.

1.6 Restoration of The Norman Tower and St Mary's Church at Bury St Edmund's. 1842-49

Cottingham finished his work at Armagh Cathedral in 1842 and in the last five years of his life his devotion to the cause of Gothic architecture and his fame as the leading ecclesiastical architect of the day, led to

further major works of restoration and to our knowledge, the restoration of ten parish churches. His expert knowledge gained through study and through experience of restoring the architecture of the Romanesque period, led to his involvement in the rescue of a major Norman monument, the Norman Tower at Bury St Edmund's. In July 1840 *The Vestry Book of the Parish of St James in Bury St Edmund's* noted a meeting to discuss the ruinous condition of the Norman Tower which had been the gateway tower to the Abbey of St Edmund destroyed at the Dissolution, and was now used as the bell-tower to the Church of St James (Figs.137 & 138) (182). Samuel Tymms, a noted Suffolk antiquary, wrote in his *Historical Architectural Notice of the Gate-tower of the Ancient Cemetry of St Edmund* of 1846, that by 1800 the plinth of the tower was 5 feet 6 inches below the level of the roadway and the second storey lights had been blocked up. The Tower was surveyed by Mr Heffer of Ixworth and again in 1811 by John Adey Repton and Mr Prentice. The Vestry asked Mr Prentice to proceed with his proposal to lower the Tower by one storey, to fix iron chains through the north and south walls, to stop up the defective masonry and to build stone piers to support the bell-frame, but new churchwardens were voted in who refused to ratify the order leaving the Tower roofless and exposed to the weather until they repaired the tower to their own ideas 'with a pigeon house on top' (183). In 1819 The *Gentleman's Magazine* reported that after a peal of bells a large portion of the great arch on the east side of the Tower suddenly fell, thirty large stones were displaced and two immense cracks appeared from the very top to the lower main arch. Ringing was discontinued for a time and the fractures plastered up (184). In June 1840, Mr Ranger, the architect of St John's Church alerted the vestry to the dangerous state of the Tower, but nothing further was done until June 1842 when the Churchwardens moved that Mr L.N. Cottingham 'now engaged in repairing the Tower of Hereford Cathedral' should be employed to inspect and report on the state of the Tower and

'whether it might be repaired as to render it safe to ring bells therein, and also on the practice and extent of such repairs' (185).

Cottingham's report of December 1841, published in full in the *Architect, Engineer and Surveyor,* and the *Ipswich Journal,* again demonstrated his understanding of Mediaeval Architecture and his

passionate desire to preserve its remaining examples (186). The ancient Abbey may have been destroyed, he wrote,

'but it is some satisfaction to live at a period when a decided taste is daily evinced for the preservation of the remains of our national antiquities' (187).

He began the Report by describing the Tower's merits as a specimen of pure Norman architecture, 'in all its chastened beauty, solemn dignity and grand simplicity', presenting an unaltered exterior which in its eight centuries had suffered little at the hands of innovators, but which neglect and injudicious repairs had brought to its present dilapidated state. The Normans had introduced a style of architecture in which the semi-circular arch was 'made to combine in perfect harmony with every element of construction' and Cottingham admired the

'vastness of design, the durability and wonderful science of their construction, the exquisite beauty of their details and the picturesque effect of all their arrangements'.

He continued that no documentation existed to aid the dating of the building, but it related closely in decoration and construction to the tower at Norwich Castle built by Hugh Bigod at the beginning of the twelfth century and to the tower of Norwich Cathedral of the same date. Cottingham's grandparents and other relatives lived at Framlingham and no doubt he also knew the ruins of Hugh Bigod's stone house of 1150 at Gramlingham Castle (188). Although there was no written evidence to substantiate the dating of the Tower, Cottingham noted,

'It is a most fortunate circumstance for the revival of our national architecture that a certain impress or stamp is given to the minutest fragment of a moulding or vesitge of enrichment so as to mark the era of the building and enable the architect to restore or design with certainty and the antiquary and historian to record with truth'.

Once again he took the opportunity to plead for the preservation of all mediaeval remains,

'How truly admirable and honourable it is then to preserve these time honoured remains from total destruction for when perishable manuscript is lost and all record gone a single capital or base of a column, a small fragment of foliage or moulding, a carved shield or corbel head may serve to fill up a hiatus on the page of history...'

In this writing Cottingham made a plea for the preservation of examples of Gothic architecture, on the basis of its importance to the nation, as evidence of the country's historical past, in terms of style, and as great monuments to former ages.

Cottingham then wrote a detailed description of the Tower, built of Barnack stone, with is four storeys or stages rising to forty feet in height with 10 bells in the fourth storey, a circular staircase in the pier at the north west angle of the tower, and the western front with its turreted and ornamented projecting porch, and continued with a minute analysis of the state of dilapidation. He found that 'desperate liberties' had been taken in digging the foundations of the houses, 'monstrous excrescences' which abutted the north and south-west angels, 'to the great injury of the beautiful entrance front'. The main timbers of one house were actually embedded two feet into the stone walling so that restoration of the masonry on the north side of the tower would result in the collapse of the house, and the other house, with all main timbers abutting the Tower, and built of lath and plaster posed a serious fire hazard. In 1819 the repair of the arch which had a series of cable mouldings neatly jointed in small separate stones was carried out using stones of a much larger size, and the windows of the third and fourth storeys were bricked up with double walls, iron,wedges driven in between the old and new work and the cavities filled with rubble, work described by Cottingham as an 'injudicious, destructive and ill-judged performance'. The added weight caused further damage, creating buckling of the arches out of their original curvature with splitting and shivering of the arch-stones, and causing the whole mass of masonry over the centre of the arch to act as a powerful wedge against the main piers of the angles of the Tower, thrusting the south east pier nineteen inches and the north-east pier four inches out of perpendicular. He found that serious damage was caused by the bell-frame, built into the north and south walls. Vibration shattered the ashlar, the additional weight of extra supports and the powerful thrust of the massive bells against the walls which were not properly bonded, brought danger of collapse to the east wall every time the bells were rung. This front showed severe cracks and fissures in the masonry and the arches, weatherstring course and battlements between the buttresses over the upper tier of windows were in a bulged and sunken state. The foundations of the south wall were excavated during Cottingham's survey and an original postern door, six feet by two feet wide was discovered at the centre of the wall. Also revealed was a fracture in the masonry beginning at the foundation and going to the very top,

increasing stage by stage up to the bell chamber storey where the disruptions of the wall in various directions were extensive. The weather-table, parapet wall and coping on this side were also in a shattered and bulged state with unsightly repairs in brick and the lower part of the tower was described by Cottingham as,

> 'sadly obscured by the house built against it, or rather built into it for the flues of the chimneys are made to wind in and out of the beautiful recesses and panelling of the tower, in a most barbarous and unsightly manner'.

Cottingham recommended the removal of the houses, the 'sordid encroachments' which were both in a dilapidated condition, the removal of the twenty foot high 'modern bell turret which was quite out of character with the design of the tower', and the renewal of all floor timbers and the bell-frame which were in a rotten and dangerous state. He proposed to effect the suggested repairs for the sum of £2,370 (189).

In January 1843 Cottingham submitted plans to the Committee which was composed of gentry and local worthies such as Sir Thomas Cullum, the Rev. Phipps Eyre, with Major Bullock as Chairman and Samuel Tymms as Honorary Secretary. The fourteen drawings and plans shown were executed on a large scale with,

> 'coloured views of the east, west and south fronts of the Tower, showing the alarming state of the disrupted masonry, elevations of the four sides as they will appear when the proposed restoration is completed, section and plans showing the way in which four belts of iron ites will be disposed each of which Mr Cottingham likened to four giants grasping the four corners of the Tower with both arms, and bonded together round their waists...' (190).

In fact the contract for repair of the Tower, between Cottingham and his son Nockalls Johnson and the Earl of Jermyn, Sir Thomas Cullen and William Mills, listed seventeen drawings and included designs for the cast-iron louvres to replace the brick infill in the windows, dragon water spouts, and cast iron railings to enclose the Norman Tower (191). Cottingham considered the Committee to be in a position to proceed at once with the work as the specifications and contract could be so prepared that the contractor 'would be bound to proceed as far as the Committee, guided by their funds should determine'. He also suggested that iron ties be entrusted to Mr Potter of London who had made similar ties for the tower of Hereford Cathedral. The Committee

unanimously decided to advertise for tenders and to proceed with the iron ties. The *Gentleman's Magazine* and the *Bury and Norwich Post* noted that,

> 'Mr Cottingham has entered upon his task in a 'con a more' spirit: he will not receive any commission but simply charge the trifling sum of £100 which is inclusive in the estimate for all his drawings, journeys and superintendence til all the work is completed' (192).

A vestry of the inhabitants of St James' Parish was called but the proposals for repair were strongly opposed on financial grounds, and the decision to commence work postponed (193). This prevarication provoked a strong letter of protest in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, by A.J. Kempe, Cottingham's antiquarian friend and fellow FSA in which he demanded a meeting to raise funds 'to save this ancient edifice'. He deplored the fact that opposition to the work should further threaten the tower saying,

> 'should such counsels ultimately prevail the ruins of this majestic tower will crush the houses beneath. Such a victory as the levellers at St Saviour's, Southwark obtained over the beautiful nave of that old church, the opponents of the repairs of this Tower would achieve themselves'.

Calling for a meeting in the county of Suffolk he continued,

> 'There are English hearts left to defeat and shame that barbarism or parsimony which would sap our nations treasures'

Twelve months after Cottingham's report the south east angle of the tower collapsed and Cottingham was instructed to commence the restoration. The Vestry Book also noted discussions for the 'removal of Mr Lenny's house and the clearing away of 20 feet of Mr Deck's house' (194). A widespread interest in the progress of the work was reflected in the many reports and letters published in various periodicals with great admiration and amazement expressed for Cottingham's skill in working downwards from the top of the tower towards the great archway. The *Builder* reported regularly on progress giving detailed description of the technicalities and mechanics of Cottingham's extraordinary methods (195). By April of 1846 the walls had been restored to the springing of the upper tiers of arches and at the south east angle twenty five feet of the ashlar had been removed and replaced, large masses of rubble core cut out at the fissures and decayed parts, and the cavities filled with solid grouting. The second tier of arches had some new keystones,

> 'but generally speaking', the *Builder* reported, 'the identical stones have been replaced as nearly as possible in their former situations

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so we learn the work exhibits scarcely a sign of a hand having been applied to it...' (196).

In May the *Builder* described the continuing restoration of the east side where the worst fissures were exposed, the whole held together by temporary iron bands whilst the permanent upper chain ties were fixed. The report noted,

'when this part of the structure is restored the formidable task of taking out the great arch will be encountered' (197).

Five months later, in October, the *Builder* related how the great eastern arch, buckled and bulging, was restored, first describing the complicated preparations for supporting the massive weight of the Tower whilst the work was carried out. The shattered state of the ashlar core fully bore out Cottingham's statement that the Tower had been in imminent danger of collapse.

'A chasm is now presented fifteen feet wide and the same height from the spring of the arch in which the massive structure has no other perpendicular support than the shores described, but the sound union effected in all the fissured parts above and the immense power of the iron ties at four stages rendered the buttresses at the angles sufficient to hold up the centre without the added precautions which have prudently been taken...'

The writer remarked on 'the very great surprise' at the restoration having been carried on from the top downwards,

'nothing of the masonry remains to be done above, but the addition of the coping to the parapet between the turrets' (198).

An insight into the painstaking conscientiousness of his work at Bury and a confirmation of his deep knowledge of mediaeval architecture can be found in his masterly reply to a letter of criticism of aspects of the restoration that was published in the *Gentleman's Magazine*. E.I. Carlos, a fervent preservationist, wrote,

'I find by the *Ecclesiologist* that in restoring the Norman Tower, the old finish of the walls has been removed to substitute a modern parapet and that the Tower is covered with a lead flat...'

He talked of 'architectural innovation' in the substitution of a plain parapet and lead flat instead of 'the correct low pyramidal roof of the period', claimed that the old parapet, 'though not Norman may have been the original finish completed in later style', had been destroyed in a conclusion 'hastily arrived at', and concluded,

'the dragon gargoyles (a usual feature in Tudor Churches) will never throw off water as effectually as the apertures in the old parapet' (199).

Cottingham in his reply (200) gave fully substantiated historical and architectural reason for every detail, describing how when the south

east angle of the tower fell, taking the parapet with it and he was called in again to examine the fabric, he found evidence of the original ancient work of the battlements.

'the shape of a very early Norman coping, twenty inches wide with a large cable moulding on top and sides sloped down sharply inside and out'.

He made accurate drawings on the spot and on a minute examination of the construction of the wide battlements at the centre of the four sides, discovered on scraping off the rough casting, brickwork built in Flemish bond with modern burnt bricks. He made 'fresh drawings of many portions and every fragment of the old work was carefully picked out of the rubbish', enabling him to make a 'faithful restoration of the original design'. Cottingham continued that he had 'incontestable evidence' which he elucidated in great detail, of the original means of discharging water from the roof, and that the early roof had been a flat one. He had found the remains of the water shoots, nine feet in length, embedded in the wall three feet, the fragments of which he carefully fitted together,

'I can vouch for the correctness of the new ones' he wrote,
'and I consider it one of the most interesting specimens in the Kingdom, proving how the water was conveyed down from the flat roof of the Tower'.

Cottingham continued, strongly refuting his critic's suppositions,

'In the face of such incontestable evidence what becomes of the eight embrasure water channels which E.I.C. says were made in the parapet, for the water to trickle down the face of the walls?
As to the 'dragon gargoyles' which E.I.C. insinuates are quite out of character 'being a usual feature in Tudor churches', I beg leave to inform him that there are many existing examples of both plain and enriched watershoots...'

Cottingham, from his position as a leading mediaeval archaeologist was able to argue every academic point with irrefutable evidence. In reply to his critic's suggestion that his conclusions were 'hastily arrived at', Cottingham pointed out that when he was first called in he spent six weeks on the spot superintending the excavations and making accurate drawings of every part of the Tower, and then spent five weeks more ensuring the immediate safety of the building after the south east angle fell, the ruins affording him an opportunity of 'removing every previous doubt as to the original finish to the top of the tower',

'I take leave to assert', he continued, 'that no ancient building was ever more thoroughly and anxiously examined and studied previous to its restoration than the Norman Tower at Bury'.

Cottingham concluded that the works of architects engaged in restorations of this kind ought to be subjected to public opinion and fair and liberal criticism -

'no work was ever performed where a greater desire was shown to afford accommodation to the public to view with safety every part of the building' -

but E.I. Carlos should have made a personal inspection before pursuing his criticism,

'or at least proceeded on more accurate information than the periodical he quoted, which I should however acknowledge,' Cottingham said, 'made very favourable mention of the operations in connection with my name' (201).

At the completion of the work the total cost of the restoration amounted to £3,400 (202). Cottingham did not live to see the grand opening of the Norman Tower but the *Gentleman's Magazine* of January 1849 noted that on December 11th 1845,

'the Norman Tower, on the restoration of which so much labour has been bestowed, was simultaneously opened to the public as a thoroughfare and to its use as the bell-tower of St James' Church'.

Various peals were rung in celebration by a great assembly of ringers from neighbouring towns and villages and from Norwich and London.

'Great admiration was expressed at the beauty of the tower...' (203).

Since his own time little credit has been afforded to Cottingham for works of restoration of the highest quality and scholarly expertise to such important national monuments of the early Mediaeval period as the Norman Tower. His appreciation and understanding of the Romanesque and his scientific exposition of its structural qualities was only paralleled in France by Viollet-le-Duc, whose prompt and skilled work of restoration saved the Norman remains at Vezelay in 1840.

St Mary's Church, Bury St Edmund's

When Cottingham was called back to Bury on the collapse of the Norman Tower, the bell tower of St James, he was employed at the same time by the Vestry of St James' Parish to give an opinion on cleaning the decorative parts of the roof of St Mary's Church, but on going up to the battlements he discovered extensive evidence of serious dilapidation. He advised a structural survey before any cleaning work was undertaken (205). His report, printed in full in Samuel Tymms' *Architectural and Historical Account of the Church of St Mary*, gave such an alarming account of the state of the roof and tower that the

churchwardens closed the church immediately, arranged for services to be conducted in the chancel and on the following Sunday, the Reverend Phipps Eyre offered up thanksgiving
'for the preservation of minister and people from the imminent and awful peril, which unseen and unthought of had for some time been hanging over their heads...' (Figs.139-141) (206).

Cottingham described the roof of the nave, a richly carved fifteenth century roof, open to the apex, consisting of eleven principal trusses, framed with upright helves, hammer beams, moulded ribs, queenposts and collar-beams springing from figures carved in the solid oak and supported by stone capitals on slender pillar shafts. The ten intermediate trusses, framed with a continued arch moulding sprang from the same level as the ribs under the main trusses; the ridge-tree and purlins, moulded and framed into the principal rafters of these trusses with four plain rafters between each pair of principals resting on oak framed wall plates (Fig.142). Cottingham found bulging of the embattled stone parapets at the feet of the principal rafters and on removing the gutters and lead covering he examined the main timbers. Here he found that the ends of the main timbers, the feet of the rafters and the oak plates,
'presented a frightful mass of rotten wood, the whole of the timber work, which originally rested on the solid wall, having entirely rotted away, leaving this immense roof covered with heavy lead, no other supports than the small upright helves introduced as ornamental supports for the moulded ribs under the hammer beams'.

These supports were in a very decayed stated and crippled by the weight thrown on them. The capitals of the slim shafts on which they rested were also displaced and loosened,
'making it a matter of the greatest surprise how the roof should stand for a single day on such fragile materials...' (207).

The beams and roof timbers had rotted due to accumulated rubbish under the gutter boards, and rain seeping in through broken gutters and defective leadwork of the roofs where the ends of sheets and seams were soldered together in every direction, causing cracks and fissures. The decay had not extended significantly to the carved work of the roof and Cottingham proposed to encase the ends of the hammer beams in cast-iron sheaths and repair the backs of the principal and common rafters with oak. He said the drastic and expensive recourse of taking the entire roof off could thus be avoided and the repairs could be made

without taking any part of the roof down. The stone battlements on the walls of the clerestory had to be restored and the slender buttresses between the windows repaired and underpinned with stone,

> 'these have been mended with brickbats and tiles which have a very unsightly appearance'.

The roofs of the north and south aisles, also decayed through rain, had to be repaired, the roof of the organ gallery was similarly dilapidated, the mullions, heads and transoms of the west window were loosened and the walls of the Tower were in an insecure state with formidable cracks and fissures, ill-judged repairs, rotting timbers and loose ashlar, requiring iron ties to prevent any further bulging of the walls (208).

A Vestry was called and 'in a liberal spirit' the parishioners voted £1700 for the substantial structural repairs and the minister and Churchwardens undertook to raise a subscription for the restoration of 'the ornamental parts' (209). In fact the vestry meeting had been acrimonious. Mr Earl, the plasterer, said 'the roof was represented as much worse than it really was, all the principals should have been uncovered... you could build a new church for £1700... the work should be kept for Bury tradespeople, there were plenty as good as Cottingham, Mr Frost the carpenter, Mr Dudley and himself should know best... the churchwardens had authorised mending the roofs with pieces instead of whole sheets of lead...'. Cottingham answered this obvious defence of the implied criticism of previous works to the Church by saying that to uncover all principals would allow more rain in , pulling a decayed building about could lead to the fall of the roof, provision in the contract - which Mr Earl should read - allowed for rebate of costs if not all the timbers had to be encased. the works would be open to tender to all tradespeople and he, as architect, would only direct the works, and further, he had given nine days to the subject and in his opinion no less sum would do,

> 'If anyone else's opinion who had taken half the time on it were taken before his, his services were useless altogether' (210).

Cottingham's absolute authority as an expert on all mediaeval art and architecture was unarguable.

Only eighteen months later, in December of 1844, the *Gentleman's Magazine* described Cottingham's work at St Mary's as 'one of the finest restorations recently accomplished', and mentioned the masterly repair of the roof and the restoration of the carved work, 'every figure of which

is a specimen of high art', the freeing of the pillars and tracery of the windows from whitewash and repairing of defective stonework, the removal of the organ gallery 'which cut in two the fine vista of the nave', the renewal of the great West window and the insertion of the arms of the neighbouring gentry to the designs of Thomas Willement, the provision of a richly carved font in Caen stone, a pulpit and lectern 'of great boldness and correct style' in palace of a 'Vitruvian tub and bin in mahogany', an entrance lobby or door screen glazed and elaborately carved, the clearing away of various hoardings and partitions and some, but not all the pews replaced by open seats with foliate finials and benchends finely carved by Mr Nash, the

> 'whole of the works under the direction of Mr Cottingham whose research and taste in supplying the deficient parts of the figures is admirable' (Figs.143 & 144) (211).

The *Builder* wrote of 'the judicious character' of the changes in progress, the 'perfect and substantial restoration of the imcomparable roof', noting that in the repair of the richly tracered West window 'care was taken to adhere to the original design of its elegant tracery' (212). The *Ecclesiologist* wrote of the repairs at 'the late but magnificent Church of St Mary' but noted disapprovingly that the galleries had been permitted to remain. The removal of the organ gallery had allowed additional seatings for the accommodation of the parishioners and it would seem that the practical use of the galleries in providing seats overcame the ecclesiological concern for their removal (213). The *Ecclesiologist* further noted that,

> 'prayers were read at the west end looking east, an arrangement most preposterous in so long a church'.

By 1848 the stained glass windows had been restored or replaced and the *Ecclesiologist* mentioned the east window filled with painted glass by Mr Wailes of Newcastle, the two side windows of the sanctuary and the window of the south chancel aisle by Mr Clutterbuck - 'these are not very favourable specimens of his style' - the east window of the south aisle by M. Gerente - "good but too early a style for the architecture', the north aisle window by Heaton and Butler, and the chancel arch window by Thomas Willement to the designs of N.J. Cottingham, with tracery composed of intersecting triangles and representing St Edmund's martyrdom (214).

The *Bury and Norwich Post* on the 4th December 1844 published a long report on the re-opening of St Mary's Church when the bells pealed again after the long silence giving a full account of the restoration with details of the subscribers, the Dukes of Norfolk and Grafton, the Marquesses of Bristol and Cornwallis, Lords Thurlow and Calthorpe, Sir Thomas Cullum, Sir Thomas Rokewode Gage, Sir H. Bunbury and Colonel Rushbrooke, all of whose arms were included in Willements' armorial glass of the restored West window. The reviewer noted the high quality of the carvings, the bronzed brass hinges and wrought-iron handles of the entrance lobby of 'exquisite workmanship' (Fig.145), the double branch sconces of brass and enamel of rich design, the communion table and high backed chairs of carved oak, all to Cottingham's designs. The monuments of the Oakes and Sturgeon families had been removed from their 'unsightly situations' against the jambs of the chancel arch to the wall of the south aisle, the organ was re-erected in the third bay of the north aisle, and on the removal of the saxton's lumber room at the end of the north aisle remains of early wall paintings were discovered, though too faint to be fully deciphered. The report noted that 'the beautiful North porch, the work of John Notynglas of the fifteenth century, not needing any material repair, has been left untouched with 'the exception of cleaning the interior', and the principal at the east end of the nave 'has been repainted and regilded precisely as it was decorated, in the fifteenth century from vestiges of the designs remaining'. The whole of the works were contracted to Thomas Farrow of Diss, and the manner of their execution 'deserved all praise'; the best materials had been invariably used and entrusted to superior workmen and artists. Mr Johnson the Clerk of Works, earned the confidence of the architect and the gratitude of the Committee, welcoming visitors, giving explanations of the works in progress and of the 'many beautiful models and designs'. The conduct of the workmen too was exemplary, and,

> 'After the opening of the Church they marched in procession to the tune of the Roast Beef of Olde England to the Angel Inn to an excellent dinner at which the Reverend Eyre, two churchwardens and N.J. Cottingham, the son of the architect, attended to mark their satisfaction' (215).

The writer concluded by saying that the work

> 'reflected the highest credit to the professional skill and antiquarian knowledge of the architect. Indeed we know of no other instance in

which a similar attempt at restoration has been carried out with more judgement...'

He finished with a statement that characterised Cottingham's restoration work and epitomised his aims,

'Every part of the old work that was defective has been restored with a faithful adherence to the original design and all that is new has been done in the same spirit and made to harmonise with the old...'

Cottingham brought these invariable characteristics to all his works of restoration, his advanced engineering skill, his antiquarian knowledge of Mediaeval architecture, his restrained and conservative treatment of the fabric, renewing and repairing rather than removing and replacing damaged parts wherever possible, his passion for preserving Gothic structures to the extent of giving his services gratuitiously when funds were low, his ability to adhere to the original designs, 'working in the same spirit and in harmony with the old' when new designs were needed, and his concern for the highest quality of materials and craftmanship. In some of the churches that Cottingham restored it is not generally known today to what extent he altered or extended them, his work, sympathetic in its use of materials, harmonising with the old, in keeping with the mediaeval spirit, has become almost invisible, belied only by a crispness of carved stone and oak, and the colours of the encaustic floors and painted glass. His technical skills saved many from falling, and ensured that only the minimum of old stone was renewed or rebuilt. At Market Weston in Suffolk for instance, the small parish church was in a totally dilapidated state, struck twice by lightning, the chancel in ruins and the tower eighteen inches out of perpendicular (216). The *Builder* (217) and the *Gentleman's Magazine* (218) wrote in admiration of Cottingham's successful 'application of science'. The wall, at a calculated weight of 240 tons was brought to the perpendicular by a process of expanding by heat three bars of iron which traversed and connected both walls of the tower. The bars had screws at one end projecting beyond the south wall and enclosed in cast iron boxes filled with lighted charcoal. When the bars were fully expanded the screws were tightened to the undamaged south wall. The charcoal boxes were then removed and the cooling process began. Gradually as the bars contracted, the whole mass of the wall followed the irresistible power and in four successive operations the whole wall returned to its original perpendicular. The *Builder* noted that 'the coming-to' was slow, but not

even the surface of the walls 'being in the slightest degree defaced'. This experiment was said to be the first one in England although Cottingham used the process at Armagh Cathedral. At Market Weston, Cottingham rebuilt the chancel from the foundations, restored the vandalised windows of the nave, and 'fitted up the interior in much taste'. A reviewer in the *Bury and Norwich Post,* reporting on the opening ceremony, noted that

'Though so much has necessarily been rebuilt it is gratifying to find that whenever parts of the original structure were capable of being used again they have been very carefully replaced without any of that re-chiselling of corbel heads and general re-touching that destroys so much of the ancient tone of the building... A small piscina on the south wall of the nave and mouldings of arches and windows are among the minute details of the original structure which have been preserved (219).

There can be no doubt that Cottingham saved these great national monuments, the Norman Tower and the fifteenth century St Mary's, through his immediate and skilful restorations, preserving them for future generations. He brought his expertise to other important churches and to small parish churches. At the fifteenth century St Mary's Church in Nottingham in 1843, his prompt action saved the tower from collapse, and at St Marie's Church, Clifton in Nottingham he restored the leaning arches and pillars of the nave that were crushed by the weight of the tower, without removing a single stone. Ashbourne Church in Derbyshire, seriously dilapidated and disfigured by an external staircase which gave access to the galleries by way of the mutilated tracery of the West window, was restored in 1841, Great Chesterford in Essex and Horingsheath in Suffolk were extended and restored in 1841, Milton Bryan Church was restored and a new tower erected in 1842; the spire of St James, Louth, struck by lightning in 1844 was skilfully restored, Theberton and Barrow Churches in Suffolk, Roos Church in Yorkshire and Brougham Chapel in Westmoreland were all repaired and extended in 1846-1847, and in 1847 the ancient Norman Church of Kilpeck and Ledbury Church in Herefordshire were also restored. (Details, references and illustrations for these works of restoration are to be found in Appendix IV)

Cottingham's last major work of restoration was carried out at Hereford Cathedral, work that was to be completed after his death by his son, N.J. Cottingham.

1.7 Hereford Cathedral 1841-1849

At Hereford, Cottingham was summoned to undertake the mighty task of saving the mediaeval structure from imminent destruction. The Dean of Hereford, the Reverend John Merewether published *A Statement on the Condition and Circumstances of the Cathedral Church of Hereford in the Year 1841*, and in it he described the extent of the dilapidations and the reparations proposed. He expressed his determination to 'instigate sound architectural restoration not mending or patching, nor architecural innovation' (220). Hereford, like many other cathedrals and churches at this date had already suffered disasters due to neglect, incompetent repairs, and much criticised architectural innovation. John Britton in his *Autobiography* wrote that Hereford had been an 'object of lament from the circumstances of its decay and fall of the west front with parts of the nave and aisle on Easter Monday 1786', and its consequent restoration by James Wyatt (221). The drastic step of rebuilding the triforium and clerestorey was taken after the nave vaults collapsed in 1790 due to the failure of Wyatt's earlier works for the security of the fabric. Richard Gough, a zealous topographer and antiquary wrote,

> 'My heart bleeds at the sacrifice already made to the caprices of our modern architects, partly through neglect by Chapters and ill-management of the architects they employ, the lives of 16 men were placed in danger and some killed by the placing of scaffolding in the nave' (222).

Wyatt made designs to form the west front and Britton wrote,

> 'instead of harmonising with the old Norman architecture which prevailed throughout the nave his designs showed large pointed arched windows with mullions, tracery, crocketted pinnacles not only out of character but *poor, meagre, tasteless*'

Britton remarked that at that time, as in the preceding age, it was not 'deemed a matter of the slightest consequence in the repair or alteration of Cathedrals to make new correspond with the older and good work' (223). Wyatt's work on the nave was completed in 1792 and by 1796 exterior works had been undertaken, including the stripping and refacing of the choir, transepts and Lady Chapel, and the roofs of the nave choir and transepts were lowered in pitch to increase the impression of height in the spire-less central tower (224).

By 1840 the increasing dilapidation of the fabric was giving rise to alarm. Dean Merewether, a keen antiquary and practising

archaeologist who had started excavations on scientific lines at Silbury Hill and was also a member of the Oxford Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture, was alerted to the serious state of the Cathedral by the architect Mr Hardwick at the time planning alterations to the Bishop's Palace. He said that the east end of the Lady Chapel which was used as a library, was in immediate danger of collapse (Fig.146) (225). In the Spring of 1840 Cottingham was called in to examine the extent of the decay.

> 'The name of Cottingham', wrote the Dean, 'stands justly high in the estimation of those who have had the opportunity of observing his accurate restorations and splendid designs; his sound taste in ecclesiastical Architecture, and the powerful resources of his skill as a practical engineer - that very celebrity which he had acquired is in itself an unquestionable guarantee of soundness...'

but not to rely merely on fame the Dean resolved to investigate 'how far these reports of his skill and talent may be depended upon' (226). The Dean had seen Cottingham's restorations of Magdalen and St Albans, 'the objects of his minute enquiries', had read an account of Armagh, and conferred with one of the canons on the restoration of Rochester. He then included in his book letters of recommendation confirming Cottingham's ability and integrity in terms of unconditional praise from Archbishop Beresford at Armagh, Verulam, President Routh of Magdalen, William Burge of the Societies of the Inner and Middle Temple, John Field of the Lambeth estate, John Harrison of Snelston Hall, the Reverend Charles Hotham of Roos Church and Sir Robert Inglis of Milton Bryan (227).

Cottingham began his examination in the Lady Chapel with no idea at that time of the full extent of the decay throughout the Cathedral. On clearing away whitewash and plaster, 'the spreading plague which mars the beauty of ecclesiastical fabric', cracks four inches wide appeared in the soffit of each window arch showing the exterior and interior ashlar to be unconnected, the rubble masonry having lost all cohesive qualities. The Dean noted that this discovery 'refuted all the nonsense about the dilapidation resulting from his clearing away the soil from the base of the walls' which was done to allow air to the crypt. The panelling below the windows and the lath and plaster partitions at the sides of the pillars in the west end of the chapel were removed to follow the extent of the fissures resulting in the discovery of the remnants of late fourteenth century frescoes, the disclosure of

monuments of Joanna de Kilpec and Humphrey de Bohun of the mid fourteenth century, two aumbries both walled up, a double piscina on the south side, the doorway to the forgotten chapel of Bishop Audley dating from the fifteenth century and especially interesting,

'two of the most beautiful specimens of transitional arches which can be found in any edifice, bearing the Early English form, but ornamented in their soffits with Norman moulding and zig zag decoration corresponding with the union of Norman intersecting arches on the exterior of the building with its pointed characteristics' (228).

The stairs to the crypt and adjoining vaults containing interesting relics were also uncovered in lowering the floor to its original level (229).

Evidence of cracks in the groining above the transept between the Lady Chapel and the altar led to a cautious examination of 'the modern Italian wainscot screen of the Corinthian order' erected by Bishop Bisse in 1717. The architraves of arches with traces of Norman ornament appeared, filled with broken fragments of figures from different monuments, and on the removal of the whole screen the full extent of the damage was revealed. When the screen was erected ashlar had been removed in four places to receive it leaving the walls without support and,

'the painted boards to represent curtains (what an adornment for a Cathedral Church!) were loosened'

The Dean's disparaging remarks about the Grecian screen echoed Pugin's disgust at such an intrusion (230), and the *Gentleman's Magazine,* in reporting progress at Hereford noted,

'the removal of the wretched altar screen and equally wretched painted window above, a composition which forms, it will be recollected, the subject of one of Pugin's most forcible contrasts' (Fig.147) (231).

The window, by J. Backler, based on Benjamin West's *Last Supper* was offered on its removal by advertisement to any church willing to preserve it (232). It would seem that the classically inspired work of Benjamin West was still viewed with disfavour at this date, as twenty years earlier the Dean of Rochester was trying to rid the Cathedral of West's oil painting of the *Last Supper* (233). A further careful examination of the parts walled up behind the screen revealed the original composition of the east end of the choir, a massive Norman chancel arch, decorated with foliage and zigzag ornament, its crown cut off and missing but the capitals to the columns supporting the arch

were perfect with their foliage and sculpture intact. Above the arch were discovered three Early English lancets which had been inserted by cutting away the Norman groining and between the arch and the windows a blind arcade of Norman columns. At the same time Cottingham discovered just above the blind arcade, Early English openings with cluster columns completing the triforium of the nave, the whole composition very similar in style to the east end of Southwark Cathedral, where Cottingham worked in 1832, and of the same date (Figs.148 & 149) (234).

Cottingham then examined the crossing of the tower and the mass of masonry under the arches. The tower dating from 1300, rested on four Norman arches and piers which had been increasingly shored up with extra masonry as they showed signs of cracking and bulging. The unsightly infilling and supports had made the situation worse by causing a downward lateral pressure forcing the piers increasingly out of perpendicular (Figs.150-154). On removing Wyatt's layers of mortar and whitewash great fissures were found. At each angle immediately below the Gothic string course were four apertures running diagonally through the walls, wide enough to let in light. The double columns at the angles over these had crushed and fractured the intervening stones and fissures were found running vertically through the masonry above.

The Dean wrote in his report of these alarming findings,

> 'On the removal of a stone from the north west pier a discharge of dust poured out, emphasising the precarious state. The Architect at this startling discovery was so affected by the aprehension that this beautiful and majestic tower, and with it the whole surrounding fabric might be beyond the power of human skill to save, that without affection I firmly believe, he could not refrain from tears...'
> (235).

The crushed mortar, having lost all cohesion ran out like sand, indicating that this pier was standing on its outer casing unaided by any central core (Figs.155 & 156). Cottingham further discovered that the belfry floor and the groining above the choir were filled with rubble and fragments of crucifixes, alabaster carvings, the remains of a fourteenth century shrine, and when two hundred and fifty cartloads of rubbish were removed, there were to be seen, not just fissures, but four holes, one big enough for two me. n to creep into, and daylight clearly showing through. Excavations were then made to examine the foundations. This was absolutely vital, and, as the Dean pointed out,

answered the charge of 'removing, needlessly as it was asserted, stalls, organ, and organ screen' (236).

Cottingham's assessment of the dilapidation was confirmed by the Reverend Robert Willis, Jacksonian Professor of Caius College, Cambridge, an eminent scientist and antiquary, who at the Dean's request carried out a structural survey (237). He wrote to the Dean,

> 'I have not ventured to indicate the exact manner or extent of the repairs which must be left to the judgement of your architect whose skill has already been so successfully exerted in the similar cases of Rochester and Armagh' (238).

Willis' knowledge and appreciation of Cottingham's work at Rochester and Armagh underlines Cottingham's fame in his own day, and as an internationally known antiquary Willis' approbation of Cottingham's work was significant.

Willis found that the Lady Chapel was sinking in its foundations to the South, and the east gable was in ruinous disintegration (239). The Norman piers and arches already in a state of dislocation and settlement, due to subsidence, had been further distorted by the addition of the tower; the north wall of the choir had also sunk due to the rebuilding of the clerestorey and triforum by Wyatt; the Norman nave arches resting on the piers, suffered a corresponding dislocation of form, the capitals leaning out of alignment, demonstrating that the upper part of the piers were separated from the lower by a diagonal fissure extending from the upper eastern portion to the lower western; the strong course, at its north west extremity was found to be seven inches lower than the north east, showing the sinking of the north west pier, the one that had completely lost its central core. The facts of the fall of the west end in 1786 and the impending ruin of the Lady Chapel showed that settlement had extended so far as to weaken and destroy the walls. The four great Norman arches of the crossing were in a state of ruin and immediate repairs were necessary to save the tower. Of the piers, Willis wrote,

> 'I do not think it necessary or expedient to restore the original form of the Norman piers. The repairs themselves, of a sufficient antiquity to claim respect, have so far advanced the faces of these piers in many places and removed the Norman shafts in others, and the settlements have so disturbed the capitals from their true positions that any attempt to restore the original form, to replace the shafts, must be attended with very great expense' (240).

Dean Merewether wrote for clarification. Had Willis recommended leaving the piers in their original state because of expense, practicality, or safety, and if there were sufficient funds for restoration would it be objectionable to do it?

'I confess I have no love for the mended portions and would gladly see the restoration if possible, but I wish to be prudent...' (241).

Willis replied that he believed the south east and north east piers to be sound, but if enough funds were raised, whether these piers should be restored to their Norman form 'is a question of taste about which much might be said'. The ashlaring of the two piers he judged to be of considerable antiquity and most likely would have no original Norman casing remaining underneath. As Hereford Cathedral showed a mixture of styles from Norman to Late Decorated, and all the dissimilar portions were seen at once, with no intention of returning them all to Norman style, he did not see, as a question of taste, the need to restore the piers that were in a sound state. However, as the north west and south west piers were in such an 'unsightly garb and unsafe the experiment of restoration might be tried upon one of them and a decision made whether the appearance when finished would justify the expenditure' (242).

The means of effecting the colossal task of restoration was left to Cottingham. The contract for restoration of the piers and arches to Cottingham's specifications listed eighteen drawings and models, and gave full and minute instructions on every aspect of the work (243). The ancient carved capitals at the top of the main piers of the crossing were to be restored from plaster models prepared for the carvers and,

'such portions of the old stonework as are sound must be reused and the stone left in natural colour. Casts of the Norman capitals which have been defaced will be taken to the Architect's modeller and new enrichments laid on...'

In answer to the discussion between Willis and the Dean about the restoration of the piers, Cottingham made it plain in his specifications that,

'such portions of the ancient masonry of the piers etc may remain if in a sound state, e.g. the lower part of the semi-column in the nave attached to the north west pier of the tower, also a portion of the lower part of the pier at the north west angle of the arch at the east end of the north aisle'.

Clearly stated too was the instruction that the restoration was to be correct with regard to the different styles of architecture,

'All the arches, capitals, bases, mouldings, and ornaments throughout the works to be performed in and against the tower shall be a faithful restoration of the original *now in existence* (my underlining), and the deficiency made good in true character. The Clerk of Works to take charge of all ornamental work taken down and not yet refixed for the use of masons and carvers to copy from when required...' (244).

The contract of 1843 for the works in the Lady Chapel too showed the same concern for careful and sensitive restoration of the existing fabric, despite the enormity of the structural repairs required. The stone used had to be 'the best description of Capley Wood stone, free from seams of clay blend in accordance with the ancient masonry laid in a proper bed of fine grey limestone mortar'. Other instructions relating to materials used included,

'stonework to be soundly stopped with iron cement composed of iron filings and turnings mixed with urine'

and where new stone was used to repair tracery,

'the stone to be painted four times, with good lead and oil of dark iron colour otherwise left in natural colour'.

This problem of the new stone appearing too white when first cut was also discussed by Charles Anderson in his *Hints on Church Building* of 1841. He advised architects to 'oil it first to help it colour...to harmonise more quickly' (245). The east end of the Lady Chapel, its disconnected ashlar walls clearly showing in the illustration in the Dean's report, had to be taken down and 'reinstated in strict conformity with the original work and the drawings and models furnished, the whole external ashlaring, mouldings, carved capitals to the windows and the return of the buttresses' (Figs157 & 158)(246).

Cottingham's engineering skills were required to undertake the dangerous and delicate task of underpinning the great piers and restoring the perpendicularity of the whole without removing the capitals, in clamping the structure with iron ties, and pinning and wedging the fifty two columns above the arches of the tower. Wyatt's plaster groined roof had to be removed in order to reinstate the piers and was replaced by a flat ceiling with bosses in Norman style as Dean Merewether said 'of the utmost accuracy' (247). The Dean's report was tellingly illustrated with prints of the dilapidated portions of the Cathedral showing crumbling stonework, blocked up arches and the masonry supports to the arches, contrasted with Cottingham's views of the same parts as restored (Refer to Figs.148-154). In addition to the

structural works, the floor of the choir was renewed with, 'encaustic tiles of ancient pattern, exceedingly rich in effect', the choir refitted,

'with the original and beautifully carved stalls, but the miserable square panelled pews will be discarded, and seats of the ancient model with, Gothic ends surmounted with appropriate finials',

a new pulpit and litany desk provided, the organ removed to the south transept arch, and a screen of 'Norman character' was planned to separate the choir from the nave. In fact, the screen, to Cottingham's designs, a simple panelled stone screen, was not erected, but in 1849, a stone carved reredos was erected to N.J. Cottingham's designs (Fig.159) (248). According to Cottingham's calculations, allowing for contingencies, the restoration was to cost £17,550 and Carline Brothers, a firm of stone masons and builders of Shrewsbury, having checked the specifications and estimates were satisfied with their accuracy and agreed the contract (249). A relative of John Carline wrote that he was not merely a builder, but an artist, an archaeologist particularly interested in the preservation of Norman work and a monumental sculptor like his father and young brother Thomas who studied under Flaxman. Unfortunately Carline was not very business-like and difficulties arose over his claims for payment which exceeded amounts that Cottingham was prepared to accept. His figures showed a loss of £2,588, but the Dean and Chapter 'refused to interfere with the decisions of their Architect'. Carline took pride in his work and in July 1846 he wrote enthusiastically,

'the temporary piers and scaffolding are now quite out of the north and south arches under the great Tower. The work looks beautiful and the effect marvellous and no-one living has seen them open before...' (Fig.160) (250).

Cottingham's restoration of Hereford was widely reported and its progress closely followed in many journals such as the *Gentleman's Magazine,* The *Architect's Journal* and the *Athenaeum.* The *Ecclesiologist* commented on the quality of the works, praising 'the great triumph of modern mechanical skill' and the 'skill and boldness of Mr Cottingham', and hoped that the ecclesiological arrangements would be as satisfactory, 'sincerely hoping that the clergy and choral body would be placed at the eastern extremity of the nave near the altar', and that all seats would be 'good oak benches (moveable of course) or oak chairs', and further they hoped that funds would allow 'the diapering of the roof with proper ecclesiastical patterns' (251).

Articles too were published and papers read relating to antiquarian precedents for the most minute details of the structure and its restoration. The *Ecclesiologist* for example described the technical details of the restoration of the tower, the discovery of large square bases of the nave piers on the lowering of the pavement to its original level, and the remains of three apsidal terminations to the choir and choir aisles of the Romanesque church. A lengthy discussion took place concerning the discovery of the small plinths which served as bases to the double semi-cylindrical face shafts formerly running up the face of the piers. The original face shafts had been removed to make way,

> 'for an incongruous triple vaulting shaft substituted by Wyatt when he erected the meagre triforium with its painfully glaring clerestorey'.

Cottingham's restoration of the face shafts from the ancient example remaining had occasioned much argument, not only in the Committee, but amongst others 'loud in their condemnation of them as non-supporting capitals - a supposed grievous architectural anomaly'. The writer supported Cottingham's decision to restore them, pointing out that similar non-supporting shafts appeared in the aisles where the vaulting sprang from corbels detached from the capitals of the face shafts by an interval of several feet, proving 'beyond contradiction that for five centuries they had not provided support for the groining'. The writer went on to give precedents for this feature in the Cathedral at Bayeux, S. Ambigio at Milan and the cloisters of S. Trophimus at Arles. At Bayeux,

> 'the vaulting shafts spring from corbels at the base of the triforium exactly as Mr Cottingham has proposed. Thus he has preserved a rare feature of unusual interest, the occurrence of the double fact shaft not being found in any of the pier-ranges of the larger Romanesque buildings of this country, a perfect and complete restoration, separating by a broad line of demarcation, the ancient from the modern, the work of Lozing or Raquelin from the work of Wyatt' (252).

This testimonial to the archaeological accuracy of Cottingham's work, once again demonstrates the great extent of his knowledge, and his ability to recognise and preserve 'a very rare feature' of Romanesque architecture, one that appeared in Churches on the Continent. These detailed discussions, the reports in many journals, the exact specifications in the Chapter Act books, and information in letters written at the time between Cottingham, his son, the Dean and others,

help now to elucidate areas of doubt and criticism of Cottingham's work. He has been credited with 'rebuilding the piers entirely', 'inserting a triple window in the east end'; 'the blank arcading above the eastern arch is Cottingham', and in the nave, 'the vaulting corbels are by Cottingham, before him the shafts rose from the floor without a break' - which as we have seen was not the case (253). Such comments as these suggest that Cottingham invented certain features or altered existing ones entirely. Wyatt's reputation meanwhile, and his activities at Hereford have been defended, 'he has been unjustly maligned... although he could have saved the Norman gallery his Early English gallery with the simplest Y tracery is not in the least offensive and he repeated the Perdendicular windows in an equally innocuous way. His vault is of timber and the ribbing, self-effacing. The vaulting corbels, of which one cannot quite say that, are by Cottingham...' (254).

After Cottingham's death in 1847 the remaining work to the nave, the aisles, Lady Chapel, stained glass windows, altar reredos and encaustic flooring was continued by his son N.J. Cottingham (255). The *Chapter Acts Book* noted the Dean and Chapter's sincere feelings of sorrow and regret at the death of Cottingham and wished to record,

> 'their thankful conviction that to his talent and judgement the security of the great central tower of this Church under Divine Providence has been attributable, that in truth that noble structure has been saved from the ruin which threatened it...'

They deeply deplored the loss, they, in common with the country had sustained at the loss of one 'so eminently skillful in all the peculairities and distinction of ecclesiastical architecture' and they looked forward to the continuance of the work by his son, who had served six year apprenticeship with his father and who had participated in the 'minutiae of the various great and hazardous undertakings'.

The *Chapter Acts Book* records the contract for the completion of the nave and north and south aisles with drawings listed one to twenty, showing the extent of the intended restoration, a plan of one of the nave piers with reinstatement of the double semi-shafts, designs for the tile pavement, working drawings for the restoration of jamb-mouldings to the western doors and doorway and window into the cloisters in the south aisle, plans of nave and aisle ceilings showing intended stencilled diapers and drawings for the restoration of the carved corbels and cappings to the shafts in the triforuim supporting the groining of the

nave ceilings, and detailed drawings for the under pinning of the nave piers. The specification listed the same requirements as before, care to reuse old stone in all wall-work, 'to accord exactly in colour and appearance with the Mason's work in the choir and Tower already executed', all whitewash to be removed and stone restored to its natural colour, and plaster mouldings to be 'cut and carefully restored in stone in exact accordance with the ancient arches existing' (256). In the Lady Chapel N.J.Cottingham completed the work in accordance with the specifications drawn up by his father in 1845, the work continuing slowly as funds were raised. In addition N.J. designed the stained glass windows for the Lady Chapel, the six windows of the north wall depicting scenes from the Life of Christ and the two windows in the south wall, all in memory of Charles Morgan, canon of Hereford who died in 1787. The windows are lettered Charles A Gibbs pinxit (257). Cottingham also designed the glass for the East triplet in 1850. This has been wrongly attributed both to Pugin (258) and to Messrs Hardman (259) but N.J.C in a letter of October nineteenth 1849 to R.BPhillips, a patron of the restoration, wrote,

> 'I will not fail as speedily as possible to prepare designs for the East windows as a triplet complete. Your wishes as to the pattern window in the Lady Chapel shall also have my best attention...' (260).

The Dean too wrote to Phillips in January of 1850,

> 'I saw Cottingham here. I believe he is to come again on Saturday. He brought the new plan and designs for the windows and I was charmed with them and entirely approve of the amended designs...' (261).

The 'pattern window' referred to a thirteenth century window removed from St Peter's Church, Hereford in 1820 and bought by Phillips for £5. He gifted it to the Cathedral and N.J. Cottingham inserted it into the Chapel (262). As a memorial to Dean Merewether who died in April 1850, N.J. Cottingham designed the stained glass for the five lancet windows of the Lady Chapel (263). He wrote to Phillips on February 20th 1851,

> 'I am truly rejoiced that the windows are approved. I will submit the cartoons to the Memorial Committee. The centre light of the east end of the Choir is nearly completed, the effect will be very gorgeous...' (264).

The triplet in the choir was completed and installed by March 14th, 1851 (265). N.J. Cottingham also designed the reredos elaborately carved in Caen stone with figures in crocketed niches as a memorial to Joseph Bailey M.P., the carving executed by Boulton of Lambeth, a large brass

eagle lectern that was exhibited at the Great Exhibition, and the carved decoration of the spandrels of the arches behind the altar (266).

G.G.Scott carried out extensive works of restoration to Hereford Cathedral from 1858. He completely reconstructed the East front and replaced much of the east wall of the Lady Chapel with ornate decoration, turreted angle buttresses and a large East gable, work that was in direct contrast to Cottingham's instructions for the East end to be 'reinstated in strict conformity with the original work and the drawings and models... The whole external ashlaring, mouldings, carved capitals to the windows and return of the buttresses...' *The Chapter Acts Book*, in the contract between The Chapter and G.G. Scott of 1858 listed a massive programme of restoration and the specifications make a telling contrast to Cottingham's insistence throughout that 'such portions of the old stoneowrk as are sound must be reused, and the new shall be a faithful restoration of the original work now in existence...'. Where Cottingham called for repair and reuse, Scott instructed,

> 'west side of transept, 26 new detached shafts', reconstructed in new stone; restore Norman arcade, new Norman shafts, cusps and bases in new ashlar...'

The North West Romanesque pier that Cottingham had carefully repaired preserving all old stone, was to have '200 feet of new stone' under Scott's reparations. Bishop Audley's Chapel exterior was to be totally renewed, new parapets, new pinnacles, and in the Lady Chapel he found 'scarcely any old stone fit to reuse', and ordered 'IT MUST ALL BE NEW'.

Scott noted in his instructions for the north east transept,

> 'there are remains of old mural paintings on this side and in the transept generally which must not be obliterated without permission', and again
> 'If any painting of a decorative kind be found on any of the walls or stonework they are not to be obliterated without express orders to do so from the architect...' (267).

The phrasing of these instructions gives the reader the impression that there was a likelihood of the permission being granted.

Dean Merewether was buried at the entrance to the Lady Chapel. The brass plaque inlaid in the slab of black marble bears the inscription '... for eighteen years the Dean of Hereford - to the restoration of this Cathedral he devoted the unwearied energies of his Life until its close on 4th April 1850'. Perhaps it is not too much to say that we owe it to

the indefatigable Dean and the skills of his architect that Hereford Cathedral still stands today and that it was 'saved from the ruin which threatened it'. At Cottingham's death, a writer in the *Athenaeum* listed his accomplishments and said, 'He understood and appreciated the several distinctions of style in Gothic architecture, and had accomplished a good deal towards the revival of a true taste among us...' (268).

1.8 Church Furnishings

In addition to carrying out restoration and extension to many churches Cottingham was commissioned to design ecclesiastical fittings such as pulpits, in wood and stone, Bishop's thrones, chairs, communion tables and altars, bench pews, light fittings, lecterns, Litany desks, stained glass, monuments, encaustic tiles, screens and fonts. These will be considered, not under generic headings, but rather in terms of the settings for which they were designed, as a more coherent way of examing the stylistic tendencies. Some architectural fittings such as the screens and reredos of Hereford, Armagh and Magdalen have already been studied in previous parts, but will be mentioned again as part of the overall interior design. The remaining examples of Cottingham's work have never been reviewed. In the Victoria and Albert Museum's *Exhibition of Victorian Church Art* of 1971, there was no mention of Cottingham as a designer of Church art or furnishings except in relation to a Hardman flagon commissioned for Davington Priory where Cottingham possibly carried out restoration for his friend, Thomas Willement, the antiquary and designer of stained glass and armorial paintings (269). There is evidence of close links between leading architects such as Cottingham and A.W. Pugin and many of the craftsmen in wood and metal who made furniture, fittings, stained glass and carved stone to their designs (270). Amongst those craftsmen whom we know worked with Willement, Pugin and Cottingham were Samuel Pratt and his brothers Edward and James, who had workshops and showrooms at 47 New Bond Street and 3 Lower Grosvenor Street in London (271), Thomas Potter of South Molton Street who provided metal work as well as cast-iron ties for Cottingham's restorations at Bury St Edmund's and Hereford (272), and Messrs Hardman, metalworkers and stained glass designers of Birmingham (273), W. Boulton of Lambeth, a

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stone carver (274), and S.A. Nash, a carver of wood who worked extensively in Suffolk and London (275). As we have seen, in all specifications and from personal letters to his patrons, Cottingham insisted on the highest quality of materials and craftsmanship in the execution of his meticulously drawn designs. Few working drawings for his ecclesiastical fittings and furniture have come to light, apart from those for the carved oak throne and stone screen which he designed for Armagh Cathedral, but some extant examples of his work still remain in Churches which have so far escaped the hand of nineteenth and twentieth century 'improvers'.

Cottingham was in the forefront of promoting and encouraging the revival of encaustic tiled flooring for use in church building and restoration. His interest probably stemmed from his detailed research of mediaeval buildings. At Rochester, for example, in 1824, he preserved the original tile paving comprising fragments of old encaustic tiles (276). The *Ecclesiologist* in 1845 noted that 'every day increases our knowledge of ancient pavements and Rochester contains several exquisite specimens', and the writer expressed disgust at their replacement by 'street-flagging under the direction of Mr Vulliamy' (277). Cottingham had examples of early tiles in his Museum of Antiquities as a source for stylistic accuracy and he may also have known of the discovery by the Worcester architect, Harvey Eginton, of a mediaeval kiln and deposit of tiles at Malvern in 1833 (278). Eginton had encouraged the Worcester Porcelain Manufacturing Company to produce encaustic tiles which he used in church restorations such as the Church of Stratford upon Avon in 1837 (279). Cottingham's discovery in 1841 of the mediaeval tiles in the Chapter House at Westminster was of great importance in stimulating a revival (280) and J.G. Nichols book on encaustic tiles, with accurate drawings by Cottingham, helped to spread knowledge and interest in mediaeval designs. For example Nichols book was listed in publications recommended by A. Didron in *Annales Archeologiques* of 1846, extending the influence to Europe (281). However, most significantly, Herbert Minton of Stoke-on-Trent undertook the successful reproduction of tiles from the Chapter House, leading in 1842 to his catalogue entitled *Old English Tile Patterns* which introduced his new range of encaustic tiles (282). A.W. Pugin, influenced directly by Cottingham and by his father's antiquarian

pursuits was interested in the revival of all aspects of mediaeval art, and in Minton's catalogue the first twelve designs in the book were lithographic prints and the remaining fifty designs were connected with Cottingham's Temple Church designs, derived from the Chapter House, and Pugin's tiles for St Giles Church, Cheadle (283). Cottingham designed encaustic tiles for many of the churches that he restored and for domestic commissions after the success of the Temple Church designs of 1843. Many of Cottingham's floors have been destroyed in later restorations, for example, at Hereford Cathedral Cottingham's tiles were replaced by G.G. Scott in 1858 when he renewed the flooring with tiles of a more elaborate design (284). Cottingham's tiles for Hereford were described by the *Ecclesiologist* as 'rather plain', and we can perhaps assume that Cottingham based his designs on examples of early tiles in his Museum and that he used simple two colour geometric tiles in keeping with the Norman and Early English parts of Hereford. Scott at Hereford and at Ashbourne Church replaced Cottingham's geometric and armorial tiles with tiles of intricate design incorporating birds, heraldic beasts, foliage and elaborated armourials of the fifteenth century. Cottingham used tiles with simple Gothic motifs or armorial devices usually of two or three colours in his restorations at Market Weston Church, Barrow, Horringer, St Mary's Clifton, Theberton, Roos, and Brougham Chapel, and in his own church of St. Helen's, Thorney, where remaining examples may be seen (285). At Horringer for example, Cottingham used red and green tiles, the red inlaid with the geometric motifs inlaid in white clay, in the manner of the thirteenth century tiles such as those discovered at Hailes (Fig.161) (286), showing the repetition of single motifs, the period of his tile designs in keeping with the Early English arcade and side aisle extention that he designed (287). He used red tiles inlaid with white again at Barrow Church with a four-tile arrangement of geometric and floral Gothic motifs, again of the late thirteenth to early fourteenth design in keeping with the Church's founding date (Fig.162) (288). His study of the tiles at Westminster that he discovered dating from 1258 gave him precedents for appropriate tile designs, for example, in his work at St Mary's, Clifton, where he used the non-figurative designs, which he described in his article on the Westminster tiles, with circles and foliage and armorials in the centres, composed of a 9 tile design

(Fig.163) (289). In his church at St Helen's, Thorney he used the simple two-colour tile, yellow inlaid in red, in geometric motifs with a narrow border of yellow circles inlaid in red for the centre aisle floor, and in the chancel, a more elaborate three colour design based on circles and geometric floral motifs in keeping with the Romanesque ornament of his church (Figs.164 & 165) (290).

Cottingham also designed furniture for many of the churches in which he worked. At Rochester, he designed an oak pulpit and Bishop's throne, which can be seen in a lithograph of 1842 (Fig.166). The pulpit of hexagonal form supported on a hexagonal stem is in Early English Gothic of the later period, with the characteristic trefoil in blind tracery panels, crockets to the pointed arches and small bunches of foliage carved at intervals in the hollow mouldings. The staircase curving in two stages to the pulpit has turned balusters with trefoil pointed arches (Fig.167). The Bishop's throne has a canopy of similar form to the blind panels of the pulpit with trefoil arched sides, cluster column supports and crocketed pointed arches topped by foliate finials. Both the pulpit and throne echoed the style of the late thirteenth century choir and transepts, harmonising with the remains of the thirteenth century woodwork of the pulpitum and the back stalls. Cottingham also designed a stone font in keeping with the Norman nave of the Cathedral, of square form with Norman round arch decoration and zig zag moulding supported on a central column enriched with chevron mouldings and four columns with cushion capitals (291). The pulpit can still be seen at Rochester for it was removed to the nave, where it looks out of place with the great stone Norman pillars, when G.G. Scott replaced it with a very elaborate Gothic pulpit and Bishop's throne in 1871 (292). Cottingham's Bishop's throne was moved to St Alban's Abbey in 1877 for the enthronement of Dr Claughton as first Bishop of that See, and it appears in a lithograph of the nave of St Alban's, but it has now disappeared and cannot be traced (Fig.168) (293). The Norman font was sent to Deptford Parish Church where it looks incongruous in the strictly classical interior of that church (Fig.169).

At Magdalen College Chapel Cottingham's interior remains intact to a large extent. Here he was able to indulge his love of Perpendicular Gothic of the late fifteenth century, in keeping with the Chapel's founding date of 1473 (294). He based his designs on the remains of the

fifteenth century back stalls, and his oak wall panelling behind the stalls, and the carved stone panelling of the chancel are ornamented with ogee pointed blind tracery enriched with crocketed pinnacles and multicentred trefoils, designs of the late fifteenth century and similar to the work of Henry VIII's Chapel (Fig.170). The doorways of the chancel have pointed arches under square moulds, the spandrils richly carved with foliage and tracery. The fan-vaulted canopies of the prebendary stalls rise in a wealth of intricately pierced carving to tall crocketed pinnacles, and the stalls have blind traceried panels and finely-carved poupee head finials in a variety of designs, with foliage, faces, and winged figures (Fig.171). The altar of carved stone with traceried panels, the finely carved doorways and stalls, the brass light fittings and the organ screen all show work of the highest quality, and the finest craftmanship, and demonstrate Cottingham's understanding and knowledge of all stages of Gothic at Magdalen, the enriched intricacies of the Perpendicular period (See also Fig.84). Cottingham's concern for quality of materials was expressed in a letter to Dr Routh at Magdalen,

'I am happy to acquaint you that my researches for materials to refit your Chapel have been crowned with success...' (295)

and in the estimates for costs of the furnishings the contractor J.H. Browne wrote,

'the new oak stalls and wainscotting to your Chapel with solid fixed seats molded in front to the patterns of the old seats with additional thicknesses to the tracery mouldings, ornaments, and panelling as described by Mr Cottingham will be at least £900 after deducting £150 included in the contract for repairing the old work...' (300).

Cottingham's concern for archaeological correctness, his concern that every part of the revival should correspond exactly to the original date of the Chapel is borne out in his clear instructions that the seats should be made to the patterns of the old, in the detail of the mouldings ornaments, and panelling, with the added instruction that the materials should not be skimped in the making to ensure the finest quality.

The oak bench pews that Cottingham designed for Temple Church in 1841, elaborately carved by S.A. Nash with grotesque masks, crowned heads, fruits and foliage, serpents and birds, ornament in keeping with the thirteenth century Transitional choir and based on examples in Cottingham's Museum, were all destroyed in the bombing of London in

1944 (Fig.172) (301), and at Ashbourne Church in Derbyshire, Cottingham's oak screen and choir stalls, depicted in the volume by the Reverend Tenison Mosse of 1842, were swept away in a later restoration by G.G. Scott (302), but fine examples of Cottingham's work still exist in St Mary's Church, Bury St Edmund's. The carved oak pulpit in the style of the fifteenth century, the period of the Church, is of hexagonal form with panels enriched with cinquefoil tracery, separated by angular buttresses, and crowned with a cornice decorated with foliage. The staircase has octagonal newels with carved foliage under the capitals, and balustrades of pierced quatrefoils and trefoils. The pulpit's hexagonal stem, reinforced by a cast-iron shaft mortised into a solid stone base, has pointed arch panels with buttressed angles and heavy mouldings, and originally the pulpit was fitted with 'a pair of double branch sconces of polished brass and enamel of rich design' (Fig.173) (303). Cottingham may well have looked to fifteenth century Suffolk precedents for his finely carved pulpit, such as the carved oak octagonal pulpit at Theberton Church where he carried out works of restoration in 1846, or Tuddenham Church, the village where he built the school in 1846. The deeply carved octagonal Caen stone font with armorial shields and stylised foliage decoration was recently replaced by the original fifteenth century font which had been carefully preserved by Cottingham at the time of the restoration (Figs.174 & 175). Cottingham's font was moved into the Suffolk chapel, but it has since disappeared (304). Cottingham also installed an entrance lobby with a panelled screen of cinquefoil tracery and an embattled cornice, and his oak benches with foliate finials carved by Nash replaced the 'remaining bins' (Figs.176 & 177) (305). An oak communion table with traceried panels and bands of pierced quatrefoils, an aumbrey cupboard with the same panels as the pulpit and two highbacked chairs of carved oak enriched with elaborate pierced Gothic roundels and cusped ornament, which were the gift of Dr W.E. Image, completed the furnishings of St Mary's (Figs.178 & 179) (306). Cottingham, born and bred in Suffolk, knew the locality well and no doubt looked for precedents to the many churches that he had studied. He had been a subscriber in 1827 to a volume by Henry Davy entitled *The Architectural Antiquities of Suffolk, representing the most celebrated remains of Antiquity in the County,* (307) and his own Museum contained

casts of fifteenth century carved bench ends from Woolpit Church, and Westley Church in Suffolk, from Saffron Walden and from Hesset church in Norfolk (308). Samuel Tymms, in an article on Woolpit Church noted in 1859, 'the open seats have been much admired. Pugin copied them, so did Cottingham...' (Fig.180) (309). Cottingham's furnishings at St Mary's, as the reviewer at the time said, 'were done in the same spirit and made to harmonise with the old', harmonising with the period of the church itself and the traditions of the area (310).

At St Mary's Church, Clifton in Nottinghamshire, a twentieth century restoration as drastic and unsympathetic as any perpetrated by the most destructive of the nineteenth century restorers has swept away Cottingham's encaustic flooring, decorated with armorial bearings, carved oak screen, decorative iron work staircase, litany desk and pulpit (311). The carved oak ceiling of the crossing tower, 'discovered by accident when redecoration started on the ceiling', has now been painted gold, green, red and white in a modern design (312). All that remains is the font cover of carved oak, studded with brass, the doors to the north porch, and in the chancel, an example of Cottingham's stalls with foliate poupee head finials and pierced quatrefoil decoration. A few of the encaustic tiles remain in the entrance porch (Fig.181) (313). The small parish church of Market Weston, Suffolk, by contrast, has remained untouched since Cottingham's restoration of 1845. Here, the interior 'neat and pleasing' was 'fitted up with entirely new furnishings in much taste'. The chancel, rebuilt by Cottingham, has an open timber framed roof in common with other small Suffolk churches of the fifteenth century, and a three-light eastern window, 'glazed by the fair hand of Miss Rickards, the accomplished daughter of the rector of Stowlangtoft' (Fig.182) (315). On each side of the chancel are 'the unostentatious benches and seats for families of the patron and the incumbent', buttressed and panelled with blind cinquefoil tracery, and simple open benches 'for the village schools' with quatrefoil roundels. The nave is filled with solid oak open bench seats with elbows and bookboards, the ends terminating in roundels with combinations of pierced trefoils and quatrefoils in a variety of designs (Figs.183 & 184). In the nave by the north east chancel arch is the pulpit 'boldly executed in oak' of octagonal form, simply panelled with blind tracery on a stem with heavy architectural mouldings and a staircase of trefoil arched

balusters and hexagonal moulded newel posts. The lectern, also bold and architectural, has pierced roundels, a battlemented top, an octagonal, stepped and butttressed stem and octagonal molulded base with pierced trefoils (Figs.185 & 186). Cottingham's stone font, unfinished at the Church's reopening in 1844, was replaced in 1889 when a new belfry and vestry were erected and the chancel was raised. Cottingham's interior at Market Weston, his simple bold designs in keeping with the period of the church and with the needs of the Parish were described as 'creditable alike to the pious liberality and the improved taste of the age' (316).

Very little remains of Cottingham's work at Ashbourne in Derbyshire, which he rescued from a dilap.idated state in 1840 (317). In addition to the structural repairs Cottingham had repewed the Church, resited the organ in the south transept, reinstated the gallery and removed a lath and plaster screen which separated the chancel from the nave (318). Cottingham repaired damage to the nave piers 'strangely defaced and cut away' to receive monuments. J.H. Markland, writing in 1840 noted that,

> 'amongst the many restorations which have recently taken place under the direction of Mr Cottingham, he has judiciously removed these tablets, a large monument of the age of James I which interfered with a beautiful lancet window has been placed against a blank wall and partly sunk into the ground without any portion of it being hidden. This example may be successfully followed in other places...' (319).

The removal of cumbrous monuments that obscured the original Gothic architecture was a recurring aspect of Cottingham's restoration work, beginning with his work at Rochester when he resited the heraldic panels that interferred with the West Window. Markland's paper on the resiting of monuments was widely circulated and helped to spread the influence of Cottingham's restoration procedures.

According to the Rev. Tenison Mosse, writing in 1840, Cottingham also designed a mural monument at Ashbourne, erected to the memory of Fanny, Lady Boothby, who died on January 2nd 1838. The Boothby family were local landowners and patrons of the restoration of the church. Cottingham's Gothic monument to Lady Boothby is divided by slim columns with foliate capitals into three compartments with trefoil heads under pointed arches inset with trefoils and decorated with foliage and armorial shields within roundels. The inscription was

written on 'bronzed metal plate' in olde English character with illuminated initials by 'Williment, painter in glass to Her Majesty, the whole executed in London from the designs under the superintendence of Mr Cottingham' (320).

During his work on Brougham Hall, Westmoreland, for the Lord Chanchellor, Henry, Lord Brougham, Cottingham also made designs for Brougham Chapel in 1846. Simon Jervis tentatively attributed this work to Cottingham, stating that,

'the references to Cottingham's involvement at Brougham are enigmatic, but possibly Cottingham worked there under Lord Brougham. We have no evidence that Cottingham worked on the chapel but it seems likely...'

Jervis noted that the candlesticks and the hinges on the oak aumbrey looked like Cottingham's work and the oak stalls, similar in design to those of Winchester Cathedral but omitting the later pinnacles, 'show a discriminating designer at work' (Figs.188-190) (321). This supposition can be confirmed from the letters written by Cottingham and his son to William Brougham (322). William Brougham, a keen mediaevalist, collected English and Continental mediaeval fitments for the Chapel, reusing ancient fragments of panelling, screens, furniture and other fittings, including a fine Flemish triptych which was incorporated as a reredos at the East end (323). Cottingham did not superintend the work in the chapel but sent designs for the Norman columns at the windows, the Norman wheel window inserted in the East end, the pews and carved stalls, and Lord Brougham's builders and carpenters carried out the work of refitting the interior, transforming it from a seventeenth century severely classical interior to a Mediaeval Chapel (Fig.191) (324).

John White, the foreman, wrote in 1843,

'the piece of carving you suggest for the west gabel of the chapel will make a good finish... The sooner you send the plan for the stone table the better... the flags from the entrance hall are all made ready for the chapel...'.

These letters listed the progress of every stage, the fitting of the floor, the painting of the armorials and the painted decoration of the ceiling, the fitting of the pews and the organ cupboard (325). The seat ends in the chapel and the aumbrey door are illustrated in a booklet, *Antiquarian Gleanings in the North of England* by William B. Scott (326). In Cottingham's letter of July 24th 1845, we find confirmation that the work was his, for he included a sketch of this aumbrey door showing his

designs for the hinges and he also mentioned designs for the font cover (Figs.192 & 193). It is possible that Cottingham designed the altar for the Chapel, made by Samuel Pratt. In William Brougham's diary of November 22nd, 1844, he wrote 'Pratt says he cannot take less than £150 for the altar having refused this from Pugin for Lord Shrewsbury' (328). The hinges for the aumbrey, and the locks and hinges for the doors of the Chapel were made by Thomas Potter of South Molton Street to Cottingham's designs (329).

At Horringer Church formerly known as Horningsheath, Suffolk in 1845 Cottingham restored the roof, enlarged the church by the addition of a north aisle and installed oak bench seats with carved finials. Later restoration removed his oak seating but left an example of his encaustic tiling in the chancel and the door to the vestry, panelled with quatrefoil tracery (Fig.194) (330). At Barrow Church, close by, the restoration of the dilapidated fabric was completed to the designs of N.J. Cottingham, 'the walls having been brought upright by Mr Cottingham's process and underpinned' (331). The reviewer in the *Bury and Norwich Post* noted too that 'a beautiful piscina and sedilia and the lower part of all that remained of the chancel screen were restored with great care'. An encaustic floor was laid and N.J. Cottingham used the remains of the rood screen to construct the pulpit and as a design for the richly carved oak stalls with elongated poupee head finials in the choir, the nave being furnished with simple panelled bench seats (Figs.195-197). The Early English lancet east window depicting the Life of Christ with elaborate mosiac borders and diaper work, and the quatrefoil light in the gable at the east end were designed by N.J. Cottingham and installed by the Reverend Keeling and his brothers as a memorial to their parents (Fig.198) (332).

Another small Suffolk church rescued from dilapidation by Cottingham in 1846 was St Peter's, Theberton, where he saved the round tower which leaned 18" out of perpendicualr, withou resorting to rebuilding and restored the fifteenth century porch and south aisle with its intricate ornament. In the interior he restored the south aisle and refitted the nave and chancel with,

> 'very handsomely carved seats; those appropriated to Mr Doughty, the patron himself, being of oak and more elaborately wrought, the others of deal...' (333).

Cottingham as Samuel Tymms pointed out, looked to Woolpit Church for the fifteenth century precedent and his oak chancel benches have panelled ends with blind tracery and foliate finials, some enriched with carved winged kneeling angels holding shields of arms, very similar to, although not copies of the bench ends at Woolpit. The deal nave benches, darkened with age to a rich patination, have boldly carved simple foliate finials (Figs.199 & 200) Traces of polychromy were discovered on the removal of whitewash from the south aisle arcade and Cottingham restored the stencilled patterns with great richness of colour in the mediaeval manner, decorative work that was carried out in the same year 1846, as the similar work undertaken by Viollet-le-Duc at La Sainte Chapelle and by A.W.N.Pugin at St Giles, Cheadle, in their efforts to revive the full colour and beauty of the Mediaeval interior. Cottingham also restored and redecorated the timbers, spandrels and bosses of the south aisle roof with stencilled patterns in rich colouring. H.M.Doughty, writing in 1910 noted criticisms of this in the Davy MSs, 'he did not know that Mr Cottingham the eminent church architect had but followed a practice of the period to which the aisle belongs...' (334). In the south aisle there is a wall monument to the Hon. Frederica Doughty, designed by Cottingham in the style of fifteenth century Gothic in keeping with the date of the south aisle itself, with an ogee pointed crocketed arch surmounted by angels, the whole emblazoned with armorials and intricately carved painted and gilded ornament (Figs.201-203). Possibly Cottingham looked to the many examples of monuments of the late mediaeval period in his Muesum, carefully cast from the originals, particularly those at Westminster, or he may have based his Doughty monument for example on the monuments to Joanna de Kilpec and Humphrey de Bohun which he had discovered in Hereford Cathedral. It is possible that Thomas Willement executed the monument to Cottingham's designs, for he was responsible for the three stained glass windows of the restored south aisle at Theberton, depicting the figures of St Peter and St Paul and the Doughty coats of arms (Fig.204). Cottingham designed the encaustic tiles for the floor in three patterns but no trace of these remain in the church. They were swept away in later restorations and Cottingham's 'lectern of square form', possibly similar to his lectern for Market Weston, was also replaced. In recent years parts of

Cottingham's aisle arcade, the roof of the south aisle, and the Doughty monument have been repainted to restore the brilliance of the colours. In Cottingham's restoration of the Norman parish church at Milton Bryan funds were limited to the structural work which included a new North porch, a south transept to balance the Inglis Chapel at the north, and a tower to house the seventeenth century bells. Cottingham reopened the blocked up west window which was a fifteenth century insertion in the earlier fabric and the window was later filled with stained glass as a memorial to Sir Joseph Paxton who died in 1871. Possibly Cottingham designed the brass church plate and corona pierced with Gothic ornament but no documentary evidence has appeared to confirm the supposition (Figs.205 & 206).

Cottingham brought his antiquarian knowledge of all periods of the Mediaeval and his passion for restoring the church furnishings and interior decoration and ornament as a complete revival of the Gothic, to all his works. He achieved archaeological accuracy, basing his work on the appropriate precedents, creating interiors that were in harmony with the style of the architecture and in keeping with the requirements of the nineteenth century. He insisted on the finest quality of craftsmanship throughout, from his major works in carved wood and stone at Armagh and Hereford, to the simple fittings of his Market Weston Church. He retained where possible all traces of the original mediaeval furnishing and decoration, using them as a basis for his designs, and carefully preserving Norman fonts, as at St Helen's, Thorney and St Mary's, Bury, and the fifteenth century pulpit of Theberton, in telling contrast to later restorers like G.G.Scott Junior, who replaced the fifteenth century Woolpit Church pulpit with a meagre, thinly carved one of his own design in 1883. Cottingham's scholarly knowledge of mediaeval ecclesiastical design and his painstaking research to confirm precedents for his work enabled him to give a lead in the design and use of encaustic floor tiles in churches. His discovery and preservation of mediaeval works of art like the thirteenth century frescoes at Rochester in 1825, a time when such work was considered valueless, encouraged the revival of the mediaeval art of enriching plaster walls with symbolic patterns and brilliant colour. In all his work in church fittings and design, his main concern from 1822 onwards, was to preserve and reinstate the

previously despised art of the Mediaeval period, to re-educate taste to appreciate its merits, and to revive the full imagery and symbolism of the Gothic Church in the use of stained glass, frescoes, the reintroduction of the chancel screen, statues in niches and in the reredos, carved pews, chairs, pulpits, lecterns, metalwork, and all fittings appropriate to the mediaeval idea. This work of Cottingham's predated that of the ecclesiological crusade of the nineteenth century in Europe, and had great influence through example upon the theory and practice of A.W.N.Pugin and the Ecclesiologists.

1.9 St Helen's Church, Thorney, Nottinghamshire. 1845-49

Cottingham only built as far as we know, the small parish church of St Helen, Thorney, on the borders of Nottinghamshire and Lincolnshire (345). Some difficulties have arisen in the past over the dating and attribution of this church. N. Pevsner attributed it to L.N. Cottingham, giving the date of building as 1849 (346), two years after Cottingham's death, and for this reason, Timothy Mowl, in his thesis on the Norman Revival attributed it to his son, N.J. Cottingham (347). In the obituary to Cottingham in the *Art Union,* the writer suggested that the church was built to N.J. Cottingham's designs, 'from the desire of his father to test his ability', but N.J. Cottingham in a letter to William Brougham of June 1846 mentioned the work at Thorney, describing it as,

'the Norman Church that we are building...' (348).

Certainly, due to his father's ill-health, N.J. Cottingham was taking on increasing responsibility for all building projects between 1846 and 1847, and the church, clearly under construction by June 1846, was finished by him in 1849, eighteen months after Cottingham's death. St Helen's was erected by the Lord of the Manor, George Nevile of Grove and his son the Reverend Christopher Nevile. The Nevile family succeeded the Hercy's as lords of Grove in 1500 and George Nevill bought the Thorney estate in 1567, since when it has been held by the family until the present day (349). Surviving letters from 1845 indicate that Christopher Nevile and his brothers Henry and Charles and their mother, who donated £1000, raised the bulk of the funds, and the church was built to Cottingham's designs in Romanesque style (350). The *Ecclesiologist* noted in 1845 that 'Mr Cottingham has sent an external view of the Church he is building. It is in Norman style and presents

nothing that we can praise, excepting the length of the chancel' (351).
Naturally the *Ecclesiologists* disapproved of Cottingham's choice of
neo-Norman, considering Middle-Pointed to be the only true style for
church design, but on its completion in 1849, they wrote a detailed and
favourable report saying that 'the excellence of the execution and real
church-like effect of the interior are entitled to considerable praise' (352).
Cottingham's choice of Romanesque for this church is an interesting
one. He had written in various publications, as we have seen, on the
beauties and merits of Romanesque architecture, giving examples of
existing buildings, and shown a detailed knowledge of its history,
development, and construction, gained not only from the extensive
collection of fragments and casts of Romanesque art and architecture
that filled his Museum, but also from his direct experience of restoring
Romanesque buildings. At Rochester he carried out restoration to the
twelfth century crypt, at Hereford, extensive work to rescue the great
Romanesque crossing and reinstatement of the remaining Romanesque
portions of the east end, to the Norman Tower at Bury which he saved
and which he wrote about in detail, and importantly as it was a small
parish church, a restoration of the Romanesque Church at Kilpeck in
Herefordshire. Cottingham knew this church well. He subscribed,
together with Sir Samuel Meyrick, the Rev. Routh, Anthony Salvin,
The Cambridge Camden Society, Albert Way, Thomas Willement, and
others to a volume of 1842 by   G.R. Lewis on Kilpeck Church (354). In
his introductory essay, Lewis wrote,

> 'Kilpeck Church has been but little seen...it is a work of high
> imagination. It must be made known the present disgraceful state of
> this most beautiful church... it must be taken in hand b y the highly
> educated...'

In a letter of June 7th 1845, N.J. Cottingham wrote to William
Brougham,

> 'You are probably well acquainted with the beautiful Norman
> church at Kilpeck - we have lately received the appointment to
> restore it. Among architecture it is considered a perfect gem, the
> decoration and arrangement full of symbolical meaning...' (355).

It is significant that Cottingham was chosen as the 'highly educated'
restorer of this major example of European Romanesque architecture
for his extensive knowledge of Romanesque architecture on the
Continent and in England. Unfortunately no archive material relating

to this restoration has come to light and Cottingham's work was overlaid by later works of restoration.

Cottingham was also involved with works in neo-Norman style for the Earl of Dunraren at Adare and at Brougham in Westmoreland where he was extending Brougham Hall and making designs for the Chapel including Romanesque pillars to the windows and a Romanesque wheel window in the east end. He would have known the history of Lady Anne Clifford, the Countess Dowager of Dorset, a devout Anglican and Royalist, who spent the years of the Commonwealth restoring the neglected and ruinous castles and churches of her northern estates. She restored the fabric to match surviving remains, using materials and style in keeping, and she also rebuilt Brougham Chapel of twelfth century foundation, with round arch lights in square heads with simple moulded labels (356). Another seventeenth century restoration of a Romanesque Church that respected the character of its original date was the restoration of Ely Cathedral by Robert Grimbold, the Chapter having appointed him to rebuild the transept 'exactly in ye same manner and on ye same foundation it stood before' (357), and an eighteenth century restoration that was well known in antiquarian circles was the repair of Tickencote Church in 1792 by S.P. Cockerell, criticised by John Carter in 1806 as 'having been havocked, but still the greater part of the intention is left' (358), but praised by Blore in 1811, 'the greatest care was taken to preserve all parts of the chancel that were fit to be used again...' (359).

Apart from influence through his own practical experience and study of Romanesque buildings themselves, Cottingham would have studied the early volumes on English and Continental Romanesque architecture, as well as those produced by his friends and fellow members of the scholarly societies. No catalogue of Cottingham's library, described as 'extensive', has yet come to light but it is possible that some of his books, at his death, went to his brother Edwin, whose valuable library was sold in 1859 (360). It contained Cottingham's publications and such volumes as Ducarel's *History of Monastic Orders* of 1695, Cressy's *Church History of Brittany from the beginning of Christianity to the Norman Conquest,* 1668, Neale and Webb's *Durandus,* and the 1503 edition, Dugdale's *Monasticon* in eight volumes of 1817-30, *Vetusta Monumenta,* volumes one to five, 1747 to 1835, and Britton and

Brayley's *Beauties of England and Wales* of 1801-1815 (361). Cottingham had made his own study of English Romanesque and the great Continental Norman Churches such as St George de Bocherville and St Etienne at Caen, as we know from the casts of architectural features in his Museum (362), and he would also have known of other antiquarian publications by his friends, such as A. Pugin's *Architectural Antiquities of Normandy* of 1828 and Cotman's *Antiquities of Normandy* of 1822; Whewell's works on German churches and churches of Normandy and Picardy of 1835 (363) and Henry Gally Knight's *Architectural Tours of Normandy, Sicily and Italy,* published between 1835 and 1844 (364). All these writers were known to Cottingham and knowledge too spread through scholarly interchange at meetings of the antiquarian societies to which they all belonged.

Pattern books of the early nineteenth century also showed Romanesque designs as a cheap alternative to classical and Gothic (365), for example P.F. Robinson published a design for an Anglo-Norman church in *Village Architecture* and in the *Architectural Magazine* of 1834, J. Picton recommended Neo-Norman for churches, citing Iffley, Tickencote and others as examples to copy (366). James Barr, in his volume of 1842 on Anglican Church architecture which he dedicated to the Oxford Society for Promoting Gothic Architecture, recommended Anglo-Norman 'for occasional adoption', noting that it was not sufficient to borrow details but general proportions and structure should be studied (367), and Charles Anderson in *Hints on Church Building* of 1841 said that Northern climate and lack of funds should persuade architects to adopt Norman style, 'striving to complete the work in accordance with ancient models'. He did not intend to give foreign churches as examples, 'for we have a vast number of fine churches from whence valuable information may be obtained' (368). The Oxford Society in 1845, debated the issue, 'How far is the Romanesque style suitable for modern ecclesiastical building', with recommendations for English Romanesque as a form 'most suitable for the present time, particularly in the colonies', and the Chairman expressed his dissatisfaction with the new Romanesque Church at Wilton in Wiltshire by Wyatt and Brandon for following Italian Romanesque precedent (369). The *Ecclesiologist* of course was vociferous on the subject of style, considering Norman as 'rude, bald, shabby, and

unworthy of the refinement of the age'. However, it was allowed as a style suited to 'primitive societies' such as New Zealand. The reviewer continued by condemning the publication by J.H. Parker of *Designs for Churches and Chapels in the Norman and Gothic Styles by Various Architects,* (370) and the Oxford Society's illustration of St. Peter's, Wilcot, saying, 'we earnestly hope it may not be copied' (371).

Several architects built churches in the Romanesque style during the 1830s and 1840s. Edward Blore, for example built nine churches in London from 1835, mostly barnlike structures in brick as an economical answer to the Commissioners plan for Churches for the poor (372); and Benjamin Ferrey, pupil of A. Pugin, was a prolific designer, building many Neo-Norman Churches in the North of England such as St. James, Morpeth of 1843-46 (373). Ferrey's Church at East Crafton in Wiltshire of 1842 brought Neo-Norman into disrepute, however, when the stone nave vault collapsed, killing a visiting clergyman (374). Anthony Salvin too built in Neo-Norman style as well as Bonomi, Basevi, John Shaw, Harvey Eginton, Thomas Wyatt, and Cottingham's pupil, E.B. Lamb. John Carline, Cottingham's contractor for the works at Hereford Cathedral, built two Neo-Norman churches at Grinshill and Albrighton in local red sandstone in 1841 and A.W. Pugin, who had restored the Romanesque church of St Nicholas at Peper Harrow, also built three Romanesque churches, including one at Gorey, County Wexford in Ireland in 1839 to 1842 (375). The use of the style was not confined to any particular denomination. The Non Conformists made use of it for simplicity and economy, not being concerned with the liturgical purposes of altars, Chancels, side-aisles and apses. Their requirement was the largest number of sittings in the available space. In Wales for example, Romanesque was used for the plain churches of the Baptists and Dissenting churches at Abergavenny and St Mary the Virgin and St Mary the Virgin at Cardiff, possibly based on the major cathedral churches like SS Andrew and David or SS Peter and Teilo at Llandaff, dating from the twelfth century (376). Many Roman Catholic and Anglican churches were built, some of which looked to the Continent for their source of Romanesque design. St Mary's, Wilton, criticised by the *Ecclesiologists* and the Oxford Architectural Society was based on Lombardy Romanesque, with round arch windows, a large wheel window, a free-standing campanile, and a lavish interior

rich in Italian paintings (377). The Romanesque of Germany was also looked at by scholars and travellers and in the 1840s a Norman Revival was also taking place there, but Cottingham, in his Neo-Norman Church of St Helen's, Thorney, based his designs on his knowledge and study of English Romanesque precedents in keeping with the requirements of an English parish church, work that, importantly, went far beyond the attempts of others and which drew praise even from the prejudiced *Ecclesiologist* for its archaeological correctness and 'beauty of execution'.

The plans of St Helen's follows the usual Romanesque parish church arrangement of a simple two-celled plan, a nave without aisles, a deep chancel of square end design with a small sacristy on the north, and no tower. The plan of parish churches had been influenced by the elaborate ritual and pageantry that the Continental Church brought to public worship, and in order for the congregation to appreciate the ritual, the narrow chancel arch that had almost separated the chancel from the nave was opened out to form a wide arch. A three-celled plan is also found in Norman parish churches as at Kilpeck where there is a nave, choir and a sanctuary with a vaulted apse. The apsidal east end is a feature of Continental Romanesque, often found in churches of The Auvergne and was taken up in England in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Apsidal churches are generally found in the south east of the country, possibly an area into which the Normans brought their own masons (378). St. Helen's has a gable belfry over the West end with two bells in a round headed arch enriched with roll-moulding and zig-zag, and columns with volute capitals, billet carving and below, a corbel course of six grotesque heads. Kilpeck has a similar two bell belfry in a round-headed arch, and drawings of St Peter's Church at Tickencote in Lincolnshire show a belfry of this form prior to its removal in the restoration of 1792. At St Helen's, between the nave and chancel is a second bell-turret like a miniature tower, elaborately carved with figures in round arches. The existence of the two belfries was criticised by the *Ecclesiolgists* as 'the most glaring defect in the church, being wholly, we believe, without precedent'. Cottingham drew upon his extensive knowledge of the Romanesque to design a church that was archaeologically correct, but instead of slavishly copying original examples, he combined elements to create his own design. The west

front doorway at St. Helen's has pillars all differently carved with roll moulding, cable and lattice designs, with cushion, volute, and scalloped capitals. The round arch has decorations in bands of roll moulding, beaded cable and stiff leaf foliage interspersed with human and animal faces, and the hood has a decoration of zig-zags and wheels ending in crowned heads. Above the doorway are three round-arch lancets with pillars and over them a wheel window. The wheel window is more commonly found in Romanesque churches in France but Cottingham's wheel window echoes the one that he discovered in Temple Church, though not an exact copy, and resembles also the wheel window inserted by Cottingham in the east end of the Chapel at Brougham (Figs.207 & 209) (379). A wheel window can also be seen at Barfreston Church in Kent and at Iffley in Oxfordshire, where the original scheme of wall treatment remains with arched doorway, large round window and triple lancet in the gable, all decorated with chevron and beak moulding. Cottingham, in his writing on Romanesque wheel windows cited Barfreston and Iffley amongst others as notable examples to be found in this country (380). The west front of St. Helen's has a string course of circles and chip carving that ends in grotesque projecting dragon or crocodile heads with curled tongues. There are seventeen of these dragon's heads round the church and they closely resemble those at Kilpeck church. Kilpeck showed examples of the Herefordshire School, a regional variation of the Romanesque style which developed in the 1130s, with Kilpeck as an outstanding example and others such as the schemes of decoration at Shobdon and the recently discovered Billesley (381). The corbel course of grotesque heads under the bell-turret of St. Helen's is continued along the north and south sides of the church, again closely resembling those on the apsidal sanctuary of Kilpeck. The side windows of St Helen's are grouped in pairs with side columns and the sacristy window has a deep zig-zag surround very like the small belfry window at Iffley Church. The south door has further variations of mouldings, beakhead, billet, chevron and wheels and the square-ended chancel has a triple lancet and a small round window with geometric design (Figs.210-218).

The interior of St Helen's also shows Cottingham's understanding of the essential qualities of Romanesque architecture, that of mass enlivened by linear geometric decoration, knowledge gained from his

studies and from his works of restoration to churches with fine examples of Romanesque ornament, such as the Temple Church, Ashbourne, and Rochester Cathedral with their round arch doorways decorated with a variety of mouldings, and the interior ornament to be seen in St Alban's and Hereford. St Helen's loftly high pitched nave roof of hammerbeam construction with carved beams and stone corbels was praised by the *Ecclesiologist* (382). The chancel arch is decorated with billet and interlaced cable mouldings and has columns with scalloped capitals like those of the twelfth century St Michael and All Angels, Stewkley, and is restrained in elaboration in comparison to the chancel arch of St Peter's at Tickencote which has six orders each carved with a different design - square cut foliage with billet moulding, chevron, grotesques, embattled moulding, beak-head ornament and cable moulding (Figs.219-221). In the chancel of St. Helen's, the sedilia is surmounted by an arcade of three round arches with bold roll-moulding and intersecting arches supported on eight columns showing a variety of decorative chevron and roll mouldings. Above each seat is a circular carved decoration of simple wheel form with fleur de lys, a decoration that appeared in later Norman work. The late twelfth century font, for example, at Littlemore in Oxfordshire has a blind arcade of arches divided by fleur de lys. At St. Helen's, a fourth arch with roll-moulding encompasses the piscina (Fig.222). The windows of the church are surrounded by a variety of Romanesque geometric mouldings, beakhead to the circular window of the chancel, lozenge, billet and interlaced cable around the narrow lancet window, and the fleur de lys appears again in the wheel window of the west end (Figs.223 & 224).

The square stone pulpit supported on a carved central shaft and four columns is of Ancaster stone, carved with scenes from the Bible, the heads of the twelve Disciples in tiny medallions, and the symbols of the four Evangelists. The stone lectern is also of square form with stiff-leaf foliage and the font is of early Norman circular tub form with blind interlaced arches and columns, scroll foliage and a font cover of carved oak. The floor is inlaid with encaustic tiles of two patterns, an enriched geometric design in the chancel and the aisle laid with alternating plain and simple patterned tiles and pierced cast-iron grilles for heating and ventilation. The pews are of oak, a simple open bench form and the carved oak throne chair is enlivened with beaded intersecting

arches, nail-head and blind arcading design. Cottingham allowed the remains of the early church to stand in the graveyard as a Picturesque ruin, two pointed arches and pillars of a mediaeval arcade and a fifteenth century window suround, now over-grown with ivy. The early Romanesque stone font, indicative of the Church's earliest building date, and possibly another reason for Cottingham's choice of the Romanesque, was preserved and can be seen alongside Cottingham's font, which is not a copy of the early one, but a bold architectural nineteenth century interpretation of Romanesque motifs (Figs.225-229). The church today is still in its original state, so far 'unimproved' by later restoration, although now showing some signs of neglect. Cottingham based his Romanesque church on his knowledge of early mediaeval precedents as we have seen, and there is no clear evidence that he copied or drew inspiration directly from the Neo-Norman churches of his contemporaries each of whom interpreted Romanesque in their own way. Edward Blore, for example, at St. Peter's, Cephas Street in 1837 used brick to create a vast, plain round-arched Church with minimal detail and little sense of the powerful massiveness of Norman, Benjamin Ferrey at St. James, Morpeth of 1843, produced a convincingly Norman church showing an understanding of the style in its constructional features and the ornament of windows and interlaced arcading of the west front, and A.W. Pugin, in 1839-42 at St. Michael's, Gorey, in County Wexford, Ireland, although using Romanesque style, based his plan on the cruciform Gothic Dunroby Abbey in Wexford, keeping Norman detail to a minimum and exploiting the spatial qualities of the cruciform plan (383). At St. Helen's, Thorney, Cottingham created an English parish church in the Romanesque style, a reminder of the native mediaeval past, outstanding for its quality of building in local materials, and showing a masterly understanding of Romanesque principles of massiveness of scale, type and symbolism of ornament, and relation of parts to the whole, as developed in the hands of the English masons of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

SUMMARY

In Chapter One, through an analysis of Cottingham's publications and theories, a clear picture emerged of an architect, who, at an early date in the nineteenth century, proclaimed his passion for the Gothic and

the Mediaeval, writing on many aspects of its historical development and its construction, becoming a connoisseur and acknowledged expert through extensive study, travel and the collecting of mediaeval art and architectural fragments, one who strenuously supported the movement to preserve and protect the Gothic in the face of ignorant destructiveness and powerful vested interests, and one who showed independence of thought and conviction in his cause to promote a revival of Gothic as an influence upon architectural practice. His advanced appreciation of all periods of the Mediaeval despite prevailing prejudice, fashion or dogma, he brought to the works of restoration, church building and design that have been described in this Chapter. His engineering skill was brought to bear in the rescuing of tottering mediaeval fabric, enabling him to restore in many cases without destroying and building anew; his knowledge of the construction of Gothic, of the types of ornament and their meaning ensured appropriate and harmonious restoration in keeping with the original styles, spirit and intention of the early builders; his understanding of the gradual development and value of the relationship of the parts to the whole in Gothic architecture prevented him from returning the buildings under restoration to some imagined pure ideal; and his passion for every aspect of the Mediaeval, its carving, wall painting, monuments, down to the most minute detail, caused him to preserve every vestige of the original, irrespective of period, wherever funds and the difficulties of overbearing patrons would allow, even to the extent of working gratuitously to achieve his aims.

Cottingham's restorations, viewed in some cases, in the light of previous and later works of restorations, have shown him to be a sensitive and conservative restorer, in advance of this time. The full import and evidence of these qualities will be seen in later chapters when Cottingham's work is set in the context of early nineteenth century English and Continental restoration theory and practice, and his attitudes to the Mediaeval and its restoration and revival compared with that of his contemporaries.

1.10 Attitudes to Restoration

In 1798 The Reverend John Milner in his *Dissertation on the Modern Style of Altering Ancient Cathedrals as exemplified in the Cathedral of Salisbury* deplored the destruction by James Wyatt of fifteenth century tombs, the destruction of the proportions and the relation of different parts of the Cathedral, criticised the removal of the reredos and levelling of the chancel to create the classical ideal of space, and 'the introduction of uniformity' into a mediaeval edifice at variance with 'the original architectural mode', and in the restoration he objected to the combining of the 'Third Pointed Order and the First Pointed Order' (384). In this work Milner showed an advanced historical understanding and an unbiased attitude in his demand for retaining and respecting the distinctive architectural features as they survived, irrespective of the date at which they were created. This careful and reticent idea of the nature of restoration was one that was to lead far into the nineteenth century and was one upon which Cottingham based his architectural theory and practice. In the great ecclesiological revival of the early nineteenth century which led to a vast increase in works of restoration to rescue the many dilapidated ecclesiastical buildings, not all restorers followed these principles. T.S. Madsen has noted that following Milner's proposals for restrained restorations, much drastic reparation of churches, totally unconcerned with historical congruence, was carried out, a free system in which later additions were removed to obtain a unity of style, a concept that did not arouse much comment apart from Cottingham and Savage's pamphlet of 1832 stating their reasons against the destruction of the Lady Chapel at Southwark (385). They followed Milner's theories in objecting to demolition of parts of a mediaeval building on the grounds of its dilapidated state and stressed the importance of the later parts of the building in relation to the whole (386). Restoration in general in the 1820s and 1830s was a matter of carrying out urgent repairs and whenever possible undertaking a radical return to a definite style, such as Thomas Harrison's refacing of the south end of the transept at Chester Cathedral with the addition of squat corner turrets in 1818 (387). George Austin at Canterbury in 1834 destroyed Lanfrancs' Romanesque north west tower and replaced it with a copy of the existing south west tower to create symmetry (388), and at Norwich in 1830 Anthony Salvin refaced the south transept in

Bath stone replacing the original Perpendicular work with a new design in Norman style to correspond with the north transept (389). Edward Blore, also involved in restoration in the early decades of the nineteenth century, at Westminster Abbey in 1830 replaced the fourteenth century bays of the cloister and refaced the north front of the nave (390). At no time in any of his restorations did Cottingham carry out such drastic removal of mediaeval work to correspond with some supposed state of perfection. At Rochester in his renewal of the tower he replaced the repairs of 1798 with a design based on the broken fragments of the earlier tower, and at Magdalen College Chapel, with the authority of a mediaeval expert, he removed Wyatt's plaster work Gothic niches in his reinstatement of an archaeologically correct mediaeval in keeping with the remaining Perpendicular Gothic (391). He certainly removed the faulty repairs of 'modern improvers', clumsy shoring built in 'brickbat and tile' to support tottering fabric as at Hereford and Bury, but he respected in all his works the examples of the architecture and sculpture of different periods from the early Romanesque to the late Perpendicular (392).

Lethaby writing in 1902 said that,
> 'if instead of this energy in pulling down and setting up, there had been carried on a system of patching, staying and repairs, a sort of building dentistry, much might have been handed on for other ages' (393).

The careful 'staying and repairing' that Cottingham carried out at Rochester, St Alban's, Hereford, Ashbourne and Ledbury, was later obliterated by the more drastic rebuilding of G.G. Scott, as we saw, in his efforts to achieve a unity of style (394).

The more sweeping works of restoration in the early decades were commented on by those in tune with Cottingham's enlightened views, such as the writer in the *British Magazine* of 1832 who deprecated the 'current type of restoration' saying,
> 'all that is necessary to be done is not to make the building new, but so to repair it that all which is *original* may be preserved as much as possible from future decay, the principle upon which every repair should be conducted...'

He lamented the drastic work at Durham, 'The rechiselling of surfaces', and enquired of Mr Gwilt at St Savious's 'how he can imagine that his casing of hewn stone and broken red and grey flints be called a restoration?. The white flints which he used in recasing the choir look

not unlike oyster shells, but those now used are worse...' (395). Some of the restoration work by the Gwilts at Southwark, in which Cottingham played a part was highly praised and G.G. Scott wrote of Edwin Gwilt, 'he was conservative to the backbone ... where stonework had to be renewed he went on the principle of making every stone, even every joint of the ashlar, correspond to a nicety with the old' (396). Cottingham and his friends deplored the 'merciless demolition' undertaken at the Palace of Westminster under the direction of Soane from 1814 to the early 1820s which involved the removal of a conglomeration of legal and administrative buildings surrounding Westminster Hall and the destruction of most of the buildings to the north east and west of the Hall and the Exchequer buildings on the east side of the New Palace Yard (397). William Capon, Cottingham's antiquary friend had made drawings of the demolished streets and Palace, which, he said in a letter to Francis Douce in 1827,

> 'were wholly or in part destroyed or concealed by erections the tall Butcher who looks with an evil eye upon the remains of ancient art now left us, meditates even more destructionof our beautiful remains... The whole eastern end will either by destroyed or concealed by the new gingerbread work or pastrycook work substituted for architecture...' (398).

Cottingham too mourned the loss of so much mediaeval work and described a 'perfect reconstruction of the ancient royal Palace at Westminster' by his friend Mr Lee who had spent twenty five years fitting up three rooms of his house with drawings and perspective views,

> 'By means of glasses this stupendous work showing the Royal apartments are made to appear the size of the originals ...' (399).

E.I.Carlos criticising the alterations to Grays' Inn old Hall of 1826 wrote of the,

> 'irreparable destruction as the improver in the plenitude of his vanity was determined that nothing of the original should remain to show by contrast the absurdity of his alterations...' (400).

He described how the old building of dark red brick with stepped gables of the seventeenth century and stone mullioned windows had been covered in composition with the addition of battlements and a 'wooden lantern of new design much resembling a Pigeonhouse' surmounting the whole.

Cottingham's archaeologically correct Gothic Revival interior 'worked in wood and stone in the best manner' at Magdalen College Chapel of

1829-32, had a considerable impact and influence upon the progress of the Gothic Revival for it was carried out before the Oxford Movement and the Cambridge Camden Society and A.W.Pugin began their ecclesiastical revival work along exactly the same lines. A.W.Pugin admired it 'as one of the most beautiful specimens of modern design' (401) and as we have seen he was in frequent and continuous contact with his counterparts in France discussing modes of restoration and revival of the Gothic. Parties of foreign visitors were conducted by Pugin and J.H. Parker during the 1840s to Magdalen College Chapel to see Cottingham's work (402), and it is clear too from examining the proposed alterations or new chapel designs for other Oxford Colleges that the Gothic interior of Magdalen was of great influence upon English architects (403). Blore's remodelled Chapel of St John's College of 1843 for example took the form of Cottingham's late fourteenth to early fifteenth century Gothic at Magdalen and Pugin's design of 1843 for Balliol College Chapel is remarkably similar to Magdalen, but with a flowing traceried West window in place of the stone carved reredos (404). Clearly Cottingham and Pugin had more communication and contact than has hitherto been supposed. Pugin, in his diaries, which give but scant information of his work and friends, made references to Cottingham, commissioning stained glass and possibly making casts for Cottingham's collection. In 1842, Pugin wrote a brief note saying 'Figures for Cottingham', and Cottingham's name appeared in enigmatic notes with sums of money beside it. Again, in complaining of Willement whom he considered to be concerned with money only and not quality, he wrote 'But Cottingham will make amends, and the glazing (at Alton Towers) will be done at half the cost' (405). It appears too that they also undertook works of restoration in the same areas at the same time. When Cottingham was restoring Roos Church in Yorkshire in 1842 for example (406), Pugin was visiting the mediaeval churches in the area including Patrington Church in preparation for his works of restoration at St Mary's, Beverley in October of that year. Cottingham had casts of Gothic features from Patrington and Beverley in his Museum and it is more than likely that they collaborated (407). Pugin, in his works of restoration also followed Cottingham's example at Magdalen in his insistence on the finest quality in the use of natural materials, wood, stone, and of craftmanship. At Peper Harrow in 1844

for example, he removed the Roman cement to reveal the old rubble walls, renewed the sedilia and piscina, erected a Chantry Chapel, replaced a flat plaster ceiling with a waggon headed timber roof ribbed and panelled with quatrefoils, and the old Norman chancel arch, 'greatly mutilated', was removed and replaced with one of 'richer character with double shafts and carved capitals' (408). Pugin certainly followed certain aspects of Cottingham's restoration procedures, but the measure of replacing 'the old Norman arch' with one of 'richer character' separates Pugin the Gothicist from Cottingham the Mediaevalist, for Cottingham loved the massive simplicity of the Romanesque and its own inherent characteristics, so knowledgeably described in his analysis of the Norman Tower at Bury for example, and would never have replaced an old Norman arch for one of later date (409). Perhaps Pugin's replacement of the chancel arch in 1844 reflected the beginnings of a move away from the strict historicism that characterised Cottingham's restorations and was the more drastic type of repair encouraged by the principles of the Ecclesiologists during the 1840s. Cottingham, however, remained faithful to his restrained and sensitive modes of restoration at this time, for example in his restoration of the Norman Church of Kilpeck in 1846, a work which earned Pevsner's grudging praise of 'a disciplined restoration', and it was in the reparation of 1896 that more drastic work removed the remains of the ancient frescoes (410). Salvin's restoration of very early structures is in marked contrast to Cottingham's conservative and skillful approach. For example, at the Saxon church of St Nicholas at Worth in 1870, Salvin, on finding the north east corner of the nave to be leaning 10 inches out of alignment and the apse supported by shoring buttresses, took the building to its foundations and rebuilt (411). Cottingham as we know brought leaning masonry to perpendicular without rebuilding and underpinned piers enabling the removal of shoring. Pugin's work of restoration was actually compared unfavourably to Cottingham's in his own time. The *Ecclesiologist* disparaged Pugin's method of supporting the tower of Jesus College Chapel and cited Cottingham's work at Hereford as an example of a preferable procedure (412). Other friends of Cottingham such at Thomas Willement undertook restorations that followed his principles. At Davington Church in 1842, Willement cleaned the interior of

whitewash, restored the roof, constructed a porch 'chiefly out of old carved materials' and restored the spire and upper part of the tower from careful drawings made prior to the work, possibly with Cottingham's help and advice (413).

By 1843 The Ecclesiologists, whose first concern had been to repair the neglected fabric of churches and restore correct liturgical arrangements, became alarmed at widespread destructive and over-zealous works of restoration,

> 'we are entering on an age of restoration... how sad for the church if the current should take the wrong direction...', and again, they said, 'the restoration of the nineteenth century may be classed with the sacrilege and indifference of the proceeding and scarcely less dangerous to the consistency and original beauties of our ancient churches'. (414).

However, the Ecclesiologists own view that the most favourable procedure was to recover the original appearance of the church 'either from existing evidence or from supposition' in preference to retaining the additions and alterations of subsequent ages, positively encouraged over drastic methods of restoration (415). E.A. Freeman in his 'Principles of Church Restoration', described three theories of restoration, the Destructive which advocated wholesale demolition to render a building in the favoured Middle Pointed style of Gothic, Conservative which called for repair of ancient work of whatever period, and Eclectic, that most favoured by the Ecclesiologists, which allowed a combination of restoration and remodelling to the taste of the architect and his patron (416). The Destructive, or rebuilding according to preference, and the Eclectic were the most widely practised. The Conservative approach found little favour with theorists apart from the Rev. J.L. Petit (1801-1868) who in his *Remarks on Church Architecture* of 1841 and *Remarks on Architectural Character* of 1846 made a plea for universal restraint and sensitivity in restoration and condemned Scott's plans for St Mary's Stafford as 'not conservative enough'.

The Ecclesiologists, with Salvin as the architect undertook the repair of the Holy Sepulchre Church, Cambridge from 1841-44, as a model of their favoured mode of restoration and the *Ecclesiologist* published many reports listing the full extent of its almost total rebuilding and remodelling in which the Norman structure was stipped of later additions, apart from the fourteenth century chancel (417). The Ecclesiologists exerted their influence through other bodies, such as the

Incorporated Church Building Society which administered the spending of £6 million pounds on church extension and building (418), for in 1842 they consented to 'reconsider and alter' their 'Suggestions and Instructions' to comply with the Ecclesiologists principles (419), and as we saw the close links between the Ecclesiologists and the Oxford Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture led to further mutual influence. The Ecclesiologists supported the Oxford Society's restoration project of the Abbey Church at Dorchester of 1845-46 (420), and A.J. Beresford Hope, of the Ecclesiologists at an Oxford Society meeting in 1846 read a paper on the 'Present State of Ecclesiological Art in England', a meeting at which it was noted,

> 'the Committee must still point to Hereford Cathedral as an admirable example of the method in which such works should be conducted...'

Cottingham's restoration of Hereford was again praised at a meeting of the Society in 1848 as 'the very greatest work of restoration seen in recent years...' (421).

Despite this, and despite the fact that his work was generally highly regarded in critical reviews by the *Ecclesiologist*, describing him as 'the most eminent ecclesiological architect of the day', his name was on the *Ecclesiologist's* list of 'Architects Condemned' (422). I believe this fact contributed to the decline of Cottingham's reputation without consideration of the reasons for his condemnation. Criticism was levelled at him on account of his Conservative mode of restoration, for his work was not drastic enough to comply with the Ecclesiologist's doctrines. For example, at St Mary's, Bury and at Ashbourne Church, Cottingham, in his extensive restorations did not remove the seventeenth century galleries. He was also considered by the Ecclesiologists to be more concerned with a restoration of the fabric of the church than with correct liturgical arrangements (423). Of his work at Hereford they wrote,

> 'We have every reason to be satisfied with the advance of the restoration. It will be a great triumph to modern mechanical skill to supercede the unsightly masses of masonry ... while we admire the skill and boldness of Mr Cottingham in the mechanical branch of his art, we must confess to some suspicions as to the extent of his acquaintance with the theory and rules of internal arrangement as adapted to The Ritual...' (424).

They also noted on learning that Cottingham was to restore Kilpeck Church,

'several of our own members are among the Committee, though we are not sure that we agree that Mr Cottingham is the best architect who could have been chosen...'

once again doubting his concerns for altering the church in order to fully restore correct liturgical practice (425). Cottingham in fact was well educated in liturgical and theological matters (426), and his son had noted in a letter to William Brougham that Kilpeck Church was full of symbolic meaning, a subject of great consideration to the revivalists in England and France. Didron, for example, had sent his work on symbolism to J.H. Parker in Oxford for the *Archaeological Journal* and G.R. Lewis in his volume on Kilpeck Church, to which Cottingham subscribed, included a long translation from Durandus, the thirteenth century ecclesiastic (427). It is possible that for these reasons Cottingham was on the 'Condemned List'. Cottingham was an Anglican (428), an educated man of catholic taste, in no way bigoted or dogmatic. He was a friend of the Roman Catholic Pugin, and also in his church interiors he favoured a return to 'the beauty of Holiness' as promoted by the Oxford Movement and the Ecclesiologists. At Magdalen and Hereford for example he fell foul of the anti-High Anglican faction who were afraid of accusations of popery and he had to modify his designs, and again at Armagh he had to insist on the removal of the organ from the nave crossing and restored the chancel screen in his revival of the true mediaeval Gothic church, yet he had an equal respect, as a passionate admirer of mediaeval art and architecture, for the preservation of the original fabric wherever it was humanly possible.

As they respected Cottingham's, the *Ecclesiologist* damned the work of Blore in unequivocal terms.

> 'He is entirely unacquainted with the true spirit of Pointed architecture ... manifestly unfit for the charge of any works on Westminster Abbey ... his truly contemptible building, Christ Church, Hexton, to select one of this gentleman's architectural enormities...' (429).

Even Salvin, despite being the architect chosen by Beresford Hope for the restoration of St Sepulchre, the Round Church, received harsh criticism.

> 'the church erected at Spitalgate, Grantham, is the worst class of modern design ... every single detail involves a solecism and the plan is as faulty as the design...' (430).

The *Ecclesiologist* could never fault Cottingham on his antiquarian knowledge of all periods of the mediaeval, nor on his technical skill

which saved the demolishing and rebuilding practised by Blore, Salvin and Scott, and even when criticising his choice of the Romanesque for his own church, 'found more to admire than condemn' (431).

George Gilbert Scott's restoration work also makes a contrast with Cottingham's principles, as we saw from an examination of his work at those churches and cathedrals such as Rochester, Hereford, St Alban's and Ashbourne where he continued repairs after Cottingham's death. Scott, who restored over 700 churches, wrote and lectured on the dangers of over-restoring, quoting Ruskin's maxim that it was better to take care of monuments than restore them, and trying constantly to improve standards of restoration, yet he followed the 'Eclectic' system of restoring, a combination of restoring and remodelling to the taste of the architect and his patron, and usually unity of style despite protests to the contrary (432). At times he roundly condemned drastic restoration measures, for example, in correspondence with the Oxford Society, Scott criticised Barry's proposed works at St Stephen's Chapel and 'his reckless disregard for a valuable ancient monument' and called for pressure from the Ecclesiologists 'to have him relinquish the project' (433), yet in 1877, it was in protest at Scott's proposed restoration of Tewkesbury Abbey that Morris gained the impetus to found the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings.

A similar progression from careful restoring to drastic unity of style took place in France, after the first efforts of the preservationists like Montalembert, to save such remaining examples of art and architecture as the Church of St Denis and the Cathedrals of Amiens and Bourges from dilapidation and from the hands of inexpert restorers. Montalemberts' publication of 1833, 'Du Vandalisme en France' and his 'Account of the destructive and revived pagan principles of France' of 1839 which Pugin included as Appendix III in his second edition of *Contrasts* in 1841, gave warning of the dangers of over-restoring and promoted a conservative approach. Montalembert divided repair of buildings into two categories, 'vandalisme destructeur' and vandalisme restaurateur', the latter being brought about by the clergy, the government, the municipal authorities, and the private owners (434). Didron too favoured restraint, and as Secretary to the Comité Historique wrote in the *Bulletin Archeologique* in 1839,

'En faits de monuments anciens, it vaut mieux consolider que réparer, mieux réparer que restaurer, mieux restaurer que refaire, mieux refaire qu'embellir; en ancun cas il ne faut rein ajouter, surtout rien retrancher...'

a principle Didron continued, which should be defended by the archaeologists. The words consolidation and reparation were used in the report in place of restoration and he further praised Montalembert's denouncement of 'wholesale restoration'. Montalembert had attacked the,

'scandalous works done in the Church of S. Denis, in the Cathedral of Bourges, in the Cathedral of Amiens, in the Cathedral of Rheims, in all the churches of France by M.M. Debret, Pagot, Jullien, Godde, and Cheussey ... our most beautiful monuments have been the most ill-treated by architects' (435).

S. Denis had suffered the worst type of restoration at the hands of M. Debret. In 1837, at the moment of a banquet at Versailles for the inauguration of the Musée Historique, Abbot Suger's spire of S. Denis was struck by lightning. Debret, who had begun work on S. Denis in 1830 said he would demolish and build the spire anew. The tower, enfeebled by Debret's inept restorations was unable to sustain the weight of the new spire for it had been built at vast expense in unsuitable material and whilst Debret 'was busy with his creations, new windows, new wall paintings, tombs, royal statues, historic saints', cracks appeared that ran through the tower to the great portal 'and even the unhappy Clovis, reduced to a caricature by Debret was also split by a fissure' (436). Debret's work of 1837-40 makes a telling contrast with Cottingham's engineering skill in the restorations of the endangered towers of Rochester, Armagh, Hereford, the Norman Tower, and Louth where Cottingham strengthened and repaired the spire which had been struck by lightning leaving cracks 'as wide as a man's arm', without rebuilding anew (437); a contrast too with his work at Rochester where he uncovered mediaeval frescoes, the 'whitewash painstakingly removed with a penknife', and in his panelled roof of the crossing tower, of which an observer wrote,

'the whole affords a specimen of Early English horizontal oaken roof, the bosses... in strict accordance with those in various parts of the transept - a sure proof of real and pure taste, which, far from attempting to display any modern rivalry of the inimitable productions of the ancients, rather chooses to assist in handing on to posterity, the beautiful character of those models which they alone invented...' (438).

- very different from Debret 'busy with his new creations...'

The *Ecclesiologist* took an increasing interest in French and German works of restoration, publishing extensive reports on the proposed restoration of Notre Dame by Viollet-le-Duc and Lassus, and the progress of Cologne Cathedral, and offering criticism and advice. They praised Viollet-le-duc's impassioned response to an official paper from the Institute of France in which a strong opinion against the revival of Gothic was expressed, and published much of Viollet-le-Duc's argument, an argument that echoed Cottingham's plea in his Preface of 1822, for the study of Gothic 'as an inexhaustible source of instruction' (439). The *Ecclesiologist* congratulated Didron and Viollet-le-Duc 'for their exertions towards the revival and purification of mediaeval art' (440). In 1839 the task of restoring the crumbling Romanesque Benedictine Abbey of Vezelay was entrusted to the 25 year old Viollet-le-Duc by the Prosper Mérimée the Inspector-General of Historical Monuments. Viollet-le-Duc and others such as de Caumont and le Prévost, were admirers of the Norman, the increased study leading to an understanding of its forms and construction, and an appreciation that Romanesque architecture was an end in itself and not simply a clumsy preliminary to the perfection of Gothic. In France, however the favoured style for the Revival was the Gothic of the thirteenth century (441), a style eminently suitable for revival as Cottingham said in his preface in Henry VII's Chapel in 1821. The *Ecclesiologist* noted with relief,

> 'we must notice their gradual, but we trust final adoption of Middle Pointed which is the more remarkable as no longer back than the first number of Annales, a considerable penchant for Romanesque was exhibited...'

In Germany Prisac and Hübsch promoted Romanesque in favour of Gothic (442), and Semper in arguing for his designs for S. Nicholas at Hamburg presented a view of Romanesque as a preliminary stage in the emergence of Gothic (443). Schnaase too wrote that the inclinations and sympathies of the Germans were aroused by Romanesque (444). Cottingham, with respect to his restoration showed no 'preference' for any particular style, appreciating the intrinsic qualities and historical development of each, an advanced notion in the first part of the nineteenth century, and one that foreshadowed Ruskin and Morris.

Viollet-le-Duc had worked under Lassus at La Sainte Chapelle of St Louis, and together they were commissioned in 1845 to restore Notre

Dame de Paris, due to their reputations as scholars of the art of the Middle Ages and their previous restorations. Viollet-le-Duc defined his principles of restoration;

> 'To restore a building is to re-establish it to a completed state which may never have existed at any particular time, and in a style which is proper to it...',

almost the same approach as the Ecclesiologists,

> 'to return it to its original appearance on evidence or supposition...' (445).

Lassus also subscribed to unity of style, but took a more strictly historicist approach than Viollet-le-Duc, who in many of his works interpreted 'not merely the words of the 13th century architecture, but the grammar also, and the spirit' and he applied this doctrine to restoration (446). Lassus, in an article of 1845 in *Annales Archeologique* gave principles of restoration that were close to those of Cottingham. 'The architect in building anew' Lassus wrote, 'must not copy servilely' but,

> 'when an architect is in charge of the restoration of a monument then it is a matter of science; the architect must be completely self-effacing, forgetting his tastes and preferences, his instincts; his aim is to conserve, consolidate, add as little as possible; with a religious respect he must study the form of the building, the materials, means employed, for accuracy and historical truth are as important as the materials and the style. It is absolutely essential that the architect should leave no trace of his hand upon the monument. It should be seen quite simply, as a uniquely archaeological science...' (447).

Lassus shows English influence not only through the theories of Montalembert, but through his own contacts and scholarly exchanges with English architects and antiquaries such as Robert Willis and J.H. Parker (448). Lassus, with his archaeological *approach despised the* eclecticism advocated by the German art historian Schaase and Didron too reinforced Lassus' view in his criticism of the eclecticism of Pugin's Cheadle (449).

The report by Montalembert on the Notre Dame restoration was published in *Annales, The Kolner Domblatt,* and the *Ecclesiologist.* The reparation was to be limited 'to only what was necessary' and that included cleaning away all whitewash and cement, modern water spouts replaced by gargoyles, the replacement of 28 statues from the principal front destroyed in 1793, the replacement of 'the bastard pointed Arch and deformed columns of Soufflot', and the mutilated portal and the central pier and tympanum to be reproduced after a

faithful drawing, such as 'came forth from the thoughts of the architects of the thirteenth century'. Soufflot's unarchaeological efforts at Gothic were condemned and their work, as Cottingham achieved in his new work at St Mary's Bury, would be 'in the spirit of and in harmony with the originals'. Finally a new sacristy was to be built against the south side of the choir. Interior works were planned as funds were made available. Montalembert in fact objected to the replacement of the statues, for as the *Ecclesiologist* noted, he was the head of an archaeological school,

> 'which proclaims the inutility and impossibility of making again statues which no longer exist'. (450).

The *Ecclesiologist* raised other controversial matters which highlighted the restrained approach of Montalembert and Didron in comparison to their own unity of style preference. The *Ecclesiologist* argued for the addition of the western towers 'which we know were once intended' to S. Ouen, in contrast to Didron's opposition to the proposal, and they continued,

> 'Why should not the spires, which as it is a Middle Pointed Church, must have been intended for it, be upon the western towers at Rheims?... It is no argument to assert as M. Montalembert does that Rheims Cathedral should not have spires given to it because it has done very well without them for six centuries...' (451)

Didron, they considered to be 'too much on antiquarian' in these arguments on restoration practice, a criticism that was levelled at Cottingham.

Montalembert and Didron demonstrated the careful and reticent early French restoration philosophy, which reflected the theories of the English writers such as Carter, Britton, and Cottingham, and exemplified in Cottingham's work, but French restoring moved away from these well-formulated theories and unity of style dominated French thinking with Viollet-le-Duc and Lassus as the foremost exponents, imitated by less able followers. In Germany the efforts of architects were directed towards interpretations of Gothic Revival in their new buildings, with the major resoration of Cologne seen as the apogee of German art and architecture. At Cologne the idea of the late Gothic Bauhütte was revived in order to encourage schools of craftsmen for the rebuilding of the Cathedral, a mediaevalising attitude akin to Ruskin and Morris's later efforts to revive the Mediaeval Guilds. This attachment to traditional techniques of the stonemason caused

Reichensperger to bitterly oppose Zwirner's intention of building an iron roof for Cologne Cathedral (452), an attitude which later in the century drew the German and English closer together, and was in marked contrast to Viollet-le-Duc whose rational and unbiased approach to the use of iron linked him to the early nineteenth century functionalist theories of Rickman, Cottingham, Willis and Savage.

In France the governmental centralised system of governing works of restoration to mediaeval monuments played a role in encouraging and supporting the easily applied unity of style. Once a matter was decided upon by the Committee of General Inspectors it became difficult to obstruct or influence, whereas in England the flexibility and more haphazard nature of the system gave greater opportunity for criticism and objections from clergy, architects, antiquaries, and subscribers to the restoration (453). Criticism of Viollet-le-Duc and the French mode of restoration grew in England. G.E. Street noted in 1858,

> 'fortunate indeed is it for us in England that the state is not so careful for us as in France, for then we should see here, just as we do there, a people utterly careless of the noble buildings which surround them, in place of as here, a people whose care of their old monuments is enhanced and in part created by the fact that they themselves are perpetually invited to help in their restoration and repair', (454).

G.E. Street was an inheritor of Cottingham's passion for the mediaeval and its preservation whatever its condition or style. Cottingham, from the time he first expressed his firm belief that the Gothic was as worthy of serious study and of elevation to the same level as classical architecture, and his ideas of a Gothic Revival through sympathetic restoration and understanding of all stages of the mediaeval, was a powerful influence in the developments of the nineteenth century, through his theories, writings, and the example of his major works of restoration such as Rochester, Magdalen and Hereford, an influence that can be seen in Europe. His works of restoration, conservative, skillful, archaeologically correct, were so much in harmony with the spirit of the original that some of his interiors and extensions today are not known as nineteenth century work. Yet Cottingham was a man of his time where a consideration of the work of the eighteenth century was concerned. He left seventeenth century galleries, but the 'pew lumber', 'monstrous pagan deformities', whitewash, 'that plague spot of our Cathedrals', were systematically removed from Cathedrals and

churches, and the plasterwork trivialities of the eighteenth century replaced with a true revival of the Mediaeval in the use of materials, craftmanship, construction, and spirit and intention of the Gothic builders. Cottingham appreciated the classical works of ancient Greece and Rome, but he saw the use of classical motifs, panelling, plasterwork, monuments of the eighteenth century as intrusions that had obliterated and threatened the beauty and structure of the mediaeval architecture, which at that date, was considered widely to be debased and barbaric. We may from our standpoint of the late twentiethth century and with hindsight, condemn this as vandalism, yet in our day, over one hundred years from the founding of SPAB, evidence of no lesser and perhaps less excusable vandalism is perpetrated in a twentieth century spirit of reform which has already swept away much of the best nineteenth century work, including Cottingham's.

His works of restoration, that occupied so much of his time, his energy, his study, and to which he brought his passion for the mediaeval, stand up under close examination, and particularly in contrast to those of his contemporaries in England in France, making him the true precursor of the movement generally acknowledged to stem solely from the enlightened efforts of Pugin, Ruskin and Morris.

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180 Merewether, J, *A Statement on the Condition and Circumstances of the Cathedral Church of Hereford in the Year 1841*, London, 1841, p.7.

181 op.cit, Pamphlet, The Cathedral Church of Armagh, pp.11-16.

181a Clifton, Taylor, A, *The Pattern of English Building*, 1962, p.385.

182 *Vestry Book of the Parish of St. James: Council Proceedings*, 1840-46, Suffolk Record Office, Ref.2571/1/2.

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185 op.cit, *Vestry Book*, 10th July 1840, Ref.1541/1/4.

186 Cottingham, L.N, *Report on the Present State of the Norman Tower, (commonly called St. Jame's Tower) and the Necessary Repairs thereof*, London, December 1842.
Architect, Engineer and Surveyor, 1842, pp.22-23 and p.57.

187 ibid.

188a Wood, M, *The English Mediaeval House,* London 1965, 3rd Edition, 1983, p.17.

b Suffolk Record Office, Cottingham family records.

189 op.cit, Cottingham, Report on the Norman Tower.

190a *Gentleman's Magazine,* Vol.20, 1843, p.74.

b *Bury Norwich Post,* 1843.

191 Contract for Repair of the Norman Tower, Articles of Agreement, 1846, Suffolk Record Office, Bury St. Edmund's.

192 *Gentleman's Magazine,* 1843, p.74; *Bury & Norwich Post,* 1843, June 12th.

193 op.cit, *Vestry Book,* Council Proceedings, 1840-46, 1843.

194 ibid, *Vestry Book,* 30th May, 1844.

195 *The Builder,* April 25th 1846, p.200.

196 ibid.

197 ibid, May 23rd, 1846, p.245.

198 ibid, October 3rd, 1846, p.473.

199 *Gentleman's Magazine,* Letter from E.I.Carlos, 1847, p.44.

200 ibid, Reply from L.N.Cottingham, pp.157-158.

201 ibid.

202 *Gentleman's Magazine,* December 1852, p.609.

203 *Gentleman's Magazine,* January 1849, p.207.

204 See Part , Chapter 1.

205a *Bury and Norwich Post,* Report of Vestry Meeting, 5/7/1845.

b op.cit, *Vestry Book,* 1840-46, 1845 July.

206 Tymms, S, *An Architectural and Historical Account of the Church of St. Mary, Bury St. Edmund's,* 1854, p.94.

207 ibid, pp.93-94.

208 ibid.

209 ibid.

210 op.cit, *Bury and Norwich Post,* 5/7/1845.

211 *Gentleman's Magazine,* Dec, 1844, p.632.

212 *The Builder,* 1844, p.473.

213 In later works of restoration, in 1867, these galleries were removed and Willement's West window replaced in thangsgiving for a record harvest. op.cit, *Vestry Book,* 1867.

214 *The Ecclesiologist,* RXVI 1848, p.415.

215 op.cit, *Bury and Norwich Post,* Dec 4, 1844.

216 ICBS File No.3143, Market Weston 1844.

217 *Builder,* Vol.2, 1844, p.378.

218 *Gentleman's Magazine,* Sept 1844, p.304.

219a *Bury and Norwich Post,* Dec 17th 1845. Report of the Reopening of St. Mary's Church, Market Weston.

b Market Weston is now in process of being restored and funds are being raised to renew the roof. The Church Wardens were unaware of Cottingham's restoration, supposing the Chancel to be part of the original fabric of the Church. The furniture and fittings of the interior by Cottingham will be examined in a later part of this Chapter.

220 Merewether, J, *A Statement on the Condition and Circumstances of the Cathedral Church of Hereford in the Year 1841,* London 1841, p.42.

221 Britton, John, *Autobiography of John Britton,* FSA in three parts, Vol.I, LOndon 1850, p.176.

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223 op.cit, Britton, p.177.

224 Frew, J, 'An Aspect of the Gothic Revival in England, 1770-1815', *PhD Thesis,* Oxford University 1976, p.59.

225 Moir, A.C, *Deans of Hereford,* Leominster, 1968, p.48.

226 op.cit, Merewether, p.42.

227 ibid, pp.35-42.

228 ibid, pp.8-9.

229 *Gentleman's Magazine,* 1842, Jan-June, p.193.

230 Pugin, A.W.N, *Contrasts,* 1836 and 1841. An example of Pagan architecture in contrast to the Gothic screen of the 15th century at Byrham Abbey.

231 op.cit, *Gentleman's Magazine,* 1843, p.286.

232 Morgan, F.C, *Hereford Cathedral Church Glass,* Leominster, 1979, p.23. Its present whereabouts are unknown.

233 See section on Rochester Cathedral in this Chapter.

234 op.cit, Merewether, p.18.

235 ibid, p.23.

236 ibid.

237 Willis, Rev. Robert, *Report of a Survey of the Dilapidated Portions of Hereford Cathedral in the Year 1841,* Hereford 1841, Hereford Cathedral Library.

238 ibid, Letter of Sept 22nd 1841.

239 ibid, p.6.

240 ibid, pp.6-32.

241 ibid, p.40, Letter from Dean Merewether to Prof. Willis, (no date).

242 ibid, p.40, Letter from Prof. Willis to Dean Merewether Jan 20th 1842.

243 *Chapter Acts Book,* Hereford Cathedral, Contract and Specifications; LN.Cottingham, 1843, pp.96-103.

244 ibid.

245 Anderson, Charles, *Hints on Church Building,* London 1841.

246 op.cit, *Chapter Acts Book*, 1843, p.88; 1845, pp.182-189.

247 op.cit, Merewether p.52.
op.cit, *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1842, p.193.

248 Hereford Cathedral Library. A print for subscribers was prepared by L.N.Cottingham showing the interior of the nave as restored. The simple stone screen appears in this print.

249 op.cit, *Chapter Acts Book*, 1844.

250 Hereford Cathedral Library, Ref.6170, Letter from John Carline to his brother Richard, 14th July 1846; Sept 1846; Oct 23rd 1847.

251 *Ecclesiologist*, Vol.VI, 1848, pp.32-37, the substance of a paper read to the Ecclesiological, late Cambridge Camden Society on Tuesday June 20th 1848 by F.R.Haggitt Esq.

252 ibid, Vol.VI, pp.345-347.

253 Pevsner, N, and Metcalf, P, *The Cathedrals of England,* Harmondsworth 1985, pp.165 and 171.

254 ibid, p.171.

255 op.cit, *Chapter Acts Book*, Sept 1849, Contract with NJC for restoration of the nave and N & S aisles, pp.389-399.

256 ibid, 1849, p.389.

257 op.cit, Morgan, pp.12 and 13.
In Pevsner & Metcalf (see above) Cottingham is not attributed as the designer, only A.Gibbs, p.174.

258 ibid, Pevsner & Metcalf, p.174, 'Triple window by Hardman of 1871, replacing glass by Hardman of 1851 to Pugin's designs'. (Their source for this information is Morgan, 1967 and McHardy).

259 op.cit, Morgan, p.23, 'On September 1st 1849 Chapter Acts Book states that £150 was placed in a London Bank for a light in the new window. One was designed by Hardman but Murray's Guide to the Cathedral dated 1864 says the design was too small to be seen from below and Bell's Guide mentions that Ascension Crucifixion and Resurrection circular panels measured three feet across'.

260a Cottingham, N.J, *Letter to R.B.Phillips, Oct 19th 1849,* Belmont Abbey Collection, National Lirary of Wales, Bundle 29.

   b The Hardman archive confirms N.J.Cottingham's order for the East triplet. *Hardman Metalwork Archive,* John Hardman to N.J.Cottingham p.107, 1850, Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery.

261 ibid, Merewether, J, Letter to R.B.Phillips, Jan 7th 1850, Belmont Abbey College, Bundle 29.

262 op.cit, Morgan, p.13.

263 *A Brief Description of the Memorials to the Late Very Revd. John Merewether, Dean of Hereford, and Joseph Bailey, Esq M.P., recently erected in the Cathedral Church of Hereford,* Hereford, 1852, pp.6-10.

264 op.cit, *Belmont Abbey Collection,* Letter from N.J.Cottingham to R.B.Phillips, Feb 20th 1851.

265 ibid, Letter from NJC to R.B.Phillips, March 1851.

266 ibid, Letter from NJC to R.B.Phillips, Feb 20th 1851; Feb 25th 1851; Feb 26th 1851.
The eagle lectern is no longer at Hereford Cathedral. The archives relate that it was loaned to Boston Church and was returned, but no trace of it has been found since it was replaced by the present lectern given by Canon Phillott in the 1870s.

267 op.cit, *Chapter Acts Book*, 1858, pp.433-456.

268 *The Athenaeum*, October 1847, Obituary to L.N.Cottingham.

269a *Brougham Papers*, Letters from LNC to Wm Brougham, UCLibrary, 31st July 1844-Oct 2nd 1846, LNC refers 'to our valued friend Willement'.

b *Exhibition catalogue*, Victorian Church Act, V& A Museum 1971.

c Wainwright, C, 'Davington Priory', *Country Life*, Dec 9th 1971.

d Kent Record Office have no archive material relating to Davington Priory & Church, it was all given to the present owner, Bob Geldof, and is not available for study.

270 This aspect will be dealt with in later Chapters when Cottingham's relationship with his contemporaries will be discussed.

271 op.cit, *Brougham Papers, Magdalen Chapel Accounts*,.

272 ibid, Brougham Papers, accounts for metal stair rods etc;
op.cit, Section on Restoration of Norman Tower, Bury St. Edmund's, Chapter 2, Cottingham recommended 'Mr Potter for the iron ties', used at Hereford Cathedral.

273 op.cit, *Hardman Archive*, See section on Restoration of Hereford Cathedral; stained glass made to N.J.Cottingham's designs, also metal work, candlesticks for Hereford.

274 op.cit, *A Brief Description etc of the Memorials to Dean Merewether and Joseph Bailey etc at Hereford Cathedral*, 1852, pp.6-10.
See section on Restoration of Hereford Cathedral, Chapter 2.

275 See section on St. Mary's Bury; See also section on Temple Church Restoration, Chapter 1. Nash carved the bench ends to Cottingham's designs at Temple Church.

276 See section on Rochester Cathedral, Chapter 2; Dean Steven's notebook.

277 *Ecclesiologist*, 1845, p.121. Report on Repairs to Rochester Cathedral.
This later restoration work was wrongly attributed to Cottingham in 1846 by M.Didron, the editor of *Annales Archeologiques*, on his visits to England for the opening of Pugin's St Giles Church, See *Annales*, 1846, p.284.

278 op.cit, *Victorian Church Art*, p.170. Cottingham's pupil, George Truefitt went to work for Eginton of Worcester. (See obit. RIBA Journal, Vol.9, 1901-2, p.461). Cottingham and Eginton had mutual friends such as Thomas Willement who designed glass for his Stratford restoration, and also a mutual patron, the Earl of Craven (patron of Cottingham at Coombe Abbey, and patron of Eginton at Stratford Church).

279 *Gentleman's Magazine*, July-Dec 1837, p.68. Report by John Britton, Institute of British Architects.

280 An account of this discovery appears in Chapter 1.

281 *Annales Archeologiques*

b   Nichols, J.G, *Examples of Inlaid Gothic and Eucastic Tiles*, London, 1845, See Preface.

c   J.G.Nichols was a printer, who like his father John Bowyer Nichols and grandfather John Nichols before him, were printers to the Society of Antiquaries, See Evans, J, *A History of the Society of Antiquaries*, 1956, p.264.

282a   *Exhibition Catalogue*, Minton 1798-1910, V & A Museum, London 1976, p.91.

b   Minton, H, *Old English Tile Patterns*, 1842. A copy is to be found in the V & A Archive.

283a   Ferrey, B, *Recollections of A.W.N.Pugin*, 1861, (Reprint 1978, Scolar Press, Ilkely, Yorks, Ed. Wainwright), pp.250-251. Ferrey describes Pugin's friendship with Minton and the development of encastic tile production.

b   *Exhibition Catalogue*, Minton Encaustic Tiles, 1839-1955, Stoke-on-Trent Museum and Art Gallery, 1984, p.9.

c   A.C.Pugin owned all Cottingham's publications, (See Chapter 3) and A.W.N.Pugin admired Cottingham's restoration work eg, Magdalen Chapel. See Chapter 1, Section on Magdalen College Chapel.

d   To date I have traced no references to orders from Cottingham in the Worcester Archive (not accessible at the time of my research) nor in the Minton Archives.

284a   op.cit, Hereford Cathedral, *Chapter Acts Book*, 1858.

b   *The Ecclesiologist*, 1848, Vol.VI, pp.32-37. The reviewer noted that Cottingham's encasutic tiles were 'rather plain'.

285   See Part II, Chapter 2, Appendix IV.

286   op.cit, *The Age of Chivalry*, John Cherry, 'Tiles', pp.181-182.

287   op.cit, Appendix IV.

288   ibid.

289   op.cit, Part I, Chapter 3.1.

290   ibid, Part II, Chapter 2; St. Helen's, Thorney.

291   Rochester Cathedral Archives, Vol.2, Part 2, Kent RO, Ref DRC emf135.

292   Palmer, G.H, *Rochester, The Cathedral and See*, 1897, p.92.

293a   Benham, W, *Rochester Cathedral*, 1900, p.39.

b   The lithograph is from NMRO Archive, no date given, but obviously it must be post 1877.

c   The Rev. Kilvington of St. Alban's suggested that it was sent to Chelmsford when it became a Cathedral in 1913, but Chelmsford have no knowledge of it (1988).

294   Magdalen College Archives, *Book of the Chapel*, MS 732. *The Architectural Changes at Magdalen College*, Rev. J.R.Bloxham.

295   ibid, Letter from LNC to Dr Routh, Jan 11th 1830.

296-299

300   ibid, Letter from J.H.Browne to Dr Routh, Mar 27th 1830.

301   Essex, W.R.H, *Illustrations of the Architectural Ornaments etc of Temple Church*, London 1845, p.30. Records of bomb damage in NMRO.

302 Mosse, Rev. S.Tenison, *The Archaeological and Graphic Illustrations of Ashbourn Church, Derbyshire*, 1842.

303 *Bury and Norwich Post*, Dec 4th 1844. Reopening of St. Mary's Church.

304 Information received from the Churchwardens of St. Mary's Church.

305 op.cit, BNP, Dec 4th 1844.

306 ibid.

307 Davy, Henry, *Architectural Antiquities of Suffolk, representing the most celebrated remains of Antiquity in the County*, Southwold, 1827. L.N.Cottingham is listed as a subscriber to the volume. See preface.

308 *Sale Catalogue*, Museum of Mediaeval Antiquities, 1851, (See Chapter 1, Lots 1632, 1629, 1713 and 1488.

309 Tymms, S, 'Woolpit Church', *Proceedings of the Suffolk Insitute of Archaeology*, Vol.II, 1859, p.194.

310 op.cit, BNP, Dec 4th 1844.

311 *The Builder*, St. Mary's Clifton, 1846, p.250.

312 *Notingham Evening Post*, St. Mary's, Clifton, 3rd January 1973.

313 Cottingham is listed by RIBA as an architect whose work should be preserved. A report in the *West Bridgford and Clifton Standard*, of 28.12.1968, stated that the church was undergoing extensive works and the Rev. Wilkinson and George Pace, the architect of York, were determined 'to preserve and restore, rather than destroy and rebuild'. What they actually achieved appears to be exactly the opposite. Bodley had followed Cottingham at St. Mary's and the Rev. Wilkinson knew of Bodley's work, but no one knew of Cottingham's restoration of 1843-46 (in which he saved the tower and nave piers), including the NottinghamUniversity School of Architecture and the NMRO.

314 *Bury and Norwich Post*, Dec 17th 1845.

315 ibid.

316a ibid.

   b Market Weston Church is in need of repairs to its roof and the Churchwardens have raised £30,000 to fund the work. It is to be hoped that the work is accomplished with the same care for the ancient fabric that Cottingham showed in 1846.

317 op.cit, Rev. Tenison Mosse.

318a *The History and Topography of Ashbourn and the Valley of the Dove*, Anon, 1839, Reprinted 30th Sept 1987, p.61.

   b ICBS, File No.2870, Lambeth Palace Library.

319 Markland, J.H, 'Remarks on the Sepulchral Memorials of Past and Present Times with some suggestion on improving the condition of our Churches', *Paper read to the Oxford Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture*, 1840, RIBA pam.019.

320 op.cit, Tenison Mosse, p.29.

321 Jervis, J, Letter from S.Jervis to Miss Dawson and Mrs Bouch, 1979, V & A, *Brougham File*.

322 *Brougham papers,* University College Library, Letters from LNC & NJC to W.Brougham from 31st July 1844 to October 2nd 1846.

323 Rutherford, Rev. T.W.H, *The Parish of Brougham,* Penrith, January 1976. The 15th century triptych is in the Victoria & Albert Museum.

324 op.cit, *Brougham Papers,* Letter from John White, the Foreman; Joseph Robinson, builder, 1843-1846.

325 ibid.

326 Scott, W.B, *Antiquarian Gleaning in the North of England, drawn and etched by W.B.Scott,* Govt. School of Design, Newcastle and London, (No date of publication).

327 op.cit, *Brougham Papers,* Letter from NJC to William Brougham, July 24th 1845.

328 ibid, William Brougham's personal diaries, 1844.

329 ibid, Letter from Thomas Potter to William Brougham, Aug 16th 1840; Sept 4th 1844; Sept 11th 1844. Potter apologised for the late arrival of the locks but he had been called upon at short notice to make 80 iron cupboards and 200 locks for the Bank of England.

330 ICBS, *Horringer Church, Plans and Estimates by LNC,* Plans drawn by Calvert Vaux, Clerk to LNC, File No.3577, 1845.

331 *Bury and Norwich Post,* Jan 3rd 1849, Reopening of Barrow Church.

332 Massey, M.J, *All Saints, Barrow,* A Short History, (No date pf publication).

333 *Suffolk Institute of Archaeology,* Vol.7, Theberton Church, 1891, p.253.

334 Doughy, H.M, *Chronicles of Theberton,* London 1910.

335-344

345a *Ecclesiologist,* Vol.I, New Series, 1845, p.169.

   b *Ecclesiologist,* Vol.NVI, 1849, p.203.

   c Nottingham Record Office, *The Nevile Papers,* DDN.

346 Pevsner, N, *The Buildings of England: Nottinghamshire,* 1951, 2nd Edn 1979, p.351.

347 Mowl, T, 'The Norman Revival in British Architecture 1790-1870', *PhD Thesis,* Oxford University, 1981, Appendix.

348a *Art Union,* 1847.

   b *Brougham Papers,* University College Library, June 1846, Letter from NJC to William Brougham.

349a op.cit, Nottingham Record Office, Ref.DDN, Family papers were gifted to the Record Office by Mr A.L.Nevile in 1954 & 1957.

   b *Nottingham Guardian Journal,* 12.2.1963.

350 ibid, Nottingham Record Office: Nevile Papers: 158-183; Ecclesiastical Papers of Rev. C.Nevile, 1839-1885; 186, Letter from Rev. C.Nevile to Charles Nevile 1845; 132 Building Accounts relating to the New Brewhouse 1846, and a new farmhouse at Thorney, 1848. No building accounts or other material relating to the church survive in the papers. No grant from ICBS.

351 op.cit, *Ecclesiologist,* Vol.I, 1845, p.169.

352 ibid, 1849, p.203.

353 See earlier parts of this Chapter for details of these restorations.

354 Lewis, G.R, *Illustrations of Kilpeck Church, Herefordshire, with an Essay on Ecclesiastical Design and a descriptive interpretation,* March 1842, Introduction, p.XVII.

355 op.cit, *Brougham Papers,* Letter from NJC to W.Brougham, June7th 1845.

356a Apted, M.R, Gilyard Beer, R, Saunders, A.D, Ed. *Ancient Monuments and Their Interpretations: Essays inscribed to A.J.Taylor,* London 1977, p.310.

   b Rutherford, Rev.T.W.H, *The Parish of Brougham,* Penrith 1976.

357 Cocke, Thomas, 'Pre Nineteenth Century Attitudes in England to Romanesque Architecture', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association,* 3rd Series XXXVI 1973, p.87.

358 *Gentleman's Magazine,* 1806, p.34.

359 Blore, Edward, *A History of Rutland,* London 1811, Introduction, p.VII.

360 op.cit, Shaw, A memoir of L.N.Cottingham's Museum of Antiquities, 1851, Preface, See Chapter I, LNC's Museum.

361 *Sale Catalogue,* The valuable library of the late Edwin Cottingham MRCS of Bexley, Kent, containing rare and curious books by early English printers (incl. a copy of Caxton), Extensive collection of Historical and Theological Tracts, valuable Antiquarian and Classical Works; Important Productions in Natural History, and different classes of English and Foreign Literature. Messrs S.Leigh Sotheby and John Wilkinson, 15th June 1859 and three following days.

362 See Chapter I, *Plans ets of Henry VII's Chapel,* Preface, LNC's Museum of Antiquities.

363 Whewell, W, *Architectural Notes on German Churches with Notes on Churches in Normandy and Picardy* London, 1835.

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365 Lugar, Robert, *Architectural Sketches,* London 1805.

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367 Barr, James, *Anglican Church Architecture and Some Remarks on Ecclesiastical Furniture,* London 1842, p.13.

368 Anderson, Charles, *Hints on Churchbuilding or Ancient Models,* 1st Edn 1841, pp.45 & 59.

369 *Ecclesiologist,* Report of Oxford Architectural Society, New Series, Vol.I, 1845, p.76.

370 ibid, p.133, Review of Publications for the Oxford Society in the year 1844.

371 ibid, p.134.

372 op.cit, Mowl, p.336.

373 Pevsner, N, *Northumberland,* 1957, p.215.

374 op.cit, Mowl, p.372.

375a Fedden, R, 'Neo-Norman', *Architectural Review,* Vol.116, No.696, Dec 1954, pp.381-385.

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376 op.cit, Fedden, p.381.

377 Dixon, R, Muthesius, S, *Victorian Architecture,* London 1978, p.196.

378 Foster, R, *Discovering English Churches,* 1981, pp.36-37.

379 See Chapter 1; LNC's Publications; Chapter 2, LNC's Church Restoration.

380 ibid.

381a Morris, R.K, 'The Herefordshire School, recent discoveries', *Studies in Mediaeval Sculpture,* ed F.H.Thompson, 1983, pp.198-201.

b op.cit, *English Romanesueq Art,* 1066-1200, pp.19 & 147.

382 op.cit, *Ecclesiologist,* Vol.NVI, 1849, p.203.

383 op.cit, Mowl, p.362.

384 Milner, Rev. J, *A Dissertation on the Modern Style of Altering Ancient Cathedrals, as exemplified in the Cathedral of Salisbury,* London 1798.

385a Madsen, T.S, *Restoration and Anti-Restoration. A Study in English Restoration Philosophy,* 1976, pp.34-36.

b op.cit, Cottingham and Savage, See Part I.

386 ibid, Cottingham and Savage.

387a op.cit, Pevsner, N, & Metcalf, P, p.51.

b op.cit, Madsen, p.34.

388a ibid, Madsen, p.35.

b op.cit, Fawcett, p.79.

389 Allibone, J, *Anthony Salvin: A Pioneer of the Gothic Revival,* Cambridge, 1987, pp.112-113.

390 op.cit, Fawcett, p.92.

391 See Part II, Restoration of Rochester and Magdalen College Chapel.

392 ibid, Bury St. Edmund's, St. Mary's Church: Hereford Cathedral.

393 *SPAB Annual Report,* 1902, p.72, 'Westminster Abbey and its Restoration'.

394 See Restoration of LNC, Part II, Chapter 2.

395 *British Magazine,* Vol.II, 1832, pp.455-456.

396a op.cit, Part I, Preservationism: Cottingham's contribution to the saving of the Lady Chapel.

b Scott, G.G, *Personal and Professional; Recollections by Sir Gilbert Scott,* ed. G.G.Scott, London 1879, p.99.

397 Crook, J.M, & Port, M.H, *The History of the King's Works,* Vol.VI, HMSO, 1973, pp.496-450.

398 op.cit, *Douce MSS.* Letter from Capon to Douce June 13th 1827.

399 ibid, Letter from LNC to Douce June 3rd 1831. Adam Lee was labourer in Trust of the Board of Works at Westminster. See Crook & Port, p.499. Cottingham had been invited to take a party of antiquaries to see Adam Lee's reconstruction and was inviting Douce. The Speaker, Lord Besley and the Surveyor General had seen it and Cottingham had already asked Mr Hawkins (later to be involved with the British Archaeological Association with J.H.Parker) and William Twopenny.
I have not come across any reference to Lee's extraordinary work in any book relating to this period hitherto. J.M.

400 *Gentleman's Magazine,* Jul-Dec 1826, p.109, Article by E.I.Carlos on Gray's Inn.

401 op.cit, Ferrey, p.86.

402 op.cit, Reports in *Ecclesiologist, Annales Archeologiques, & Kolner Domblatt,* See Part I, Preservationism in the European context.

403 Colvin, , *Unbuilt Oxford,* Yale Univ. Press, New Haven & London 1983, pp.112-113.

404 ibid.

405 op.cit, Wedgwood, A, *A.W.N.Pugin and the Pugin Family,* London 1985, Diary for Oct 1842, See Footnote 51,p.88.

406 op.cit, Merewether, J, *Hereford Cathedral,* etc 1846. Letter of recommendation of Cottingham's work at Roos, Patrington, from Rev. Hotham, 1842. Hotham asked Cottingham to give advice on other neighbouring churches.

407 *Humberside Record Office,* Pugin's restoration of St. Mary's Beverley, 1842-50, Pei/729-748.

408a *Ecclesiologist,* XXXIII, Aug 1844, p.154.

   b Pugin also restored St. Mary's, Wymeswold, which was praised by the *Ecclesiologist,* New Series Vol.I 1845, 'South end entirely rebuilt'.

409 op.cit, Cottingham, *Report of the Present State etc of the Norman Tower and the Necessary Repairs Thereof,* 1842.

410a See Part II, Restoration, Appendix.

   b *Builder,* 1846, p.594. *The Builder* noted that it hoped the 'restoration may be done with the slightest possible change in its venerable features. The modernisation of Barfreston has destroyed much of its interest and gives the idea of a new building in a new mould'.

   c *Hereford Times,* May 13th 1896 - 'many admirers will agree that the church might be burnished a little brighter...discoloured plaster should be removed...'.

   d *Hereford Times,* 1896, Aug 6th - 'care taken to preserve old work...interior replastered - no frescoes found - but small fragments of coloured pattern on north side of the chancel...'.

411 Allibone, J, *Anthony Salvin,* 1987, p.130.

412 *Ecclesiologist,* Dec 1848, p.147.
   See also Belcher, M, *A.W.N.Pugin,* 1987, p.260. Pugin commented on this report defending his restoration on grounds of cost.

413a Willement, T, *Historical Sketch of the Parish of Davington in the County of Kent,* MDCCLLXII, p.40.

b Wainwright, C, *Country Life*, 1972, 'Davington Priory'. Clive Wainwright suggests that LNC may have helped in this restoration, but no records af any kind remain to confirm this likelihood.

414 *Ecclesiologist*, April 1843, p.113; 1843 Nov, p.33.

415 *Ecclesiologist*, February 1842, p.65. Criticism of Scott and Moffat's St. Mary's, Stafford restoration. It is interesting to note that G.G.Scott wrote to the OAHS on June 3rd 1842 noting 'I am glad that the general plan propposed meets the approval of the Society'.
op.cit, *Correspondence OAS*, Bodleian Library.

416a *Ecclesiologist*, May 1847, No.LIX, pp.161-167.

b Clarke, B.F.L, 'An Ecclesiological Crusade' *Country Life*, Nov 2nd 1972, pp.1148-1151.

417 *Ecclesiologist*, Nov 1841, 1st Series, Vols.I-III, pp.5 & 29; April 1843, No.VI, p.111.

418a Port, M.H, *600 New Churches; A Study oif the Church Building Commission 1818-1856, and its Church Building Activities*, London 1961.

b Clarke, B.F.L, *Church Builders of the 19th Century*, London 1938.

c *ICBS Records*, Lambeth Palace Library.
ICBS 1928 Report H5 194 I6. Information from the files for Churches extended or built between 1840-50.

419a *Ecclesiologist*, 1842, No.III, Jan p.47; Nov 1842, p.70; pp.153-157. The *Ecclesiologist* published in full the ICBS amended instructions for building and repairing churches.

b op.cit, *ICBS Records*, Cottingham repaired and extended parish churches with plans etc approved, through ICBS funding. See Appendix IV: Church Restoration and Part II Church restoration.

420a *Some Account of the Abbey Church of St. Peter and St. Paul, Dorchester*, J.H.Parker, Oxford 1845.

b *OAHS Minute Books and Correspondence.*

c *Ecclesiologist*, 'Restoration of Abbey Church Dorchester; Vol.II 1846, pp.67 & 39. The Ecclesiologist criticised various aspects of the work but later apologised as the faults appeared through the indistinct engraving. They condemned however the site of the font, which was placed near the altar.

421 op.cit, OAHS *Report of Proceedings*, May 9th 1842; June 23rd 1846; June 1848.

422 op.cit, Part II, Church Restoration, Armagh; Thorney Church. Comments in *Ecclesiologist*.

423 *Ecclesiologist*, Vol.XXIX, Feb 1844, p.113.

424 ibid, p.113.

425 *Ecclesiologist*, April, Vol.IV, 1847, p.156.

426 See Part I. Library Catalogue of E.Cottingham included many books of theology, original volumes of Durandus etc.

427 op.cit, *Society of Antiquaries Corrspondence*, J.H.Parker to A.Way, Dec 2nd 1843. 'The volume of M.Didron will no doubt be very interesting - but it is a subject I hardly dare mention for fear of getting out of my depth and becoming

as cracked as poor Mr George Lewis who always seems to me quite beside himself when he gets on this hobby of his...'.

428   op.cit, Baptised at Laxfield Parish Church, 1787.
Parish Records, Laxfield Parish Church.

429   *Ecclesiologist,* Sept 1842, p.99.

430   ibid, July 1845, p.186.

431   op.cit, Part II Church Restoration: LNC's St. Helen's Church, Thorney. *Eccelsiologist's* comments.

432a   op.cit, Scott, *Recollections.*

   b   Pevsner, N, *Some Architectural Writers of the 19th Century,* Oxford 1972, p.173.

   c   Jordan, W, 'Sir G.G.Scott, Surveyor to Westminster Abbey, 1849-1878'. *Architectual History,* 23, 1980, pp.60-72.

433   op.cit, *OAHS Correspondence,* Bodleian Library, Letter from G.G.Scott to Rev. J.R.Bloxham, Feb 20th 1842.
See also Part I, LNC's Competition Plans for the Houses of Parliament; Criticism of Barry's plans for St. Stephen's Chapel.

434   op.cit, Madsen, p.92.

435a   *Annales Archeologiques,* 1844, Vol.I, p.3 refers to Montalembert's writings on Vandalism and p.230, the restoration of S.Denis.

   b   *Ecclesiologist,* 2nd Series, Vol.II, 1846, p.59 the *Ecclesiologist* published Didron's report on the proposed restoration of Notre Dame, including these comments from the 1839 *Bulletin Archeologique.*

436   *Annales Archeologique,* Vol.IV 1846, Fleche de S. Denis, p.175.

437a   *Illustrated London News,* 1845, Jan-June, Louth Spire, pp.180-181.

   b   *Lincolnshire Record Office, St. James' Parish 9/2/8 Louth Church Spire, Oct 1844; Churchwarden's Book,* 11th April, 1844 6/7/12.

   c   *Ecclesiologist,* 1845, p.142.

438   Spence, Charles, *A Walk Through Rochester Cahtedral,* London 1840, p.8.

439a   *Ecclesiologist,* New Series, No.XV, pp.85-88.

   b   op.çit, Cottingham, *Plans etc of Henry VII's Chapel,* 1822, Preface. Cottingham wrote that Gothic 'was an inexhaustible magazine of the rectilineal style...'.

440   *Ecclesiologist,* 2nd Series 1846, VOL.II, pp.35-37; July pp.75-79; No.LI Sept New Series XV, pp.81-90.

441   *Annales Archeologiques,* 1847, p.65. Beresford Hope in reply to criticism by Didion objected to the 'style ogival fleuris du XVe siecle' and the admixture of French 13th century motifs and the timber roof in the chancel. See also *Annales,* 1846 (IV), p.129.

442   *Kolner Domblatt,* 2,9,16 October 1842.

443   op.cit, Germann, p.155.

444   ibid, pp.162-163.

445a   *Annales Archeologiques,* 1846, pp.1-5.

b   *Ecclesiologist,* 1846, Vol.II, pp.55-56.

c   Wethered, C, The late E.E.Viollet-le-Duc, *RIBA Transactions,* 1883-84, pp.210-217.

446   op.cit, *Ecclesiologist,* 1846, XV, Sept p.88.

447   *Annales Archeologiques,* 1845, pp.554-555.

448   Lassus published a facsimile of the sketchbook of Wilars de Honecourt, an architect of the 13th century, with commentaries and descriptions. Robert Willis translated it into English and edited Lassus' edition with additional notes and included letters from Lassus to J.H.Parker concerning square-ended chapels, and others to Willis, Schaase of Berlin, and Montalembert in 1859.

449   ibid, 1847, p.65.

450   *Ecclesiologist,* 1846, 2nd Series Vol.II, pp.55-59.
      Annales Archeologiques, Aug 1845.

451   ibid, *Ecclesiologist,* p.64.

452   *Kolner Domblatt,* Sept 1853.
      Ecclesiologist, Vol.III, 2nd Series 1846, pp.75-78.
      op.cit, Germann, pp.162-163.

453   op.cit, Madsen, p.89.

454   Street, G.E, *Architectural Notes in France,* 1858.
      See Madsen, p.83.

Part II
Chapter 1.2
Appendix I

In 1760 Rochester Cathedral was surveyed by Henry Keen who advised that the five foot bell tower on the North side should be removed and used as a repair quarry since it was in ruins, the bulging north aisle should be buttressed, the north-west tower rebuilt, all extraneous buildings adjoining the fabric should be removed as the foundations were damp, and the south eastern cross repaired as it was three feet out of perpendicular. He noted that the roof timbers, guttering and rain pipes were neglected, and remarking on the poor quality of former repairs he called for able and experienced workmen and a capable clerk of works. In 1769 John Puckwell relaid the lead on the north side of the roof and in 1780 James Lawford made two designs for the Cathedral spire which were refused. He persisted and wrote to the Dean, Dr Cust:

> 'As to the steeple which you dislike I have drawn one which I thought might please better and have enclosed this and as the present would be a foundation and support the expense would not be enormous, but as you say you have no money, Pull it down'.

He enclosed estimates for stripping the lead from the spire and roof, replacing them with Westmoreland Slate and for taking down the spire and 'laying flat'. The spire remained but the ominous statement in 1785 that the Cathedral roof was leaking extensively suggests that he did remove the lead from spire and roof. In 1799, the report of Daniel Alexander listed repairs necessary to the nave, north and south aisles, the Bishop's Court, north and south cross aisles, the tower, the choir and chancel and the north and south transepts. This desperate situation spurred the Great Chapter to action and resolutions were adopted to raise money as there were no funds whatsoever to pay for the work. By 1802, Alexander reported that the roof was entirely rotten from end to end and 'a New Roof will be of essential benefit as repairs are useless'. A further alarming report referred to the dangerous state of the north wall of the nave, the north wall of the north aisle was eleven inches out of perpendicular and so was the north wall of the nave. Buttresses were built to shore up the walls and a new roof to the choir was inserted, the roof that Cottingham found to be riddled with dry rot and about to collapse by 1825.

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Footnotes

1   Chapter Acts Book, Rochester cathedral, Vol.2, Pt.2, p.1731, Kent RO.
     Henry Keene (1726-1776), Architect and Surveyor to the Dean and Chapter of Westminster from 1746; built for Sir Roger Newdigate's Gothic Hall at Arbury in 1762, worked at Worcester and Balliol Colleges, Oxford, and built Hartwell Church, Bucks in 1753.

2   ibid, Reports from 1760-1825, p.1731 and reports on the fabric of Rochester by LNC, R.Smirke and J.Savage.

Part II
Chapter 1.3
Appendix II

In 1790 James Wyatt, who had been restoring the interior of New College Chapel, was called in to repair the unsound roofs of Magdalen Hall and the Chapel. Wyatt's plan involved building up the walls by 3 feet 6 inches to enable the insertion of plaster ceilings which replaced the 'ancient roof framed with open trusses of timber carved and moulded as in All Souls' (1). A drawing by G.G.Cooper of 1811 shows Wyatt's plaster vaulted ceiling of eighteenth century Gothic and the canopied plaster niches which replaced the wall ribs. 'He was permitted', wrote J.C.Buckler in 1823;

> '...without due consideration from his employers to fix large niches between the windows, whose heavy obtruding canopies of plaster may, since the corbels and groins of his roof, formed of the same brittle material, already exhibit signs of decay, be ere long precipitated to the ground' (2).

John Buckler, architect, antiquary and draughtsman, and his son J.C.Buckler had a long connection with Magdalen College, and during the many architectural changes were always strongly opposed to any plans that included the destruction of mediaeval buildings. Wyatt also drew up plans for a complete restoration of the interior of the Chapel. Various attempts at Gothic had been made at Magdalen in the late eighteenth century including the plaster ribbed ceiling supported on carved stone corbels and battlemented book presses in the library designed by Parkinson the College Surveyor, a Gothic door to the Manuscript Room by Wyatt and 'West's Building' of 1782 to house lavatories, built out of a legacy from Dr West with crocketed pinnacles battlements and a quatrefoil window built by Burroughs and Townsend (3).

Buckler the indefatigable critic, commented on other efforts:

> 'Besides Mr Wyatt, Mr Repton, a landscape gardener, and Mr Nash a well-known professional architect, severally produced volumes of designs for the disfigurement of Magdalen College and the disposal of its pleasure grounds' (4).

Wyatt, by now known for his restorations to Lichfield, Salisbury and Durham, produced designs of 1794 for the Chapel showing a reredos to replace *The Last Judgement* with an upper row of nine elaborate niches set above three wider arches and behind the altar, canopied niches

framing a painting of *Christ bearing his Cross,* which had been given to the College in 1745 and attributed to Guido, Caracci and Moralez di Divine (5). Other drawings for the east end showed a design based on the screen of Waynfleet's Chantry in Winchester Cathedral and another with the altar set apart from the wall with the organ behind a screen and the organ pipes embodied in the canopies (6). The seventeenth century stalls were to be replaced with plaster canopies, an open work Gothic screen of deal and composition enrichments painted and sanded fitted between the Choir and the Antechapel, and a new organ loft to be installed against the west window composed of stone as high as the springing of the middle arch (7). None of these plans were carried out due to lack of funds after the restoration of the roofs. However, in 1794, the West window, damaged in the great storm of 1703, and never fully restored, was repaired by Francis Eginton of Handsworth in Birmingham and eight new windows installed in the Antechapel (8). The problem of heating the Chapel was solved ion 1803 by erecting a stove designed by J.C.Buckler which was made of brick and ornamented with Gothic cresting. It occupied a prominent position in the middle of the Antechapel and is clearly visible in A.C.Pugin's interior of Magdalen Chapel for Ackerman's Oxford (9).

Footnotes
1   Ingram, James, Memorials of Oxford, 3 Vols. 1837, Vol.II, p.24.
2   Buckler, J.C, Observations of the original Architecture of St. Mary Magdalen College, (Published anonimously), 1823, p.109.
3   Boase, T.S.R, 'An Oxford College and the Gothic Revival', Journal of the Warburg Institute, Vol.XVIII, 1955, p.148.
     See also, Colvin, H, Unbuilt Oxford, 1983, p.78.
4   ibid, Boase, p.152.
5   op.cit, Ingram, p.24.
6a   op.cit, Boase, p.170.
 b   Harper, J, 'The Organ of Magdalen College, Oxford', The Musical Times, May 1986, p.295.
7   Wyatt, J, Letter of July 14th 1792, Magdalen College Archive, Ms 735.
8   Gwilliam, H.W, Old Worcester, People and Places, Vol.II, (no date), p.68.
9   op.cit, Boase, p.170.

Part II
Chapter 1.5
Appendix III

Armagh Cathedral had suffered a tempestuous history from the time St. Patrick established a church and school in 445 upon the hilltop called Ard-Macha, repeatedly sacked, burnt, pillaged, left roofless to ruin, repeatedly rebuilt only to be destroyed again by war or 'the fire of God' (1). In 1261 it was in such a ruinous state that Archbishop O'Scannail rebuilt it completely and by 1268 he had added aisles, transepts, choir and crypt in a severe Early English lancet style similar to Kilkenny and Limerick Cathedrals. The shell of the present church dates from this time. Repairs were made in 1365 when the nave and aisles were rebuilt by Archbishop Sweteman, and following fires of 1405 and 1428 Archbishop Swayne undertook a complete restoration. In 1561 the cathedral was turned into a fortress by Lord Deputy Sussex in his war against the O'Neills, protected by a stone wall thirteen feet high surmounted by looped battlements, but was sacked by Shane O'Neill in 1566, restored again in 1631 by Archbishop Hampton only to be burned by Sir Phelim O'Neill in 1642 (2). Archbishop Bramhall began a restoration which was completed by his successor, Archbishop Margetson in 1663. Margetson covered the nave with a high roof, enclosing the clerestory, and raised the steeple adding battlements and a spire. Further extensive restoration work was carried out from 1765 by Archbishop Robinson who employed Thomas Cooley and Francis Johnston to complete the tower and spire. In 1802 Archbishop Stuart erected a gallery for choristers, slated the Chapter House and placed an altar at the West end of the nave (3), and in 1834 Archbishop Lord John George Beresford began a complete restoration of the crumbling fabric employing 'the most eminent ecclesiological architect of the day who had carried out the costly restoration of Magdalen Chapel', L.N.Cottingham (4).

Footnotes
1   Paterson, T.G.F & Davies, O, 'The Churches of Armagh', Ulster Journal of Archaeology, Vol.3, 1940, pp.82-103. The Book of Armagh was compiled by Ferdommach, a scribe in the School of Armagh in 1807.
2   The Cathedral Church of St. Patrick, Armagh, Pamphlet, Armagh, (no date).
3   op.cit, Paterson & Davies, p.87.
4   The Ecclesiologist, Vol.XIII, 1855, pp.8-15.

Works of Restoration by LNC not discussed in the main text,
with sources and illustrations

1 Snelston Church, Derbyshire; restored 1825

Although there is no documentary evidence giving Cottingham's name
as the restorer of this small parochial chapel of the late fifteenth
century, it is more than likely that he undertook the work, for he was
beginning to make drawings for John Harrison at Snelston Hall in the
early 1820s. The Rev. Rawlins wrote that when he visited it in 1823 it
was 'greatly out of order, pews wanted placing upright on the south side
and floors were of bare earth from pavement that was deficient'. He
went on that 'the general bad state of the structure was on the eve of a
perfect repair, by the large quantity of building materials being
temporarily deposited in the south west corner within the edifice'.
Cottingham's work of 1825 was totally overlaid by Hodgson Fowler's
reconstruction in 1907 which involved major work to the Perpendicular
nave (Fig.230).

Sources: 1   Derbyshire RO, Ashbourne RDC, Listed Buildings, p.40.
2   Randall Rawlins, Rev. R, (curate of Kneeton-on-the-Hill, Notts), FSA.
A Survey of Parish Churches and Chapels, 3 Vols, 1843, Part 2, p.141.
3   Derbyshire RO, Ref.D157, 3021-22; 4086, Design for a mural
monument to Miss Harrison, to be put up in Snelston Church, 1837.
4   *Kelly's Directory*, Derbyshire, 11895, p.343, 1941.
5   *Gazeteer and Directory of Derbyshire*, White & Co, 1857, p.233.

2 Ashbourne Church, Derbyshire; restored 1839-40

The parish church of Ashbourne dates from 1241, the chancel, nave,
and transepts of 1280, the south aisle of 1300 and spire of 1350, and the
clerestorey of 1520. The Rev. Tenison Mosse, in his account of
Cottingham's restoration described the dilapidated state of the church
in 1838, with all the lancet windows of the north side of the chancel and
two Early English windows to the east of the monumental chapel
blocked with masonry, pillars 'mutilated to receive tablets', the chancel
cut off from the nave by a lath and plaster screen encompassing the
organ, eleven different flights of steps leading to as many lofts, and

worst of all, a viaduct of brickwork constructed on the outside of the church to allow access to the gallery with the entrance through the remains of a traceried window. Cottingham made plans for its restoration in 1837, funds were raised including an ICBS grant and the church reopened for service on June 5th, 1840. Cottingham repaired and restored the mediaeval fabric of the mutilated windows and pillars and removed the intruding tablets and monuments to the sepulchral chapel. He unblocked and renewed the windows, repewed the nave with carved oak benches, and inserted a 'more convenient gallery in place of the conglomeration of cumbrous lofts'. Willement executed a monument to Fanny, Lady Boothby to Cottingham's design, and the renewed windows included the arms of the contributors to the restoration. G.G.Scott's later restoration of Ashbourne overlaid Cottingham's work, for he replaced the stalls and pews with more elaborate designs, installed a carved screen, replaced the stone flags with encaustic tiling, and moved the gallery (Fig.231).

Patrons: Sir Matthew Blakiston, Sir Brooke Boothby, James Hartshorn.
Cost: £4000.
Sources: 1 Tenison Mosse, Rev. S, *The Archaeological and Graphic Illustrations of Ashbourne Church, Derbyshire,* London 1842.
2 *The Derby Mercury,* June 10, 1840, 'The Reopening of Ashbourne Church'.
3 *ICBS* File No.2870, Ashbourne Church, 1841. Application from Rev. Shipley, 13th April 1841; Letters from Rev. Shipley, C.Bainbrigge, etc Grant allowed £200.
4 *The History and Topography of Ashbourn and the Valley of the Dove,* anon 1842.
5 Markland, J.H, 'Remarks on the Sepulchral Memorials of Past and Present Times with some suggestions on improving the condition of our churches'. Paper read to *The Oxford Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture,* 1840, RIBA, Pam.O19.

3 All Saints Great Chesterford, Essex; restored 1841

The early fifteenth century All Saints Church, built of rubble and clunch stone was restored by Cottingham in 1841-42. The church was repaired and reroofed in 1825 but by 1841 was in a greatly dilapidated state. The Churchwarden's accounts give no indication of the full extent of Cottingham's work, but it appears that he restored the leaning tower and turret, removing 'large masses of wall', (possibly used for shoring the leaning walls as at Rochester and Hereford,)

replaced missing stained glass, repointed the fabric of the church and repewed, gaining 251 free seats. No plans remain but an application to the ICBS was made in 1841 (Fig.232).

Patrons: The Rev. Lord Charles Arthur Hervey, The Marquis of Bristol, Grant of £200 from the ICBS.

Cost: £1081.2.8.

Sources:
1 *ICBS* File No.2985. Letters from Lord C.A.Hervey, 3rd Dec 1841. A.I.London etc.
2 *Essex RO*, ERO 4 p.2. Churchwarden's accounts D/P10/5, Nov 8th 1840; Nov 13th 1840; 19th Nov 1840.
3 ibid, D/CF 30/1. Faculty for restoration of 1891, Sir A.W.Blomfield.
4 Deacon, M, *All Saints Church in the 19th Century*, No date, Essex RO, pp.16-20.
5 Deacon, M, *Great Chesterford, Essex*, No date, pp.23-31.

4 Roos Church, Yorkshire; restored 1841-42

The Roos Parish records give no indication of the works of restoration undertaken by Cottingham. Charles Hotham was the incumbent in 1842 and in a letter to Cottingham of April 18th 1842, he wrote of the opening service when 'admiration for the restoration was expressed', and invited Cottingham to give advice on neighbouring churches which were in need of repair. He concluded his letter,
> 'accept my best thanks for the beautiful state into which you have put our parish church'.

This letter of commendation was published in Dean John Merewether's *A Statement etc of Hereford Cathedral* of 1841. No other documentary evidence or reporting of the restoration has yet come to light (Fig.233).

Patron: Rev. C.Hotham.

Cost: Not known.

Sources:
1 *Humberside County RO*, Churchwarden's Accounts of 1841-43 include an outline ground plan of Roos dated 1843, but give no details of work undertaken.
2 Merewether J, *A Statement of the Condition and Circumstance of the Cathedral Church of Hereford in the Year 1841*, London 1841.

5 Church of St Peter, Milton Bryan, Bedfordshire; restored 1839-41

The church of St Peter, of Norman origins, was in a very dilapidated state by 1820. In 1824 Sir Robert Inglis planned a new transept on the north side, to be used as the family chapel, and a steeple, and submitted plans for a new tower to replace the wooden bell turret. Faculty was granted and by 1826 the materials were in the churchyard 'to compleat Sir R.Inglis' designs'. The architect for these plans may have been Robert McWilliam of London. The north transept was built at this time with a window in fifteenth century Gothic. In 1832 further plans were drawn up by Sir Robert Smirke, none of them executed. In 1839, plans were made by Cottingham who built a tower to house the seventeenth century bells of massive weight, a north porch, and a transept on the south side of the nave to balance the Inglis chapel on the north. The church had been much altered over the centuries but parts of the Norman square ended chancel and nave remained with narrow deeply splayed round headed windows. Rebuilding and mending in a variety of materials and the insertion of East and West windows had taken place up to the sixteenth century. Cottingham chose the style of the transition from Norman to Early English for the tower, perhaps to suggest architectural development, with lancet windows and oculi like the transitional clerestorey at Southwell Minster. Cottingham designed the porch and south transept to correspond with the existing nineteenth century Gothic, and unblocked and restored the West window that had been bricked up at an earlier date.

Clearly funds were limited with Sir Robert bearing the financial burden of the repairs, and no costly materials or ornamentation were used. The tower and transept were built of brick, the tower faced in stone, and the transept and porch rendered in keeping with the original finish of the nave and chancel. The interior remained very plain at this time owing to lack of funds. In 1845 John Martin, the librarian of the Duke of Bedford wrote that 'the church has recently been repaired and with few exceptions in good taste'. Sir Robert wrote to the Dean of Hereford on the 6th December, 1841,

> 'My Dear Mr Dean,
> Mr Cottingham has asked me to submit to the Dean and Chapter of Hereford such testimonial of his professional skill as my own experience of it might justify me in supplying. I could not presume

to address the Dean and Chapter formally, but I hope I may be permitted to convey to yourself my sense of his merits.

It would be ludicrous indeed to compare what he has been doing for us in our little village church with what he desires to do in your great venerable Cathedral; but still, in what he did for us, we could distinguish his knowledge, his skill, and his zeal. He had to restore a small Norman church, this though the walls were little more than rubble, he did effectually. He had to build for us de novo a tower; this he appears to have done substantially as well as with taste. All my personal communications with him were also, it is right to add, most satisfactory and his charges were very reasonable. Believe me, my dear Mr Dean, Yours, Robert H.Inglis.' (Fig.234 & 234a).

Patron: Sir Robert Inglis; interest free loan of £100 from the Duke of Bedford.
Cost: Not known.
Sources: 1 *Bedfordshire RO*, LL18/34, Lithograph from a drawing by Lady Palgrave showing the church as restored, 1842.
           2 'Victorian church restoration in Bedfordshire', *Exhibition Pamphlet,* Bedfordshire RO, p.7.
           3 Merewether J, *A Statement on the Condition and Circumstance of the Cathedral Church of Hereford in the Year 1841*, London 1841. Letter from Sir R.H.Inglis, see p.38.

6 Louth Church, Lincs: restored 1844-45

Cottingham restored the Perpendicular Gothic Parish Church of Louth in 1844. He was called in as 'the architect well known for his judicious repairs of Armagh, Hereford, St Alban's and the Norman Tower', and through his survey discovered that the 268' spire, damaged by 'lightning and former alterations', was split by a fissure running from top to bottom 'wide enough to admit a man's arm'. (ILN 1845, p.180). Cottingham repaired the spire restoring the tapered top, replacing the finial and renewing the crockets and stonework. Remaining drawings show an 'Elevation of Design for Stone Finial and Copper Gilt Cross and Weather Cock as Termination to Spire of Louth Church', dated October 1844. The finial was octagonal, following the form of the spire, its base only 14" in diameter with projecting mouldings, and the whole, when crowned by the weather vane 'presented the appearance of a continued but exceedingly attenuated portion of the spire' and added 7 feet to its height. The tower was also repaired and a lightning conductor installed. Cottingham's work at Louth was so skillful and so much in harmony with the church and mediaeval precedent that it has seldom been identified as a church that underwent Victorian restoration. Louth spire, for example was named by Clarke and

Betjeman in *English Churches* of 1964 as 'surely the finest in the country' (Fig.235).

Patron: Funded by subscription.
Cost: Not known.
Sources: 1   Lincolnshire RO, Louth, St James' Parish 9/2/8; Ink drawings of spire, no date; Elevation etc of Finial & Weathercock, LNC Oct 1844.
    2   ibid, *Churchwarden's Account Book I,* 6/7/12, p.382; 8th June 1843; 11th April 1844, Cottingham's Survey; 27th March 1845. Churchwarden's Account Book Vol.II, Frontispiece, April 20th 1847, notes 3 sets plans by LNC and estimate for lightning conductor. (Plans now missing).
    3   *ILN* Jan-June 1845, pp.180-181.
    4   *Ecclesiologist,* 1845, p.142.

7 Market Weston, Suffolk: restored 1844

At Market Weston, an early fifteenth century Parish Church built of rubble and flint, Cottingham brought the bulging and leaning walls of the nave and tower to upright without rebuilding, rebuilt the chancel with timber roof, Decorated Gothic north and south windows and large East window looking to the mediaeval Suffolk precedents such as Theberton, Tuddenham and Barrow, churches he knew well. He replaced the missing stained glass in the nave and Perpendicular porch windows and refitted the interior with oak benches, pulpit, lectern, font and open timber framed roof. (See Part II, Church Furnishings). At Market Weston, Cottingham's work was so much in keeping with the mediaeval fabric that it was not known that the chancel had been rebuilt in 1844. (Discussions with the Vicar and Churchwardens, 1987, JM) (Figs.236-239).

Patron: Mr J.Thruston, Lord of the Manor.
Cost: £3000; ICBS grant.
Sources: 1   Suckling, Rev. A, *The Suckling History and Antiquities of Suffolk,* London 1846; Vol.I, Introduction, p.99.
    2   *Bury and Norwich Post,* Dec 17th 1845.
    3   *ICBS File No.3413,* M.Box 2; Letter from Rev. Wilkinson 3rd April 1844; 13th Sept 1844.
    4   Suffolk Ro, Newham, Collection of Notes, 1846-47, p.14; Addenda, LC942.64.
    5   *Civil Engineer and Architects Journal,* Aug 1844, p.332; Aug 1846, pp.238-239.
    6   *Gentleman's Magazine,* Sept 1844, p.304.
    7   *Builder,* Vol.2, 1844, p.378.

8 The Parish Church of Ss Mary and David, Kilpeck, Herefordshire: restored 1845-48

In 1845 Cottingham received the commission to restore the important late Romanesque church of Kilpeck, noting in a letter to William Brougham,

> 'Among architecture it is considered a perfect gem, the decoration and arrangement full of symbolical meaning...'

C.R.Lewis in his volume on Kilpeck Church of 1842, to which Cottingham subscribed, deplored its dilapidated state and noted 'that it must be taken in hand by the highly educated'. As the acknowledged expert on the Romanesque period, Cottingham was appointed to restore it. No account of the extent of Cottingham's work remains, but contemporary comments suggest that he carried out a sympathetic and restrained restoration in his usual way. A cast, possibly taken by LNC or his son, of the famed south doorway of Kilpeck was exhibited at the Great Exhibition, and an anonymous commentator wrote that 'Mr Cottingham repaired the church and mended some of the grotesque carvings'. The *Builder* of 1846 wrote of the intention to restore Kilpeck and hoped that 'the restoration may be done with the slightest possible change in its venerable features...'. By 1896 the church required further repair at which time 'discoloured plaster' was stripped from the walls which were then replastered, and the leaking roof stripped and retiled.

Cost: £600.

Sources: 1 Lewis, G.R, *Illustrations of Kilpeck Church, Herefordshire*, London 1842.
2 Cottingham, N.J, Letter to W.Brougham, June 7th 1845, *Brougham Papers*, ULC.
3 *Builder*, 1846, p.594.
4 *Ecclesiologist*, April 1847, Vol.IV, p.156.
5 Anonymous, undated article on the restoration of Kilpeck, *NMRO, Kilpeck*, File.
6 Firmstone, Rev. E.K, Letter to the *Hereford Times*, May 13th 1896.
7 ibid, *Hereford Times*, Aug 6th 1898.

9 St Leonard's Church, Horringer, (Horningsheath), Suffolk: restored 1845

St Leonard's church, dating from the fourteenth century with Perpendicular additions, was restored and enlarged in 1845 by Cottingham. He erected a new vestry, and a new north aisle with an Early English arcade in keeping with the date of the nave allowing 98 new sittings, repewed the church with oak benches, altered the position of the pulpit and lectern by 4 feet and left the font in its original position opposite the south entrance. A ground plan by LNC dated 1844 in the ICBS archives shows the extension to the north with three two light fourteenth century Gothic windows and buttresses, the whole in keeping with the style and materials used in the original church (Figs.240 & 241).

Patrons:	The Reverend Lord Charles Arthur Hervey; The Marquis of Bristol; Grant from ICBS.
Cost:	£1500.
Sources:	1 ICBS File No.3577; Letters of 1st April 1845 (from Calvert Vaux, Clerk to LNC) Letters from LNC 10th March 1845; 13th March 1845; 24th March 1845; 26th March 1845; Letters from Lord Arthur Hervey etc, 29th March 1845; December 1845 etc.
	2 Tymms, S, 'Horringer Church', *Suffolk Institute of Archaeology, Proceedings* Vol.2 1859, pp.430-434.
	3 *Suffolk RO*, Vestry Minutes 1818-1870, FL589/1/1; Accounts 1844-45, FL589/5/1.
	4 *Gage's History of Suffolk*, p.507, illustration.
	5 *Bury and Norwich Post*, 22/12/47.

10 St Mary's Church, Clifton, Nottinghamshire: restored 1846

There is no account of Cottingham's restoration at St Mary's in the Parish records, or the archive of the patron Sir Jukes Granville Clifton, or in the NMRO file. However, a report in the *Builder* of 1846 outlined the extent of Cottingham's major restoration, work later mistakenly attributed to Bodley. In 1846, Cottingham found that the weight of the fifteenth century tower had cracked and shattered the arches and pillars of the nave, causing them to lean more than a foot out of perpendicular. These he returned to upright by his method of heated iron bars 'without the removal of a single stone'. Cottingham restored the roofs throughout in oak with new stone corbels inserted to receive the helves and bearing posts and encased the feet of all the principal rafters in cast iron. He laid an encaustic tiled pavement enriched with

armorial bearings, inserted a new carved wood ceiling under the tower, repewed the church with low open benches, and designed a litany desk, pulpit, font cover, doors to the north porch and tower, and a wrought iron staircase. Part of Cottingham's work was overlaid by Bodley and the remainder was removed in 1968 by the Rev. Wilkinson and the architect George Pace.

Patron: Sir Jukes Granville Clifton.
Cost: Not known.
Sources: 1   The *Builder*, 1846, p.250.
           2   University of Nottingham Manuscripts Dept, drawing of tower with 'proposed pinnacles'; estimate by Walkers of Nottingham, 80; April 1846.
           3   *NMRO File Clifton*, Notts; Drawings and plans by students of school of architecture, Univ. of Nottingham, (No knowledge of Cottingham).
           4   *Nottingham Evening Post*, May 8th 1968; 7th Dec 1968; 3rd Jan 1973.
           5   *West Bridgford and Clifton Standard*, 4th Jan 1969, 'St Mary, Clifton', 28th Dec 1968.

11 Church of St Peter, Theberton, Suffolk: restored 1846-47

Theberton Church has traces of its twelfth century origin in a preserved Romanesque arch with zig-zag moulding in the vestry. The chancel, nave, south aisle and tower and thatched roof of the nave characteristic of East Anglia. The church was repaired in 1836 by an unknown architect or builder when a plaster ceiling was inserted, fifteenth century pulpit removed to the North side near the East end of the nave, and all whitewash removed. In 1847 Cottingham refitted the nave and chancel with carved oak pews and deal open benches and 'a lectern of square form', restored the south aisle, laid encaustic flooring of three patterns, restored the wall paintings of the fifteenth century south aisle columns and erected a monument in the style of the fifteenth century to the Hon. Frederica Doughty. The major part of his work at Theberton was concerned with bringing the walls of the tower which leaned 18 inches out of perpendicular, back to the upright saving it from demolition and rebuilding. He restored and repaired the exterior of the south aisle and the fifteenth century porch, ' a sensitive and expert restoration which respected the original materials and fifteenth century ornament. He found precedents for his interior design in the traces of polychromy discovered on the removal of whitewash and for his carved bench ends he looked to the fifteenth century carving at

Woolpit Church, close to Theberton. Cottingham's encaustic tiles have been replaced with marble chip tiles of no obvious mediaeval precedent, and his lectern has also disappeared (Fig.242).

Patrons: The Doughty Family; The Rev. C.Montagu Doughty (1790-1850).
Cost: £2000.
Builders: Mr Thurlow of Saxmundham, Stonework; Mr Bright of Saxmundham, wood carving; Three stained glass windows in the south aisle by Thomas Willement at £50 each; Figure of St Peter holding key and book: 4 Coats of Arms (Doughty): Figure of St Paul.
Sources: 1   Doughty, H.M, *Chronicles of Theberton*, 1910, pp.233-237.
        2   *Bury and Norwich Post*, 22.12.1847.
        3   *Suffolk Institute of Archaeology*, Proceedings, Vol.7, 1891, pp.229-235, Suffolk RO.
        4   *Suffolk RO, Ipswich*, Theberton M47/7156.
        5   ibid, Faculty Book, JC/1/16, 1840-68, p.77.
        6   ibid, Doughty Family papers, HA75, Parish records FC70/A2/1-3.

12 Barrow Church, Suffolk: restored 1848-49

At Barrow, N.J.Cottingham restored the dilapidated Early English chancel and rebuilt the crippled and shattered chancel arch. He brought to upright and underpinned the nave walls, 'using Mr Cottingham's ingenious method', removed plaster and repointed flintwork, reinstated stonework of windows, quoins and buttresses, lowered the chancel floor 3 feet to its original level and discovered a piscina and sedilia which he carefully preserved, restored the open timber roof, refloored with encaustic tiles, erected a new sacristy at the East end of the North side in accordance with the Early English style of the nave, and restored as much as possible of the chancel screen leaving the lower portion and reusing the the upper where possible for the stalls. The remains of the chancel screen as preserved by NJC were removed in a later restoration and replaced. NJC also designed and inserted stained glass windows to the lancet triplet of the gabled East end in memory of the Revered Keeling's parents.

Patron: Rev. Keeling; and subscriptions.
Cost: Not known.
Builder: Thomas Farrow.
Sources: 1   *Bury and Norwich Post*, Jan 3rd 1849.
        2   *PO Directory*, 1858, p.552.

13 Church of St Michael, Ledbury, Herefordshire: restored 1849-50

N.J.Cottingham made a survey of the fifteenth century Church of St Michael in 1849, in which he described the extent of the dilapidation. The north west angle and the west side were bulging out of perpendicular and required immediate attention, including underpinning of the foundations. The East side, although split by fissures was not in such a dangerous condition, and NJC recommended minor work of restoration and the repairing of all defective jambs, sills, mullions, and tracery of the windows. The roof, 'modern, and of very inferior material and construction', was to be replaced with one of 'correct design'. St Katherine's Chapel was to be restored, the large blocked up arch to be opened and a screen of 'appropriate design' inserted. NJC further recommended a coved ceiling with polychromy, a new font and cover and a pavement of encaustic tiles. NJC described the intended works of restoration at Ledbury in a letter of Oct 19th 1849 to R.B.Phillips, the Patron of Hereford cathedral. The Parish records give no account of NJC's work but the archivist confirms that these designs were carried out although the font has been attributed to G.G.Scott in error, because he was working at nearby Eastnor Church at the time. The letters to R.B.Phillips, now confirm that NJC was the architect of this restoration (Fig.245).

Patron: R.B.Phillips.
Cost: £775 (NJC's estimate).
Sources: 1 Cottingham, N.J, *Survey of Church of St Michael, Ledbury,* Hereford Cathedral Library.
          2 Cottingham, N.J, *Letter to R.B.Phillips,* Oct 19th 1849, Belmont Abbey Collection, Bundle 29, Nat. Lib. of Wales.
          3 Robinson, S.F.C, (Ledbury Parish Archivist), Information received 13th Oct 1987.

14 Brougham Chapel, Westmorland: restored 1844-46

Cottingham worked at Brougham Chapel, from 1844-46, transforming the small chapel built by Lady Anne Clifford in 1659, to a mediaeval interior in keeping with its mediaeval origin. He inserted Norman pillars to the insides of the round arch windows, restored the dilapidated fabric of the church, renewing the doors with cast iron hinges, inserted a Romanesque wheel window similar to that of Temple Church and to his own designs at St Helen's Thorney, and made designs

in the carved stalls and interior fittings, (see Church Furnishings) (Figs.246-248).

Patron:	Henry, Lord Brougham.	
Cost:	Not known.	
Sources:	1	*The Brougham Papers,* Letters from LNC & NJC to William Brougham, 1845-46, ULC.
	2	Shaw, George, *Letters and diaries,* 1830-50, Brougham Papers, UCL, Manchester Library & Archive.
	3	Rutherford, Rev. T.W.H, *A History of Brougham,* Penrith 1976.
	4	Scott, W.B, *Antiquarian Gleanings in the North of England,* London, No date.
	5	Jervis, S, *Letter to Miss Bouch, Penrith,* V&A, Brougham File.

Part II
Chapter 2

DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE AND DESIGN

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DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE AND DESIGN

2.1 Gothic Revival Domestic Architecture of the early Nineteenth Century : Cottingham in Context

Preservationism and Publications

The revival of interest in the architecture of the Middle Ages in the early decades of the nineteenth century after a long period of neglect, led not only to the restoration and revival of ecclesiastical buildings, but also to a passion for the antiquarian study, restoration, rebuilding and revival of the styles of mediaeval domestic architecture. Cottingham, in the preface to his *Plans etc of Henry VII's Chapel* in 1822, had suggested an archaeological study of Gothic structure as a basis for a revival in domestic building and his own domestic work showed his attempts to create buildings suited to their age and the patron's requirements, with inspiration drawn from mediaeval precedents. An important source of information was his own study of the Mediaeval domestic architecture of England, shown in his Museum collection and in his surviving sketchbooks, and through his involvement with preservation issues. Others were aware of the need to preserve examples of domestic architecture and Cottingham's influence, and that of such antiquaries as E.I Carlos and A.J Kempe, who during the 1830s drew attention to the destruction of mediaeval houses, led to a revived interest in the remaining examples. Little could be done about those in private hands until the legislation of 1882 in the first Ancient Monuments Protection Act, although Richard Gough in 1788 had suggested that the Society of Antiquaries should receive reports of threatened buildings, and,

> 'make enquiries, give notice to the proprietors of reported edifices of the wish of the Society to see them continue at least untouched by voracious hands...'(1).

George Shaw, a Manchester architect and indefatigable antiquary, in his journal of 1830 noted examples of many old houses throughout the country that were being allowed to fall into ruin without hope of preservation, such as Liversey Hall in Blackburn, 'which had been a

fine old place, now a dilapidated farm house', and Middleton Hall near Oldham, 'the place wantonly run down...' (2). Some owners chose to build anew instead of restoring their mediaeval buildings, as Shaw pointed out when writing of the thirteenth century Beeston Castle in Cheshire which belonged to John Tollemach, M.P. Salvin was employed by Tollemach in 1844 to build a new mansion, Peckforton, despite Shaw's pleas to save the Castle. Shaw wrote in a letter of 1847,

> 'in vain I implored him to repair and re-edify, instead of building a new place - an old Castle even repaired ever so much everybody feels an interest in - a new one few people care about, however well executed. The fact of Beeston having been in ruins signifies but little - who even remembers that Warwick with all its feudal pride and magnificence had been both a ruin and a county prison? - also Alnwick lay in ruins - and yet this was urged against the reparation of Beeston as being an insurmountable obstacle...' (3).

By the 1840s however, the influence of the preservationists and revivalists like Cottingham, was having an effect. Lord Lincoln, the First Commissioner of Woods and Works, for example instigated the restoration of castles belonging to the Crown, including Newark, Carisbrooke and Caernarvon in 1844 (4), and through the efforts of the increasing numbers of Archaeological and Architectural Societies throughout the country, the preservation of all types of mediaeval building was actively encouraged (5). A writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1846 for example, noted that the rectorial Manor house at Crewkerne, of the time of Edward 11 with additions in Perpendicular Gothic was,

> 'likely to be pulled down and should be recorded and investigated...the attention of the Archaeological Institute has been drawn to it...'

Another report warned that,

> 'a timber framed house at Tonbridge will, on the death of the owner, now aged 86, inevitably be pulled down if no steps are taken...' (6).

A further impetus to a revival based on thorough knowledge and study of the mediaeval as Cottingham suggested, came from the publications of works on mediaeval domestic architecture su :h as A.C Pugin and E.J Willson's *Specimens of Gothic Architecture Selected from Various Edifices* of 1822, in which they gave advice on imitation of styles.

> 'let ancient mansions serve for the decoration of modern ones...Castles can very rarely be copied with success...the imitation of an abbey requires exceptional circumstances, the towered gatehouse, cloisters and refectory may serve for modern uses without losing their proper character and towers, stair turrets will give picturesque effect without appearing as forced conceits...'

Cottingham, in his publications of 1822 and 1823, advised architects to study the best examples of the mediaeval, and yet consider contemporary usage, 'for no houses of mediaeval date would be habitable in the present day without considerable alteration...' (7).
Pugin and Willson shared this view stating that,
> 'modification of precedents is allowed for absolute fidelity will prove incompatible with modern convenience... but let the architect compare his designs with ancient examples...' (8).

Cottingham, Pugin and Willson in these statements made clear their intentions in the use of the mediaeval for domestic work, as a source for comparison and inspiration to create buildings to suit the age, a use of the mediaeval that can compare with Adam's reinterpretation of classical antiquity in the eighteenth century. These ideas later formed the basis of A.W.N.Pugin's influential writings on domestic architecture in his *Contrasts* of 1836 and *True Principles* of 1841. A C Pugin's later work, *Gothic Ornament Selected from various buildings in both England and France* of 1831, continued this theme, giving examples of details from many Oxford Colleges, ancient domestic dwellings such as Bond's Hospital and Ford's Hospital in Coventry and gables on houses in the High Street in Rochester. Cottingham's friend, William Twopenny also produced a volume on the domestic architecture of the Middle Ages in 1840, giving descriptions and plans of manor houses of the twelfth century such as the Manor House at Boothby Pagnell, the Crown Inn at Rochester, the Jew's House at Lincoln, the thirteenth century Aydon Castle owned by Cottingham's patron, Sir Edward Blackett, and the fourteenth century Markenfield Hall, the Mote Ightham and Little Wenham in Suffolk (9). Other works of the 1830s and 1840s giving evidence of increased interest in the subject included publications by Hunt, Richardson and Nash on Tudor and Elizabethan architecture (10), and later works such as Hudson Turner's *Some Account of Domestic Architecture in England; the Conquest to the end of the 13th Century* of 1851, which included an account of Cottingham's Brougham Hall with illustrations by Twopenny, Blore and Nesbitt, and Dollman's *Examples of Domestic Architecture, illustrating Hospitals, Bede Houses, Schools and Almhouses of the Middle Ages,* were valuable sources of information on surviving examples of mediaeval architecture (11) and became part of a

tradition that led the way to the influential studies of Street, Shaw, Nesfield and Burges later in the nineteenth Century (12).

The concern for preserving ancient domestic architecture became a subject of interest on the Continent during the 1840s. Didron in *Annales Archeologique,* wrote regular reports of 'Actes du Vandalisme', deploring the destruction of mediaeval buildings such as the Hotel de la Trémonville and others in Paris despite the outcry of scholars and artists. He published reports by Victor Hugo of 'barbaric and senseless destruction' at Saintes, and also printed accounts of vandalism reported by Roisin in Bonn, Reichensperger in Cologne and Goertner in Bavaria (13). 'Le rapport archeologique' also promoted the study of domestic architecture in France and England in the first decades of the nineteenth century, with many English architects and antiquaries travelling and studying in France and publishing their work, such as Cotman, A C and A W N Pugin, Dallaway, Whewell, Truefitt and Vaux (14), and in the Preface to Hudson Turner's *Some Account of Domestic Architecture,* it is noted that drawings of the French remains were prepared by H M Didron, Bouet, Viollet-le-Duc and du Caumont of Caen. English publications on English domestic architecture and design by Pugin, Butterfield, Parker, H L Jones and M A Nichols which included Cottingham's tile designs, were listed in the *Annales* (15). Important French publications of mediaeval domestic design were of influence in England, for example N X Willemin's two volumes, *Monuments Francais Inedits, pour servir a l'histoire des Arts depuis le VI siecle jusqu'au commencement du XVII siecle,* which included drawings of French and German domestic architecture, dress, furniture, sculpture, mosaics, monuments, costumes of cavaliers and tournament stands, were subscribed to by 'Willemen(t) a Londres, Stothard a Londres, Hope (banker a Londres) and Gally Knight and Britton', all friends of Cottingham's and copies were to be found in the library of the Society of Antiquaries (16). Du Somerard's volumes of 1836-1846, *Les Arts au Moyen Age* (17), and the work of the thirteenth century architect Wilars de Honecourt were also widely known in England providing a source of study of mediaeval architecture and interior design (18).

In France, perhaps the most notable work of restoration and rebuilding of a mediaeval castle was Viollet-le-Duc's work at the ruined late

fourteenth century Pierrefonds from 1857 (19), a parallel to Cottingham's extension and development of Brougham Hall from 1830-1846 (20). Viollet-le-Duc's work, a mixture of careful reconstruction and restoration based on the existing structure and fragments of ornament, and anachronistic elements such as the detached defensive towers built at the perimeter walls, and a free and imaginative interpretation of the mediaeval in his interior designs (21), makes a contrast with the earlier more archaeological approach of Cottingham at Brougham, where he used the Bayeux tapestry as the appropriate decoration for a Norman revival interior, and insisted on a mediaeval precedent for every feature in the construction of a castle which attempted to show a gradual development in the styles of the Mediaeval.

2.2 Mediaeval revival mansions and interiors of the 1820s in England

Antiquarian, preservationist and revivalist influences contributed to the passion for the Mediaeval which developed in the 1820s and 1830s, resulting in the building of Gothic mansions and battlemented castles, commissions which Cottingham gained through his fame as a scholar of the art and architecture of the mediaeval period. Other factors too played a part, the wars with France for example, revived feelings of nationalism and the overthrow in France of the whole traditional structure of society through revolution, engendered a fear of radical democracy and change. Opinions altered in England in favour of authority and the existing institutions of Church, the Monarchy and the Constitution. The Middle Ages, an age based on the social structure of feudalism when the Church and Monarchy were all powerful was now seen as an ideal age of faith and loyalty and one that should be emulated (22). The coronation of George IV on July nineteenth 1821 provided an opportunity for a revival of feudal customs, dress and splendour with a magnificent banquet in the setting of Westminster Hall (23). Cottingham, at that very time, was preparing his structural analysis of the building for his publication of 1822, and the full mediaeval pageant played out in the fourteenth century great Hall must have had a powerful effect on his imagination (24). Three years later Wyatville undertook the remodelling of Windsor Castle with its state sequence of grand staircase, the armoury, Waterloo chamber, the

whole a mediaeval transformation in keeping with the mood of the times (25).

In literature, Sir Walter Scott's Waverley novels, romantic tales of the chivalrous Middle Ages, fuelled the mediaeval revival (26). They were eno· ⸍rmously popular and *Ivanhoe* (1820) was immediately dramatised, five versions of it running concurrently in London in the 1820s. Scott, a keen antiquary and scholar, brought his scenes to life with vivid descriptions of interiors, armour, the dress of the period and particularly castles with drawbridges, battlements, and armour filled great halls with open timber roofs and the high table on a dias (27). J R Planché, the heraldic expert, wrote that 'honour is due to Sir Walter Scott for having first attracted public attention to the advantages of study of such subjects'. He questioned the accuracy of his descriptions of the dress and armour of the Anglo-Norman period, but continued,

> 'those scenes laid in the 16th and 17th centuries are admirable for their truth and graphic delineation...' (28).

Scott did show a grasp of architectural theory, describing in *Ivanhoe,*

> 'the new noble hall whose vaulted roof was supported by lighter and more elegant pillars and fitted up with that higher degree of ornament which the Normans had already introduced into architecture...' (29),

a description demonstrating knowledge of the late Saxon building with its rough ashlar, massive simplicity, high, small triangular leaded windows and simple pilaster ornament that gave way to the European Romanesque in the eleventh century (29a). Clearly Scott had consulted Cottingham on antiquarian and architectural matters, possibly for backgound such as this description for his mediaeval novels, or for advice on the building and interior design of his house Abbotsford, extended between 1812 and 1832, for we know he made a gift to Cottingham of a Charles 11 chair for his Museum of Mediaeval Antiquities (30). Cottingham, by the early 1820s was becoming famous as an expert on mediaeval architecture and his collection was widely known in antiquarian circles, providing a source of study (31). Scott's novels popularised the Middle Ages, at a time when castles stood for tradition and authority symbolising antiquity, ancient lineage, the defending of English liberty. These associationist ideas, literary and sociological, combined with the move to record and restore ancient structures in the early decades of the nineteenth century, and increasingly influenced by the work of Cottingham and others towards

an archaeologically correct revival of the Mediaeval, formed the basis for the Gothic Revivial in domestic architecture and marked a move away from the Picturesque interpretation of the Gothic.

Some castles and mansions of the early decades, however, showed little attempt to imitate the planning, internal arrangement, or the organic development of the mediaeval buildings, and symmetrical castles in the tradition of Adam's Inverary Castle or Wyatt's Royal Castle at Kew were built, such as Robert Smirke's Lowther of 1810-11 for the Earl of Lonsdale, with soaring towers at the four corners and superficial mediaeval ornament (32). George Shaw, writing in 1834, compared it unfavourably to Cottingham's Brougham Hall, situated close by, which appeared to him to be the 'epitome of an old baronial mansion', Lowther, Shaw wrote,

> 'like most Smirk erections is spoiled for want of space at the first entrance, and the staircase coming close to the doors...' (33).

Smirke's Eastnor of 1812, of complex but rigid symmetry, again showed massive corner towers, with unarchaeological round arch windows without mouldings to the first floor, large expanses of glazing broken by glazing bars, ground floor windows of Early English lancet design providing Gothic decoration, and no attempt to suggest organic growth or authenticity (34). John Britton in 1840, criticised Smirke's work, saying that he,

> 'had not been successful in imparting the true architectural character of either the castle or the monastery to his work',

and of Eastnor, he wrote,

> 'many details belong rather to church than to castle and do not combine well in the mansion...' (35).

Between 1812 and 1832, Sir Walter Scott, in collaboration with Edward Blore, and William Atkinson, and with advice from others including Cottingham, Meyrick, Bullock and Douce, created Abbotsford (36). Francis Douce, a close friend of Cottingham and Sir Walter Scott, in handwritten notes in an unabridged volume of *Sir Tristram* given to him by Scott, noted his impressions of Abbotsford, the rich assemblage of 'materials borrowed from other places' such as,

> 'a gateway from Linlithgow, a roof from Roslin, a chimney piece from Melrose, a postern from the Heart of Midlothian...'.

He described the house, '150 feet long in front, a tall tower at each end unlike each other with high gables, fantastic water spouts, balconies, painted glass windows, and projecting gateway', and described the Hall or Armoury with two lofty windows of heraldic stained glass and the

'chimney piece copied from the Abbey of Melrose' (37), and the 'Dining Room low roofed with a bay window a facsimile from Melrose...' (37). George Shaw also described Abbotsford in his diary of 1832 noting that the passage or lobby had a groined roof in plaster supported on figures,

'the whole cast from one of the aisles of Melrose',

and he continued,
'the fanciful edifice over the road at the reservoir is composed principally of the doorway of the French Ambassadors house in the Canongate of Edinburgh pulled down some years ago...' (38).

Cottingham's Museum was filled with architectural fragments rescued from demolished buildings, and linking him closely with Abbotsford, he had casts of features from Melrose Abbey in his collection. It is possible that he supplied Scott with facsimiles or possibly advised him on these and other aspects of the work at Abbotsford (39). Cottingham used fragments and casts from his own collection at Snelston in 1829 and advised his patrons William Brougham and Earl Dunraven at Adare on acquistions for their antiquarian interiors. The habit of incorporating early fragments, carvings and furnishings in the creation of mediaeval interiors was widespread by the 1830s and 1840s. Christie's held a sale of carvings for this purpose in 1826 and Pugin too used early Flemish carvings in his interiors at Scarisbrick in 1835 (40). Mediaeval stained glass was also used as at Toddington in Gloucestershire, the Gothic mansion designed by Hanbury Tracy, the future Lord Sudeley, where the twelve pointed windows of the west cloisters were glazed with,
'richly stained glass which formerly adorned monasteries in Switzerland, Germany and Holland...' (41).

After Smirke's Eastnor of 1812, perhaps the most notable mediaeval revival mansion was Thomas Hopper's Penrhyn Castle in North Wales of 1827 which made some approach to verisimilitude, with a great Norman keep and the main blocks arranged round courtyards (42). Penrhyn's owner, Spencer Stanhope, in a letter to George Shaw, wrote of its failings,
'the decoration of the Norman style are not at all in harmony with the requirements of modern times...the finest part of the building is the keep which is almost a direct copy of Rochester...' (43).

Revivalism in the hands of a lesser architect led to inconvenience, an aspect considered by Cottingham and Pugin and Willson in 1822, and avoided by Cottingham in his own domestic architecture. Edward Blore worked at Lambeth Palace from 1829 where he completely rebuilt the

residential wing in Perpendicular Gothic with octagonal turrets, battlements, squareheaded windows, bays and oriels reminiscent of Cottingham's drawings for Snelston Hall of 1827 (44). Blore also built Goodrich Court in 1828-31 in the Wye Valley, a mediaeval castle for Sir Samuel Meyrick, its massive round towers and crenellations owing much to the early sixteenth century Thornbury which was also used as a model for Costessey by John Chessell Buckler of 1826 (45). Sir Samuel and Lady Meyrick both made comments on their new castle to their friend Francis Douce in writing to invite him to stay 'even though the house was not as far on as hoped'. Planché also visited and the antiquary J H Markland, who wrote in praise of Cottingham's restoration methods (46), 'expressed high approbation of the place', but Lady Meyrick, left to deal with the problems of a new castle while her husband travelled for three months with lady companions, wrote,

> 'we are much plagued by smokey chimneys, we couldn't light fires when the walls were streaming with wet...' (47).

Another anonymous visitor to Goodrich, writing from 'King James l's Chamber' described its

> 'stately assemblages of towers and battlements, the buildings surrounding two courts and the whole erection taken from twenty existing specimens of the architecture which prevailed from the reign of Edward 1 to the close of that of Edward 111, forming a perfect beau-ideal of an ancient castle bristling with all the fortifications of the chivalric ages'.

The writer described the heavy arched entrance, approached by a drawbridge over a wide moat and defended by a portcullis, 'characteristic of the pedantry of the times...' (48). The date range of the sources used showed an attempt to suggest growth over many years as in mediaeval times, but anachronistic features in a mansion of the 1830s such as a defensive drawbridge and portcullis were never employed by Cottingham.

Another of Cottingham's contemporaries whose mediaeval revival domestic architecture was criticised and compared unfavourably to his own was Anthony Salvin. Cottingham worked at Brougham from 1830 and Salvin built a new mansion at nearby Greystoke for Henry Howard from 1837, incorporating parts of the fourteenth century pele tower, work that was not considered highly for the quality of its construction or its archaeological correctness (49). William Brougham wrote that 'the work done at Greystoke is by no means what it ought to be' and he said

he would be grieved if Naworth Castle, another of the Howard family properties, 'were restored in no better taste' (50). Naworth was partly destroyed by fire in 1844 (51) and William Brougham, anxious to see its rebuilding carried out 'with true antiquarian feeling', immediately wrote to George Howard, the 7th Earl of Carlisle, to recommend Cottingham for the work.

> 'I should strongly advise you to take advice from Mr Cottingham whom I have found the safest and most cogniscant in this description of work of any architect I know at present...' (52).

Brougham, as brother of the Lord Chancellor, spent a great deal of time in London and on the Continent. He was a keen antiquary and amateur architect, and would have been in a position to speak with authority on the best architects of the day (53). He continued with unequivocal praise of Cottingham.

> 'He is far better than Pugin, who is of the florid Church style, and Barry, whose Houses of Parliament turn out like conservatories...'
> (54).

In this statement, Brougham underlined Cottingham's status in his own time and also stressed the difference between Cottingham and Pugin. Pugin established himself because he pursued the Gothic solely, after his Romanesque Church at Gorey of 1839, while Cottingham was an expert on all aspects of the Mediaeval, the Romanesque and the Gothic. Brougham, knowing that Salvin was already employed by the Howards at Greystoke, said that he believed Salvin to be,

> 'a most estimable and liberal man, but I do not think he is sufficiently acquainted with the early style of Architecture to do the work at Naworth as it ought to be done...' (55).

Naworth, described by Sir Walter Scott as one of,

> 'those extensive baronial seats which marked the splendour of our ancient nobles' (56),

was the very embodiment of the Castle the Broughams were hoping to achieve through the knowledge and expertise of Cottingham, and Brougham stressed that only Cottingham could 'do justice to' the restoration of the mediaeval Naworth Castle. He even suggested that if Salvin had already started on the work, the 'plans ought to be laid before Mr Cottingham, but I fear the custom of the profession would not justify it...' (57). The Earl thanked Brougham for his advice but said 'they were already advanced with Salvin'. As the whole exterior outline and detail were preserved after the fire there was 'little scope for architectural discretion' and Salvin's work was largely on interior

reconstruction (58). Salvin make no attempt to recreate the panelled ceiling of the Great Hall painted with portraits of the Kings and Queens of England, and instead inserted an open timber roof (59). His reconstruction of the Great Hall was criticised by J H Parker in his *Some Account of Domestic Architecture* in England, for its lack of archaeological correctness, for it was,

> 'now of disproportionate length and the partition between the dais and the solar has been removed so that the latter is now thrown into the hall, which not only makes it too long, but makes the bay window appear out of place...' (60).

At Peckforton Castle, built in 1844 for John Tollemach, Salvin achieved a massive mediaeval revival castle of pedantic correctitude, described by G G Scott as a,

> 'real and carefully constructed fortress impregnable under mediaeval conditions and against an army...the very height of masquerading...' (61).

Cottingham's Brougham Hall, extensively visited by influential friends of Lord Brougham, admired and written upon by contemporaries, certainly exerted an influence upon and inspired other patrons and architects. George Shaw, writing in 1847 after his account of Brougham Hall had been published in the *Gentleman's Magazine,* the *Edinburgh Review* and the *Manchester Guardian* (62), wrote that he had received letters from 'Sir Samuel Meyrick, Mr Tollemach, Mr Albert Way and many others', expressing their interest in Brougham Hall, and, he continued,

> 'Mr Tollemach speaks of flying off at once to see it - perhaps with an eye to some ideas there to be gained in reference to the Cheshire Castle of Peckforton now in progress...' (63).

Mr Lister Parker, of Browsholme Hall in Lancashire, who as early as 1804 resurrected the old armour and weaponry that had been banished to the attic at some time in the preceding two centuries of classical domination, and decorated his house in an antiquarian display, wrote to Thomas King, the Rouge Dragon, describing Brougham Hall in admiring terms (64).

A W N Pugin, in his domestic work at Scarisbrick Hall from 1837 and his alterations to Alton Towers, produced designs that were close in spirit to Cottingham's late Gothic Snelston Hall of 1829, an attempt to create the picturesque quality of the mediaeval which arose from necessity and not 'the forced conceits' of the picturesque eclecticism. At Scarisbrick Pugin built a new wing and in the South front used bay

windows and oriels, lofty towers and lanterns and richly decorated Gothic interiors, and at Alton Towers in the late 1840s he built the dining hall with a great oriel window and also completed the chapel wing with sixteenth century lights and the tall tower with four pinnacles, work that linked him closely to Cottingham at Snelston and the development of the antiquarian interior (65).

2.3   The Antiquarian Interior in the Early nineteenth Century

The armour hall played an important part in creating the ancestral baronial house and a great interest in armour was aroused in the early decades of the nineteenth century. Sir Samuel Meyrick, who published 3 folio volumes in 1824 on *Ancient Armour as it existed in Europe, but particularly in England from the Norman Conquest to the reign of Charles II*, had arranged the royal collection of armour at St George's Hall at Windsor and in 1826 supervised the erection and arrangement of a new armour gallery at the Tower of London (66). At Meyrick's own castle of Goodrich, Blore designed a 'hastiltude chamber' with a tableau of a tournament and a Great Armoury, 86' long, filled with mounted or standing knights in armour. Cottingham was a visitor to Goodrich for he had suits of armour in his Museum modelled from those in Meyrick's collection. Cottingham's armour hall at Brougham of the 1830s and Pugin's armour hall for Lord Shrewsbury at Alton and others were designed with the archaeologically correct arrangement of dais and screen passage, and were filled with every kind of heraldic device, weaponry, shields of arms and suits of armour, much of it obtained in Wardour Street and Bond Street in London from dealers such as George Bullock, Daniel Terry and Samuel Pratt (67). Sir Walter Scott, for example wrote to Terry in 1822,

> 'I wish I could take a cruise with you through the brokers which would be the pleasantest affair...' (68).

Amongst publications that were used for designs were Henry Shaw's *Specimens of Ancient Furniture* of 1836, his intention 'to further extend historical correctness in art.' The developing passion for the mediaeval and an archaeologically correct revival was underlined too in the preface to Shaw's book, written by Sir Samuel Meyrick. He said,

> 'a feeling has now arisen for the ancient decorative style... for however beautiful and elegant the simplicity of Grecian forms these are not sufficient to produce that effect that should be given to the interior of an English residence'.

Shaws later book *Decorative Arts of the Middle Ages* of 1851 and others such as Planchés *History of British Costume* of 1834, A.W.N.Pugin's *Gothic Furniture* of 1835 and Richard Bridgen's *Furniture and Candelabra* of 1838 enabled architects and designers to achieve achaeologically correct designs and establish a precedent for every detail. William Brougham asked many questions of Cottingham in pursuit of authenticity (69) and engaged in lengthy correspondence with George Shaw in his efforts to confirm precedents for his interiors at Brougham. Shaw wrote for example on the matter of a dais in the Norman bedroom, 'you have authority for the raised flag or step (for the bedroom) in the old drawing room at Haddon of the date Henry Vll...' (70).

Cottingham and his son N J worked closely with the leading designers and suppliers of the day. Thomas Willement executed work to Cottingham's designs such as the monument to Lady Boothby in Ashbourne Church and stained glass windows for St Mary's, Bury, Armagh Cathedral and many others (71), and they collaborated on projects at Adare Manor and Davington Priory (72). They shared many friends in antiquarian circles such as Francis Douce and N J Cottingham with his father's characteristic generosity of spirit (73), recommended Willement to his own patron William Brougham, writing,

> 'Have you paid our friend Willement a visit? I think you will much like him and will find him a most enthusiastic admirer of ancient art' (74).

Designers, architects and professional antiquaries provided an intermediate link between private patrons and the many antique dealers and cabinet makers. Samuel Pratt and his sons Edward and James who made furniture, metalwork and upholstery and also dealt in armour, were key figures in the early part of the nineteenth century, supplying work to Cottingham's designs for his church restoration and domestic commissions (75). A W N Pugin also had contacts with them, for William Brougham in his diary of November 22nd 1844 noted,

> 'Pratt says he cannot take less than £150 for the altar having refused this from Pugin for Lord Shrewsbury' (76).

As Pratt's business expanded to supply the increased demand for furnishing mediaeval armour halls, he opened a new showroom in Lower Grosvenor Street in April 1838. Cottingham designed 'a truly

Gothic apartment' for Pratt, its central feature consisting of 'six grim figures in full armour, apparently in debate', seated at a table (77). The opening of the showroom was described in the *Times* and Cottingham's Gothic designs were highly praised, the *Gentleman's Magazine* going as far as to call the exhibition,

'one of the most brilliant and interesting ever seen in London...' (78).

Cottingham's showroom had a great impact and Pratt also published catalogues with illustrations and descriptions of the pieces offered for sale,

> 'To gaze at the plumed casque of the Mailed Knight, equipped for the Tournament', he wrote in his first catalogue, 'and to grasp the ponderous mace, yet encrusted with the accumulated rust of centuries, cannot fail to inspire admiration for the chivalrous deeds of our ancestors...'

Pratt's aim, he informed the public in a catalogue with 670 items all described,

'was to help revive the splendour of our ancient Baronial Halls...' (79).

Pratt's expanded armour business and his new showroom ensured that when Lord Eglinton planned his famous Tournament of 1839, Pratt was put in charge of all the arrangements. He supplied armour for the knights, horse armour and equipment, pavilions, tents, shields, banners, lances, swords, outfits for squires and pages and mediaeval costumes for the Ball, and the stands and marquees for the tournament as well. It is possible that Cottingham designed the marquees, depicted by J R Nixon for Richardson's *The Eglinton Tournament* of 1843, and by J Aikman in his *Account of Eglinton*, with the main grandstand in the form of a Gothic arched canopy with crocketed finials and marquees giving the impression of towers and castellation (Figs.249-251) (80). These designs are very similar to drawings in Volume II of N X Willemin's publication on civil and military costumes in mediaeval times, illustrating a tournament depicted in a manuscript of 1466 (81). Willement and other friends of Cottingham owned copies of the publication, and if Cottingham was the designer of Eglinton Tournament he may have drawn upon his own study of mediaeval manuscripts or used Willemin's book as a source (82). The Tournament, fully described in contemporary volumes by James Bulkeley, James Aikman and Peter Buchan in 1840 (83) and by Ian Anderson in 1963, was a fiasco due to torrential rain and became the subject of cartoons,

satires and burlesques, but the influence of the mediaeval revival continued through the 1840s and some of the participants were so affected by it that they returned home and immediately redecorated their houses. For instance, the Second Marquess of Breadalbane, one of the spectators, adorned the dining room ceiling of Taymouth Castle with a painting of galloping knights and added a baronial hall complete with heraldic devices, a Gothic screen and suits of armour (Fig.252) (84). The contemporary accounts laid great stress on the pedigree and ancient lineage of the participating knights, another symptom of the desire to establish connections with the Middle Ages. During the 1830s the College of Arms was inundated with requests for arms and for calling ancient baronies out of abeyance with all the research and legal fees that this entailed, and many families changed their names, sometimes with no reasonable genealogical grounds, often adding a 'de' to the surname (85). Many examples can be given such as Sir George Jermingham of Costessy Hall, who managed to get the barony of Stafford revived in his favour in 1824 and Gothicised his house in 1826, and Walter Wilkins, having made a fortune in India, built Maesllwych Castle in Radnorshire in 1829 and changed his name to 'de Winton' (86). Cottingham's patron Lord Brougham went to great lengths to establish a much disputed ancient lineage, reviving the baronetcy of Vaux to which he claimed entitlement (87), and John Harrison of Snelston Hall, after first using a coat of arms without authority was granted arms in 1852 (88).

Cottingham's patrons, Lord Brougham and John Harrison, and others such as Sir Edward Blackett, the Earl of Harrington, the Earl of Dunraven, all of whom were antiquaries and interested in the architecture of the Middle Ages, commissioned him as the leading mediaevalist architect, between 1822 and his death in 1847, to create for them a revival of the Mediaeval ideal.

Cottingham's contribution to the revival of mediaeval domestic architecture, already made clear in the general context of the developing Gothic Revival, will be considered closely in the next chapter through an examination of his domestic building, work inspired by his antiquarian and preservationist studies and his analysis of both Romanesque and Gothic precedent, his intention to give status to the Mediaeval and to promote its reinstatement as a

national style, and his desire to reinterpret the architecture and design of the Middle Ages to suit the needs of the nineteenth century. Cottingham brought to his domestic architecture and design the same qualities that are shown in his ecclesiastical work, a desire to interpret the spirit of the mediaeval builders, the highest quality of workmanship and materials and a consideration for 'real practical utility' (89. He despised 'modern architects who considered their pockets more than the credit of their work', made 'slight sketches and let the work take its chance in the hands of the workmen...' (90). The work for many of his commissions included the design of all interior fittings, floorings, wall papers, lighting and furniture, reflecting his attention to detail and his integrity in dealing with his patrons.

Cottingham's domestic work will be examined chronologically, showing the development from classical to Gothic Revival, beginning with his London estate for John Field of 1824 and his first drawings for Snelston Hall, which, like his Salters' Hall and Fishmongers' Hall competition plans of 1821 and 1832, show the influence of his classical training and reflect the Neo-classicism of the early decades of the nineteenth century; continuing with his Gothic Revival Snelston Hall of 1827 and the estate village built from 1827 to 1846; the mediaevalising of Brougham Hall in Cumbria of 1830 to 1846; Gothic extensions to the great houses Matfen Hall, Northumberland, Coombe Abbey, Warwickshire and Elvaston Castle in Derbyshire between 1830 and 1847, and at Adare Manor in County Limerick in Ireland in 1840; and finally his Tudor Revival Savings Bank and bank house at Bury St Edmund's of 1846 and two Gothic Revival schools, hitherto unidentified, Tuddenham School, Suffolk, 1845-47, and Great Chesterford School, Essex, of 1846-49.

Much of Cottingham's work has been destroyed. Snelston Hall was demolished in 1952. Little remains of Brougham Hall or Coombe Abbey, his extensions to Clifton Hall or the General Hospital at Bury St Edmund's (91), but from a study of original written sources and surviving drawings and plans, contemporary descriptions and opinions, and from an examination of some of his extant buildings such as the two schools, the Savings Bank, and the Snelston estate village, it is possible to measure the quality, the character, and the importance of his work.

2.4 Waterloo Bridge Road, Lambeth. 1824-1833

Cottingham designed the Waterloo Bridge Road estate for John Field in 1824, on a site at the corner of York Road and Waterloo Road at the date of the foundation of the bridge approach. The land had been purchased by the Archbishop of Canterbury from the proprietors of Waterloo Bridge and was granted by him to John Field, a wax chandler and Agnes Bazing (92), a spinster, by a building lease dated 25th March 1824. This was a normal procedure in the early nineteenth century with a lease, never less than 60 years and often on the semi-perpetual basis of 999 years, whereby the landowner was prepared to take a ground rent well below the net income that would ultimately accrue to the estate once the land was built over, with the additional benefit of full improvement value when the land reverted to him (93). The developer, in this case John Field, performed the function of financing the development, employing the architect, making agreements with builders and securing all facilites, activating commercial interests and finding occupiers (94). It is possible that John Field, one of a growing breed of speculators, secured the services of Cottingham through his work as Surveyor of the Cook's Company, an appointment that placed Cottingham in the centre of architectural activity in London, giving him knowledge of likely architectural commissions, competitions, and the latest speculative developments, and ensuring him such a commission as John Fields's Lambeth estate. The Livery companies of London, mostly dating from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries owned extensive estates and they also took part in the great expansion of building in the Regency period. The Mercers' Company, for instance, developed 90 acres in Stepney (95), and the *Minutes Book* of the Cooks' Company shows that Cottingham, as surveyor and architect to the Company, designed warehousing, an estate of houses in Wood Street, Walthamstow and houses and commercial premises in Oat, Staining and Lillypot Lanes in the City of London (96). The land in Waterloo Bridge Road for the proposed estate, being in close proximity to the river clearly required the services of a professional surveyor and architect. John Field himself noted in a letter, 'Cottingham had many difficulties to contend with in the foundations...' (97). There is no documentation remaining, but it would seem likely that Cottingham

employed James Browne of College Street, and Joseph Orlibar Cottingham, a distant cousin of his father's, to undertake the building works for they both worked to his specifications for the Cook's Company at this date and for the restoration of Rochester Cathedral in 1826 (98). Plans and drawings exist for numbers 80 to 86 Waterloo Bridge Road, and for the houses on the return front in Boyce Street, formerly Anne Street and the South end of Blazing Place, off Waterloo Bridge Road, dated 1826.(Figs.253-254) (99). The influence of Cottingham's classical training is evident in the handling of the proportions and detail of his restrained facades (100), for most late eighteenth century terraces from Adam's' Adelphi scheme of 1771 onwards, and the Regency terrace facades of Nash, were based on the divisions and proportions of the classical column with the ground floor, partly rusticated as in Cottingham's Duke of York Hotel as the base, the first and second storeys representing the column, and the decorative part of the order, the frieze, formed by the cornice and blocking course or attic storey, the divisions clearly defined and the whole of regular and symmetrical arrangement (101). Cottingham's drawings for numbers 80-86, originally numbered 40-43, show a Neo-classicism of clarity and simplicity with smooth walls and windows cut in simply and sharply, reflecting the fashionable Neo-Classicism of Nash and also the Laugier inspired classicism of Soane. Cottingham knew Soave and at this date he lived at 66 Great Queen Street, close to Soane's House Museum at Lincoln's Inn Fields (102). Some details in Cottingham's classical terraces relate closely to Soave's decoration such as the long frieze with triglyphs and the use of indented panels (103). E N Kaufman, in his thesis on E B Lamb, Cottingham's pupil, has pointed out that Lamb in his 'Designs for a centre of a row of houses or side of a square' illustrated at the R A in 1826, echoed Cottingham's use of detail in his brick cornice (104). Numbers 80-86, formed an impressive terrace in stock brick, composed of four storeys above pavement level with recessed round arched windows at the first floor and guaged flat arches and panelled cills to the windows of the upper floors. The semi-circular headed window was used throughout the eighteenth century in the Baroque classicism of Vanburgh at Blenheim in 1705 for example, in the Palladianism of Kent and Burlington, used boldly in Adam's reinterpretation of antique sources in his designs for Stowe for example of 1771, and in the early

decades of the nineteenth century appearing frequently in the work of Soane and Nash. Number 80 was the York Hotel and 82-86 had shop fronts, the divisions between the units clearly expressed in the ground floor detailing and in the indented vertical stress. The whole composition strongly united at second floor level by a boldly articulated cornice with triglyphs and again with a parapet surmounted by short pedestals and acroteria at the ends and over the party walls. The round-headed windows, the use of acroteria and indented, horizontal panels with triglyphs related closely to the Neo-classical facade of Soane's house in Lincoln's Inn Fields. The York Hotel had simple pilaster treatment and surround to the large shallow arched windows of the ground floor and a bold pediment with cornice end parapet at roof level, which served to boldly stress the end of the block and mark the return on Boyce Street. Number 86 was Cottingham's own house, again incorporating a shop front but differing from Numbers 82 and 84 in its treatment of the pilasters and fascia. Cottingham planned Number 86 with special provision for his library and Museum collection. In his *Plans etc. of Henry VII's Chapel* of 1822 he intimated that he gave lessons in architecture, using his collection of casts and models, and in 1828 he moved from Great Queen Street to the newly completed Waterloo Bridge Road house with his growing collection of mediaeval antiquities (105). The door of Number 86 on the Boyce Street return Cottingham transformed by enriching the round arch with Norman zig-zag moulding, possibly assembled from fragments in his collection, and a stone carved heraldic crest above the arch (Fig.255). This was the only reference on the exterior of the property to the amazing collection of Antiquities within, unlike Soane who decorated the front of his house museum with classical statues and Gothic brackets that came from Westminster Hall (106). Drawings made prior to the demolition of Waterloo Bridge Road in 1951 showed the plaster ceilings to the ground floor shop at Number 86, with classical decorations of scrolls, fruiting vines and anthemion and the first floor doors with classical entablatures, ogee mouldings and decorated frieze, a form of English Neo-classicism derived from Adam's reinterpretation of Roman antiquity and indicating Cottingham's knowledge of eighteenth century classicism (Fig.256). Other drawings showed the remaining fittings from Cottingham's Museum, Gothic arch doorways, a three

light pointed window with quatrefoils and a richly carved fireplace (107).
N J Cottingham bought in some lots at the Sale of his father's collection
which he clearly left in situ when he moved in 1852 to his new address
at 6, Argyle Place (Fig.257) (108).

Cottingham's drawings, 'View of South End of Blazing Place' showed a
terrace of nineteen three storeyed dwellings reflecting the normal
planning for the 1820s, with entrance door and living room at ground
level, basement kitchen with entrance, living rooms at first floor level
and bedrooms to the second storey. No ground plans are given but the
exterior reflected the changed planning from the eighteenth century
terrace plan of entry direct to the ground floor living rooms, to the
nineteenth century mode of offset door giving access to a hallway and
staircase (109). Again the end of the terrace was strongly terminated by a
four storey block with attic storey to give emphasis. Architectural
details included regular twelve pane sash windows symmetrically
arranged beneath a cornice and an indented panel ornamented with
triglyphs. The drawing 'Elevation of Houses in Anne Street' showed a
row of simple two storey dwellings with a large basement window,
again with twelve pane sash windows to the ground and upper storey,
bold dentil cornice uniting the design, and chimney stacks with incised
Soanean Neo-classical ornament. Cottingham's terraces reflected the
Neoclassicism of the early decades of the nineteenth century and
related closely, for example to the designs in Elsam and Nicholson's
widely used *Practical Builder's Perpetual Price Book* of 1823-25 which
gave examples of terraces described as 'the four classes of London
Houses' (110), and to Papworth's design for terraces and shopfronts
published from 1818 in Ackermann's *Repository of Arts (111)*.

A photograph of the York Hotel and adjoining buildings of 1949 shows
Cottingham's house, number 86, viewed from St John's churchyard
with a glimpse of his enriched Norman arch doorway on Boyce Street,
the unaltered facades of his terraces, a testimony to the quality of the
construction and the refinements of his design (Fig.258) (112).

A testimonial written by John Field in 1832 to the Committee of the
Fishmongers' Hall competition stressed the quality of Cottingham's
work.

> 'I beg to state', he wrote, 'that Mr Cottingham has been employed by
> me these eight or nine years in laying out an extensive estate and
> that £80,000 to £90,000 have been expended in buildings theron

under his sole direction and superintendance to my entire satisfaction. He had many difficulties to contend with in the foundations but I can declare with much pleasure that the buildings have not in any instance cracked or given way, but on the contrary are greatly admired both for the design and the substantial manner in which they are constructed. From Mr Cottingham's energy, integrity and ability I have never had cause to regret placing my estate in his hands' (113).

Cottingham's record of excellent relationships with patrons through his admirable personal qualities, the high standard and quality of his design and workmanship, and his ability to supply what was acceptable in a speculative market, were highlighted in this testimonial. The Lambeth estate also gave evidence of Cottingham's classical training, the skillful handling of classical design, his knowledge of fit proportion and harmony, the great simplicity and regularity of the facades showing the bold stress of uniting horizontals and strengthened end bays and restrained use of classical ornament, relating him closely to the work of Soane and the Laugier inspired, stripped Neo-classicism of the early nineteenth century.

At the time of his plans for the Waterloo Bridge Road estate and his undertakings at Rochester Cathedral, Cottingham was also engaged on drawings and plans for the mansion, Snelston Hall, commissioned by John Harrison, a wealthy Derby lawyer and landowner, and a member of the Society of the Inner Temple, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London.

2.5 SNELSTON HALL 1822-1830

The Manor of Snelston, a small hamlet three miles south-west of Ashbourne is recorded in the *Domesday Book* as Snellstone, a name of Scandinavian origin, and supported a farming population of nine villeins, nine bordars, and one serf. After the Norman Invasion, William the Conqueror distributed the land among his principal supporters and Henry de Ferrers gained possesssion of most of Snelston, the Abbot of Burton holding a small part. The land was tenanted well into the seventeenth century and ownership changed frequently during the Civil War when Royalist lands were distributed to faithful Commonwealth supporters. Rightful ownership was contested in numerous lawsuits but eventually through Bowyers, Langleys, Sneyd, and Evans, the property in 1824 came to John Harrison who had married Elizabeth Bowyer Evans, an heiress of the

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banking family. The inheritance of the manor passed to John Harrison's son in 1871, then to his grandson Henry Stanton who took up residence in 1906. The Stanton family continues to live at Snelston, holding a considerably reduced manor (Fig.259a) (114).

In 1822, John Harrison, hopeful of a successful lawsuit, first commissioned Cottingham to build a large mansion around the upper Hall, rebuilt in classical style after the fire, which was to form the west wing of the intended new hall (115). No personal correspondence between Harrison and Cottingham exists to explain Cottingham's commission but it seems likely that Harrison as a lawyer of the Inner Temple might have known Cottingham and his collection of mediaeval antiquities close by in Great Queen Street, or would have met him through Cottingham's friends William Twopenny and William Burge both members of the Inner Temple (116). William Twopenny, as we saw, shared Cottingham's antiquarian interests, made drawings for him and shared an interest not only in eccelsiastical architecture, but in the study of mediaeval domestic architecture, for Twopenny was to publish a volume on English mediaeval houses (117). Another possible link is through Edward Blore, another antiquary and architect friend of Cottingham's. Blore, a descendant of an old Ashbourne family, was born in Derby in 1787 and his father, a lawyer, had been articled to Edward Evans of Derby, a relative of Harrison's wife, Elizabeth (118). Blore may have recommended Cottingham to the Harrison's, for certainly, on the evidence of Blore's prepared designs for Lambeth Palace of 1829, it is possible to argue that he knew Cottingham's drawings for Snelston of 1826, for they are similar (119).

Cottingham's first series of drawings for Snelston of 1822-26 were classical (120). The earliest, dated June 18th 1822, 'South Elevation of Snelston Hall' appeared to be intended as an extension to the existing classical house with a pedimented portico of stark simplicity supported by coupled Greek Ionic columns, twelve pane sash windows to the three bays and round arch windows, a design reflecting the prevailing Greek revival of the early 1820s, although the roof with its rectangular indented chimney stacks perhaps related to the existing building (Fig.259). In Cottingham's Neo-Classical Salters' Hall designs of 1821 the roof is of very shallow pitch and by his Fishmongers' Hall Plans of 1832 the roof had disappeared behind a parapet. (See Figs.45 & 47). An

elevation for the 'West front of Snelston' dated January 1826, by contrast showed a classical facade, a personal interpretation of Neo-Classicism with some Soanean elements such as the entablature with balustraded parapet and pediment with Greek key design and incised acroteria, and elements perhaps of Adam's eighteenth century Neo-Classicism with Roman Corinthian columns of giant order, and a balcony at first floor level ornamented with swags and urns (Fig.260). It was perhaps intended as a garden front, or possibly designed as an orangery, for the ground floor was entirely glazed with tall sixteen-paned windows (121). These classical designs, in keeping with his Salters' Hall and Fishmongers' Hall plans and the Lambeth estate showed Cottingham's familanty with understanding of all forms of Neo-classician and his ability to use classical sources, the simplicity of Greek and the variety of Roman, to draw inspiration from the prevailing influences and to reinterpret these sources in his own way.

In May 1826, Cottingham was proposing Gothic designs (Fig.261). In 1822 in his preface to *Plans etc of Henry VII's Chapel* he had suggested a serious study of Gothic principles as a basis for domestic architecture and in 1822 had published his designs for a Gothic \mansion. His knowledge and study of the Gothic was being brought to bear on his major restoration work at Rochester beginning in 1825, and now, as a leading figure at the centre of the increasing interest in the mediaeval, he grasped the opportunity of building a Gothic Revival mansion for his patron. He must have persuaded Harrison that Gothic would answer his aspirations as the new inheritor of an ancient manor and a descendant of distant aristocracy, a symbol of his position in society as the landed gentry. It was a style that had the power to evoke a period and yet could be adapted to suit modern requirements as Cottingham had written of his designs for a Gothic Mansion in 1822 (123).

The line drawings of May 1826 showed designs for a house of modest size in comparsion to the twelve buttressed bays and massive cloistered entrance of Cottingham's published Gothic Mansion elevations of 1823. The East elevation for Snelston was of asymetrical arrangement with twin-turreted entrance porch, an oriel window above a four-centred arch doorway, square headed square paned windows with hoodmoulds, battlements to the octagonal end turrets and roof, and a lower two storey extension with battlements and pointed lights with mullions and

square hoodmoulds, very like nearby Haddon Hall and exactly like those of the late fourteenth century Hever Castle in Kent that Cottingham knew well (Figs.262 & 263) (124). The drawing for the North front inscribed 'as seen from the Shrubberies', shows the lower domestic range of buildings with battlements, an entrance porch with angled buttresses, and beyond, the main block of the house with octagonal turrets, a round tower, a variety of Tudor chimneys and a great Hall window of traceried lights. The west front again repeated all these elements but with battlemented square pane bay window projections and five octogonal turrets. The style related very closely to the late fourteenth century Penshurst Place and Hever Castle in Kent, but instead of narrow traceried windows, Cottingham designed large square paned windows answering his concern for 'modern convenience' (Fig.264) (125). Cottingham's large watercolour of February 1826 showed further variations for Snelston Hall, with a three storey projecting entrance porch, the building placed in a Reptonian setting with richly wooded background, a Gothic water fountain and lunetted entrance gate, to impart a sense of age to the design (Fig.265). More Gothic designs followed and by January 1827 a Southern view of Snelston inscribed 'without the Bell turret' showed a bold, confident, fully Gothic design, a highly irregular mass with strong perpendicular emphasis in repeating stepped buttressed with tall crocketed pinnacles, some square headed and some two light pointed windows with mullions, and a two storey entrance porch with oriel windows surmounted by pepperpot turrets, like those at Westow Hall in Cottingham's native Suffolk (Figs.266 & 267). This design also showed an octagonal battlemented tower with narrow windows and beyond, a chapel or Great Hall with many buttresses, and great pointed traceried windows (126). The watercolour of July 1827 of the entrance front to the Hall now related closely to the final design as built with stepped buttresses, pinnacles, a lantern or fleche and transomed and mullioned windows of two lights with pointed heads under square hood-moulds but no crenellations (Fig.268). A South East view of Snelston dated October, possibly of 1827 drawn after the foundations were laid shows the final version with the main blocks of the house clearly defined, the east section containing the drawing room, dining room and the entrance, the lofty central section with the two storey great hall and staircase

behind a massive traceried window, and the west wing, formerly the earlier part of the house, now refaced in keeping with the rest of the Hall (Fig.269). Two undated ground plans of the Ground Floor and the First Floor of the Hall showed a compact plan, with the entrance hall leading to a groined vestibule and great staircase, and ranged around it the main rooms, library, breakfast-room, drawing room (Figs.270 & 271) (127). However, a watercolour dated May 1828, of the landscape design for Snelston Hall indicated the final plan of the house which was more irregular, with the main reception rooms on either side of the Great Hall and staircase which formed a T shaped inner space, and now more clearly separated from the service wing which formed an irregular block beyond (Fig.272) (128). Possibly these changes reflected Harrison's need for grandeur in the public rooms and the nineteenth century planning obsession with having cooking smells, children, and services at a great distance form the living rooms (129). The new paln also underlined the development from his first tentative Gothic drawings of 1826 to a design of an archaeologically correct rendering of 14th century Gothic, and also answered Cottingham's attempts to recreate in his own words, the 'irregularity, variety and grandeur' of the mediaeval plans and the appearance of a building having developed and grown as the need arose (130).

A plan of the first floor arrangements, or 'Chamber Plan' confirms this, showing three main bedrooms and their dressing rooms on the east wing, Governess's bedroom and water closets and back staircase off the landing, six more bedrooms in the west wing and a passage to the nursery, housekeeper's and servants' rooms in the north wing (Fig.273) (131). Cottingham, ever mindful of utility and convenience, following the strictly functional aspect of the Mediaeval with its garderobe, and interested in advances in technology, had included water closets and bathrooms in his Gothic Mansion plans even on the ground floor, not an altogether universal feature of country houses in the early decades o_f the nineteenth century (132). These drawings formed the ultimate design and plan for the Hall and the foundation stone was laid by John Harrison junior, then aged eight, on June 11th 1827 (Fig.274) (133).

Snelston Hall was built of red Keuper sandstone on the site of the ancient upper Hall (134). Cottingham wrote in 1822 of the qualities of mediaeval domestic architecture, its 'rich and splendid assemblage of

turrets, battlements and pinnacles' (135) and wrote too of 'the rise and fall, advance and recess', a movement and variety in the archtiecture which 'gave great beauty and grandeur by powerful contrast without encoaching on utility and convenience' (136).

Cottingham in these phrases, explained his understanding of the qualities of the mediaeval, a picturesque arising from utility, in contrast to the Picturesque aesthetic of the late eighteenth century based on variety, contrasts, and imaginative electicism, with little concern for function or for antiquarian scholarship. Wyatt's Ashridge of 1806-17, less extravagantly irregular then Fonthill, George Dance's Coleorton Hall and William Porden's Eaton Hall were examples of the Picturesque Gothic of the early decades of the nineteenth century, with some elements of deliberate irregularity to suggest age and showing a falsity of scale and mixture of Gothic forms borrowed from many sources. Smirke's Eastner of 1812-15, as we saw, followed on from Knight's Downton and Nash's Picturesque castellated mansions with dramatic qualities and little attempt at archaeological correctness. Cottingham's Gothic Snelston, by contrast, was based on sound antiquarian knowledge, a lead to be followed by others in the 1830s and 1840s such as Pugin with his Scarisbrick of 1835 and Alton Towers of 1840 where he looked to the fourteenth century Gothic as a source for his designs, work based on sound archaeological study, reinterpreted to suit the requirements of his nineteenth century patrons. Cottingham, in his work at Snelston and Brougham wanted to revive the true Mediaeval, seeing it as an appropriate English architecture to assert a social position and to revive feudal values, whereas Pugin, in his writings, saw the revival of the Gothic as a moral issue linking the architecture, the worth of the architect and the architect's contribution to society to the idealised religious and moral values of the mediaeval period (137).

For his Gothic mansion Cottingham looked to the '3rd Class' of pointed architecture or the Perpendicular which he dated from the beginning of the reign of Richard II in 1377 until the end of Henry VII's reign in 1509 (138), and he brought his knowledge of Gothic precedent and construction to both the exterior and interior design, extending a comprehensive unity of design to the whole estate, including the offices, lodges, farm buildings and estate cottages (139). The eastern front, 100

feet long was composed of eight regular bays divided by stepped buttresses terminating in bold crocketed pinnacles with battlemented parapets. Cottingham had described the diagonally presented buttresses which are a feature of Perpendicular Gothic and these he used for the two storey battlemented and gabled off centre entrance porch with its large mullioned and transomed traceried side windows, battlemented oriel, and four centred arched entrance with square hood moulds (Figs.275 & 276) (140). In his discussion of the transition from fortified mediaeval castles he had explained how the narrrow windows and massive walls, 'little suited to comfort and convenience' gave way to 'windows made wider and the arches flatten ed for lightness', and at Snelston he incorporated many windows based on those of Crosby Hall, 'an elegant example', with the principal mullion running 'quite up to the mouldings of the arched heads', under the square heads which were 'almost constantly' used in this period (141). The east front of Snelston ended in a large tripartite bay, lighting the drawing room on the ground floor, and on the South front the two-storeyed Hall and staricase were lit by a great traceried south window, the focal point of the composition, echoing his beloved Westminster Hall window which he cited as 'the finest of its period' (142). Beyond was the facetted bay of the library and on the south east corner a massive four storyed battlemented tower surmounted by a small octagonal turret (Figs.277-279). A contemporary Gothic mansion that can be compared to Snelston was Toddington begun in 1819 and very slowly built until its completion in 1840 (143). John Britton collaborated with its owner, Hanbury Tracy, later Lord Sudeley, and in Britton's volume, a *Historical and Descriptive Account of Toddington,* he wrote that Toddington was intended to be 'strictly and ostensibly a Mansion' not a Priory or an Abbey, taking Perpendicular Gothic as its source of style. The 'famed Hall of Crosby Place' was also taken as an example with many features such as the staircase and ceilings 'in imitation of Crosby' (144). Toddington, although described as a 'Mansion' appeared to be of a wholly ecclesiastical nature, with many large facetted windows some with crocketed ogee pointed arches and the exterior heavily panelled with Perpendicualr blind tracery (Fig.280). Cottingham at Snelston, by contrast, achieved an interpretation of Mediaeval domestic architecture of the late Gothic period, not ł y simple copyism, but

through his scholarly knowledge and study of the forms of construction of remaining original sources.

At Snelston, Cottingham also designed the landscaped setting of the Hall (Figs. 281 & 282). To the south, a series of stepped terraces led to a massive retaining wall behind which he planned a 'Terrace Flower Garden' shown in his paln, with serpentine paths, choice evergreen trees such as Yucca Gloriosa and Cedars of Lebanon, roses, irregular flower beds leading down to the lake, an aquarium and a Gothic seat. Cottingham was well acquainted with Humphrey Repton's *Observations on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening* of 1803, and his *Fragments on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening* of 1816 and the influence of his theories is evident in these garden designs (145), and in Cottingham's finished watercolour of Snelston Hall of February 1826. Clearly Cottingham had looked at Repton's designs for Ashridge, prepared in 1811, in particular the fountain or stone conduit in an inclosure of rich masonry which appears in *Fragments,* with a figure and tubs of flowering shrubs (146). Repton had planned a 'Monk's Garden' but in Cottingham's plan he avoided the anachronistic aspect and showed an awareness of the irrelevance to his patron of a monk's garden and it was called an aquariium. The figure leaning on the side of the fountain is presumably looking at the fish. Cottingham also included pots of flowers, irregular flower beds shaped like those in Repton's 'rosarium', a drive sweeping up to the entrance porch and in the foreground cattle grazing close to a low garden wall, elements frequently shown in Repton's designs such as his drawings for Sheringham and Ashton Court (147).

The interior plan of the house with its emphasis on the ceremonial aspects of circulation was articulated on the exterior and through the structure of the house. The pitched roof behind the battlemented gable joined another pitched roof running back from the entrance porch to form the T shape expressive of the interior volume of space, a staircase area lit by the great window and a central two storeyed hall rising to a lofty panelled ceiling hung with knopped pendants. In his scholarly description of the '3rd class' Cottingham noted two kinds of ceiling, the one 'open to the framing of the covering principals filled in with pierced panelling as at Westminster Hall and Eltham Palace' and the other 'ceiled in panels as at Crosby Hall'. At Snelston, Cottingham took

Crosby as his source for the archaeologically correct designs for the ceilings wiåth their 'pendant drops' (148). Cottingham, in his 'Observations on Gothic Architecture' considered the changes and developments in mediaeval domestic architecture as a result of social progress, the change from concerns of military defence, leading to a less compact plan, the great hall, still an essential but now lit by a great bay window or a large window of several lights. As more rooms were added its function changed from an all-purpose living hall to a grand entrance or vestibule providing a ceremonial circulation area. So too in the nineteenth century Cottingham was aware of a changing social order and its effect upon architecture, for his interior at Snelston showed his intention to recall a mediaeval past based on sound antiquarian knowledge and understanding of Gothic forms, yet balanced by his conception of social progress and the change through education which demanded accommodation of 'elegant refinement'. The antiquarian aspect of Snelston was appreciated by Burke, writing in *Visitations* of 1854,

> 'The interior fully answers to the expectations raised by the first view of this stately edifice... The principal rooms are fitted up with oaken furniture, carved and massive, according to the ancient fashion, which is so rigidly adhered to, even in the minutest details, as to completely exclude any idea of a modern mansion...'

Snelston was a house of fairly modest size in comparison to Toddington for example, with its two main reception rooms leading from the great hall where Cottingham used the space to create a sense of grandeur accentuated through the use of slender cluster columns of diamond form and wide obtuse pointed Gothic arches with foliage in the spandrels formed under the square heads, 'one of the earliest specimens is the entrance porch to Westminster Hall, built at the time of Richard II' (Figs.283 & 284). In all the details of Snelston, Cottingham drew upon his advanced knowledge of the mediaeval precedents, so accurately described in his account of Perpendicular Gothic characteristics. The drawing room, 26' x 36', entered from the north had a carved marble fireplace and overmantel enriched with elaborate ogee pointed ornament derived from the fifteenth century Gothic of Henry VII's Chapel, the subject of Cottingham's detailed analysis in 1822 and a plasterwork ceiling based on the council chamber at Crosby Hall (Fig.285) (150). Cottingham used dark oak linenfold panelling in the

entrance hall, and throughout the house he used genuine pieces of old timber and panelling for fittings and furniture. The double folding doors for example in the hallway were made up of carved oak panels fronm the time of Henry VIII, possibly supplied from Cottingham's own collection, bought specifically for the purpose through the salerooms or supplied by Samuel Pratt (151). Crosby Hall was of late Perpendicular Gothic with the plasterwork ceiling, also linenfold continued throughout the Tudor period, and Cottingham chose to use the strongly mediaeval aspects of the Tudor period, demonstrating his abilities as a historian of the Gothic with a clear sense of the distinction between the periods. Continuing his creation of an antiquarian interior derived from 'the best examples', Cottingham decorated the hall with six plaster busts of Kings and Queens of England on brackets, fourteen heraldic shields from the originals in the north and south aisles of Westminster Abbey, and three groups of figures, the Coronation of Henry V in England and in France, and Edward the Black Prince crossing the Channel, all cast from the originals in Westminster (152). From the hall, the grand staircase with carved oak open Gothic tracery and richly carved newels with poppy head finials, led up to the huge south window bordered by stained glass and bearing the monogram and coat of arms of John and Elizabeth Harrison (Figs.286 & 287). Cottingham had looked to the staricase at Crosby which was of stone, carved with pierced trefoils, although he altered the tracery to an elongated form. At Toddington, Britton and Lord Sudeley created the stone staricase 'in imitation of the famed Crosby Hall' (Fig.288) (153). Cottingham's staircase divided into two flights leading into the music gallery, decorated with five plaster figures of saints in niches, the figures cast from the triforium stage of Henry VII's Chapel, richly coloured and gilt, and furnished with finely carved oak choir stalls originally in Lichfield Cathedral and illustrated in an undated watercolour by Cottingham (Figs.289-301) (154). The ceilings over the staircase and gallery were again in fine plasterwork decorated with the Tudor rose and with pendants, a form of ceiling to be found at Crosby Hall and described by Cottingham in his History of Gothic architecture (155). Wide flattened arches with slender columns separated the gallery and the corridor leading to the main bedrooms, the Castle Bedroom, Damask, Chippendale and Elizabethan Bedrooms (156). The dining

room, with square panelled plaster ceilings and a finely carved marble fireplace was furnished with sideboards made to Cottingham's designs from panels believed to have come from Nonsuch Palace, no doubt supplied from Cottingham's own collection (157). One of the sideboards can just be seen in a photograph of the dining room taken in 1927 (Figs.302 & 303). The breakfast room and library, part of the original building, formed a double room 'divided by needlework curtains' and were redecorated and furnished to Cottingham's designs with carved oak bookcases and cupboards following the late Gothic designs of the rest of the house and surmounted by busts of famous writers (Figs.304 & 305). The octagonal reading room was 'curiously panelled in carton pierre', the designs taken fron the Henry VIII panels in the dining room and drawing room, with inset portraits on panel of Tudor kings, reputedly by Holbein, which 'came from an old royal palace in Suffolk' (158). Much of the furniture and joinery for Snelston Hall was carried out to Cottingham's designs by Adam Bede, the original of George Eliot's *Adam Bede* who lived and worked nearby in Norbury Parish (159). Cottingham contiinued to design furniture for 'Snelston over the years, for some of his existing drawings for furniture are dated 1842 and 1843 (160). Cottingham assembled his drawing room furniture designs in one large drawing of the interior which shows the carved fireplace and Crosby Hall ceiling. The principal piece was a massive carved oak display cabinet with tripartite top, richly carved with caryatids and scrolling foliage and grotesque masks, fluted by x framed chairs and a pair of elaborately carved cabinets on stands pierced with Gothic tracery (161). Also included was a large upholstered sofa, the carved frame pierced with quatrefoil decoration and surmounted by a large finial, a Gothic side chair, a 'Divan Couch for Angle of the Room', again pierced with quatrefoil ornament and with barley twist legs, an octagonal table with its octagonal base echoing the form of an early fifteenth century Gothic chalice, a round stool, a throne-like x framed chair, a sofa table, and a 'conversational' sofa composed of pierced Gothic roundels (Figs.306-314). Another design, 'A Gothic Armoire for the Drawing Room of Snelston Hall', was a clearly intended to display objects from Harrison's collection of mediaeval antiquities for in his drawing Cottingham included Gothic reliquaries, chalices, salvers, goblets, carved caskets, candlesticks and sculpture (Fig.315) (162).

Harrison was a disçiminÿating collector of the mediaeval and of later periods, for in Cottingham's Museum was a pair of 'very finely modelled dragons after an original pair in bronze by Cellini in the possesion of J.Harrison Esq, of Snelston Hall' (163).

Another of Cottingham's drawings was for the sideboard and chairs for the dining room, showing the incorporated fragments and panels, supposedly from the sixteenth century Palace of Nonsuch. John Evelyn writing of Nonsuch in 1666 described the decorative furnishings and details, the work of Flemish and Italian craftsmen employed by Henry VIII. There were 'plaster statues and bass-relievos, mezzo-relievos as big as life, the storie is of Heathen Gods, emblems and compartments' (164). Cottingham's sideboard was certainly composed of panels of this description (Fig.316). We know that he had quantities of sixteenth century panelling and fragments in his own collection, some too from'the destroyed Palace of Layer Marney' in Essex, where the tomb of Lord Marney who died in 1523 is enriched with pilasters and baluster shafts instead of the tabernacle work of the Gothic tombs (165). Clearly Cottingham used his own antiquarian study as a source for his designs, stressing the mediaeval aspects of the transitional period from Gothic to full Renaissance design and he may have examined illustrated manuscripts in search of ancient precedents. Cottingham,'s x framed chairs, the round stool, elments of the sofa table and the use of pierced roundels to compose furniture bear a resemblance to illustrations of furniture in the MSS the *Romance of Alexander*, for example (166), and as a friend of Francis Douce he may have studied the many rare manuscripts in his possession (Fig.317) (167). A.W.N.Pugin clearly used the same sources for his designs for *Gothic Furniture in the style of the 15th cenutry* of 1835, (Fig.318) and Henry Shaw, Cottingham's antiquary friend who compiled his Museum Catalogue, wrote *Specimens of Ancient Furniture* in 1836. In order to study ancient precedents for this volume Shaw was introduced to Francis Douce by Willement 'for valuable advice on the best and most curious specimens for imitation', and there are similarities between Cottingham's octagon table, shelves and polescreen for Snelston and Shaw's carved reliquary and a 'Wassail Table and Candelabra', as Simon Jervis pointed out in his article on Snelston furniture designs (Figs.319-321) (169).

Cottingham also designed a Gothic Garden seat of hexagonal form to place under a tree, shown as a feature in his landscaped garden plan (170) and an octagonal summerhouse with ogival arched window frames and blind arcaded panels below (Figs.322 & 323) (171). Colonel Stanton, the present owner of Snelston is hoping to trace some of Cottingham's furniture which was dispersed in the sale of the contents of the Hall prior to its demolition and recently a set of oak hall chairs with the Harrison crest came to light (172). The crest was the early crest used by the family without authority, of azure three demi-lions or and a canton argent; crest; a demi-lion or supporting a chaplet of roses vert. The grant of arms to John Harrison was made by the College of Arms in 1853, therefore the hall chairs were made prior to this date (173). They are not illustrated in Cottingham's surviving drawings of furniture, but are possibly to his design or were made by Adam Bede in a simple solid form of Gothic (Fig.324). One other remaining drawing dated 1826 for Snelston is an elevation and plans for 'The Gardeners Houses and Sheds, with Seed Houses, Forcing Houses, Fruit Room, Kitchen and Parlour'. Cottingham's ability to design a building suited to its purpose resulted in a block of greenhouses and offices with plans to supply water pipes, drainage and heating for growing pineapples, and plans for Vine Houses, pine pits and pinery buildings with no Gothic embellishment but pared down to the essentials of practicality, function and purpose (Fig.325) (174). When Henry Stanton inherited Snelston Hall in 1906, he commissioned the architect Philip Lockwood to add a storey to the old wing of the upper hall, to redecorate much of the house and to design a stone fireplace for the Great Hall adorned with the Stanton Coat of Arms and motto (175). Lockwood's fireplace seems to follow a late Norman design of the type found at Conisburgh Castle for example, or that of Prior Crauden's fireplace at Ely of 1325, but embellished with overscaled turrets and late Gothic roundels it looks as though it could have been derived from Pugin's satirical Temple of Taste (Fig.326) (176), and contrasts with Cottingham's restrained designs that show a scholarly historical understanding of the different stages of Gothic, designs based on his detailed studies as set out in his 'Observations on Gothic Architecture'.

Cottingham's Snelston Hall was much admired. A view of the house by antiquarian topographer Frederick Nash (1782-1856) was shown at the Watercolour Society in 1829, and in 1854 Burke described Snelston as,

'a splendid mansion, modern as to the date of its construction but so closely imitating the character of olden times that it wants nothing but the mantling ivy about its walls and the mellowing tinmts of age to make it pass for works of other days...' (177).

John Harrison too was pleased with his fine mansion, writing in 1832, in answer to Cottingham's request for testimonials,

'It is with sincere pleasure that I am able to answer your application for my testimonial of your ability as an architect. The house you have erected for me here will I trust, long remain a standing proof of your good taste and ability. It is greatly admired by all, both for the beauty of the external and internal appearance, the convenience of its arrangements, solidity of its construction, and all are astonished at the rapidity with which the work was executed...' (178).

Cottingham, as the first analyst of Gothic with his publication of 1822 and 1829, and one who suggested a study of Gothic as a source for domestic work, attempted a Gothic Revival building at Sneslton based on his own study and detailed knowledge of mediaeval precedents. He chose as his source the late Gothic period which he identified as 1377 to 1509, taking in particular his study of Crosby Hall, 'the residence of Richard III' as an example of mediaeval domestic architecture and as a starting point for his Gothic mansion of the nineteenth century. In his building, accurate in all its stylistic features and relating to his detailed account of the structural and decorative developments of the '3rd class of Gothic', he attempted to achieve that 'rich variety, movement and contrast' that characterised the mediaeval and without any 'barbarous mixing of the distinct styles of Gothic', which, he said, had brought 'so many modern imitators into contempt' (179).

The style of the sixteenth century could be used as a source since it contained itself elements of the Mediaeval, informed by antiquariansim and practical archaeology and as in the early sixteenth century at Nonsuch , 'richly adorned and set forth and garnished with a variety of pictures and other antik forms of excellent art and workmanship' (180), but adapted to the needs of the nineteenth century, and without, in Cottingham's words, 'encroaching on utility and convenience', a rational and progressive view at this date, and one to be followed by Pugin with his 'true picturesque arising out of strict utility' (181). Cottingham also saw the architecture of the Middle Ages as

an expression of the feudal society for which it was designed, an architecture that could be revived appropriately in the nineteenth century to express the aspirations of the landed gentry of ancient lineage, symbolising their status in society.

Snelston Hall fell into disrepair during the second World War and was demolished in 1952, despite spotlisting in 1951 (182). Contemporary comment on its destruction reflected the mid-twentieth centfuy disparagement of Gothic Revival architecture. The *Journal of Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural Historical Society* of 1952 wrote that,

> 'Regrets that another mansion has been added to the list of several classic and ancient homes which have disappeared in this country can be tempered by the fact of its comparative modernity and indifferent structure,

and Pevsner in 1953, noting the destruction of Pugin's Alton Towers and Cottingham's Snelston which he described as 'a miniature Alton Towers', commented that,

> 'There is never much hope for the preservation of nineteenth century fantasy in the twentieth century.....' (183).

To describe Snelston Hall as a 'a nineteenth century fantasy' did little justice to the seriousness of Cottingham's expressed intentions. A Catalogue of Sale of the fixtures and fittings of Snelton Hall in June 1952, prior to its demolition, contained illustrations of the various lots, the great south window, oak panelled doors, the staircase and Cottingham's carved firplaces and overmantels and firegrates (184). Colonel J.P.Stanton, the present Colonel Stanton's uncle, renovated the stable block which is now Snelston Hall, incorporating some of Cottingham's fitments removed from the Hall, the simple and bold staircase, library bookcase fitments and carved oak doors, all cut down in scale and altered to fit, a few remnants of Cottingham's mansion, described in 1927 as 'one of the best examples of modern Gothic architecture in the country (Figs.327-331) (185). Some of the existing farm buildings date from Cottingham's time, a hint of Gothic in the pointed arch stable doors and the crew-yard gates, and against a wall a stack of ogee pointed panels from Cottingham's Gothic summer house waiting to be restored (Figs.332-334). Part of the crenellated retaining wall and the turreted archway through which visitors approached John Harrison's splendid new house still stands, a picturesque feature in the landscape, and a reminder of Cottingham's Snelston Hall, within his

own words, 'the rich and splendid assemblage of its turrets, battlements and pinnacles...' (Fig.336) (186).

Snelston Estate Village

In 1825, in addition to his many proposals for Snelston Hall, Cottingham produced a book of watercolour drawings entitled *A Series of Examples for Plain and Ornamental Cottages, Gamekeepers and Baillif's Houses, Gatelodges and other Rural Residences, Designs for the Use and Domain of J. Harrison Esq., Snelston Hall, Derbyshire* (Figs.337-354) (187). Seventeen watercolours reflected Cottingham's training as an architect at the turn of the century and particularly the influence of the Picturesque, for the series was intended to advertise the accomplishments of the architect, to present possible styles for the patron to consider in creating his estate village of cottages in contrast to the classicism of the great mansion, and to demonstrate a concern to elevate the landowner's prestige and enhance the estate through the provision of attractive labourers' dwellings. Cottingham did not publish his book of drawings, the originals having remained with the Stanton family, but over a hundred architectural pattern books with designs for cottages and rural residences in Greek, Roman, Chinese, Indian, Gothic and Swiss styles had appeared in Britain between 1790 and 1810 (188).

In his Snelston volume however, Cottingham did not resort to exotic foreign styles such as the Indian and Chinese designs given in Richard Brown's pattern book of 1841 (189), but produced three severely simple Neo-classical designs and fourteen designs based on Tudor vernacular with strong Gothic elements. Designs number 6 and 12 were of classical simplicity with projecting bays, square paned rectangular windows and in the detail of the exposed ends of the roof timbers perhaps a scholarly reference to Laugier's primitive hut and the evolution of the Doric order, and design number 13 an entrance lodge of uncomfortable design in the form of two gatehouses with the bedroom in one block and the living rooms in the other, again of Neo-classical cubic simplicity with round arch windows and Soanean incised detail, designs which related closely to other pattern book designs such as Edmund Aitken's *Designs for Villas etc* of 1808 which included some very plain Laugier inspired classical lodges (190). It is possible too that Soane's entrance lodge for

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Pitshanger in a stripped Neo-classicism was of influence in the 1820s. All the other designs in Cottingham's volume showed a Picturesque variety of materials, thatched and slated roofs, brick, roughcast, stone for walls and for quoins, and rusticated timber for lean-tos and porches as in design numbers 1, 2 and 9. Soane, in his *Plans of Buildings* of 1788 illustrated the dairy at Hamels in Hertfordshire with timber supports, and again in *Sketches* of 1793 included porches made of tree trunks. Other pattern books by John Plaw and James Malton also gave designs of double cottages with rustic timber lean-tos and porches entwined with flowering creepers (191). These and the wide variety of different materials were elements to be seen in John Nash's Picturesque village of Blaise Hamlet of 1811 (192). The majority of Cottingham's designs, the remaining 14, looked to the Tudor period and incorporated tall Tudor chimneys in a variety of patterns, steeply pitched roofs and gables, diamond lattice pane casement windows as in the Bailiff's Residence, design number 10, half-timbering as in design number 3, and a variety of bay and oriel windows. Some had pronounced Gothic elements such as the 'Woodman's Cot', number 1, and lodge number 8, with fourteenth century pointed arch Gothic windows, pointed arch and late Gothic four centred arch doorways and entrances, porches with pierced Gothic traceried bargeboards, and mullioned 2, 3 and 5 light pointed windows under square heads with drip moulds as in the Bailiff's Residence. The Tudor vernacular, the ancient vernacular of the English countryside as depicted by painters such as Gainsborough and Morland was used frequently in the Picturesque pattern books and P.J.Robinsons design No.VI, for example in *Rural Architecture or Designs for Cottages* of 1823, showed a gabled lodge with tall Tudor chimneys and leaded lights, very close to Cottingham's entrance lodge, design number 8 with its fishscale tiles, mullioned windowed porch and bargeboard pierced with Gothic trefoils to the gable. Cottingham prepared this volume of drawings only 5 months before his first Gothic designs of May 1826 for Snelston Hall itself, and clearly, despite his classical Lambeth estate and other Neo-classical designs, his mind was turning to a serious consideration of the Gothic as a source of style.

Each of the 17 drawings also showed meticulous ground plans with measurements showing detailed consideration of the possible

requirements for Harrison's estate workers with a wide variety of accommodation, including one-to-four roomed single storey dwellings with porches, lean to woodsheds, and attached dairies, dog kennels and wash houses, substantial two-storey houses such as the Bailiff's house or the 'Ornamental Cottage for a Game-keeper' with 2, 3 and 4 rooms on the ground floor and two rooms above, and nine of the designs showing variations on double cottage designs, similar to many double and quadruple plans in such patterns books as Joseph Gandy's *Designs for Country Houses, Villas and Rural Dwellings* of 1800. The planning again showed Cottingham's concern for 'convenience and utility' with the main rooms in all the designs of good size, generally 12' x 15', and centrally placed chimneys for maximum heating efficiency, and apart from the three Neo-classical lodge gates, the overall impression of the proposed dwellings is not one of wide Picturesque eclecticism such as appeared in many pattern books, but a strong indication that Cottingham hoped his patron would favour his suggestions for a village that looked to the late mediaeval period for its inspiration.

In keeping with the Gothic Snelston Hall, Cottingham's estate village, built between 1827 and 1840, was based largely on four of the Tudor Gothic designs in Cottingham's pattern book, the two storeyed gabled double cottage, the half-timbered two storeyed design number 3 with projecting centre and end bays, the Tudor Gothic entrance lodge, and the Bailiff's house. The Picturesque elements such as thatch, which is not a material common to Derbyshire, and the rusticated timber supports, were not used, and instead Cottingham's village houses were based on picturesque utility of plan and undisguised local materials in construction, an architecture that looked ahead to the domestic revival architecture of Pugin, Butterfield, Street and Webb, predating such key buildings as Pugin's St Marie's Grange of 1835 or Butterfield's Baldersby St James of 1855, and using the English vernacular as a source of style. The Edlastone Road Lodge relating to design number 5, is a single storey house with a gabled porch with pierced barge boards, flattended pointed arch doorway with labels of sculpted heads in mediaeval headdress, and five light pointed arch mullioned windows. The large living room has a five light stone mullioned bay window with diamond lattice casements, a large central stack warms the living and bedrooms, the stacks of diamond Tudor form, and the bedroom and

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woodshed (now the bathroom) windows have mullioned three light windows under hoodmoulds. The finish is in stucco, possibly of a later date, with local slate roofs. The original entrance gates to the estate remain, with stone gate posts and the panelled gates decorated with a wrought-iron design in the form of a capital H for Harrison (Figs.355- 361). The lower lodge, situated close to the church and the village, is of similar plan with steep slate roofs and gabled porch, but is of stucco and timber framing with, pierced barge boards, anil bay windows to living room and bedroom. Drawings by Philip Lockwood of 1909 show suggested alterations to Cottingham's lodge with the addition of bedroom, scullery, store and larder (Figs.362-363) (193). The lodges, separate from the village, echo the features of the late Perpendicular period described by Cottingham in his history of Gothic and evident in his book of watercolours, relating them closely to the Gothic Snelton Hall.

Undated line drawing elevations and ground plans exist for the Bailiff's House relating closely to Design number 10 apart from the substitution of local slate roof tiles for thatch, and also for the Schoolhouse, built in local red sandstone like the Hall (Figs.364-365) (194). The Bailiff's house has a projecting centre bay with half-timbered gable, gabled dormer windows, steep slate roofs, double chimney stacks and single storey lean to bays to each side, four light mullioned windows with decorative leaded light casements under square heads to the ground floor and two and three light windows above (Figs.366-367) Cottingham had included in his *Smith and Founder's Director* designs for lattice windows as a means of cheaply reproducing the effect of a leaded light window of the late Gothic period (195). The plan of the Bailiff's house shows a living room and parlour both of 15' x 15', the lean-to kitchen and storeroom or woodshed, 10' x 15' and an 8 foot hallway with staircase and steps down to the larder and cellar. The house is built in local brick and slate with regular stone dressings. The Schoolhouse shows from the plan that it was built onto an existing barn or cottage in matching ashlar. The schoolroom, 27,3" x 15'2" and the schoolteacher's living room, 12' x 15' occupied the ground floor with a kitchen and pantry extension beyond and stairs to the first floor bedrooms. The gables in the drawing and the bargeboard pierced with Gothic trefoils to the shallow entrance porch have been omitted, but the square mullioned windows with decorative

lattice casements remain (Figs. 368-369). The double cottage by the brook is of two storeys, built of brick in Flemish bond, with fine detailing in the square hoodmoulds over flattened arch two light windows, echoing the design of the Hall windows, single storey slate roofed projections on either side of the centre gabled bay, steep slate roofs and tall diamond stack Tudor chimneys (fig.370). The half-timbered double cottage is of similar plan but with centre gable and dormers, side bays of lower pitch, stone cills and segmental arched windows (Fig.371). The Inn, now converted to a private dwelling, followed the same form, built of brick with projecting straight coped gabled end bays, a steeply roofed entrance porch, large square headed mullioned and transomed windows at ground level and three one light mullioned windows above, an attached stable block and courtyard, two tall chimney stacks in clusters of four round brick chimneys, local slate roofs and stone dressings (Fig.372). Another variation of the double cottage appears on the main street of the village, opposite the school with two storey projecting ends, straight coped gables with mullioned windows fitted with lattice casements of intricate geometric design, and a single storeyed central bay with the two entrance doorways under four centred Gothic arched heads, again built in brick with very tall double chimneys to the outside of each gabled bay, fish scale tiled roof, and regular stone dressings to the mullions, and angled buttresses (Figs.373-375). A simpler two storey double cottage based on one of Cottingham's single-storey three roomed 1825 designs has square headed windows under carved brick hood moulds, the present window frames are replacements, a central chimney stack and entrances in the one storey kitchen bays (Fig.376).

The details of Cottingham's estate village are discernibly Gothic, the four centred arch of the late Gothic period is used throughout, with windows mainly square headed with arched lights or lattice casements. The use of buttresses is minimal, their diagonal placement again relating to Cottingham's '3rd class', fine brick detailing is seen in drip moulds and ribbed chimneys, chimney stacks project boldly from the wall from ground level in the mediaeval manner, a feature to be taken up by Pugin, the slate roofs are steep, the chimney stacks very tall, and the interior functions are openly expressed by different roof levels or lean-tos such as porches, one storey kitchens, wood sheds or kennels.

Some of the features are similar to those of the Picturesque cottages of the many pattern books, gables, mullions, dormers and bay windows, but the handling is different. The simple brick walls have an air of austerity and although the outline of the houses may be picturesque, it is a picturesque arising from strict utility. The buildings are straightforward and honest in their simple village setting with no attempt to create the self-conscious irregularity of prettiness of Nash's Blaize Hamlet. Cottingham's village too makes a contrast with Paxton's Derbyshire village of Edensor of 1840 where he arranged cottages and villas around the church with contrived Picturesque informality, with each house different and showing a wide range of styles including the Italian Villa and the Tudor Cottage. At Snelston Cottingham applied Gothic principles of form and structure to create a simple, unpretentious English architecture, principles so powerfully stated by Pugin in his *True Principles* of 1841, which stressed the need for an architecture based on the climate, utility, simplicity and truthfulness, expressed in practical function and materials in construction and based on English mediaeval precedent. Indeed, Pugin, in 1834, wrote in admiration of Cottingham's work at Magdalen and links between the two have been discovered (196). It is possible that Pugin saw Snelston and the estate village when working at nearby Alton Towers from 1838 and again drew inspiration from Cottingham's work. At Snelston, Cottingham, in continuing the local traditions of building and the use of local materials, anticipated William Butterfield's Baldersby village houses of 1859 where local rough Yorkshire ashlar was used, with vestiges of Gothic in the four centred arch and square headed windows, steep slate roofs, gables, timber framing and massive chimney stacks, houses that are taken as a seminal development in the English domestic revival of the nineteenth century and one that looks ahead to the aims and ideals of the Arts and Crafts architects later in the century (Figs.377 & 378) (197). At Snelston Cottingham used the stone and brick of Derbyshire. Few places in Derbyshire are far from good building stone, with almost every geological rock type having been worked to provide building materials. The major beds of sandstone in the Millsotne Grit, Coal Measures and Keuper, such as the fine grained buff pink of Sneslton Hall, have been used for building, walling and paving stone (198). The shale and clay

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within these strata used for brickmaking and roof slating, were worked from the thin-bedded parts of sandstone horizons. Plain tiles, never pantiles, were used widely in the region, with roofs at a very steep pitch, showing them to advantage (199). Timber framed houses too proliferated in the region although few mediaeval examples remain apart from Somersal Herbert, the seat of the Fitzherbert family, Mickleover Old Hall, a small manor house, and the small house at South Sitch with close studding under a thatched roof (200). Cottingham's entrance lodge recalls the once numerous timber-framed houses of Derbyshire and his use of part timber framing and part brick perhaps refers to those houses that were extended and repaired and encased in brick as the timber framing roɩted away during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The use of brick was more common, extending from the sixteenth century to present day, and stone dressings were used widely as at such splendid mansions as Sudbury Hall and in more humble town and village houses. Throughout Derbyshire, whatever the material used, the most universal and traditional feature is the use of gables, not stepped or shaped as in other regions, but plain, straight and usually coped. Minor houses were often E shaped with three gables and sometimes a projecting porch, continuing from the late fifteenth century to the early eighteenth century. Ashbourne Mansion in Church Street of 1683 for example is a twin gabled house in brick with a wide central bay projecting slightly, and Green Hall, also in Ashbourne, dating from the late seventeenth century is also a twin gabled house built of brick with stone dressings. Hazelbadge Hall dating from 1549 too shows the straight coped gable of Derbyshire, with depressed pointed arches to the windows under square hood moulds used by Cottingham in his lodges at Snelston (Figs.379 & 380). Chimney stacks presented anglewise to their base or diamond fashion appeared in the late sixteenth to early seventeenth century, a feature to be seen at Gartledge Hall for example, and were used extensively by Cottingham at Snelston Hall and in the village. Detailing of the gabled house did become more elaborate with transoms added to mullioned windows, hood moulds and lattice and leaded lights continuing in use, the casements let into the masonry mullions. Some original examples remain at Haddon Hall where leaded lights were put into the parlour in

1545, and at Hardwicke Hall with the beading arranged in a diagonal lattice. In restorations to the glazing in the nineteenth century cast-iron lattices replaced the leaded lights as at Mickleover Old Hall (201), an influence that we can attribute to Cottingham through his widely used *Smith and Founder's Director,* and the later work on cast iron by his friend Henry Shaw of 1836. The celebrated houses of Derbyshire would have been well known to Cottingham as well as the lesser yeoman's houses and small manor houses in Ashbourne and surroundings, for Cottingham worked widely in the county, beginning with Snelston Church where he restored the crumbling piers in 1822, before he began work on Snelston Hall, at Elvaston Castle in 1832, and at Ashbourne Church which he surveyed in the 1830s and restored in 1839.

Cottingham's estate village clearly related to and continued the use of traditional materials and the traditional gabled style of architecture prevalent in Derbyshire from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries. The hamlet of Snelston dated from the *Domesday Book* and unlike other model villages such as Edensor or Milton Abbas, John Harrison did not build the whole estate village in one swoop. Cottingham began Snelston Hall in 1827 and the village was built from that date up to 1840, as Harrison gradually bought up remaining parcels of land in Snelston itself, extending his estate until he owned the village, pulling down dilapidated dwellings and rebuilding. Deeds to land in Snelston note: c1826, land and dwelling to J.Harrison; 25th March 1828, Rev. C.R.Hope to J.Harrison, with a later note saying 'houses where present ones are'; 21st October 1828, Rev. Thomas Jones to J.Harrison, Cottage and land; 24th March, Henry and Sarah Chadfield to J.Harrison, land, cottages and dwellings in Snelston; 24th March 1838, Mrs J.Willmot to J.Harrison' (202). It was the accepted and expected practice for the landowner to extend his territory in this way. The Hall, in its park with its grand reception rooms, music gallery and art collections was the centre of local social, political and cultural life; the latest horticultural techniques, a concern indicated by Cottingham's designs for the pineries and forcing houses, its estate office and lawroom the exchange for farm tenancies mining and building leases (203), and its village owned by the squire, providing amenities and cottages for his labourers (204). The landlord expected to

buy any land becoming available within his estate and for a tenant to buy land without the landlord's knowledge would be considered 'not a fair and upright proceeding' and he might be 'required to give up the purchase' (205).

Snelston village itself is composed entirely of buildings designed by Cottingham but evidence of earlier building can be seen in one brick cottage that has the remains of an earlier stone cottage as its base. It is built with the brick detailing of the other houses in its hood moulds, a gabled porch with pierced barge boards and bold hipknob, flattened arch entrance, steep slate roofs and a dog kennel with Gothic detailing, but the cottage clearly was built on the foundation of the eighteenth century original for the arrangement of plan and position of the chimneys is different from Cottingham's plans. Instead, the basic plan of the cottage is identical to the late eighteenth century cottage of Anacre Farm, a mile from Snelston and part of the estate (Figs.381 & 382) (206). This cottage, built on the earlier foundations, the schoolhouse, and the main street cottages whixch have no gabled bays, relate closely to the late eighteenth century vernacular architecture of the area. Clearly in these buildings and in his gabled cottages with their use of brick with stone dressing, steep slate roofs, and Gothic detailing, Cottingham looked to the traditional Derbyshire materials and style of architecture of the late fifteenth to eighteenth centuries, although in no sense did he indulge in copying archaic features. He did not hesitate to use cast-iron lattice windows for these new buildings, but at the same time argued for the preferable use of leaded panes as a more sympathetic and suitable material in his restorations of Armagh Cathedral (207). Fitness for purpose governed Cottingham's work at Snelston, the Hall looking to the late Gothic period or '3rd class' of Gothic which developed between 1377 and 1509 for inspiration yet guided by 'utility and convenience', the farm and horticultural buildings pared to a minimum in their concern for function, and in Snelston village, a use of the vernacular Tudor Gothic as a source of style for a domestic Gothic Revival architecture that anticipated by many years the intentions of Philip Webbť's Red House of 1859.

Snelston village has survived without additions or alterations since Cottingham's time, although the School, the Inn and the Bailiff's house are now used as dwellings. Under the Civic Amenities Act of 1967 the

village and the surrounding area became a Conservation Area. Until 1975 the entire village was in the Stanton family ownership but low rents, taxation and inflation have compelled the sale of three properties and this policy will continue as others become vacant (208). Cottingham's village remains unspoilt, a rare, remaining example of his work (209), and one which can now be seen as of major importance in the history of the domestic revival architecture of the nineteenth century.

Three years after beginning work at Snelston, Cottingham was commissioned in 1830 to extend and enlarge the modest house in Westmoreland belonging to the Lord Chancellor of England, Henry, Lord Brougham. The house was of twelfth century origin and at Brougham, Cottingham was able to prove his worth as a fine mediaevalist architect for here he looked not to the Perpendicular Gothic of his Snelston Hall, but to the Romanesque and Early English period to create a 'sternly magnificent' baronial mansion in the tradition of the fortified castles of the North of England.

2.6   Brougham Hall, Westmoreland c1830-1846

Brougham Hall, Westmoreland, situated 2 miles South-East of Penrith, was the seat of Henry Lord Brougham and Vaux, historian, scientist, man of letters, and Lord Chancellor in the famous 1830 administration which passed the Reform Bill of 1832. Described variously as 'the bold uncompromising opponent of slavery, the advocate of popular education, courageous counsel at the Bar of the House of Peers, defending the honour of an oppressed Queen, and the daring innovator of great legal reforms', Lord Brougham was also widely admired in society, 'despite his gossiping propensities'. As a contemporary journalist noted,

> 'He has talked more than any human being breathing not excepting that great talker Lousi Philippe, the King and Lord Brougham are sworn friends. He visits extensively, men of no parties are exempt from his visitation...'(210).

It was important for Lord Brougham to entertain in return at his country seat and in 1829, his younger brother William Brougham who administered the Westmoreland estate was put in charge of the rebuilding and refurbishment of the Hall, creating a thirty bedroomed baronial mansion in keeping with its ancient origins (211) and befitting

the seat of the third man in the Kingdom' (212). The Hall, in the PO Directory of 1858 was described as,

'a noble mansion principally modern in the castellated style with embrasured parapets and turrets, the interior decorated and furnished in Old English style with objects of great interest to the admirers of art and lovers of the antique...'.

Brougham was also known as 'The Windsor of the North' for it was based on a castle of courtyard type with parts reputedly dating from mediaeval times (Figs.383a-384a). No study has ever been made of the architectural developments at Brougham nor of Cottingham's involvement, and to date references to the works at Brougham have been ambiguous and inaccurate. The obiturary to L.N.Cottingham in 1847 merely mentioned in passing 'private works for Lord Brougham at Brougham Castle' (213) and in *Vanishing Houses of England* it was stated that 'Cottingham worked here for Lord Brougham after 1829 by which time the Great Hall had been built and filled with modern stained glass' (214).

This suggests that the castellated extension and rebuilding of the Hall was already completed, possibly to the designs of Robert Smirke who built nearby Lowther Castle for the Earl of Lonsdale in castellated style from 1800-1811, and Cottingham was commissioned to design the interiors after this date. There is no documentary evidence to link Smirke with the work and it was Cottingham, as a well known mediaevalist architect and expert on antiquarian interiors who was the designer throughout, working from 1830 when the tower was constructed and the major building works began, up to 1846 when he was making drawings for the final details of the interiors, described in the nineteen surviving letters which he and his son N.J, wrote to William Brougham between 1844 and 1846 (215). In a manuscript on Westmoreland the writer stated that the house 'was added to over the years', the tower in 1832, in 1842 the stone bridge over the road to the Chapel was built, 1843 a room, later the library was added at the west end and a small turret and in 1843-44, 'new stables were erected with a vestibule to the south side and a Norman room projecting from the building supported by pillars with a groined arch underneath'. The writer erroneously continued that 'Richardson the builder was the architect of these alterations and also put up a clock turret and a new staircase' (216). Joseph Richardson was certainly the building contractor

but Cottingham made the designs, a fact confirmed by Richardson in a letter to William Brougham,

'I received your plan of the staircase turret. I think it should not be altered but carried up in the way Mr Cottingham has drawn it...and we are putting up the clock turret...' (217).

The exact date of the building of the tower can be pinpointed to February and March of 1831, for its construction was decribed in the diary of George Shaw (1810-1867) of Saddleworth (218). Shaw, an architect, metal work designer, antiquary of note, an indefatigable traveller and viewer of stately homes throughout England and Scotland, was also a friend of leading antiquaries of the day such as Sir Samuel Meyrick, Albert Way and the Rouge Dragon, Thomas King (219). He became acquainted with William Brougham, visited the Hall and wrote many letters over a period of twenty years, describing details of the construction and interiors of Brougham in his diaries, and researching antiquarian topics for precedents for the work. In his diary on May 1st 1831, Shaw wrote,

'Since I went on this road before, which was only in January, Brougham has now fronted the Hall in castellated style and added a heavy Norman tower of great height and massive arcchitecture with machicolated embrazure battlements. The effect of the Hall over the top of the aged surrounding woods is sternly magnificent - And if it before merited its appelation ' The Windsor of the North' it now merits it tenfold. The situation is scarcely to be matched standing as it does on the brow of a commanding eminence, overhanging the river and looking down on the ruins of the Castle...' (220).

Building had been in progress from the previous August to our certain knowledge for William wrote to Lord Brougham, saying,

'We have had a good deal of rain lately so as to rather hinder the building, and we are accordingly rather in confusion, but I take it for granted you will bring nobody back with you...' (221).

Thus the date of erection of the Norman Tower can be firmly established as 1831, and Cottingham himself confirmed that he was its architect in a letter to William Brougham in which he spoke of,

'the large number of drawings I have made since the commencement of the works at Brougham...' (222).

This establishes beyond doubt that Cottingham made plans and advised on all aspects of the work from the early date of 1830, and was not, as has been suggested, working from Smirke's drawings or simply completing the interior designs during the 1840s (223). Certainly, in his letters 1844-46 Cottingham wrote detailed instructions to the stone carvers working on the finishing of the exterior, Richardson was

working to Cottingham's plans in erecting the stair turret and clock tower and the letters give evidence of the wide extent of Cottingham's interior construction, the design of the great stair case, the Armour Hall, carved and gilded ceilings, woodwork, doors, panelling, encaustic flooring, the construction, furnishing and fittings of the Norman bedroom, fireplaces, grates and fire-irons, furniture of every kind, carved oak figures, lions and stags, wall sconces and chandeliers and designs of cornices, pelmets, curtain fabrics and chair coverings, all part of the final furnishings and details of a major architectural project, with Cottingham in charge throughout as the mediaeval expert, a project that progressed as funds allowed over a period of years from 1830 onwards.

The fact that the Hall was known as 'The Windsor of the North' helps to confirm the suggestion that the foundations of the Hall were of mediaeval origin, despite much contemporary scepticisim of Lord Brougham's claims to a Saxon ancestry. William Brougham, in a history of the Hall, wrote that it was 'for most part rebuilt', but retained some ancient portions, a wall of the twelfth century, another of the fourteenth century, and the entrance gatehouse of Edwards I's time with 'some good corbel heads and battlements' (224). These 'ancient portions', from the late Romanesque origins and remains of later centuries gave Cottingham the archaeological basis for his full mediaeval revival of the Hall in which he attempted, as we shall see, to create a baronial mansion that reflected the growth and development of a building during the whole mediaeval period (225). Lord Brougham in common with a great many of the minor aristocracy, landed gentry, nouveau riche industrialists, and families of no clear lineage at all, at this date, was much concerned with establishing a pedigree and building or extending a house to reflect social position and Britiish ancestry (226). Lord Brougham's concern with his pedigree was of such importance that it led to some exaggeration and distortion of the truth, a fact that did not pass without caustic comment from his contemporaries (227). Fake mediaeval brasses, were displayed in the sanctuary at the Chapel of Ninekirks to substantiate descent from the Nevilles, Earls of Westmoreland (228), and William Brougham, during during repairs to Ninekirks Chapel in 1846 discovered what was supposed to be the grave of Odard, Lord of Brougham who lived

between 1140 and 1185. Other graves yielded the supposed skull, sword and prickspur of Gilbert de Burgham and the skull of Edwardus de Burgham, items that Lord Brougham was wont to show his visitors (229). Mrs. Hardcastle, in her *Life of Lord Campbell* described a visit to Brougham Hall in 1848, noting,

'the place is very beautiful and very interesting, having so much to be justly proud of there is nothing he (Henry, Lord Brougham) cares to talk about connected with himself except the antiquity and greatness of his race. In the Church at Brougham there was the grave of an Edwardus de Broham who accompanied Richard to the Holy Land, my noble and learned friend lately opened his coffin, brought away his skull, framed it and placed it in his baronial hall..... Being called upon to admire the Grinning Crusader I could only say, that I was much struck by the family likeness between him and his illustrious descendant particularly in the lengthiness of the jaw...'(230).

Present day archaeologists excavating the site of the demolished Hall have discovered 10 feet below the terrace level a cobbled area and the foundations of a wall which may be the remains of Bird's seventeenth century house, but are unable at this date to determine whether the Brougham's did demolish this house before building the Hall or whether they incorporated it into their own castellated mansion (Fig.384b) (231). However, the description in Shaw's diaries of the exterior, the extent of Cottingham's works known to have taken place to the interiors, and William's letters describing how some parts were extended and some demolished, suggest that the existing house, arguably 'Mr Bird's house', was gradually encased and the interior gutted. Shaw wrote in May 1832,

'Brougham has a magnificent looking castle, few people have displayed such taste as he has in the repairs of the place which two or three years ago was a very common looking building...' (232).

On a futher visit in June, Shaw went on foot to the Hall, making some drawings preserved in his existing sketchbooks, and giving a detailed description which is of use in determining the various stages of the building and interior design (233). The Hall presented on approach

'a grey venerable assemblage of Towers heavy walls and time-worn battlements, with glimpses of towers, windows, stacks of chimneys, and grotesque spouts'

appearing through the trees, and an arched gateway, 'apparently partly in ruins' and covered with ivy with two ponderous panelled and studded oak doors giving admittance to a courtyard laid out with lawns and shrubs (Figs.385-388). William in a letter of 1830 to Lord

Brougham had mentioned the planting of creepers and shrubs, and noted that they were doing well (234). Shaw's description of the Norman tower, 'of great height, massive architecture, with machiolated embrazure battlements', the sketches he made and the evidence of photographs taken before its demolition in 1935, clearly show Cottingham's efforts to create an archaeologically correct Norman tower which related closely to the existing twelfth century perimeter wall and ruins, and once again took advantage of the commanding position of a fortified manor house overlooking the valley (Fig.389) Cottingham had precedents for his Norman tower in the remains of others close by, such as the ruined Brougham castle and Pendragon castle with its twelfth century pele tower amongst those restored in the seventeenth century by Lady Anne Clifford (235), Naworth Castle with its fourteenth century keep and particularly Sizergh Castle in Cumbria which consisted of the great tower, a hall range and later mediaeval enlargements (236). The tower at Sizergh and Yanwath Hall, close to Brougham at Penrith, showed some remaining narrow twelfth century windows, but included windows enlarged in later periods to let in more light, in consequence, as Cottingham explained in his 'Observations on Gothic Architecture', of less need for fortification and increased desire for 'comfort and convenience' (237). After the threat of attacks from the Scots during the reign of Edward II had receded, at Sizergh and Yanwath, large Gothic five and seven light mullioned windows were inserted, with pointed trefoil arched heads under square hood moulds (Figs.390-391). At Brougham Cottingham deliberately created this sense of age and development, and alterations arising from necessity or changed social concerns, for in his great tower he designed narrow slit single and double light lancet windows to light the upper floors and inserted large late fourteenth or early fifteenth centruy mullioned windows of three lights with cinquefoil arched heads to light the ground floor, almost identical in form for example, to the window in the oriel chamber ar South Wraxall Manor of 1435 (238). The embrazured battlements and round stair turret of the great tower, the large square headed mullioned and transomed five light Perpendicular window, very similar to those in the chapel at Naworth giving the impression of a later insertion to light the armour hall, were all based on ancient

precedent and gave evidence of Cottingham's knowledge and understanding of the whole mediaeval period (Fig.392).

Shaw went on to describe the 'curious ancient stones' built into the wall near the entrance, again evidence of Cottingham's desire to preserve all traces of the original archaeological remains. The lofty entrance hall was wainscotted with carved oak, lit by fine stained glass windows and decorated with portraits, shields of arms and a suit of half-armour, and 'a screen of most beautiful carving' which in Shaw's opinion was of foreign workmanship. The screen concealed a small flight of steps leading to a 'kind of breakfast parlour in an unfinished state' but which contained 'a splendid chimney-piece of carved oak supported on figures with coronets, modern and a very successful imitation of the ancient style'. This room was extended in 1842 to become the Drawing Room(239).

Unlike Hopper at Penrhyn where the 'decorations of the Norman style were not at all in harmony with the requirements of modern times' (240), Cottingham made no attempt to recreate the interior of a twelfth century Norman Keep, but extended the idea of improvements and developments over the ages, by creating interiors that reflected the rich beauty and comfort of the later mediaeval peiod. From his study and knowledge of existing examples, Cottingham employed the wainscot which was normal in great houses of the thirteenth century, but with the later elaboration of linenfold panelling and high relief carving (241). The dining room was also wainscotted with carved panels with a ceiling of square panelled compartments filled with richly emblazoned armorial bearings and had a fireplace of black marble and an oriel window (Figs. 393 & 394) (242). Cottingham had described such ceilings in his history of Gothic architecture, giving Crosby Hall as a fine example, and he may also have looked at the famed ceiling of the Great Hall at Naworth composed of square panels and portraits of Kings and Queens of England before it was destroyed by fire in 1844, and also the similar, but smaller ceiling at Haddon (243).

The library immediately above the dining room was a disappointment to Shaw, the books contained in arched recesses behind curtains and the walls covered with tapestry. A new library was to be formed in the further extensions of 1843-44. Shaw continued his visit by examining Brougham Chapel 'reached by a rustic bridge', one that was later

replaced by Cottingham's stone bridge (Fig.395) (244). The Chapel was in a dilapidated state, but the butler, who was obviously giving the visitor a guided tour, informed him of 'his Lordship's intention to repair it and render it fit for worship'. He already had 'some fine old stalls' and intended to 'fit it up entirely with carved oak and windows of stained glass' (245). The Chapel, rebuilt by Lady Anne Clifford in the seventeenth century was of mediaeval foundation and Lady Anne made some attempt to echo the origins in a Gothic survival building, using heavy buttresses and simple unarchaeological round arch windows under square drip moulds, but with an interior that reflected the classical simplicity of the seventeenth century church with plain panelled box pews and no rich Gothic decoration. Cottingham and William Brougham created a full Gothic revival interior at the Chapel, as we saw in earlier chapters, but retained references to its Norman origins with pillars and zig-zag mouldings to the round arch windows in the interior (Sigs.246-248). Shaw concluded his description,

'When I first travelled this road the house was a common, whitewashed sash framed dwelling with nothing to recommend it but its situation and now it arises the baronial mansion of the fifteenth century... It is certainly the best imitation of an ancient castellated mansion house that I have yet seen, and the imitation is not merely confined to its shape but also to colour which is of a sober grey, the effect of some wash which has been applied with the addition of moss and ivy to render the deception still stronger...' (246).

Cottingham used a wash of his own invention to tone down new stone in his church restorations and at Brougham he used it with the same purpose to create harmony between the new building and the ancient twelfth and fourteenth century remains of the old hall. In these first stages of the project described by Shaw in 1831 and 1832, with the Norman tower and castellated hall range around an inner courtyard having the appearance of later additions and with the richly decorated mediaeval interiors which also incorporated ancient fragments as at Snelston, Cottingham was creating an aerchaeologically correct revival of the Mediaeval yet one in keeping with the requirements of his patron. William Brougham, like Hanbury Tracy at Toddington, Meyrick at Goodrich and Tollemache at Peckforton, who were engaged in similar antiquarian ventures as we have seen, was passionately interested in the design and antiquarian furnishing of the new castle although 'not wishing to set up as an architect' (247). William relied upon

Cottingham to translate his ideas into the realisable project, for he was anxious that the rebuilding should be carried out with 'true antiquarian feeling' in the best possible way to create a baronial mansion which echoed the true mediaevalism of nearby Naworth. By the late 1830s William was planning further extensions and enlargements. In his letters of 1838 to Lord Brougham, he was suggesting a means of building the new library and an extension to the sitting room. He had examined the conservatory, 'fast decaying from damp and woodwork rotting', and thought that it could be converted into a library and he drew a diagram to show how a sittingroom, 'not very wide indeed, but as long as you pleased', could be created by forming an extension from the octagon tower with a bay window. He stressed possible economies,

> 'the old bricks lying in the garden could be used as a lining of the walls in the library, the bookcases could do again and furnishing might be done gradually...' (Figs.396 & 397) (248).

Apart from Cottingham's and William's letters, little documentation remains to enable a full reconstruction of the plan and interiors of Brougham Hall, but fortunately once again George Shaw wrote a description which related to the work completed after his visit and drawings of 1832. In a letter to William Brougham in 1847, Shaw asked him to 'perhaps look at these scribblings and say what alterations should be made before its appearance in the *Manchester Guardian...*' (249). The article was reprinted in an Edinburgh paper and then in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of April 1848 (250). Shaw described the plan of the Hall with the principal suite rooms occupying three sides of the large court and in the entrance front, an embattled porch with buttresses, leading through an archway into a 'cloistered Norman passageway' decorated with a painted copy of the Bayeux tapestry. The porch related closely to such Northern examples as Sizergh with its four-centred arch of the Perpendicular period, and the cloisters or covered passageway in domestic architecture had thirteenth and fourteenth century precedents in many ancient buildings known to Cottingham such as Coombe Abbey, Goodrich Castle c1300, and Naworth Cstle (251). At Brougham, Cottingham's intention was to stress the Norman origins, in contrast to his Snelston Hall which related entirely to the Perpendicular or '3rd class' of Gothic throughout, for in his cloistered passageway he echoed the early thirteenth century practice of painting

the walls with richly coloured 'histories' (252). Amongst Cottingham's friends listed in his obituary was C.A.Stothard (1786-1821), an antiquary and draughtsman to the Society of Antiquaries (253), who made copies of the wall paintings discovered in the famous Painted Chamber in the Palace of Westminster in 1819 (254). Stothard also in 1819, made a series of 32 hand coloured engravings of the Bayeux tapestry, possibly even at Cottingham's suggestion, for few were interested at that date in the art of the mediaeval period and even less in the 'crude and barbaric works of the Normans' (255). Now Cottingham used a copy of the tapestry as an entirely appropriate decoration for a mansion that was once a Norman fortified manor house, in keeping too with the mediaeval revival cloistered way, and with the aspirations of his patrons to an ancient lineage. George Shaw, in a letter of 1847 wrote to Brougham with comments on Cottingham's Norman bedroom and noted the appropriateness of the painted wall decoration,

> 'the effect of the flattened paintings from the Bayeux tapestry beyond the archway will have a fine effect as it will harmonise in character with the style and date of the room...' (256).

In his *Gentleman's Magazine* article Shaw described how the passage led to the Armour Hall which again gave evidence of Cottingham's concern for archaeological correctness in his mediaeval reconstruction. Unlike Salvin in his unarchaeological repairs to the gutted Great Hall of Naworth (257), Cottingham based his armour hall on strict precedent, on his own study of such mediaeval buildings as Penshurst or Haddon, with a screens passage giving access to a newly-constructed service wing, the entrance at the end furthest from the high table, a staircase leading to the principal chamber, the Norman bedroom, on the first floor, and a painted and gilded carved oak panelled roof resting on spandrels (258). The walls were panelled in oak linenfold wainscot to twelve feet, and above the panels the walls were decorated with demi suits of armour, weapons, stags antlers, pennoncles, banners, and two full suits of armour. The fireplace based on fifteenth century designs such as the one at the Bishop's Palace, Wells, again demonstrated Cottingham's concern for archaeological correctness, with carved stone columns supporting a carved and panelled frieze of five coats of arms, and a flattened arch opening with decoration to the spandrels. The floor, 'encaustic tiles with the armorial device of the family was laid during the recent renovation'. After Cottingham's discovery of the

thirteenth century tiled floor in the Chapter House at Westminster in 1841, Minton and Worcester produced quantities of tiles for use in church building and in domestic architecture as part of the increasing passion for the mediaeval and for archaeological correctness during the 1840s (Figs.398-401) (259). From the armour hall an 'iron clenched door' with a massive box lock, possibly derived from examples in Cotingham's museum, led to the grand staircase with stone arched doorways and openings leading to various landings. Shaw wrote 'that much old oak was brought from Scailes Hall for the recent repairs of this staircase' and carried away with imparting to his readers this vision of the Brougham's ancient baronial castle, and forgetting that fifteen years earlier he had written that the erstwhile ordinary, sash windowed dwelling was the 'best imitation of a castellated mansion he had yet seen', wrote of Cottingham's Norman bedroom that,

> 'the old armoury had been converted to a bedchamber, the machiolations having been closed and the passageway assumed a Udolphoish dreamy character worthy of Mrs Radcliffe...'

He described the 'fine old timber roof of the Norman bedroom' and the Norman stone arch which divided the room forming a recess for the bed 'which is to be made from old drawings and illuminations' in an attempt to imitate an oak fourposter bed of the mediaeval period (Fig.402). The chimneypiece had Norman zig-zag moulding and an inlaid tiled hearth, the walls were richly decorated in the manner of the thirteenth century and in the spandrels above the arch were 'two of the Norman Kings on thrones painted from original drawings' (Fig.403). Shaw concluded his article with a description of the Chapel and a history of the Brougham ancestry (260). Immediately a 'furious critique' of Shaw's article was published in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 'written with the greatest scurrility and insult' according to Shaw, and declaring the whole to be 'one tissue of falsehoods'. The article was entitled 'Brougham Hall, A Modern Antique' and signed 'Old Subscribers' (261). The writers, with some justification, vigorously refuted the impression given, that Brougham was a mediaeval Hall 'lately renovated'. They pointed out that the 'huge square tower' had never been used for missiles of defence as it was new in 1832,

> 'and consequently nothing but chamber missiles would be thrown from that tower since 1832 - yea - the more likely to be so since this strange queer gallery had been turned into a Udolphoish bedroom';

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that out-offices 'of various ages covered with ivy and the weather stain of the centuries', were all erected in the reigns of George III and IV, William IV and Victoria, though none with the appearance later than Henry VII; the Norman bedroom and staircase were totally new erections in 1843 and all the suits of armour and accoutrements 'of family association' were in fact bought from various curiosity shops in Wardour Street 'since 1830' and 'the like way be said of nearly every article in the house'. The writers grieved at the violence done to archaeological science and felt that it was time that such 'outrageous perversions of historical facts as were foisted on the public's credulity for family gratification should cease' (262).

Despite his romanticising Shaw had given a useful impression of the plan of the Hall and a description of the interior which emphasised Cottingham's scholarly understanding of all aspects of the mediaeval from the early Norman period onwards and his attempt to create a revival of the early mediaeval building in keeping with the tradition of the fortified Border castles, the battlemented and turreted keeps such as Naworth and Appleby and reflecting their organic development over a period of centuries. Brougham as Shaw noted, made a strong contrast with the strict symmetry of Smirke's nearby Lowther, which looked to the picturesque for its inspiration with unarchaeological Gothic detailing and a reliance on recessions and projections for its effect (263). Later additions at Brougham, designed by Cottingham up to his death in 1847, included the groined archway with the projecting oriel window of the Norman bedroom, a 'window of later character' as Cottingham described it (264), and a long battlemented range with pointed two light windows completed the third side of the courtyard (Figs.404 & 404a) (265). On the south facing garden and terrace sides a series of projecting bays of irregular height and window type gave evidence of the different stages of development, the first bay Lord Brougham's study, the window added 'for more light' as in Perpendicular Gothic developments, the massive two-storey bay with the Octagon or Drawing Room on the ground floor, and in 1849 the Billiard room with the Old Drawing Room above completing a structure that echoed the growth of a mediaeval castellated mansion (See Fig.384) (266). The only ground plans that have so far come to light are undated and unsigned and are Plans of the Offices at Brougham Hall (267). The writing,

phraseology, and style of plan drawing is very similar to Cottingham's drawings for Snelston Hall and these may be attributed to him on this evidence (Figs.405-408). The kitchen wing was built in 1843-44 at a time when Richardson was erecting the staircase tower and clock turret 'to Mr Cottingham's drawings', and in a letter to William Brougham of May 1st 1843, Richardson wrote,

> 'let me know how you would have the doors and windows of the rooms, oven house, housekeepers room and kitchen finished with mouldings...' (Figs.409 & 410) (268).

The plan shows an extensive range of rooms facing north west, close to the road and the stone bridge to the Chapel, with kitchens, Housekeepers Room, Servants Hall, Larders, Brewery and Baking house and adjoining the new stables, facing onto an inner courtyard, with access from the road through the great oaken doors (Fig.411).

Although professing 'not to set himself up as an Architect' clearly William preferred to superintend the work himself or entrust it to his contractors John Robinson from 1837 to 1840 and then Joseph Richardson to carry out the building to Cottingham's designs, perhaps for reasons of expense (269). In a letter dealing with his patron's complaints about charges Cottingham reminded him,

> 'of the large number of drawings I have made since the commencement of the works at Brougham and the time which must necessarily have been expended on them and the valuable and in some cases unique models, with the trouble I have taken in having your furniture properly executed...'.

Cottingham expressed his dissatisfaction at not being on site himself to superintend the work,

> 'I would far rather make designs for you in the regular way in which I am generally employed, ie, by personally seeing and superintending the work with my own clerks to take my sketches and dimensions than have to work in the dark, by which so much time is lost from not knowing the effect and situation and circumstances and the labour in consequence is much increased, as verbal directions during the progress of works from the architect frequently supercede the necessity of elaborate drawings...' (270).

It would seem from William's diaries and Cottingham's comments that the cost of labour and materials in Westmoreland was far below London prices and William was constantly trying to make savings and cut costs in the extensive works. 'You get work done at a price that perfectly astonishes me' Cottingham noted, although he firmly refused to persuade his craftsmen to reduce their charges,

'As regards Mr Potter's charges I really do not see where in justice to take off anything...and Messrs Robinson & Robinson's bill for the table and washstand is only a fair charge, and though you may have got them done at a cheaper rate at Brougham I consider whatever you get them done for, the real value of such work is very different... I consider them well worth the money...' (271).

William had to balance the need to control expenditure and his desire to use the very best materials and craftsmen to undertake the work. Joseph Richardsonm wrote that he had received the plans for the Doorcase and continued with a progress report,

'the door into the groined archway passage is put in, the Gateway into the Yard is ready for the arch and the dog-house is arched over... I have finished the Tower of the Great Staircase, leaving that part clear between the high tower and the other to finish as you think proper...

'I received the plans and moddels for the Hall Cealing on Friday and directly sent for Robert James, William Scott and James Scott. R.J. thinks they can be done at a great deal less expense in stucco than in wood... I think it will be adding a great expense to the work putting in a block of wood at each angle to fix the rossetts and to as shown in the plan...' (272).

William consulted Cottingham and two weeks later Robinson wrote, I received your note saying the blocks of wood cannot be dispoensed with...' (273). Once again Cottingham would not compromise on the quality of the work by using unarchaeologically correct materials such as stucco instead of wood for the Armour Hall ceiling, and William's acceptance of Cottingham's instructions, despite the difference in cost, again demonstrated Cottingham's authority as a mediaeval expert.

William wrote to Lord Brougham in 1843 with a summary of accounts for the work to date listing all the outstanding bills for labour and materials, interior work still to be finished such as iron casements and firegrates, chimney pieces in stone for the bedrooms and all the furniture, and noting that although 'it had cost so little considering what was done this does not alter the fact that it has cost four times as much as we reckoned on...' Another reason for the high cost was that,

'of the old part pulled down everything was so decayed that none of the old material except the stone could be used again and the stone did not pay for the pulling down and the clearing for the foundations so that it is all like new work...'

The building accounts were itemised,

'3306 yards of walling @ 1/8, fine hewing 1051 feet @ 2/5 per foot, 2187 feet of windows @ 10d, 909½ feet of Doors, 1324 feet of arches, 1514 feet of parapet, 1514 feet of Ashlar work, 1218 feet of coping, 364 feet of stone stairs, 127 feet of corbels...'

The total account amounted to £3,348.1/- (274).

The following year, 1844, work was in full progress on the Chapel and the Norman bedroom, the Armour hall and the grand staircase. William and his builder may have made suggestions but Cottingham, although at a distance, was totally in command and he was consulted on the most minute detail in clarification of his plans and drawings, as his letters and those of NJ clearly indicate. Instructions to accompany plans and drawings for the interior design and decoration of the Norman bedroom appear in many of the letters. Designs and diagrams were sent for the intricate laying of a parquetry border to the floor, complicated by the irregular shape of the room, and for the shutters and windows,

> 'You will see that we have not made the shutters Norman as that would not be right, the window being of a later character. The hinges will of course be gilt, also the handles for pulling the shutters out of their boxings...' (275).

The Norman bedroom had a rectangular oriel window described as 'projecting from the building and supported by pillars with a groined arch underneath', a feature dating from the early fourteenth century onwards, and Cottingham, with his knowledge of the Mediaeval and his concern for correctness refused to mix the styles in an unarchaeological way (See Figs. 404 & 404a) (276).

Casts were sent for the patterns of skirting linings to the windows (277), a tracing for the hearth of the zig-zag moulded fireplace and designs for the 'grate and appendages' (278). Cottingham asked if he was to design encaustic tiles for the hearth, 'or will you wait for those we shall have for the Norman church we are building?' (279).

At this date Cottingham was steeped in studies of Romanesque architecture and design, for he was building St Helen's at Thorney in Norman style, he was making detailed surveys and preparing for the major restoration work of the Norman tower at Bury St Edmund's, he was engaged in restoring and uncovering early Romanesque parts of Hereford Cathedral, and had been given the task of restoring the important Norman parish church of Kilpeck in Herefordshire (280). His study, knowledge, and undoubted fame as an authority on the early mediaeval, as opposed to the more popular pursuit of the Middle Pointed Gothic, for example, by Pugin and the Ecclesiologists, led to his patron William Brougham strenuously recommending him in 1844 as the 'best mediaevalist architect' and the only one fit to restore Naworth

Castle (281). Cottingham made designs for every smallest detail of the Norman bedroom and sent instructions to,

> 'tone down the stonework throughout the room with boiled linseed oil having a very small portion of burnt sienna or umber in it, but no paint where stonework is to appear' (282).

A long list of queries concerning the decoration of the Norman bedroom was returned with Cottingham's answers in the margin. The questions help us to imagine the effect of the room and also to appreciate the extent to which William relied on Cottingham's directions. William wrote,

> 'In the large arch, the splays against which the two columns rest are coloured red. Is the flat side to be left in its natural state or tinted? Answer, stone'.
> 'Are all the parts of the columns which are not shown in the drawing to be red, blue, green or gold, or left in natural stone? Answer, Yes'.
> 'Is the margin that surrounds the wattle work to be stone or vellum colour like the plain squares of the wattle work? Answer, Yes, vellum colour. The principle adopted in this room has been to heighten the effect of stone walls with colour and gold'.
> 'I presume I am right in supposing you intend the Doorcase, chimney piece and window arch with all their ornaments to be left in stone? Answer, Yes'.
> 'The door and other oak being made of old wood are black as ebony. Ought not the oak ground of the ceiling and especially the oak shown in the beams to be rather dark, and if so how many shades lighter than the door? In your drawing it is much like pale gingerbread. Answer, the drawing would have looked heavy coloured very dark. The oak of the ceiling and indeed throughout the room should have the effect of being of one age'.
> 'Is the Norman panel for the window to be continued as if cut in one plane, without any jointing or framing? The panel is 2' and includes three of the circles. If the above method is the correct one it will I think look better than a framework. Answer, no framework' (283).

George Shaw in his letter to William also made suggestions and passed comment on the Norman room which he described as 'a bold and daring attempt and has so far succeeded wonderfully'. He investigated precedents for tiles mentioning some in the collection of Cottingham's friend Francis Douce, wrote to Sir Samuel Meyrick for his opinion and in commenting on the decorations wrote,

> 'I can believe the old Kings look glorious, but cannot readily understand the good effect produced by the grotesque heads if at all like the specimens placed between the beams when I saw the room...' (284).

The Kings were painted in the spandrels above the Norman arch and Shaw also approved of the use of the Bayeux tapestry as 'harmonious

decoration', but clearly found Cottingham's archaeologically correct use of grotesque Romanesque masks as bosses for the beams, not at all pleasing.

The great staircase was also discussed in detail in the letters and its progress noted in William Brougham's diary. The entry for June 12th 1844 read, 'Called on Mr Cottingham, settled all drawings for the great staricase'. On August 22nd William and his family returned from holiday in France and Willliam noted in his diary,

> 'infinitely disgusted at finding house in such confusion. Postern only up to the door tops and staircase full of scaffolding. H. (Lord Brougham) arrived at 12 much pleased with the new work but annoyed to find house so backward. Nobody to come to sleep til 1st Sept. which will give time to get bedrooms ready...' (285).

By May 1845, the staircase was installed with queries about final details being answered in Cottingham's letters. Drawings for screen and brackets under the staircase were forwarded to Samuel Pratt and favourable reports of progress noted, (286), and lions and stags of carved oak like those for Sir Edward Blackett's staircase at Matfen Hall, where Cottingham was also engaged in works, were to be carved as newel posts,

> 'I think you will like the lions and stags much. There is however a great deal of labour in them and as I have insisted on the master man himself doing them I must crave your patience a little longer. They are so near the eye they must be very well and carefully carved' (287).

Again we find an example of Cottingham's insistence on the finest quality of materials and craftsmanship for every aspect of the work, and in his evidence and authority for ancient precedents. The repetition of the half-baluster newels for the staircase was discussed in detail. Cottingham explained that these were not always adopted in ancient staircases but there were also numerous examples of their use,

> 'it is a mere matter of expense and as you have really got your staircase at half its value it would be better to have the half parts as a considerable improvement to the general effect' (288).

Cottingham's advice was taken, for the Sale Catalogue of the Hall, prior to its demolition, noted the 'fine oak staricase' with ten octagonal newel posts each surmounted by lions bearing heraldic shields. It was also decided to dispense with ramps. N.J.Cottingham wrote,

> 'my father says all newels must be of the same height on the landings. You are however mistaken in supposing ramps a modern invention, one among many instances of them is to be found in Henry VII's Chapel at Westminster...'

The question of using foreign oak for the work, as a less expensive alterative to English oak had been raised previously by the builder John Robinson (289), and N.J. continued his letter,
'my father says that such oak as the staricase is made of is worth all the foreign wood in existence and PRAY USE NO VARNISH!' (290).

The wood for the staircase had come from Scailes Hall, a former home of the Broughams before Henry, Lord Brougham fell heir to the Hall, and no doubt had the rich, dark patination of ancient oak, darkened with time and polished with simple beeswax or the natural oils from human hands. Cottingham, as an expert on mediaeval timber and early oak and walnut furniture knew that there was no need for varnish, which would ruin the natural patination. No illustrations remain of Cottingham's grand staircase at Brougham, but it sounds as though it was very similar to the staircase he designed for Sir Edward Blackett at Matfen, a monumental staircase rising in a two storeyed hall and mounting in flights at right angles to each other, a design dating from the end of the fifteenth century.

Cottingham designed furniture which was made up by Samuel Pratt and his sons Edward and James of New Bond Street in London.

Willliam, ever conscious of costs, noted in his diary of June 14th 1844,
'Settled drawings of Hall table with Mr Cottingham, then to Pratt who undertakes it. Top (solid oak) for £8, frame and legs, £27, £35 in all, which is not dear - the oak is old English. Pratt undertakes it will be at Brougham before 2nd August with 20 chairs'.

On Tuesday 6th August, William wrote 'hall table and some of the chairs arrived from Mr Pratt's - vey handsome'. No drawings have yet come to light for the furniture, but in the Catalogue of Sale of the remaining contents of Brougham Hall of June 1st 1932 (291), lots 929 and 930 were sets of chairs, one of which was photographed. This chair had a deep carved frieze to the base with Gothic roundels, almost identical to the Bishop's chair that Cottingham designed for St Mary's, Bury St Edmunds in the same year, 1844, and it may be attributed to him (Figs.412 & 413). The Brougham chair, as a dining chair, had upholstered seat and back, with carved roundels echoing the base. Cottingham had instructed,
'I advise you to lower the seats of the chairs if they require it - on no account cut the legs' (292).

A water-colour of the Armour Hall by C.V.Richardson and also a contemporary print depicts a chair of similar base but with a low back

composed of pierced roundels (See Fig.398) (293). Other furniture is mentioned such as sitting room and hall tables, solid oak dressing tables with 'looking glass frames', wash stands and chairs, and Pratt too made valances for the beds, dining-hall curtains, 'a Gothic cornice and window curtains', writing in September 1845 to say that,

'The Gothic firescreen with bellows, two velvet cushions and four tapetts were sent off together. The sofa, armour and other things go tomorrow'(294).

Pratt also made furniture for the Norman bedroom, for Geroge Shaw wrote later, 'How well this room has come out Mr Pratt's old bed I see standing in its tapestried niche...' (295). Possibly Pratt supplied an antique bed but more likely he composed a four poster bed using ancient fragments of carved oak from a variety of sources.

Armour was supplied to decorate the Armour Hall, some by a Mr Falcke, but mostly by Pratt. William wrote in his diary of 4th July 1844, 'Settled about armour with Mr Pratt. Cap a pié suit, H.VII for £45 with sword complete', and on the 5th July he went to the Tower, and 'learnt a good deal'. He was 'much struck with the H.VIII suit sent to him by Emperor Maximilian: fine suit Rd.III (worn by Lord Waterford at Eglinton) and some curious helmets...'

The metalwork was carried out to Cottingham's designs by Thomas Potter of South Molton Street, who made locks, door handles, hinges and a massive door knocker made from a cast of the Durham knocker, stair rods and wall sconces (296). Cottingham had a cast of the Durham knocker in his collection and he must have considered it a perfect example of early mediaeval design and entirely appropriate for the mediaevalising of Brougham (297). The concern for archaeological corectness extended to every detail, for example, N.J wrote in reply to William's queries about light fittings,

'Pray do not have the "neither one thing nor the other" sconces or branches - there was never anything like what you name...',

and with the authority of a mediaeval expert continued,

'If you have sconces they must be with spikets, thus...',

He made a sketch of a sconce similar to one dating from the time of Henry V in his father's museum (298),

'The candle might be Mr Palmer's imitation Japan tube but nothing will ever look in place but the chandelier: both my father and self sincerely hope you will decide on it...' (299).

William noted in his diary on July 1st 1844 that 'Potter can't finish the chandelier in time - settled to have 7 silver sconces which will be

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beautiful for Hall or Library'. A chandelier was made however, described in the Sale Catalogue as a 'massive six light gas chandelier hung in the staircase hall' (300), and George Shaw wrote to William to ask for a 'tracing of the drawing for the flamboyant chandelier of very good design in the grand staircase at Brougham' (301). Other sconces and light fittings were made and Cottingham noted,

> 'Mr Potter will have 10 sconces finished very shortly - we have managed some capital enamel on copper as cheap as china for the sconces...' (302).

For metal work that was to be made at Brougham, instructions and drawings were sent,

> 'I enclose a working drawing for the work to the Postern doors - all the work to be in wrought metal: when finished to be heated red hot and dipped in grease. This prevents rust and gives a fine permanent iron black colour far superior to paint, bronze etc' (303).

Cottingham with his knowledge of the design and use of metals, seen in his *Director* and in his work on Church restoration was able to advise on the technicalities of preserving iron work. Cottingham also urged William 'to see the shields of Arms for the Hall and lions in Caen stone which we are having executed in town for Sir Edward Blackett', and for the Armour Hall floor, Cottingham advocated red and grey stone paving saying,

> 'we naturally look for something richer over our heads than under our feet, and this mode of paving has a picturesque repose about it from its colour...' (304).

Carpeting was also part of the final design of the Hall and was supplied by Alfred Lapworth of 22 Old Bond Street who in 1844, despatched green carpet with a border for the grand staircase, 'French carpet' with plain borders, and hearth rugs (305).

Interior pictures do exist of Brougham Hall before its demolition in 1935 and although cluttered with a wealth of Edwardian 'bric a brac' Cottingham's mediaeval Armour Hall can be seen, with its fifteenth century roof, Gothic arch spandrels *and boldly panelled compartments* (See Figs.400 & 401) (306). The Sale Catalogue of Fixtures and Fittings too described the Armour Hall, 'where you dine in baronial splendour', with fitted cupboards and sideboards made out of linenfold and carved oak panels representing pastoral and Scriptural scenes, surmounted by ten coats of arms and shields. The dining room too was filled with linenfold panelling and a ceiling richly carved, the Library, Drawing Room, the Chancellor's Study, all panelled with oak or Spanish leather,

with finely carved fireplaces in stone and marble, massive doors with high relief carving and great brass locks and hinges, and the fine oak staircase with ten octagonal newel posts each surmounted by lions bearing heraldic shields that Cottingham took such care to have carved by the finest craftsman (Fig.414) (307).

Cottingham used his knowledge of all periods of the mediaeval to create Brougham Hall, a comfortable mansion with parts clearly stemming from its origins in Norman times, but showing the developments over the centuries with the resulting richly decorative interiors of the fifteenth century, work based on sound arcaeological study, but that was in contrast to the pedantry of Salvin's 'real and carefully constructed fortress' Peckforton Castle or the discomfort of Penrhyn Castle where Hopper's attempt to recreate a Norman keep 'was not in harmony with modern requirements' (308).

Photographs remain to show the process of demolition, the clock turret with weather vane and grotesque mediaeval stone bracket that Richardson found 'the most dificult work of any with its eight day tower clock by Vulliamy of 1846 (309), the Norman bedroom fireplace revealed amidst the rubble with its zig-zag mouldings and supporting columns, and the finely carved oak shields of arms, the simplicity of the arms denoting their mediaeval origin on the ceiling of the staricase hall. Present day photographs pick out a few remaining details, a traceried window frame, an arch with corbel heads intact, a portion of the groined ceiling, a piece of carved stone, a reminder of Cottingham's instructions,

> 'the ornament is all birds, tell your carver not to study to make them
> all exactly alike nor too true to nature...' (Figs.415-418) (310),

a few remnants of Lord Brougham's castellated mansion that antiquary George Shaw compared to Raby Castle and other much grander houses where 'decorations are of the most paltry trumpery that can be imagined - Brougham is without doubnt the best done place in existence...' (311). George Shaw in his own work, clearly looked to Cottingham for inspiration. His own house, St Chad's, which is now Uppermill Town Hall, related very closely to Cottingham's Snelston Hall (Fig.419).

Plans are now under way to restore what remains of Brougham Hall, part of the castellated extension of 1832, the entrance tower with its

twelfth century foundations and massive studded oak door, and to set up workshops and a museum in the rebuilt stable block. A charitable Trust has been set up to fund the conservation of the ruins, and work has progressed on excavating the site and establishing a ground plan of the Hall (312), work that confirms Cottingham's plan for the kitchen and service wing, and the extent of the building works that can now be definitely attributed to him through the uncovering of the contemporary documentary evidence described in this thesis (Fig.420).

Fortunately, Cottingham's letters to William Brougham, William's diaries and accounts, and the contemporary views of George Shaw, the Manchester architect and antiquary enable us to imagine the great richness and quality of Cottingham's Norman revival castle and its antiquarian interiors, an evocation through their own words of the passion for the mediaeval and the importance of Cottingham as the major figure at the centre of its influence. In his own time Cottingham was the acknowledged expert on the mediaeval. His patron William Brougham underlined this when he wrote to the Earl of Carlisle to recommend Cottingham for the rebuilding of the mediaeval Castle at Naworth,

> 'Cottingham is the safest and most cognisant in this description of work of any architect I know at present...' (313).

Brougham went on to stress the difference between A.W.N.Pugin and Cottingham, for Pugin was to pursue the Gothic of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries with passionate fervour, like the Ecclesiologists who would consider no other mediaeval period to be of any value, whereas Cottingham appreciated and understood all periods of the Mediaeval,

> 'he is far better than Pugin who is of the florid church style...'.

The writing of George Shaw, an influential antiquary who considered Brougham 'the best done place in existence', and who was known to the leading patrons, antiquaries and architects of the day, the strong recommendation of his patrons, and the many powerful and well known people who visited Brougham as guests of the Lord Chancellor, Henry, Lord Brougham, ensured that Cottingham's work at Brougham was widely known and admired, further enhancing his reputation as the leading mediaevalist architect of his time.

2.7 Designs for Elvaston Castle, Matfen Hall, Adare Manor and Coombe Abbey

In the 1830s Cottingham was commissioned by the Earl of Harrington to design a Gothic east front at his country seat Elvaston Castle in Derbyshire, and to redecorate parts of the interior (314). Elvaston had been remodelled and Gothicised by Robert Walker in 1818 to the designs of James Wyatt, an extension that owed little to the original parts of the house which dated from 1633 (315). Wyatt had created a symmetrical entrance front of seven bays, ashlar faced with an embattled and turreted entrance porch and a projecting end bay echoing the form of the original brick house with its early gabled form clearly discernible (316). This bay with its square headed mullioned and transomed windows was embattled and angle turreted to match Wyatt's new work (Fig.421). By the mid 1830s Cottingham had completed Snelston Hall in Derbyshire which the Earl may well have seen, he was making designs for Brougham Hall and at Coombe Abbey for the Earl of Craven and it is possible that he was recommended to Earl Harrington by one of these patrons. Cottingham, in the three storeyed nine bay east front retained the symmetry of Wyatt's entrance front, echoing his crenellated parapet turrets and square headed windows under hood moulds. The central projecting bay has battlemented bay windows to two storeys flanked by turrets and three panels above carved with Harrington coats of arms, surmounted by a crest. Cottingham omitted Wyatt's two light cinquefoil headed windows with transoms and mullions under square hood moulds and designed large sash windows under square heads with a minimum of Gothic detailing to the architraves (Fig.422). Cottingham, in order to retain some sense of harmony with Wyatt's Gothic echoed the overall rectangualr form of the fenestration with the late Gothic hood moulds and slim turrets, but in omitting the cinquefoil heads and inserting sash windows, perhaps he was trying to relate the house more closely to its seventeenth century English Renaissance date in the regular two storey facade and an attic storey above. Possibly too he designed this east front in accordance with his theories of the development of architecture based on fitness for purpose and 'utility and convenience' and inserted the many large sash windows to reflect the classical regularity of the interior and to light the high ceilinged rooms; the

overall impression is one of classical symmetry, a very different approach to the mediaevalism of Brougham Hall or the Perpendicular Gothic of Snelston (Figs.423 & 424).

Cottingham redecorated Wyatt's Gothic Hall and it was renamed the 'Hall of the Fair Star' (Fig.425) (317). Lord Harrington, known as Charles Stanhope Viscount Petersham before inheriting the title at his father's death, was a well known eccentric figure in London society and in 1831 married Maria Foote an actress of some notoriety. Shunned by society the Earl and his bride retired to Elvaston Castle where the Hall of the Fair Star was a shrine to the by now middleaged lovers and a reminder of the Earl's knight-errantry (318). Wyatt's Gothic fan vaulted ceiling with pendants was richly gilded and the cinquefoil pointed niches with ogee cusped arches were filled with knights in armour and the walls hung with swords and lances, the whole of the doors, stained glass windows, and alcoves decorated with appropriate chivalric mottoes, 'Fayre Beyond the Farest', 'Beauty is a Witch', 'Faithful and to Beauty and Honour', and symbols of flaming hearts, lovers knots, quivers of arrows, lyres and rare birds of paradise (Fig.426). The theme was extended to the gardens, landscaped from 1830-1850 by William Barron, and described in the *Gardens of England* by E.Adveno Brooke in 1857. The garden included rare new specimens of American conifers a Moorish Temple, and a topiary garden laid out with box-edged flower beds in the form of a star surrounded by topiary sentry boxes and four kneeling knights set within a thick serpentine clipped edge (319).

Unfortunately all plans, drawings and even personal family papers relating to Elvaston have disappeared. The present Lord Harrington who lives in Ireland, left Elvaston when he was seven years old and has no knowledge of Elvaston Castle and its history (320). Derby Corporation bought the Castle in 1964 and at this date all the archive material was burnt, the gardens greatly altered and garden buildings destroyed (321). It is however, a surviving example of Cottingham's domestic work, showing his ability to devise a harmonious extension to an existing building and bring his antiquarian and literary knowledge of the mediaeval to the creation of the 'Hall of the Fair Star'. Pevsner in writing of Elvaston did not acknowledge Cottingham by name but wrote 'it is the best nineteenth century interior...' (322).

Matfen Hall

At Matfen in Northumberland Thomas Rickman was employed to build a mansion for Sir Edward Blackett, owner of extensive estates as well as coal and lead mines in Northumberland (323). Rickman a keen antiquary and architect had written an influential book in 1817, *An Attempt to Discriminate the Styles of English Architecture,* a chronological account of the progress of Gothic which went into many editions with enlargements and improvements. He was a builder of churches, mainly in Midlands industrial towns and like Cottingham was forward-looking in his use of cast iron although his use of it for tracery in churches such as his Gothic Revival Chuurch of St George, Birmingham of 1819-22 was criticised as unsuitable by the Ecclesiologists and A.W.Pugin alike. Rickman had begun drawings for Matfen Hall in 1828, but difficulties arose over Sir Edward's preference for Elizabethan style rather than Rickman's earlier Gothic with Sir Edward constantly altering Rickman's drawings (324). Rickman prevailed and Matfen is a Gothic mansion with severe ashlar facades, mullioned and transomed square-headed windows, stepped gables, many projecting bays and a front entrance of a great oak door within a flattened arch with square hood moulds, the spandrels carved, and above, an oriel window (Figs.427 & 428). Rickman designed a mediaeval great hall, the centre of the house, with Early English arcade and aisle leading to a sequence of three reception rooms to the south with curved bays, a lofty hammer beam roof and on the west wall, a great stained glass window of fourteen lights depicting saints, kings and prelates. Relations with his patron became strained as the building progressed and in February 1835 Rickman was dismissed. Sir Edward, who claimed that he had 'chiefly planned and superintended' the building himself took charge of finishing the work (325). However, the great staircase was a major difficulty that required expert assistance and Sir Edward commissioned Cottingham to undertake the work. By October 1836 Cottingham had made designs and in a letter accompanying three drawings for the staircase he wrote,

> 'I am very sorry to have trespassed so long on your patience and am truly grieved to think you should attempt to go on with such an important finishing in your house as the grand staircase without assistance... I propose in this design to get the whole of the open panelling cast in iron, also tracery to be laid on the strings of the stairs...'

Due to Sir Edward's impatience to complete his house Cottingham went on to suggest an alternative method of making the newels,

> 'I likewise recommend you to have the newels glued up out of 1½ inch dry wainscot or oak with a deal case in the centre of each - I have had some executed on this plan which stand remarkably well and take much less time than carving them out of the solid, indeed, unless the oak has been seasoned for years, it is, almost impossible to prevent cracking and warping...'

In addition to the staircase Cottingham had ben asked to make drawings for the 'Hall door and chimney piece', and asked 'Do you require a design for the door case as well as the Elizabethan door?' None of Cottingham's drawings survive in the archive, but in a general sketchbook of the 1830s Cottingham noted 'jamb for Sir E.Blackett's chimney piece' (326). Cottingham concluded his letter,

> 'You will perceive in my design for the staircase there are no nosings to the steps. I never saw an ancient Gothic staircase with moulded nosings beyond the first step...' (327).

Cottingham, as in all his work, was concerned for archaeological correctness and was able to draw upon his own study of ancient precedents in making his designs. He had travelled widely, visiting great houses and making drawings of architectural features such as the design and construction of staircases. He cited Crosby Hall as a fine example of the late Gothic domestic architecture (328), and his staircases at Snelston, Brougham and now at Matfen, related closely to the Crosby Hall staircase, with its flights of stairs at right angles to each other, rising in a two-storeyed hall, heavily moulded banister rail, Gothic pierced balusters and boldly architectural newel posts (329). Early Tudor and Elizabethan staircases, still with strong elements of the mediaeval, continued this form, the Gothic quatrefoils giving way to turned balusters and strapwork of the Renaissance, to be seen in such grand staircases as Knole of 1604 (330). Rickman had designed a great Mediaeval two storeyed hall with early Gothic elements such as the Early English pointed arcade, and Cottingham's staircase was a suitably monumental design in keeping with Rickman's Gothic interiors.

Cottingham may have made alternative designs for oak panelling, or Sir Edward altered the proposed cast iron to wood, for the staircase is solid oak throughout, forming a striking and impressive feature of the great Hall. It starts on the west wall, the octagonal moulded newels surmounted by a carved oak lion and lioness bearing the Blackett coat

of arms, passes the great stained glas window, rises along the north to meet the east corridor screened from the Hall by an arcade of columns which continues round the south wall. The staircase is of massive boldness and simplicity, with cinquefoil arched balusters inset with cinquefoil roundels and coats of arms, and heavily moulded banister rail (Figs.429-431). Cottingham continued to make designs for Sir Edward for some years. In 1845 he told William Brougham that he wanted to show him some shields of arms that were being executed in London for Sir Edward Blackett to hang in his hall at Matfen in 1846 (331), and in a letter to Sir Edward written by N.J. after his father's death in 1847, he rendered an account 'for preparing designs and working drawings for the rustic summerhouse and finishing same accordingly' (332). As Matfen Hall is now used as a Cheshire Home extensive changes have been made to the interior of the building and it is impossible to determine which chimney piece or doorcase was designed by Cottingham. The lions and the summerhouse too have disappeared but Cottingham's fine staircase remains unaltered and intact, evidence of his knowledge of and skill in using ancient precedents to achieve an archaeologically correct revival of the Gothic, in this case the Gothic of the early sixteenth century, yet without resorting to pedantic copyism.

Adare Manor

Another eminent patron and self-styled would-be architect who employed Cotingham to assist in making designs during a major rebuilding programme at Adare in County Limerick was Lord Dunraven. A modest Georgian House of 1730 was demolished and between 1832 and 1860 Lord Dunraven constructed a massive Gothic mansion (333). Dunraven and his wife Caroline had begun work at Adare in 1825-29 when James Pain, a pupil of John Nash, submitted designs for a new house. During the 1830s, the kitchen wing, offices, a Long Gallery 132 feet in length, and private apartments for the Dunravens on the ground floor were built in Tudor revival style (334). Lord Dunraven, being a traveller and antiquary, was a member, like Cottingham, of the Society for the Promotion of Gothic Architecture and a frequent visitor to London to attend Parliament (335). He employed Thomas Willement to design heraldic stained glass windows

for the Great Gallery and wrote to his wife in 1839, 'one could run up and down stairs all day to look at it. It is so very beautiful...'. He was delighted with the effect, 'I never saw the place look so strikingly handsome, but the Gallery almost looks like a Cathedral, I do not know how we shall ever fill it...' (336). During their travels of 1834 and 1836 the Dunravens bought Flemish carved oak which was incorporated into the stalls in the Gallery, fifteenth century carvings were used to make up the Gallery doors (337) and during 1840 Lord Dunraven bought extensively, writing to tell his wife of such purchases as a full-length portrait of James I and a Tudor double portrait of Sir Reginald and Lady Mohun,

> 'Nothing looks so well in old places', he wrote, 'as old portraits and old glass. We have plenty of each...' (338).

He also made an extensive tour of English historic houses, visiting Warwick Castle, Hardwick Hall, the ruins of Fonthill, Chatsworth where he noted the 'vast gallery covered with portraits and acres of tapestry and needlework', Wyatville's Windsor Castle which he greatly admired, and Haddon Hall and its 'graceful irregularities' (339). It is quite likely too that he saw Cottingham's Snelston Hall for Ashbourne and its historic church which Cottingham was restoring in 1840 was frequently visited and written upon by antiquaries (340). He also visited nearby Alton Towers, which he did not like, calling it the 'worst style of Modern Gothic', although he admired the Chapel. At this time he summarily dismissed Pain who had been designing the extensions and building works at Adare, writing to him,

> 'I did not cease to employ you professionally for the purpose of placing myself in any other professional hands. Building is my amusement and I am a dabbler in architecture and I have for some years now been carrying on the new work entirely from my own designs and without any assistance whatsoever...' (341).

This was some exaggeration for in March 1840 he employed Cottingham 'to put his plans for Adare in tangible form' (342). He wrote to his wife that he 'had spent most of the morning with Willement and Cottingham'. It has been suggested that Willement introduced him to Cottingham (343). Possibly so, for the two were close friends but as Lord Dunraven moved in antiquarian circles, travelled widely, attended Parliament and doubtless knew Cottingham's other important patrons such as Lord Brougham and Sir Robert Inglis, he would have employed

Cottingham as the foremost antiquary, architect and mediaevalist of the day, not simply because Cottingham knew Willement,

> 'I was most of the day yesterday with Mr Cottingham', he wrote in April 1840, 'I like him much. He entered clearly into my ideas and is to draw up the elevation and all the details. But I was obliged to write to Adare for the exact thickness of the walls, size of rooms, and many such things, without which he could not begin to draw...'

Lord Dunraven had decided to lengthen the drawing room adding two oriel windows to the south,

> 'I decided upon that when I saw the oriel in St Mary's Hall at Coventry, and it happens to be just what Cottingham likes...'.

The dining room was to be altered, moving the door, taking down the exterior wall and creating,

> 'a great projection, a second fireplace, with windows to the south for Sun and the east and west for views... I found it impossible to make the front regular and it will be much handsomer as it is now planned' (344).

Lord Dunraven also wanted to consult Cottingham about the conservatory, and have him make further plans for the new wall which was to go all the way up for the sake of bedrooms and also to have a music gallery in the dining rom, over the door from the saloon. He continued in a letter to his wife,

> 'The end of the drawing room will be an octagon, projecting from the present room where the bay window does now, with an arch springing from corbels, which will enable the roof to be different from the rest of the room and that part may be arranged for musical instruments' (345).

Cottingham made sketches and plans for all these works and in May Lord Dunraven required him to make working drawings of,

> 'the open work of the parapet and cornice of the house as that cannot be improved, but the rest of the elevations would have to be considered on the spot at Adare before making a final decision' (Figs.432-434) (346).

Cottingham was able to provide Dunraven with designs that related to the developments in oriel and bay windows at the beginning of the sixteenth century taking such precedents a~ St Mary's Coventry, admired by Dunraven and clearly known also to Cottingham and possibly others including the full length five sided oriel at Crosby Hall with its vaulted ceiling, all of which were in keeping with the early Tudor Gothic style of the Manor.

At the time Lord Dunraven was having portraits of himself and his wife painted by Phillips (347), and he wrote that he was thinking 'of getting the pictures put up in fixed frames inserted in great carved work up to

the ceiling' (348). Cottingham made designs for frames which did not meet with the Earl's approval, as he told his wife,
>'He had prepared a drawing of the frames for the pictures today quite different from what I directed and not suited at all, and now he must draw a fresh one...' (349).

Ultimately the portraits were mounted together as the Earl intended in one massive gilt frame which hung over the fireplace in the LOng Gallery (350). None of Cottingham's designs have survived and it is difficult to attribute to him with any certainty even those parts of the building for which he made working drawings, partly due to the fact that the Earl claimed to have dome them all himself (351). Some furniture however, was executed to Cottingham's designs and in the Catalogue of Sale of Adare Manor on June 9th 1982, three oak library bookcases were attributed to Cottingham, the cornices pierced with quatrefoils, the open shelves framed by stepped columns joined by ogival arches and the doors with arcaded panels (352). The bookcases are very similar in design to Cottingham's Snelston bookcases and to Pugin's fitments for the Palace of Westminster, and relate closely to the Perpendicular Gothic of the late fifteenth century.

Six carved oak throne chairs were also attributed to Cottingham with blind tracery to the Gothic arched backs, pierced quatrefoil roundels in the sides, a motif seen in his Brougham chairs and those for St Mary's, Bury, and the arms carved with recumbent heraldic beasts surmounting coats of arms and some with leopard mask and winged seraph head capitals to the legs, work that again demonstrated Cottingham's understanding of Gothic and his ability to take ancient precedent and receate it to suit contemporary requirements (Figs.435 & 436) (353).

A.W.Pugin also became involved in designs for Lord Dunraven from 1846, making designs for the Hall ceiling, staircase, dining room, library and terrace (354). Pugin's work was never fully executed due to increasing ill-health, and P.C.Hardwick was to complete the house for the Third Earl from 1850-62; making use of Pugin's drawings and possibly those of Cottingham's, appropriated by Lord Dunraven, for details on doorcases, chimney pieces and panelling (355).

Coombe Abbey 1833

In the 1830s Cottingham was also involved in making designs for the Earl Craven at Coombe Abbey in Warwickshire, designs which he exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1834 (356). The designs included an Elizabethan entrance hall and gallery and a Louis XIV drawing room, although none appear to have been carried out. Coombe was largely demolished and archive material relating to this period is very sparse. Several of Cottingham's sketchbooks have survived but these throw little light on his commissions, consisting mainly of slight sketches of architectural features, details, working drawings and very few have any notation. Clearly he took a sketchbook everywhere and as a keen antiquary he would make drawings, mainly details from Gothic monuments and churches and early domestic architecture. Two sketchbooks however contain details of Coombe Abbey (357). Sketchbook number 4, inscribed 'L.N.Cottingham at Coombe Abbey, March 1833', contains pencil drawings, some very faint, with notations which give an idea of his proposed works, such details as 'elevations of Elizabethan fireplace', possibly a preliminary drawing for his exhibited drawing for an Elizabethan entrance hall and gallery; 'chimney piece and panelling above in bedroom over North Cloister at Coombe', 'foliage on Elizabethan chimney piece', 'west side of his Lordship's parlour; 'plan of recess, Beauty room', 'the west side of Mrs Clarke's room, southern elevation of Coombe', 'ceiling to Northern cloisters, Coombe', 'western elevation of East cloisters with rooms over', 'west elevation of Coombe', 'south east angle of walled garden', and innumerable details of foliage on pilasters, 'ancient doorways', details of the coach house, stables, engine house, the brewhouse, the gardener's house and the walled garden (358). Again his sketchbook number 5 has many details of Coombe, 'details of chimney piece, Lady Louisa's room', 'flue to Elizabethan room', many drawings of heraldic ornament, and architectural details and measurements as well as drawings made at other houses such as Wikens, near Coombe, and Benham Park, Berkshire (359). Cottingham would have found Coombe Abbey of great interest for it was built in 1150 by Richard de Camvill, the Norman work of the Cistercian Monks remaining in an undercroft in the East wing, and the mansion was enlarged in successive ages with Gothic windows preserved in the cloisters, Jacobean forecourt and south west building, and a Palladian West and North elevation. None of

Cottingham's sketches for Coombe are finished drawings for the sketchbooks are small, only eight inches by eleven and are clearly an architect's working notebook. It is impossible to tell from them which are Cottingham's proposals for alterations and which are jottings of existing features. They were used to develop his proposals for extensions however, for in an inventory of Coombe made in 1916, five watercolours by Cottingham were listed, described as 'South west view of Coombe Abbey and four interiors of the same - proposed alterations and extension' (360).

At Coombe Cottingham made designs in the Elizabethan style, again showing the extent of his antiquarian knowledge, based on his study of remaining original sources as shown in his surviving sketchbooks and importantly in his Museum collection. The Preface to the Catalogue of Sale of his Museum described the chronological arrangement of the rooms through the mediaeval period to the 'Elizabethan Parlour and Ante-Room' with richly panelled ceiling from the ancient palace of Bishop Bonner many years since destroyed, and furniture of walnut and ebony, carved Caen stone chimney pieces, mullioned windows and elaborately carved doorways and bookcases, objects d'art, and architectural fragments and casts from Elizabethan houses. Cottingham was in demand in the 1830s and 1840s for such commissions as Snelston, Brougham, Matfen, Adare and Coombe, to carry out work of the greatest integrity and antiquarian scholarship, qualities that were sought after by discriminating patrons, many of whom were themselves antiquaries of note.

One finished drawing for Coombe Abbey by Cottingham has come to light, the only one to date, and that was amongst Snelston Hall drawings. The hitherto unknown drawing is inscribed 'Plans Elevations and Sections of Double Cottages for Farm Labourers erected for the Rt. Hon. Earl of Craven at Binley Warwickshire', and is undated although we can perhaps assume the date 1833 the time of Cottingham's other works at Coombe (Fig.437) (361). The double cottage is of one storey with a hipped tiled roof and dormer windows, with square headed mullioned windows and diamond lattice panes to the ground floor. The entry is through a single storey lean-to at the side and a central chimney stack served each room of the two units. Gothic detailing is kept to a minimum with Gothic pierced trefoils to the

dormer window barge boards and a four-centred arch to the entrance door, relating to the late mediaeval or early Tudor period when Gothic elements continued into the sixteenth century. As in the Snelston estate village watercolours a Picturesque element appears in the rustic timber supports to the lean-to sections, but, as at Snelston, Cottingham has considered the vernacular architecture of the area, at Coombe, suggested in the hipped roof, and in the dormer windows often with thatch, and the plastered whitewashed finish to the walls (362). The interior plan shows two rooms of 15' x 12' on the ground floor, with built in oven and a 'privy', and in the single storey section a stove, pantry and piggery, with two bedroms to the first floor, an arrangement close to the two unit baffle entry plan common to the vernacular architecture of Warwickshire, here adapted to two separate units (363).

We have no way of knowing now whether Cottingham's extensions and interiors to the main building were carried out, but the Catalogue of Sale of the Coombe Abbey Estate of 1923 listed four pairs of estate cottages at Binley (364), no doubt built to the designs of Cottingham's simple, harmonious double cottage plans of 1833, a design not indicating extravagant Gothic or foreign Picturesque elements, or drawn from the styles of the great house, Norman, Jacobean, or Palladian, but echoing the vernacular of Derbyshire for his estate village, using local styles and local materials in a simple straightforward manner, and at Coombe, equally consciously, Cottingham drew upon the hipped roofed, dormer windowed and plaster finished walls of the locality, providing irrefutable evidence of his use of the vernacular as a source of style. Comparisons can be made with Cottingham's work of the early 1830s and the Picturesque village of Edensor of the 1840s where Paxton used the local stone and a wide variety of styles, and with the work of Edward Blore, who like Cottingham at this date, was designing estate cottages for the Sixth Duke of Bedford at Woburn Sands (365). Cottingham and Blore had many interests in common as we now know, and in 1832 were collaborating on the restoration of the threatened Crosby Hall (366). They were both members of the Society of Antiquaries (367), and Blore had connections with the family of Cottingham's patron John Harrison, at Snelston (368). It is more than likely that Blore, whose Lambeth Palace designs owed much to Snelston (369), saw the first houses in

Cottingham's estate village, for again, there are similarities between Snelston and the cottages that Blore designed for Woburn. The true Picturesque of the late eighteenth to early nineteenth centuries was to be found at Woburn in the rustic cottage by Wyatville of 1806 with a tree trunk verandah, leaded lattice windows and a front door ornamented with a herring bone pattern of twigs, and in Humphrey Repton's Henry VII Lodge for which he borrowed features from numerous mediaeval sources throughout England (370). Blore's contribution in the early 1830s, cottages and the Woburn market house, were closer to Cottingham's approach at Snelston and Coombe although he used more overtly Jacobean and Gothic styles. Simplicity, and consideration of the vernacular were not the main concerns and the estate cottages were 'more like villas than cottages for labourers Disraeli noted disapprovingly in *Lothair* (371), with tall elaborated Tudor chimneys, built of brick with regular stone quoins, square headed windows under drop moulds and doors with four-centred arches. His use of projecting gabled centre bay and gabled roof was closer in fact to Cottingham's Derbyshire designs at Snelston than to the Vernacular of Warwickshire or the existing worker's cottages of the Woburn estate (372). Blore's Tudor revival cottages with their archaeologically correct details, however, marked a change from the previous Picturesque buildings of Wyatville and Repton, and, possibly lacking inspiration from Cottingham's work at Snelston, was a forerunner of the later domestic revival work of Pugin, Butterfield and Street.

In Cottingham's works of extension, the major rebuilding of Brougham, the new wing at Elvaston, designs for Matfen, Coombe and Adare, are to be found qualities that made his work so influential to the advance of an archaeologically correct Gothic Revival. His work marked a move away from the Picturesque use of Gothic to a revival based on 'utility and convenience', and a thorough understanding and appreciation of the principles, construction and ornament of each period of the Mediaeval from the early Norman onwards, an aspect of his work that set him apart from the committed Gothicicsts of the mid nineteenth century. Cottingham took the Mediaeval as a source, not only the great Norman castles such as Naworth or the fine fifteenth century mansion of Crosby Hall, but also the simple Vernacular buildings of the counties

in which he worked to create a harmonious and fitting architecture, transformed to the needs of the nineteenth century.

The final three extant buildings, two of which were previously unknown and unattributed again give evidence of Cottingham's use of the Mediaeval and his consideration of the vernacular, this time in his home county of Suffolk.

2.8 Savings Bank, Bury St Edmund's, Tuddenham School and Great Chesterford School, 1846-47

At the time of his restoration of the Norman Tower and St Mary's, Bury St Edmund's, Cottingham was commissioned by the Savings Bank Committee to design a new bank on the site of the demolished houses which had endangered the stability of the Norman Tower (373). The Bank, incorporating a caretaker's house, was to form the end of a terrace with frontage onto Crown Street and overloooking St James' Churchyard at the rear, situated twenty feet to the south side of the Norman Tower. In May 1844, the Vestry Book of the Parish of St James noted the removal 'of Mr Lenny's house and the clearing away of twenty feet of Mr Deek's house', and voted the 'site being applied to a Savings Bank' (374). A Savings Bank Committee was formed and in the minutes of their meeting on 18th June 1844 it was resolved 'to examine minutely Mr Cottingham's plans'. Further meetings in 1845 considered alterations to the plans and the tenders for the work received from Thomas Farrow for £879, Robert Smith of Dickleborough for £901, although he proposed to reduce the bill by £140 if the red brick copings, finials and stone quoins were omitted, and George Trumpton for £890. By September of 1846 the Committee accepted Mr Farrow's estimate and expressed satisfaction with 'Mr Cottingham's explanation of the Designs' which would not increase the expenses and unanimously adopted them, offering Mr Cottingham their 'thanks for the care he had taken to perfect the Design of the Savings Bank' (375).

Cottingham's bank is built of local red brick inset with soft black diapering in a variety of patterns and stone dressings forming a subtle link with the mid eighteenth century brick town houses further along Crown Street and the ancient stone of its neighbour, the Norman Tower. The difficulties of the site which required a building that took into account an adjoining existing Georgian terrace, a deep drainage

channel between the Norman Tower and the site, and the close proximity of its overpowering neighbour, enabled Cottingham to base the form of his mediaeval revival building genuinely on 'utility and convenience' and irregularity arising from necessity. The design is asymmetric and freely functional Tudor Gothic in form, but on the street frontage Cottingham echoed the roof slope and symmetry of fenestration of its Georgian neighbours. The corner section has a striking oriel window of three mullioned and transomed Gothic pointed arch lights, and above, a steep pointed gable with finely detailed cut and rubbed brick copings and finials. The main entrance is to the side facing the Tower, with a four centred arch stone canopy supported on moulded columns, its pointed gable echoing that of the entrance porch to the Norman Tower, and a Gothic panelled oak door with wrought iron hinges and studding. The fenestration to the side is asymmetrically arranged with a variety of single, double, and triple stone mullioned, transomed pointed lights with lattice panes, under square heads with random ashlar architrave surrounds, and one massive rectangular window of seven arched lights. The side elevation has two steep gables with brick coping and boldly articulated chimney stack with diapering and the date AD 1846, steeply pitched roofs, fish scale tiling and groups of tall Tudor brick patterned chimneys. The rear of the building has the entrance to the Cottage, two steep gables, an oriel window of rectangular plan with three lights and a frieze carved with blind quatrefoils, and continuous hood moulds above a rectangular five light mullioned, transomed square leaded window, random stone quoins, and a tall staircase turret, the whole inset with diapers (Figs.438-445).

Further Committee meetings of April 1847 noted requests for estimates for completing the Bank, for supplying and fitting iron doors, making all parts exposed to the next property fireproof and obtaining a perpendicular boundary between the property of the Bank and that of a Mr Law, in a straight line from the passage of the Bank to the Churchyard, creating a kitchen under the waiting room and a footway to the entrance into the Bank (376). By January of 1848 N.J.Cottingham was rendering his final accounts for the work to the interior, the fireproofing, iron strongroom doors, and all furniture such as oak benches for the waiting room, Committee chairs and a President's

chair, a large table with drawers for the Bank and stools for clerks as well as chimney pieces, hearths, encaustic tiles, grates, fire irons and fenders, kitchen range and dresser, door handles, coathooks, stoves, shoe scrapers, wall paper, umbrella stands and coal scoops. All these items were listed with individual prices, the total amounting to £304.12s.8d (377).

The interior of the Bank has been altered to accommodate modern office arrangements, fireplaces and the original staircase having been removed, but in the caretaker's cottage the original features remain, such as its groined entrance lobby of carved and painted oak, the two light inner pointed arch door with linenfold panels and a cast iron fireplace with Tudor rose ornament, traceried columns and a leafy branch support to the shelf (Figs.446-448). Interest in Tudor and Elizabethan precedent at this date had been stimulated by the choice of Elizabethan or Gothic for the Houses of Parliament Competition, and by the publication of various works during the 1830s and 1840s such as Thomas Hunt's *Tudor Architecture* of 1830, C.J.Richardson's *Architectural Remains of the Regins of Elizabeth and James I* of 1840, and particularly Joseph Nash's *The Mansions of England in Olden Times* 1839-49, with lithographs of Elizabethan country houses. James Pain's Long Gallery at Adare for instance was directly inspired by Nash's book, a copy of which, well worn and anotated appeared in the Catalogue of Sale of 1982 (378). Cottingham however had been one of the first to suggest a study of our ancient architecture as a source of style as early as 1822, and he had long been interested in sixteenth century domestic architecture. His Museum contained many examples of fifteenth and sixteenth century architecture and design, and he brought his knowledge of ancient precedent in structure and design to his Tudor revival Savings Bank (379).

Other architects had designed Gothic revival buildings with Tudor elements, such as Philip Hardwick the elder (1790-1870) whose Grammar school at Stockport in Cheshire of 1831 was in sixteenth century style, built of brick with stone dressings, the school room with open timber roof and double height mullioned bay window. With his son P.C.Hardwick he designed buildings for Lincoln's Inn in 1839 in red brick with diapering stone dressings, square towers and ogival pinnacled turrets. However, as Hermione Hobhouse pointd out in *Seven*

Victorian Architects Hardwick's Gothic was never more than skin deep, for his buildings have no concession to Gothic planning such as Cottingham introduced into his Savings Bank, with their strictly symmetrical plans and exterior Tudor elements (380). Hardwick and Cottingham were exact contemporaries, Hardwick taking up his post as Surveyor to the Goldsmiths' Company in 1829 at a time when Cottingham was Surveyor to the Cooks' Company. Hardwick too shared antiquarian interests and it is possible that the two knew each other well, resulting in mutual influence. Other architects during the 1840s used the Tudor Revival, including Scott and Moffat who designed many workhouses such as Great Dunmow in Essex built in 1840 of red brick with yellow brick dressings in a Jacobean style (381).

Cottingham's Bank is of high quality and rich in decoration arising from the construction, the asymmetry of the structure suggesting that the building has developed according to needs, adapting to the difficulties of a site in a functional way with no sense of an imposed Gothic style upon a classical plan. On examination it becomes clear that Cottingham looked at sixteenth century domestic architecture of Suffolk as a suitable style, harmonising in materials and style with its surroundings. The Tudor builders, in the great expansion of building that took place, as Cottingham explained, at the beginning of the seventeenth century used brick widely, establishing it as a successor to timber framed buildings in areas where stone was not readily available (382). Bricks had been used in conjunction with the traditional East Anglian material flint from the thirteenth century as at Little Wenham Hall in Suffolk of 1275, where flint, solidified mud, and bricks of all colours reflecting the local clays were used (383). By the fifteenth to sixteenth centuries bricks, burnt more deeply in the kiln to produce a deep purple or black, were employed to form geometric patterns contrasting with the red bricks and the stone dressings, and brick was carved and moulded to form elaborate architectural detail such as richly ornamented cl..ustered chimney stacks (384). Suffolk has some remaining examples that C .ottingham knew well such as the family home of his antiquary friend John Gage, Hengrave Hall of 1538 (385), Helmingham Hall of 1500 with diapering and tall brick chimneys, the Cliftons at Clare (386), again with a rich variety of intricately patterned brick chimneys, Westow and Melford Halls, and a quite unmistakeable

source for Cottingham's Savings Bank, Layer Marney in Essex, built about 1520-1530. The great seventy foot eight storey gatehouse which still stands was completed but building stopped in 1530 before the proposed main courtyard could be finished (387). In Cottingham's day, although partly demolished, some of the buildings of the courtyard still remained (Fig.449). Cottingham had panelling from Layer Marney in his collection, and he had made casts of various architectural details (388). J.H.Parker's illustration of Layer Marney in his *Some Account of Domestic Architecture in England* of 1851, shows how closely Cottingham's Savings Bank relates to his early sixteenth century East Anglian domestic architecture with the all over diapering, the detail on the Layer Marney chimneys protruding from the wall echoed in the Savings Bank design, continuous hood moulds, the variety and form of the square headed windows, and the asymmetry of the structure (389). Bury St Edmund's has few surviving examples of its sixteenth century brick dwellings and in his Savings Bank, Cottingham chose to revive the style for an imposing town property, drawing for his source upon East Anglia's mediaeval past. Pevsner dismissed the Savings Bank as a 'rather unfortunate effort in the Victorian Tudor Gothic, irregualr, diapered, red, turreted', and again omitted the name of the architect (390). A more reasoned appraisal would cite Cottingham's Savings Bank as an example of English Gothic revival ar.;hitecture, based upon principles of truth to materials and fitness for purpose, a forerunner, like the Sneslton village estate and Earl Craven's cottages, of the English domestic revival architecture later in the century that looked, not to English or European eccelsiastical Gothic for its inspiration, but to the English Mediaeval tradition as a source of style.

Tuddenham School, Suffolk 1846

In a letter to William Brougham of June 1846, Cottingham described a preparation for the treatment of wood that he had used very successfully at a number of works including 'the endowed school at Tuddenham' (391). Research has revealed that in 1725 in the will of J.Cockerton Esq, a Charitable Trust was set up to buy land to build a Free School for children of the poor, with a salary for the Schoolmaster and money for its upkeep (392). The resulting school at Tuddenham had fallen into a sad state of disrepair by 1795 and in 1855 *Whites Suffolk*

Directory stated that 'the house and school' were rebuilt in 1846, but made no mention of the architect. However, the receipts and payments account book of the Trustees of Cockerton's Charity records the following payment in 1846,

'Mr Cottingham, Architect, for Plans, Drawings and Superintendence upon the erection of Tuddenham School £30' (393).

The Trustees' records contain no plans, drawings or correspondence relating to the work, but Cottingham's village school, now used as a private house, has remained largely unspoilt and unaltered.

J.Cockerton, at the early date of 1725, was an enlightened benefactor, for generally it was not until after 1775 that a new sympathy for the poor became widespread, as a historian of the English poor in the eighteenth century noted, 'by the end of the century a complete revolution had taken place in men's thoughts with regard to the poor (394). The Society of Friends had foreshadowed this new attitude with their concern for education, the oldest Quaker foundation being a warehouse school in Clerkenwell in 1702 (395), but in general, before the establishment of education for all children by the Elementary Education Act of 1870, there was no system of education with secondary education available only to the more fortunate and higher education to the privileged few. Illiteracy was widespread in the first half of the nineteenth century, though the Church of England played an important part with parish schools, often built from donations from the local squire or private individuals with charitable intent like J.Cockerton of Suffolk, and the voluntary societies such as the National Society representing Anglican interest and the British and Foreign School Society helped in the expansion of primary education. Some writers such as Joseph Lancaster in the early nineteenth century were conscious of the importance of the school building and its internal plan. In his *Improvements in Education* of 1805 he advocated a new arrangement of desks facing the master, allowing 7 feet per child, aisles 5 feet wide, no ceilings for lessening of noise, white limewashed walls, and novel heating arrangements of flues at floor level instead of open fires, and adequate sanitary accommodation, ideas adopted by the National Society for the new elementary schools like the Daventry school of 1826, of rather gaunt and barn-like appearance (396). In parish schools however, the school would be small, of simple plan with one

large schoolroom, cloakroom and porch, and usually relied on one teacher who would live in part of the building (397). In the 1820s and 1830s most of the schools were classical in style but Gothic, often a secular Tudor Gothic gradually made an appearance, a reflection of its use for scholastic building during the great educational expansion of Tudor and Stuart times, and was used usually for schools with any claim to architectural pretensions, for example, John Shaw's Christ's Hospital, Newgate Street of 1820-32, Edward Blore's Harpur St. School in Bedford of 1829, and King Edward's School in Birmingham by Charles Barry and A.W.N.Pugin of 1838 (398). The secular Tudor style for school grew in popularity during the 1830s, but by the 1840s ecclesiastical Gothic became widespread due to the influence of the Oxford Movement and the Ecclesiologists with school building viewed as second only in importance to church building. In 1847 the *Ecclesiologist* advocated certain architectural requirements such as a separate roof for the schoolroom and the master's house, with the classrooms set at right angles and a lean-to cloakroom. Boys and Girls were to be separated wherever possible and the school should be 'real' in every way, the internal fittings, the desks, paper for the walls should be good and 'real' without archaism.

> 'A school with its gable crosses, its crested ridge, its Middlepointed windows, simple and beautiful, its well carved fittings, its holy pictures, its roses or Virginia creepers, need not cost more than the erections of the day, and would seem tc place education on a Christian footing' (399).

Before 1840, only the major public school foundations had the services of an architect but now a plea for professionally designed village schools was made in Henry Kendall's *Designs for Schools and School Houses* of 1847 (400). In the preface he wrote that 'styles of the Middle Ages...are best suited for school houses for the buildings themselves, like pious institutions of olden times, partake of a semi-ecclesiastical character'. He did not consider purity of style an essential and his designs combined all styles of Gothic and mixed Tudor with 'the fantastic medley manner of building in the time of James I'. Kendall's School for Poor Boys of 1842, built at Bury St Edmund's close to Cottingham's Savings Bank is of red brick, diapered with knapped flint, copings with corbelled pinnacles, buttresses and battlements in white Suffolk brick, and mullioned and transomed traceried windows of

fir, grained and varnished (Figs.450-452). The Poor Girls School of 1846 is 'Elizabethan in character', with a belfry, buttresses and scrolled pediment executed in Atkinson's cement and window frames in imitation oak. Kendall's third school in Bury, the Commercial School is also heavily ecclesiastical and eclectic with steep roof, pointed gables and tall narrow Early English lancet windows (401).

By complete contrast Cottingham's school at Tuddenham, like Pugin's Roman Catholic Spetchley School in Worcestershire of 1841, relied on the use of local materials for 'reality', with minimal Gothic detail, relating closely to the vernacular architecture where Perpendicular Gothic elements had lingered through the sixteenth and into the early seventeenth centuries, a fine Suffolk example being Sir John Leman's School at Beccles of 1631 with mullioned lights, a Tudor arch doorway under square hood moulds and dormer windows in the pantiled roof. The plan of Cottingham's school is very similar to Pugin's Spetchley, a single storey centre section with entrance porch and steep pantiled roofs, a high hammer beam schoolroom at one end, and at the other end, set at right angles, the schoolmaster's two storeyed dwelling attached to the school (Figs.453-456). Cottingham used the local materials to create a simple unpretentious English architecture based on mediaeval precedent, following principles of fitness for purpose and undisguised construction. He used Suffolk knapped flint ranging in colour from dark to pale grey for the walls, contrasting with the functionally necessary smooth cut ashlar architraves of the square headed mullioned windows and doorways, and moulded gable copings and finials, and used local red brick for the quoins, bases, chimney stacks and a decorative stepped edging between the stone copings and the flint walls. Flint as a building material in East Anglia, dated from the Early Iron Age, used by the Romans at Burgh Castle in Suffolk in the third century and extensively used by the Saxons and Normans in church building. Its use continued throughout the Middle Ages in increasing sophistication and in combination with ashlar and brick for important buildings such as St Osyth's Priory and Butley Priory at Bury, and later in the mediaeval period when brick became more fashionable, flint was used for farms and cottages (402). Cottingham showed his deep understanding of how these materials were used and for what purpose,

in his use of brick, ashlar and diapering for his Savings Bank, and his introduction of flint to the simple country structure, his village school. Gothic detailing in the Tuddenham school is kept to a minimum as at Snelston estate village, with no buttresses or traceried windows, and the four centred arch used simply for doors, entrance porch arches and the centre light of the large schoolroom windows. The separate functions of the building are clearly expressed on the outside, each section with its own roof, and the massive chimney stacks with their diamond chimney pots project boldly from the walls. The gabled schoolroom with hammer beam roof has three windows to its front elevation, mullioned and transomed two light rectangular windows on either side of a large three light centre window, with flattened arch architrave, and above, a small square headed garret window. The school is of substantial size, larger than the average nineteenth century parish school, with two schoolrooms, each with its own heating stove and chimney stack, separate entrances, and lean-to cloakroom with entry from the playground and the single storey schoolroom. The *Ecclesiologist's* school plan instructions of 1847 could have been modelled on Tuddenham School, although of course they advocated the ecclesiastical style of the Middle Pointed period. The schoolmaster's house is gabled, two storeys high and one room deep on the vernacular baffle entry plan, with two reception rooms, one with a large side bay window, a gabled entrance porch with Gothic arch oak door with cast iron hinges, two light windows, stone copings and finials, and a lean-to kitchen and woodshed with the third bedroom and gabled dormer above. Access to the schoolrooms was through an inner lobby and doorway leading from the rear entrance of the schoolmster's house to the single storey central classroom. The irregular fenestration of the house reveals the two bay plan. The bedroom above the sitting room has a two light window to the front and a three light window to the side elevation, with a small garret window above. The staircase is lit by a small single light, the living room with two double light windows, and above a three light window, all with stone mullions and transoms. The building reflects Cottingham's concern for quality of construction and detailing and his understanding of Gothic utility of plan and function, with no forced symmetry of plan or design (Figs.457-465). The general scheme of Cottingham's school in fact echoed the mediaeval H shaped

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Hall house with the single storey centre hall with a massive chimney stack to the rear and two cross wings, ideally suited to the needs of a school with master's house attached (403). An example that Cottingham knew well was the fourteenth century Little Chesterford Farm close by in Essex and close to Great Chesterford where he was involved in church restoration and school building at this date. A surviving sketchbook gives evidence of his study of buildings at Little Chesterford, the church and drawings of architectural details taken from other structures (See Figs.479 & 480) (404).

The principles of the Ecclesiologists and such publications as Kendall's ecclesiastical designs of 1847 widely influenced parish school designs. Butterfield's plans for a model village school of 1852 reflect these ideas, and G.E.Street used local materials and Gothic detailing in his small school at Inkpen in Berkshire of 1850, Butterfield and Street in their simple village schools of the 1850s, clearly showing evidence of an influence, hitherto attributed solely to Pugin, but stemming from Cottingham's earlier examples of an architecture based on the vernacular. The Committee of Council on Education also advised ecclesiastical designs and such schools as Husbands Bosworth of 1858 on an H plan exactly like Cottingham's Tuddenham, with Gothic traceried windows and Enderby School of 1860, again with Decorated Gothic tracery and steep gables, reflected these ideas (405).

The interior of Cottingham's Tuddenham School has suffered minor alterations in its transition from school to private house in 1969. A mezzanine floor with bedroom and bathroom was inserted in the large schoolroom and the open timbered roof boarded over. Some of the stone mullions have been replaced with modern wooden frames, and cast iron stoves and encaustic flooring have given way to central heating and wall to wall carpeting. However, apart from an injudicious use of brilliant white paint over the stone arched entranace porches, the exterior of the building is in original condition, a fine hitherto unknown example of his work. So suited is it to its English village setting, conforming to local practice in its plan and use of Suffolk traditional building materials, that it came as a surprise to the present owner to learn that it was the work of a nineteenth century architect and not that of a local mason builder of the sixteenth century.

Great Chesterford School 1846

Also in 1846 Cottingham gained the commission to build another school close by in Essex at the village of Great Chesterford (406). Cottingham had restored the parish church of Great Chesterford in 1841 under the patronage of the Reverend Lord Charles Aurelius Hervey, Vicar of Great Chesterford from 1839, and fifth son of the First Marquis, the Earl of Bristol (407). Lord Charles' brother, the fourth son, the Lord Arthur Hervey, later Bishop of Bath and Wells, was the patron of much of Cottingham's Church restoration work in Suffolk (408), and both, in their interest in architecture taking after their grandfather, the eccentric Earl of Bristol and Bishop of Derry who instigated grandiose building schemes at Ickworth and in Northern Ireland (409). Cottingham also had close family connections in the area. His maternal grandmother lived in Geat Chesterford until her death in 1813 aged 88 (410), and his brother Robert Martin Johnson Cottingham, a farmer and church warden, lived there for sixty years (411).

Lord Charles Hervey initiated a number of building schemes but as the second youngest of six sons he could not rely on patrimony and was of very limited personal resources. Parochial finance limited his ambitions but to him goes the credit for the building of the National School. He worked at fund raising, taking a detailed interest in Cottingham's plans, and due to his efforts the school remained in the management of the Church of England (412). Unlike the Tuddenham school, funded by a Charitable Trust, the Great Chesterford School received a government grant towards its building through the Committee of Council on Education. In answer to the pressing need for elementary schools the Government instigated grants for education in 1833 and the Committee ruled that all grant aided schools should be inspected, building plans approved and the school promoters who had to raise at least half the cost of the school by subscription, had to apply direct to the Committee, leaving the National and British School Societies to make their own building grants (413).

None of Cottingham's plans or drawings have come to light but reference is made to payments from the school building fund for plans dated January to February 1845, and specifications from Cottingham of 1847. The site for the school, in the middle of the village, was conveyed by the Marquess of Bristol in 1845, and the draft application to the

Committee of Council on Education, dated October 1846, included a full description of the proposed building materials, referring to a complete set of plans (414). Cottingham chose a more noticeably ecclesiastical Gothic style than Tuddenham for the Geater Chesterford project, no doubt because it was a church school and the plans and designs had to be approved by the Committee. Once again Cottingham has used the traditional materials of the Suffolk, Essex border, with flint walling stone mullioned windows, architraves and quoins, white Suffolk brick for the base plinth of the building and for the clustered chimney stacks, and tiled roof with alternating bands of straight and semi-circular fishscale tiles. The single storey schoolroom, before its alterations and extension of 1857, had a steep gabled roof, four stone mullioned three light windows with trefoil heads in ogee pointed arches, entrance doors to the south elevation, buttressed and gabled west and east elevations with straight stone coping and Gothic finials, two double chimney stacks with diagonal pots to heat each large schoolroom, and a lean-to cloakroom with square headed window, entered from the school yard and from the schoolroom (Figs.466 & 467). The master's two storeyed home set at right angles to the school is of substantial size, two rooms deep and three bays wide with two three light ogee pointed stone mullioned windows to match the school and one single light ogee trefoil pointed window inset with a trefoil to the west elevation with three gabled dormers above having two light cinquefoil wooden framed windows, trefoil arched barge boards and Gothic finials. A lean-to projection to the north end forms a kitchen with arched entrance doorway and two light mullioned window (Figs.468-473). To the rear, th east facing elevation again has three mullioned windows and dormers above with three lean-to projections of reducing roof heights as wood-shed, wash-house and stores. A lean-to entrance lobby in the angle of the schoolroom and house mirrors the one to the front of the building giving access to the school and the master's house. Two massive chimney stacks of flint walling with stone quoins and four diamond pots in cut and moulded brick indicate fireplaces in the living rooms and bedrooms.

In 1875 the school was enlarged by the addition of a classroom 16' x 14' projecting from Cottingham's south elevation, in exact imitation of Cottingham's building with matching two light mullioned windows in

the west and east faces and a large three light fourteenth century Gothic window with trefoil and quatrefoil tracery. The plans showing the proposed alterations indicate that the two traceried windows on either side of Cottingham's buttresses to the west elevation were later additions as they are not evident on the plan showing 'present schoolroom' (415). The third light of Cottingham's two central schoolroom windows were altered to continue on the extension forming eccentric corner windows to the inner angles of the new classroom (Figs.474 & 475). The interiors have been altered over the years. In Cottingham's large schoolroom the lofty timber framed ceiling remains but the fireplaces have been removed. The schoolmaster's house, now used as school administration offices has suffered such alterations as the removal of fireplaces, one staircase and partition walls (Figs.476 & 477).

For his Great Chesterford School Cottingham looked to local precedent and local use of materials, in particular, the old village school dating from the seventeenth century, which is still extant in School Street opposite Cottingham's School. The small single storey classroom is built of knapped flint with brick dressing, the large window having a flattened Gothic arch, and the attached schoolmaster's house is of plaster and thatch (Fig.478). The decorative roof tiling of Cottingham's School of alternating square and rounded til̤s appears in the late sixteenth century vernacular architecture of the Home Counties and southern parts of East Anglia (416). Nearby Little Chesterford Manor Farm where Cottingham made sketches and could examine local domestic architecture of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries incorporates the clunch and flint of the Essex Cambridgeshire borders, still visible in parts although painted over in recent years, the muted red tiles reflecting the variations in the composition of clays of the district, a fine surviving example of mediaeval vernacular exploitation of local materials, echoed in Cottingham's School (Figs.479 & 480) (417).

Little Chesterford Manor Farm had developed from a thirteenth century two storeyed house built of flint rubble strengthened with clunch and limestone, an aisled hall added at right angles just before the end of the thirteenth century and another wing added in the late fourteenth century, completing an H shaped dwelling (418). Both Tuddenham and Great Chesterford Schools showed Cottingham's use of

the mediaeval as a source, a concern for local materials and buildings methods, at Great Chesterford the use of Gothic as a style appropriate to a school related closely to the patronage of the church, and plans and form reflecting the needs resulting in a picturesque quality arising from utility. These characteristics formed the basis of the domestic revival architecture developed by Butterfield, Webb and Street through the 1850s and 1860s, a simple unpretentious architecture derived from the English mediaeval vernacular. Cottingham's schools of 1846 were early examples of Gothic revival architect designed schools that were to become widespread by 1860, although, influenced by the Ecclesiologists and Ruskin's promotion of European Gothic, later schools were built in an increasingly elaborate and ornate ecclesiastical style, for example, the schools at Husbands Bosworth of 1858 and Enderby of 1860 with Decorated Gothic and Perpendicualr Gothic traceried windows. The *Builder,* in 1850 gave many designs for Gothic schools, noting that even the Quakers, 'of all men the most indifferent to the claims of art' were losing their distrust of mediaeval styles (419), and in 1860, Harry Chester, the Assistant Secretary to the Committe of Council for Education said that where before 1840 schools were 'low, thin, dingy, and ill-drained', now the land was 'adorned with schools, the most celebrated architects undertaking to design these buildings', establishing school-building as a recognised br anch of architecture and an important part of the Gothic Revival (420).

Through this study of Cottingham's domestic architecture, it is possible to identify two important and significant strands of his practice that were to continue with others far into the nineteenth century; firstly his work as the expert mediaevalist whose knowledge of ancient precedent in architecture, design, furniture and interior decoration led to his achievements at Snelston Hall and Brougham Hall, work in which he combined antiquarian knowledge with a concern for 'modern convenience and utility'; and secondly, his domestic architecture based on a study of the mediaeval vernacular and a conscious use of the vernacular as a source of style at an early date in the nineteenth century which resulted in his Sneslton estate village, and Tuddenham School, buildings showing a concern for local tradition and materials, a simple, unpretentious architecture suited to its purpose and its

location. Much of this work was for important patrons such as the Lord Chancellor of England whose baronial mansion for example was visited by the aristocracy, political figures, leading socialites and architects, and clearly, it was through patronage at all levels that the influence of Cottingham spread for it was Cottingham who led the change in taste from the classical of the turn of the century to the Gothic Revival of the nineteenth century.

2.9 The Architectural Profession and Patronage in the Early Nineteenth Century

Cottingham in Context

Cottingham played a very important part in the promotion of a Gothic Revival through his reputation as an expert on the Mediaeval, through his working drawings of Gothic structure, and through the influence of his restorations of Romanesque and Gothic buildings and his domestic architecture, a part that is highlighted when aspects of patronage and the intricate patterns of influence in the early nineteenth century are viewed and Cottingham's patrons are considered. A study of their social and political standing, the complex reasons for their desire to restore, extend or build, and the extent to which they relied on Cottingham as an arbiter of taste, reveals much about patronage and the development of Taste in the early decades of the nineteenth century. Cottingham's relationship with his patrons in which he appeared as an absolute authority rather than a servant or retainer in the manner of the eighteenth century and one whose integrity was beyond doubt, is indicative too of his professional standing at a time when architects in general were viewed with distrust and again underlines changing trends from the eighteenth to nineteenth centuries.

During the eighteenth century the Crown ceased to be the most important source of patronage for architects and artists and patronage was gained instead from the leaders of the political parties and from the aristocracy. The architect William Kent and his patron Lord Burlington were an example, and this was an aspect which continued into the nineteenth century for Cottingham's patron Lord Brougham was a powerful Whig with radical tendencies and Robert Smirke relied on Sir Robert Peel, the great Tory leader, almost entirely for

patronage(421). The eighteenth century saw a change too in the role of the architect, a separation between the master builder who could erect a building from the slightest sketch and the architect increasingly arrogant, who now viewed himself as an artist, above 'the vulgar and mechanical contrivances' of building, who was concerned with designing and interpreting contemporary taste, a precarious foundation, as Barrington Kaye has pointed out on which to build a profession (422). Training for architects in the eighteenth century was limited, a situation described by George Dance in 1773 (423) and depended on training in drawing, possibly a period of instruction with an eminent architect and a Grand Tour, but the majority went into architecture from the position of clerk of works, mason, carpenter, surveyor, or from painting and sculpture. This system continued until well into the nineteenth century when professional associations of architects were formed such as the London Architectural Society of 1806, and the Architect and Antiquaries Club of 1819 and the Architectural Society of 1831 (424), and attempts were made to set up proper training for architects through the Royal Academy or through examinations set by the Institute of British Architects, a campaign most forcefully run by Cottingham's friend James Savage in 1845 (425). Cottingham himself, coming from a family of master builders, was trained in the traditional way through a period of practical apprenticeship with 'a builder and architect' and then further experience under various architects before setting up in business on his own, continuing his studies of course through his own resarches 'to attain excellence in his profession' (426). During the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries patrons could rely on pattern books and folios of designs with highly skilled master craftsmen to construct the buildings, but the development of a serious Gothic Revival in the early decades of the nineteenth century hastened the separation of builder from architect, for builders now had to demand detailed, exact, scale drawings and the architects had to supply them (427). The vital importance of Cottingham's publications of 1822, the first working manuals of the Gothic style for architects, seen in this context, can now be fully appreciated and his influence upon an archaeologically correct revival recognised, for Cottingham combined the two vital attributes, scholarship and fashion, that led to the change in Taste from the

eighteenth to the nineteenth century. Cottingham therefore was in demand by patrons who were anxious to be part of this new trend and who wanted an architecture based on a correct revival of the Gothic from an architect known for his scholarship and the accuracy of his drawings, an aspect clearly expressed in remaining correspondence between Cottingham and his patrons and in the Bills of Works.

Not all architects were of Cottingham's quality and integrity and during the 1830s and 1840s the profession in general was held in very low esteem owing to standards of practice so fraudulent as to justify public mistrust. In the *Architectural Magazine* of 1834 an article described the malpractices,

> 'the disgraceful practice whereby an architect deceives his employer by making pretty and attractive drawings and reporting the expense at $\frac{1}{2}$ or $\frac{2}{3}$ of what it actually turns out to be...and their custom of exacting from the builder a commission for all works done under their direction and if refused, informing the builder his services are no longer required...' (428).

The temptation of architects to underestimate costs to attract clients led to problems for the builders who depended on the architects to estimate for their livelihood. The builder in order to check the architect's figures would employ a 'measurer', who often found it advantageous to add to the estimates to increase his own commission (429). This state of affairs explains many of the contemporary comments from patrons or committees employing architects to restore or to build, relating to the accuracy of drawings by the architect, his honesty in making genuine estimates, and his relationship with builders and other merchants. Cottingham in many instances, was forced to defend his position which he did in forthright and unequivocal terms, showing him to have been a man of high principles, of strength of character in not being overawed by the patron's high rank or social standing, and confident in the knowledge of the quality and integrity of his work. In a letter answering the universal problem of complaints from a client regarding costs, Cottingham wrote to William Brougham,

> 'I regret you should think the charge I have made more than adequate recompense for the amount of time and expense I have bestowed in making the designs as correct in point of style, character, and taste as possible. You must consider that it has not been for 'plain wall work' that I have made drawings and models - far from it - nearly all that I have done has required the knowledge of Gothic architecture which nothing but years of study and experience would enable an architect to produce'.

Here Cottingham stresssd the quality of his work, an archaeologically correct revival of the various periods of Gothic incorporated in Brougham Hall, based on years of study. Cottingham went on to point out the difference between himself, skilled in every aspect of building and designing and some of his contemporaries,

> 'I could have done as many modern architects would consider the filling of their pockets more than the credit of their work do, namely have made slight sketches and let the work take its chance in the hands of workmen thereby giving to everything done the evident date of AD 1844. Such has never been my principle. I have never, by serving my own interests neglected that of my employer, by letting anything go from my hands which was not well considered in every particular' (430).

At Hereford the building contractors wrote particularly in praise of Cottingham's accuracy. He had estimated the first phase of the work to be in the region of £17,000 allowing for contingencies, and Carline Brothers, having checked the calculations upon his specifications and estimates, were satisfied with their accuracy and agreed the contract (431).

Criticisms and accusations of 'Extravagant misapplication of funds' were made during the progress of the works at Hereford (432). One of the patrons and committee members, R.Biddulph Phillips refuted these allegations which were based on wrong information with evidence from Cottingham's estimates and completely vindicated the committee, noting that 'they adopted the recommendations of the architect instead of exercising their own opinion' (433). The lenght of time taken in the restoration was also queried and again Phillips pointed out the quality of the work, the skill, caution and vigilant attention' required to rebuild the piers and support the weight of the tower by means of Mr Cottingham's 'ingenious appliances'. This 'great and noble work', furthermore was nearing 'a glorious completion', work of which 'the nation and the age may well be proud' (434).

At Armagh the mistrust of architects and of the architectural profession in general was very evident in the intolerable treatment of Cottingham by Lord Beresford's agents, and their unsuccessful attempts to find a single discrepancy in the estimates or accounts, and again, in the stormy vestry meeting at St Mary's, Bury St Edmund's when local trades people tried to cast doubt upon the honesty of Cottingham's assessment of the works required, his estimate of the

costs involved, and his supposed favouring of certain contractors (435).
At St Mary's, Nottingham, Cottingham's prompt action saved the great
fifteenth century tower from collapse and he subsequently drew up
plans for the complete restoration of the church (436). Difficulties arose
during Cottingham's survey of the fabric of the church resulting in his
writing a stern letter to the Committee telling them that they were
clearly 'unacquainted with the manner in which the restoration of
buildings of such importance as the church of St Mary's' should be
conducted and he would correct their' 'erroneous opinions' (437). Finally,
tenders were requested and three were very close to Cottingham's
estimate of £5,000, but the Committee chose to accept a fourth, of
£2,800, a decision that raised protests from Cottingham who believed
the works could never be undertaken properly for that amount of
money. The Committee then dispensed with his services and appointed
Scott and Moffat who proceeded to use Cottingham's meticulous
drawings, for his survey could not be bettered (438).

Cottingham in all his dealings with his patrons, appeared in a position
of authority, achieving to a certain extent an independence that was
not possible in the eighteenth century when disagreement between
architect and patron on the matter of style and design seldom arose
because of the universal acceptance of Palla lian architecture, the
widespread use of textbooks, and the uncertain status of the architect
himself. Cottingham, by contrast was the acknowledged expert in the
early decades, and as the Gothic Rvival gained momentum his work
was in demand by patrons interested in the Mediaeval, and this
intricate pattern of patronage ensured that Cottingham was not
dependent for work on competitions which he found unsatisfactory, nor
on the open market conditions of the metropolis. It is often assumed
that patronage altered radically in the nineteenth century with the
nouveau riches taking over from the aristocracy as patrons (439), but
Cottingham's patrons were still drawn from the aristocracy, the landed
gentry and professional classes, politically prominent statesmen
although his patrons were not confined to one party, and from the
church, which traditionally was largely controlled by the aristocracy.

A consideration of Cottingham's patrons reveals the web of connections
through family and social ties, or shared concerns, that gained him his
commissions and which led to his widespread influence as an authority

on the mediaeval and a promoter of the Gothic Revival. Many of his patrons had similar interests, for example, as amateur architects in rebuilding or extending existing houses in mediaeval style to enhance their social status, had interest in heraldry, armour and genealogy (440). Many travelled widely to study Gothic architecture, writing descriptions in their letters, private diaries and journals (441). Keen interest was shown too in preservation of the mediaeval heritage through subscriptions to scholarly works and to funds to protect such buildings as the Norman Tower, Crosby Hall, and Sir Walter Scott's Abbotsford (442). Membership of antiquarian societies and the promotion of mediaeval arcaeology was common to most of Cottingham's patrons, and an interest in the preservation and restoration of ecclesiastical architecture through patronage.

The Patron of Cottingham's major works of restoration at Armagh from 1834, Lord John Beresford, Archbishop of Armagh, had connections that were of importance in the development of a Cottingham's career and helped to spread his influence (443). The Archbishop was the uncle of Alexander Beresford Hope, a leading members of the Ecclesiologists from 1839 (444), and his reports of Cottingham's restoration methods at Armagh and his perception that Cottingham was the most eminent restorer of his time no doubt had influence on the development of the ecclesiological crusade and its emphasis on the restoration of mediaeval art and architecture (445). A.J.Beresford Hope's mother, Louisa Hope, on the death of Thomas Hope, had married her cousin William, Viscount Beresford in 1832. He was Tory MP for Waterford from 1811-1814 and Archbishop Beresford also involved himself in politics, promoting Beresford interests in Ireland. The Beresfords remained Tory despite their opposition to the Roman Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829 and arguments with the Government over disposal of patronage in Derry (446). Cottingham's connections with leading Tory politicians such as Sir Robert Inglis and also his friendship with Sir Walter Scott may have stemmed from the Beresford Hope connection, for Louisa's journal, the Deepdene Album named them as regular visitors (447).

Cottingham's other aristocratic patrons give evidence of close connections, again suggesting possible reasons for Cottingham's employment and demonstrating his influence upon the spread of the Gothic Revival. James Walter Grimston, 1st Earl of Verulam, Viscount

Grimston and Baron Verulam of Gorhambury, was Tory MP for St Alban's in 1830 and 1831 (448), and he was the patron of Cottingham's restoration work at St Alban's Abbey in 1832. Verulam's diaries of 1819 to 1843 indicate that he was a close friend of Earl Craven for whom Cottingham undertook works of extension at Coombe Abbey in 1834, and Sir Henry Hotham, a relative of the Reverend Charles Hotham of Roos in Yorkshire where Cottingham restored the parish church (449). The Hothams were also connected with Theberton Hall and Church in Suffolk, for the Hon. Frederica Doughty, patron of Cottingham's works of extension and restoration at Theberton in 1846 was the daughter of the Hon. and Rev. Frederick Hotham and the cousin of the Rev. Charles Hotham (450). Verulam was also a keen antiquary and his diaries indicate that he visited Goodrich Court the home of Sir Samuel Meyrick, the well known antiquary and friend of Cottingham (451).

Church restoration was extensively patronised by the aristocracy, particularly when younger members of the family were churchmen. In Cottingham's home county of Suffolk, the sons of the Earl of Bristol and grandsons of the amateur architect the Bishop of Derry, were the patrons for many of Cottingham's restorations and instigated subscription funds to pay for the costly works. The Reverend Lord Arthur Hervey for example, was involved as patron of St Mary's, Bury, Market Weston Church, Horringer Church and the Norman Tower restorations (452). As a keen mediaevalist antiquary he was involved in learned societies and would have known of Cottingham's fame from the time of his publications of 1822 onwards. Lord Arthur was President of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and also was a member of the Archaeological Association of London. The Association's publication, the *Archaeological Journal,* noted a visit by a numerous party to Bury St Edmunds in 1850, welcomed by Lord Arthur and conducted to view Cottingham's 'skillful' work at the Norman Tower and St Mary's Church 'which was in a very insecure condition, and was repaired with much care by the late Mr Cottingham' (453). The Hervey family connection also ensured Cottingham work at Great Chesterford for Lord Arthur's brother, the Reverend Lord Charles Hervey, where Cottingham restored the Parish church in 1841 (454). As was often the case, ecclesiastical patronage led to other work and Cottingham gained

the commission at Bury to build the Savings Bank, and the School at Tuddenham, the commission at Great Chesterford to build the School, and at Snelston where Cottingham began work to the small Parish church and then went on to build the great mansion and the estate village.

Many of Cottingham's patrons were keen mediaeval antiquaries and knew of Cottingham's work through the preservation campaigns, and membership of antiquarian societies as well as through his publications, museum and works of restoration. The Earl of Dunraven, for example, was a member of the Oxford Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture (455), R.B.Phillips, patron of the Hereford Cathedral restoration was also a member of the Oxford Society and a FSA, a member of the Cambridge Archaeological Association, and a member of the Arundel Society of which John Ruskin and Lord Brougham were also members (456), and Sir Edward Blackett of Matfen was a FSA, a member of the British Archaeological Association and friend of Sir Robert Inglis(457) all discriminating antiquaries who employed Cottingham, in William Brougham's words as 'the most cogniscant architect of his day' (458). Lord Brougham of course was an important patron of Cottingham's, and his brother William, also an antiquary of note, relied totally on Cottingham's authority as a mediaeval expert for every detail of the work ε ŀ Brougham. Sir Robert Inglis, patron of Cotingham's restoration at Milton Bryan church was a prominent politician, a Liberal of the Conservative school of Sir Robert Peel and a major figure in antiquarian and preservationist issues. He was Vice President of the Society of Antiquaries, Professor of Antiquities at the Royal Academy, Vice President of the Historical Society of Science, and President of the Literary Club. He was also involved in such work as Peel's Commission for Improving the Metropolis which sought 'to provide increased facilities for communication within it', the Metropolitan Churches Fund, which considered the need for church accommodation in urban areas, and he was also a Commissioner of the Incorporated Church Building Society (459). As a major figure at the centre of key architectural and antiquarian developments which included the Committee for the Houses of Parliament Competition, he was in a position to assess the leading architects of the day. He chose Cottingham for the task of

rebuilding the dilapidated Parish Church of Milton Bryan in 1841, for which he was the patron (460). Clearly, Sir Robert was a man of wide interests and contacts, friend of many of Cottingham's patrons including Sir Walter Scott. Scott, a leading influence in the revival of mediaeval taste in the early decades of the nineteenth century was an important figure in antiquarian circles, having connections and sharing many mutual friends with Cottingham such as Francis Douce, Edward Blore, Lord Beresford of Armagh, A.J.Beresford Hope, Sir Robert Inglis, Lord Brougham and the Hothams, demonstrating the spread of influence through layers of patronage (461). Cottingham's patrons were drawn too from professional classes and the landed gentry, such as John Harrison of Snelston (462). Harrison was a barrister of the Inner Temple, a keen antiquary and collector of mediaeval artefacts and a colleague of Sir Edward Blackett of Matfen, who was also a member of the Inner Temple and member of the British Archaeological Association (463).

Cottingham, as architect to such influential patrons as these and as the acknowledged mediaeval expert, played a central role in influencing the development of taste. His aristocratic patrons extended their great houses to maintain standards of life befitting their station, and to be seen as leaders of fashion and taste, and the professional landed classes established their social position through the building up of estates and the introduction of charitable programmes of school building and church restoration, creating an architecture that reflected their passion for the Mediaeval and their dependence on the authority of Cottingham as the guiding genius. Cottingham it was who re-examined the Romanesque and the Gothic styles and re-introduced them to the English repertoire of styles in architecture. In 1822 he wrote that in appreciating the qualities of Gothic architecture and advocating its use and the application of its structural rules, he would incur the censure of those architects and leaders of taste who could see no merit in any style other than Classical (464). Cottingham, in his devotion to the cause of Gothic sought to give status to the Mediaeval, to elevate it to the same position as the received views of Renaissance architecture, to do for the Gothic what Vitruvius had done for the Classical, for Cottingham showed through his studies that the Gothic was planned, designed, constructed and evolved through various stages, each with its own logic

and its own beauties. These ideas, crucial to the Gothic Revival of the nineteenth century were demonstrated through the example of Cottingham's theory and practice, and a powerful influence disseminated throughout the wide network of patronage that Cottingham gained from 1825 until his death in 1847.

2.10 Contemporary and Twentieth Century Views of Cottingham

A study of Cottingham's ecclesiastical and domestic work, the testimonials written, the recommendations of his patrons, the opinions of his peers, writings in contemporary journals, have given massive evidence of Cottingham's esteem in his own time. As Dean Merewether said,

> 'The name of Mr Cottingham stands high in the estimation of those who have had the opportunity of observing his accurate restorations and splendid designs, his taste in ecclesiastical Architecture and the powerful resources of his skill as a practical engineer...',

and he printed the many testimonials to Cottingham's ability in his book on Hereford Cathedral, letters from the Earl of Verulam, the Dean of Rochester, and Archbishop Lord Beresford, referring to his 'distinguished ability, his unwearied zeal and fidelity' in carrying out works of restoration to their Cathedrals, Sir Robert Inglis and the Rev. Charles Hotham writing of his 'knowledge, skill and zeal' used in bringing their small parish churches 'to a beautiful state', and many others praising his ability and knowledge as restorer and architect and his personal qualities of energy, conscientiousness and integrity (465). The quality of his work, his fame as an expert on the mediaeval period, his skill as an innovative engineer were widely reported upon in many contemporary journals and most significantly, the *Ecclesiologist* described him unequivocally as 'the most eminent ecclesiological architect of the day...' (466). He was highly regarded in the profession for his skill and judgement, his generosity and often unacknowledged help and advice, and his concern for the buildings entrusted to his care above and beyond financial considerations (467). At times he gave his services free or undertook essential work at his own cost as at Armagh Cathedral (468). A.W.N.Pugin noted during an argument with Willement over stained glass for Alton Towers in 1842,

'I believe Willement thinks only of making money and if he has a contract he spoils the job. But Cottingham will make amends for the church will be glazed as one third the cost' (469).

Cottingham too, in church restoration was the only architect to earn the wholehearted approbation of A.W.N.Pugin for his restoration of Magdalen, 'one of the most beautiful specimens of modern design executed in wood and stone in the best manner'. Pugin knew Magdalen Chapel well, for his father A.C.Pugin had made engravings of the interior prior to Cottingham's work (470). In domestic architecture he earned the esteem of his patrons without exception, soliciting recommendations that demonstrate his high reputation, such as Willaim Brougham's plea to the Earl of Carlisle not to employ Salvin to rebuiild Naworth Castle for he was 'not sufficeintly acquainted with the early style of architecture' but to take the advice of Mr Cottingham 'who is far better than Pugin and Barry' (471). Many such examples noted during his ecclesiastical and domestic work, present evidence of Cottingham's esteem in his own day, and yet by the late nineteenth century his work was being denigrated and in the twentieth century those attitudes were carried forward without question, relegating him to the position of an obscure architect barely worthy of a mention in passing.

It is possible however, to see how easily and quickly a reputation can be brought into disrepute by ignorant and inaccurate reporting. William Hunt, for instance, in his influential volumes *Pre-Raphaelitism and the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood,* described a visit to Cottingham's Museum of Mediaeval Antiquities in 1850: he spoke of Gothic treasures in various chambers of the house,

'a magnificent fourteenth century balustraded flight of steps with pillars and groined covering, canopied tombs, statues, family effiges and brasses, stained glass of the choicest rarity...'

and then he concluded with the statement,

'ALL OF WHICH had been improved off the face of sacred edifices which the firm, Cottingham and Son had been called upon to restore...in those days this form of iconoclasm was regarded as meritorious rather than otherwise...' (472).

This quotation, described as 'unkind but accurate' was used as recently as 1980 in comments on Cottingham's work (473), however, as the study of Cottingham's Museum has shown the vast majority of items were actually carefully moulded from the originals and cast in composition or rescued from threatened buildings, indicating, not vandalism as

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Hunt suggested, but an advanced understanding of their value to posterity, and an advanced appreciation of the mediaeval at an early date in the nineteenth century. Hunt continued with reference to the supposed 'iconoclasm',

> 'the restorer had doubtless replaced everything considered necessary in what was decided to be the most correct Early English style and the loss of historic interest was then in no way accounted of...'

By implication Hunt, in this account linked Cottingham with the worst kind of restoration, known as 'unite de style', drastic, unsympathetic and destructive. Cottingham, as this study demonstrates, practised a style of restoration that was the exact opposite, expressly ordering in his specification of Hereford for example, 'a faithful restoration of the original work now in existence' (474). As the nineteenth century progressed the restoration work of the Gothic Revival and in particular the restoration inspired by the dogmatic views of the Ecclesiologists was increasingly attacked. Holman Hunt, with William Morris, was a founder member of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings set up in 1877 in protest at drastic restoration. As far as the Society's archive reveals, Cottingham's major restorations were never discussed or analysed, but his work was included in the general condemnation (475), for by 1900 Benham, in writing of the Rochester Cathedral restoration said 'Cottingham's work was highly esteemed in its day but is no longer', an attitude towards Cottingham which has persisted until the present day (476). The entry for Cottingham for example in the *Dictionary of National Biography* is culled directly from the obituary in the *Art Union* of 1847 with the added comment, 'his enthusiasm for the Gothic Revival frequently overcame his discretion in handling the buildings entrusted to his care'. Cristicism of Cottingham's work at Rochester, even called 'mischievous meddling' (477) and 'stylistic barbarism' (478) included the lack of a spire, great praise being given to Hodgson-Fowler's replacement of the tower and spire in 1904, his reconstruction of Bishop Sheppey's canopy from the broken fragments, and his replacement of the missing parts of sculpture in the Chapter House doorway (479). His Rochester work has also been confused with that of Vulliamy who continued restoration in 1845, work that drew disapproving comment in the *Ecclesiologist* (480).

In twentieth century writings on Hereford Cathedral, destructive unite de style restoration is implied in the description of Cottingham's removal of the masses of masonry shoring up the crumbling piers, repairs that had in fact caused greater damage, as 'the demolishing of all post-Norman additions' (481), and the work is wrongly attributed to N.J.Cottingham, who, it is alleged, 'rebuilt rather than restored and allowed his workmen to rework ancient sculptures' (482). David Cole, apologist for G.G.Scott wrote that, 'Scott may be blamed unwittingly for earlier and less scholarly work such as Cottingham at Hereford' (483), and the restoration of Hereford was also dismissed in ill-considered criticism by Jane Fawcett in *Future of the Past* of 1976. She wrote,

> 'The Dean and Chapter had previously consulted William Burges as to Cottingham's fitness for the job. It is a tragedy that he and not Burges was employed'.

She went on to describe Burges' profound sensitivity towards mediaeval architecture and his understanding that a church should not be used as a vehicle for self-expression (484). There is no argument with this assessment of Burges' quality but he was born in 1827, thus in 1840, when Dean Merewether was enquiring into Cottingham's fitness for the task of restoring Hereford Burges was only 13 years old. William Burge of the Societies of the Inner and Middle Temple, who wrote in appreciation of Cottingham's work, has possibly been mistaken for William Burges, the architect, an error that is perhaps indicative of the scant attention or justice that has been afforded to Cottingham's work in the twentieth century. Pevsner did allow Cottingham credit for 'considerable feeling for Gothic at Hereford' (486), and a 'very creditable stone screen at Magdalen Chapel' (486), and a 'competent and disciplined restoration of Kilpeck Church' (487), but in writing of Cottingham's Romanesque St Helen's, Thorney, he used the inexplicable and inappropriate term 'ham-fisted' to describe work that was based on a wide knowledge of Norman architecture, its principles applied with accomplishment and restraint (488).

Some twentieth century historians have afforded a more considered and knowledgeable assessment of Cottingham's contribution to church restoration in the early nineteenth century. Sir John Summerson mentioned him as 'one of the first careful rstorers' (489), and Clive Wainwright expressed the view that he was 'one of the most sensitive of the period...'(490). T.S.R.Boase in writing of Magdalen College Chapel in

1955 identified Cottingham as one of the chief Gothic practitioners in the country, his work characterised by 'extreme thoroughness and a far more scholarly approach' than had been evident previously in the Colleges Gothic undertakings. He quoted James Ingram who wrote of the Chapel in 1837 that it 'was gratifying to behold such accuracy and beauty of execution', and Boase continued that Cottingham, in his writings and restorations set a new standard of archaeological taste and knowledge (491). However, in 1983, Howard Colvin in *Unbuilt Oxford* described Cottingham's Magdalen as 'conscientious correctitude unalleviated by the slightest flight of fancy' and went on to praise A.W Pugin's 'combination of scholarship and fantasy' (492). In fact, James Ingram had noted that 'though there may be as usual something to condemn there is much more to admire, whatever opinion may be entertained of the designs and fancies of the architect...' (493). Our views of 'correctitude' may have changed over the years but the general point which has been overlooked is that Cottingham, and Pugin who was influenced by the theory and practice of Cottingham's restoration work, both believed that personal preferences and flights of fancy should be effaced in order to carry out a faithful and correct restoration of the style of architecture involved. The idea o' imitation and strict historicism had been passionately advocated in the early years of the nineteenth century by Carter, Gough, Milner, Britton, and Savage, and at the same time 'slavish copying' was seen as a denial of creative genius (494). Pugin's criticism of Wyatt's work at Lichfield and Hereford, in terms worthy of Carter, and his own work of restoration, for example at Peper Harrow in 1844, clearly demonstrate that he too subscribed to these views (495). His designs for Balliol to which Colvin referred included the restoration of the old hall and library, a new chapel in the style of the fourteenth century, new kitchens and interior design work that allowed creative expression in an interpretation of the Gothic spirit (496).

With relation to Cottingham's domestic architecture and design, Simon Jervis, when writing of furniture in 1984, stated that whilst antiquarian knowledge led to a more archaeological approach to Gothic design, 'only A.W.Pugin moved beyond simple copyism to forms convincingly Gothic, not only in ornament but also in structure'. He continued, 'it is clear that Cottingham never made this creative leap'

(497). Yet Cottingham stressed in his writings, just as Pugin was to do later, the need for architectural draughtsmen to,

> 'accurately ascertain the modes of construction used by the ancient masons. It will stamp a value on their work and be a sure stepping stone towards a correct revival of the art of the Middle Ages' (498).

In a letter to William Brougham of 1844 Cottingham clearly expressed his understanding that Gothic was not merely a style of applied decoration, but a matter of structure when he wrote,

> 'I thought you would like the table. I consider it one of the lucky hits that happen occasionally, but only where the taste of those who have the designs prepared for them is sufficiently imbued with Gothic to advise it in its simplest form can an architect dare to make things so true to old character' (449).

A similar concern for simple form was shown by A.W.Pugin in a letter to his cabinet maker Grace of 1850, 'I am anxious about this plain furniture', he wrote, 'to introduce a sensible style of furniture of good oak, constructively put together that will complete with the vile trash made and sold' (500).

Cottingham again showed that he had moved beyond simple copyism in his instructions to the stone carvers working at Brougham, giving definite instructions that anticipate Pugin and Ruskin,

> 'The plain stonework on the return of the windows may come as it will. Regularity must not be studied. I left a small portion plain stone because it forms a relief and gives an air of massiveness which all Norman work possesses. The ornament is all birds - tell your carver not to study to make them all exactly alike nor too true to nature...' (501).

Cottingham, as this study of his hitherto unidentified works of domestic architecture, such as Snelston village, Coombe, the village schools and his Norman church, has shown, strove to create forms that were convincingly Gothic in their underlying structure, relying little on surface ornament in their interpretation of the spirit and intentions of the mediaeval builders.

Amongst Cottingham's pupils were E.B.Lamb and Calvert Vaux. A further source of confused criticism of Cottingham's work in relation to his influence upon his pupils appears in theses which have been written about the work of Lamb and Vaux. Vaux went to America after his training with Cottingham to become a partner of A.J.Downing and F.L.Olmsted and was joint designer of New York's Central Park and other parks throughout America (502). Henry Hope Reed described Vaux as a British-trained architect 'who had so great an influence in

America' (503). His work 'represented a significant turn in American architectural history' and, his volume *Villas and Cottages*, first published in 1857 'remained a basic document of nineteenth century American architecture' (504). Yet in a thesis on Vaux by D.Matzdorf, Cottingham's influence upon his pupil is summarily dismissed (505). Until Pugin, Gothic Revival Architecture had been of the 'filigreed decorative kind typified by the pattern books of Batty Langley...' Matzdorf continued that 'Vaux 'brought the academic tradition of European architecture and its current Gothicist ideologies and succeeded in making it American'. He mentioned Cottingham's publications of 1822 in passing but failed to relate their importance to the pupil and stated that as a master Cottingham, though technically meticulous,

'was not an architectural thinker of any magnitude',
thus,
'he could supply an apprentice with the scholarly tools of his art without the crushing out of the apprentice's own original spark, which would be the danger with a more opinioned master...' (506).

Matzdorf echoed worn truisms on Cottingham's work without considering the import of what was actually the result. Vaux was soundly trained in every aspect by Cottingham and encouraged to apply those principles to new demands for the present time, an advanced notion at the time of Vaux's training.

In a thesis on E.B.Lamb, M.A.Winduss perpetuates inaccuracies to an even greater degree (507). He describes Cottingham's Snelston as a 'thin paper-like construction crowded with detail', and 'his restorations qualified him to receive Wyatt's title of Destroyer'. He makes the following assertion,

'To judge from his work Cottingham's restorations show that the historical accuracy of the motifs does not seem to be of paramount importance...
He tried to catch the spirit of the mediaeval work and from it invent something which was the product of his own imagination...'
Further he writes,
'Cottingham's creative powers had a good deal of influence on other aspects of Lamb's work, but unlike Cottingham, Lamb saw the need to suppress his own instincts when restoring ancient buildings...'

Clearly Winduss used the same sources as Fawcett for he echoes the inaccuracies with regard to Rochester, 'he demolished the original tower and spire' and at Hereford,

'he substituted three broad lancets for the original Perpendicular window at the east end, rebuilt rather than restored and allowed workmen to rework ancient sculptures...' (508).

Due to these second hand misconceptions about Cottingham's restoration work and evidently little study of the documentary evidence itself, Winduss fails to make a link between Lamb's high quality restoration work and the influence and example of his master, Cottingham.

A recent doctoral thesis on E.B.Lamb gives evidence of a more knoweldgeable and reasoned assessment of Cottingham's work and his influence upon his pupil (509). E.N.Kaufman in this thesis, assesses the value of Cottingham's training, practical archaeology through his collection of mediaeval artefacts, techniques of restoration, and Cottingham's attitude to architectural style and antiquarianism evidenced in his publications, resulting in Lamb's qualities as a sensitive restorer and a Gothic Revivalist architect of originality and independence of thought (510). Importantly, Kaufman noted that Lamb had a strong respect for vernacular building techniques and styles using,

'sharply articulated volumes high roofs, freely disposed windows and boldly massed chimneys, in a refined and vernacular Tudor style derived from ancient domestic building...' (511).

Kaufman, due to the fact that Cottingham's domestic architecture based on the vernacular was unknown before this study, wrote that this area of Lamb's work was derived from A.W.Pugin. Clearly Lamb's ideas and his use of the vernacular as a source of style, stemmed not simply from Pugin as Kaufman suggsts, but primarily from his master, Cottingham. Here, once again, lack of knowledge of the full extent of Cottingham's work has resulted in an obscuring of Cottingham's important role in the development of nineteenth century architectural theory and practice and the misattribution of his influential ideas. It is not within the the scope of this thesis to consider in detail the work of Cottingham's pupils such as E.B.Lamb, George Truefitt and Calvert Vaux and his influence upon them, but this influence can now be recognised in Lamb's work and shows in Vaux's theories, designs, methods of working as described in his *Villas and Cottages* of 1857, which reflect Cottingham's concern for fitness of purpose, interest in landscape, belief in good craftsmanship, integrity in dealing with patrons, strict supervision of workmen, a use of the vernacular as a

source of style, and an ability to transform the spirit of the Mediaeval to suit new conditions.

Clearly the obvious confusion which has appeared throughout twentieth century assessments of Cottingham's work, and the lack of knowledgeable appraisal may be one reason for Cottingham's neglect and relegation to a role barely worthy of a footnote. A contributory factor no doubt is that much of Cottingham's work has been destroyed or has remained unknown and unacknowledged and another may be that Cottingham never won a major competition for a public building. He was second to Roberts for the Fishmongers' Hall and obviously felt so strongly about the dubious practices surrounding the Houses of Parliament Competition that he went to the length of petitioning Parliament. To a man of his unquestionable integrity and high principles it is possible to understand his refusal to enter any further competitions. His patrons were from all parties, and not, as in the case of Smirke and Sir Robert Peel, powerful enough to obtain for him commissions for major public works (512). It is also possible that an almost total lack of readily accessible documentation relating to Cottingham's architectural business may be a strong contributory factor to his neglect. There are no holdings of archive material in his name, no personal papers, letters, daybooks, rf diaries remaining, or surely Cottingham would have been awarded some attention before now. It seems likely that when his son N.J emigrated to America in 1854 and was lost at sea in the wreck of the 'Arctic', the family business records were lost as well. *N.J and Calvert Vaux served their apprenticeship with Cottingham at the same time and it is possible that N.J was on his way to work with Vaux in America when the tragedy ocurred* (513). The importance of Cottingham's advanced ideas, theories and influence as a major architectural figure of the early nineteenth century, has thus been overshadowed and lost. He was not a self-publicist with the literary power of a Pugin, Ruskin or Morris, although through many aspects of his work he exerted an influence upon nineteenth century thinking. Finally, it will be apparent that the major part of his work lay in important tasks of restoration, work that consumed his time and energies in a comparatively short working life, an aspect too of nineteenth century architectural practice which has been the subject of great argument, conflicting views, contradictory

opinions, emotive rhetoric, inaccurate preconceptions, and very little true analysis or appraisal.

Conclusion

The purpose of this thesis was to examine the work of L.N.Cottingham and establish his place in the Gothic Revival. To cover the oeuvre of one man in a thesis is a major undertaking and because Cottingham's work has never been properly examined or given reasoned assessment it has been necessary to study every known area, to search for unattributed material, to analkyse his theory, restoration, extant buildings and design, making comparisons with his contemporaries and placing him within a very wide context. Only in this way could the nature and quality of his work be properly assessed or his contribution to architectural developments in the nineteenth century be fully recognised and acknowledged. One pitfall in re-establishing the work of a neglected architect had to be borne in mind and that was the possible tendency to overrate his performance, over-estimate his influence or quality or to filter the evidence to suit the hypothesis, particularly as Cottingham has emerged as a man of admirable personal qualities, passionate about Gothic architecture to the extent of working gratuitously to save it, generous with his knowledge, never bigoted or narrow in his views, conscientious and utterly reliable, of unimpeachable integrity, possessed of a ready wit and sense of humour and yet showing strength of character and authority in all his dealings with patrons. An awareness of this problem has ensured an impartial assessment of Cottingham's work and one dependent on the evidence of the work itself, supported by contemporary opinion and judgement, analysed and viewed in the context of attitudes of the time, measured against the work of such established figures as A.C. and A.W.N.Pugin, Blore, Salvin, G.G.Scott and others, and set in the wider context of nineteenth century Continental attitudes and developments. In concluding this thesis a further point should be made; this study might properly be entitled 'an introduction to the work of L.N.Cottingham', for no doubt further discoveries will be made, other works of restoration or extant buildings or examples of furniture and design may yet come to light leading to further understanding of his theory and practice. For example, only recently in July 1989, two Gothic Revival chairs appeared in a Sotheby's sale, chairs so similar in design to Cottingham's chairs for Brougham Hall and for St. Mary's, Bury that

they may be attributed to Cottingham on that evidence (Fig.481 & See Figs.412 & 413). Further research may lead to a discovery of the provenance of the chairs and possibly even to a commission of Cottingham's hitherto entirely unknown. This thesis therefore, cannot be viewed as an exhaustive survey of Cottingham's oeuvre. However, the existing evidence of his own writings, theories, activities as preservationist, collector, restorer of the Mediaeval and builder in Gothic Revival style, thus examined and analysed, has led to definite conclusions which enable the reinstatement of his reputation and his re-establishment within the developments of the Gothic Revival of the nineteenth century.

The importance of Cottingham as the first analyst of Gothic who directly affected architectural practice in England, France and Germany has been established. He carried forward the theories of Essex, Milner, Gough, Carter, Britton, Rickman and going beyond the work of A.C.Pugin and Willson in his detailed structural analysis of Gothic architecture, he instructed architects to study every aspect of the Mediaeval, in order to properly understand its logic and development and move towards an archaeologically correct revival through restoration and building anew. Cottingham has appeared as a historian of the whole mediaeval period, one who appreciated every stage of its development from the early Norman to late Perpendicular without that prejudice in favour of the Middle Pointed period which coloured the views and practice of the Gothicist A.W.N.Pugin, the Ecclesiologists and the European Gothic Revivalists. Importantly, Cottingham, from the early date of 1822, was the first to view the Mediaeval as architecture as worthy of serious appraisal as the Classical. He sought to elevate it to the same level through an understanding of its different stages, establishing the Mediaeval as architecture that was planned and designed, and which conformed to certain definable structural compositional developments. He propounded these influential ideas through his publications which were viewed in his own time as of great importance and which were used in the education of many leading architects including, most importantly, the young A.W.N.Pugin. In these early works Cottingham posited every major issue of the Gothic Revival in the nineteenth century, ideas of archaeological study and structural analysis of the

Mediaeval leading to a correct revival of ecclesiastical Gothic, sympathetic restoration of the crumbling fabric of mediaeval architecture based on a sound historical knowledge of every stage of its development, and the idea that the structural rules of Gothic construction and ornament might be applied to a revival of domestic architecture based on a national tradition. His influential theories were borne out through his practice as a collector of the Mediaeval, through his preservationist activities and through his major works of restoration of all eras of the Mediaeval from Romanesque onwards. His Museum was the first major collection of mediaeval antiquities in England, comparable in its arrangement and educative intention to Lenoir's Musee in Paris which has been identified as the main catalyst of the Romantic movement in France. Cottingham's Museum has now been identified as a parallel influence upon the development of the Gothic Revival in England. His vast collection, amassed from 1814 onwards was used as an informed historical account and illustration of the art and architecture of the Middle Ages at a time of general ignorance of this period; as a means of preserving examples of the Mediaeval which would otherwise have been destroyed in an age when the Gothic was reviled; and as a source of study for students, architects, artists and such important literary figures as Sir Walter Scott whose novels contributed to the growing passion for the Mediaeval.

Cottingham brought his expert knowledge and appreciation of Gothic architecture to the preservation of threatened mediaeval structures, demonstrating for example, in his campaign to save the Lady Chapel of St. Saviour's that he saw later mediaeval additions not as unfortunate appendages marring the beauty of Early English building, but as important and invaluable examples of architectural development in structure and in relation of the part to the whole, an advanced concept that he brought to all his works of restoration. Further, his knowledge of all aspects of the Mediaeval informed his activities as a mediaeval antiquary enabling him to accurately identify, date, interpret, and preserve such discoveries as thirteenth century wall paintings, fragments of earlier building and buried tombs, as at Rochester, or the Romanesque wheel window, lead coffins and mediaeval floor tiles at Temple Church and the Chapter House at Westminster, important contributions to mediaeval archaeology that were recognised in his

election as a Honorary member of the Society of Antiquaries and the Oxford Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture.

In church restoration, an area that occupied a large part of his working life, Cottingham's twentieth century image as just another Victorian vandal has been totally overthrown. To all his works of restoration Cottingham brought his scholarly knowledge of all eras of the Mediaeval and his perception of the value of preserving all mediaeval remains in terms of the national heritage, in terms of history, of style, and as monuments to the past. His structural surveys of such buildings as Hereford Cathedral were endorsed by eminent archaeologists like Sir Robert Willis, and his survey of Armagh Cathedral has never been superceded, being used as a basis for research to this day. Cottingham saw the value of preserving even the smallest fragment of the original work and at all times in his restoration procedures his concern was for mending, repairing, respecting all periods of the Mediaeval within one building, never returning to the single style of some previous era by tearing down later additions or removing later ornament and rebuilding, work that was in direct contrast to many of his English and French counterparts. His advanced technological skill enabled him in many cases to restore dilapidated buildings with the minimum of disturbance to the original fabric and without removing a single stone. His overriding concern was with the establishment of an archaeologically correct revival made possible through his intense study of mediaeval sources, and exemplified in his exhaustive search for precedents and in his use of remaining fragments of the original upon which to base his designs. His sensitive handling of all periods of the Mediaeval without favour or prejudice, predated the theories of Ruskin and Morris by quarter of a century, and his methods and intention of restoring fully the Gothic ideal were in advance of the acclaimed work of Pugin and the Ecclesiologists. At his first major work of restoration in 1825 at Rochester and in all subsequent works, he introduced procedures of painstakingly removing whitewash from woodwork, carved marble columns and frescoes, to reveal the original mediaeval structure, removing classical intrusion such as monuments, panelling, wooden screens and altars, at times to other parts of the church, and restoring and reinstating the mutilated mediaeval fabric and ornament in harmony with the original intention. At Magdalen in

1829, and at Armagh from 1834 he restored fully the imagery of the mediaeval church, reintroducing the reedos with carved statues, enlarging the chancel by the reinstatement of a rood screen, and reinstating the carved benches of the Gothic period, theories that were in advance of the Cambridge Camden Society and the Oxford Movement, and practical interpretaions of a Gothic Revival that were to be taken up by Pugin and the Ecclesiologists in their crusade. Cottingham was perceived in his own time as the leading ecclesiastical architect and his influence through these major works can be demonstrated in A.W.N.Pugin's profound admiration for the quality of his work, an influence which was spread through the network of patronage, the antiquarian societies, journals, and visits by important French, and German theorists. His influence upon his pupils such as E.B.Lamb whose qualities as a sensitive restorer were previously attributed to Pugin, can now be fully acknowledged. The conservative qualities of Cottingham's restoration, his sensitive treatment of all mediaeval fabric wherever humanly possible were in contrast to the work of his contemporaries such as Salvin, Blore and G.G.Scott, and his plea for careful and accurate restoration which at first influenced the work in France promoted by Montalembert, was eventually overwhelmed and lost in the increasing ecclesiological crusade of the nineteenth century, in England with the Ecclesiologists and in France under the Comite Historique and the work of Viollet-le-Duc and Lassus. Cottingham's theories of restoration were to be revived with John Ruskin and William Morris and the founding of the SPAB in 1877, but his pioneering work in restoration was often overlaid by and confused with later drastic restoration and forgotten in the general condemnation of all restoration work for the first half of the nineteenth century.

Cottingham brought his knowledge of the Mediaeval to his works in domestic architecture and design, and a perception that revival architecture could be based on a thorough understanding of Gothic structure, transformed without resorting to simple copyism, to the needs of the nineteenth century, work that reflected the aspirations of his patrons, the changing social requirements of the times and, partly through his influence brought about a change in Taste from the classical revivals of the previous centuries to the overwhelming full-

blown Gothic revival of the nineteenth century. His ability to use his sources with skill and archaeological accuracy were demonstrated at such works as the Perpendicular Gothic Snelston Hall and the mediaeval revival Border Castle of Brougham Hall based on its Romanesque and Early English foundations, his work showing a historical understanding of later architectural developments and refinements. In this Cottingham is revealed as the first true mediaevalist, one who understood and appreciated the little favoured Romanesque, placing it on a level equally with the beauties of the late Gothic period, an aspect that sets him apart from such a major figure as Pugin who was a confirmed Gothicist. Cottingham's consideration and knowledge of mediaeval domestic architecture and his conscious use of the vernacular as a source of style can now be acknowledged as an aspect of his work, hitherto unknown, that was of major importance to the development of architecture in the nineteenth . century. His influential theories and the example of his own work at Snelston estate village, a simple unpretentious architecture based on local precedent, predated the work of Butterfield, Street and Webb. Such an influence, again identified in the work of his pupils has previously been attributed solely to Pugin, but Pugin, it has clearly been established, drew inspiration from Cottingham's enlightened theories and from the example of his architectural practice.

Thus, Cottingham has been revealed as the leading mediaevalist architect of the first half of the nineteenth century, an architect of influence upon the Gothic Revival in the wider context of European developments. He was the first analyst of Gothic, its passionate promoter, preserver, collector, restorer, and builder. He established mediaeval architecture as the equal of Classical, reintroducing the Romanesque and the Gothic to the English stylistic repertoire, influencing the taste of the nineteenth century through his theory and practice, and leading the trend away from the classical domination of the previous era. His importance in these developments was well recognised and widely acknowledged in his own time. Now, through this study, his position has once again been established as a major figure in the Gothic Revival of the nineteenth century.

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CHAPTER 2

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111 op.cit, Summerson, p.488.

112 op.cit, *Survey of London*, p.29; and information received from Chesham House, 1988. Most of the original buildings of Waterloo Road, numbers 77-119 have been demolished, Waterloo Station, The Union Jack Club and Cottingham's estate for John Field, much of it swept away in 1951 to clear a site for the Festival of Britain.

113 op.cit, Merewether, p.7.

114 Stanton, Col. J, 'Derbyshire Conservation Areas: Snelston', *Derbyshire Life and Country*, 1984, p.38.

115 Bowyer, Rev. A.R.C, *The Ancient Parish of Norbury*, Ashbourne, 1943.

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117 Twopenny, William, *Some Observations on the Domestic Architecture of the Middle Ages*, London 1840.

118 *Derby Evening Telegraph*, 1949, June 19th, Article on Edward Blore.

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120 Cottingham, L.N, *Original Plans and Drawings for Snelston Hall*, Snelston Hall, Ref.157, 3621-4095, Drebyshire Record Office.

121 ibid, Ref.157, 3021-3030.

122 ibid.

123 op.cit, Chapter 1, LNC's Publications.

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125 ibid, See Plans for a Gothic Mansion.

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128 National Monument Record, *Snelston Hall, Plan of House and Garden*, 1828.

129 op.cit, Franklin, Jill, p.140.

130 op.cit, Cottingham, Plans for the Houses of Parliament Competition, *Catalogue of Designs*, 1836.

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133 op.cit, NMRO, Snelston File.

134 Craven M; Stanley, M, *Derbyshire Country Houses*, Derbyshire Museum Services, 1982, p.61.

135 op.cit, Cottingham, *Plans etc of Henry VII's Chapel*, Preface.

136 op.cit, Cotingham, *Catalogue of Houses of Parliament Designs*, 1836.

137 op.cit, Pugin, A.W.N, *Contrasts*, 1836; *True Principles*, 1841.

138 op.cit, Cottingham, *Plans etc of Henry VII's Chapel*, Vol.II, 1829. Observations on Gothic Architecture, p.7.

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140 op.cit, Cottingham, p.7.

141 ibid.

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143 Britton, John, *Graphic Illustration with Historical and Descriptive Accounts of Toddignton, Gloucs, the Seat of Lord Sudeley*, 1840.

144 ibid, p.31.

145 See *Sale catalogue*, Library of Edwin Cottingham, Sotheby & Wilkins, June 15th 1859, Lots 870, 871.

146 Stroud, D, *Humphrey Repton*, Guildford & London, 1962, p.167. An illustration for Ashridge taken from Repton's *Fragments*.

147 ibid.

148 op.cit, Cottingham, *Plans etc of Henry VII's Chapel*, 1829, pp.7-8.

149 Cottingham, L.N, *Working Drawings of Gothic Ornament*, London, 1824, 2nd Edition.

150 op.cit, *Catalogue of Sale*, LNC's Museum 1851. Illustration of Crosby Hall ceiling; see Lot 291.

151a *The Queen*, 'Mrs Stanton and her Home', April 6th 1927, pp.5-7.

   b Aslin, E, *Early Victorian Furniture*, 1978, p.30. Aslin refers to 'bills remaining for ancient material bought for this purpose' without giving a refernce. To date I have found no trace of any bills in the archive. Mrs Stanton was perhaps in possession of them at the time of her interview in 1927 and they have since disappeared. It is more than likely that Cottingham himself provided such material from his own Museum.

152 *Sale Catalogue*, Snelston Hall, W.S.Bagshawe & Sons, Ashbourne, July 15th 1946, Lots 112, 113 & 114.

153 op.cit, Britton, pp.36-37.

154a op.cit, Derbyshire RO, Ref.157, Snelston Hall Drawings.

   b op.cit, *Sale Catalogue*, Bagshawe, 3 lots, 182-184.

   c op.cit, Jervis, S, Furniture Design for Snelston Hall, *V & A Museum Album*, 1984. Jervis states that the stalls were 'Seventeenth century Flemish stalls', but in Bagshawe's Catalogue of 1946, 3 lots of choir stalls, each 18 feet long are listed, 'originally in Lichfield Cathedral'.

155 op.cit, Cottingham, p.7.

156 op.cit, *Sale Catalogue*, Bagshawe.

157a op.cit, *The Queen*, p.6.

   b op.cit, LNC's Museum, *Sale Catalogue*, lists panelling from 'the destroyed Palace of Nonsuch', See Chapter 1.

c op.cit, *Sale Catalogue*, Bagshawe, Sideboard listed as 9' 3" wide 'with figures originally from the old screen, Lichfield Cathedral'.

158 op.cit, *The Queen* p.6.

159a ibid, *The Queen.*

b op.cit, *Sale Catalogue*, Bagshawe.

c Mottram, William, (a grand-nephew of Adam Bede). *The True Story of George Eliot*, Fisher & Unwin, 1905.

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161 op.cit, Jervis. Jervis suggests that Cottingham was influenced by the designs of a Flemish triptych c1490, which was installed in Brougham Chapel, possibly by Cottingham himself.

162 op.cit, Derbyshire RO, *Drawings for Snelston Hall.*

163 op.cit, *Sale Catalogue*, LNC's Museum, Lot 894.

164 Summerson, J, *Architecture in Britain*, 1530-1830, 1953, p.34.

165 ibid, p.31.

166 Parker, J.H, *Some Account of Domestic Architeccture in England*, Oxford 1851, p.93.

167 See Chapter 1, Church restoration: Rochester Cathedral 1825. Cottingham consulted Douce on the Chapter House door sculpture. Douce MSS, Bodleian Library, Letters, LNC to Douce.

168 Bodleian Library, *Douce MSS*, Ref.D27/32. Letter from Thomas Willement to Douce, dated April 27th 1830.

169 op.cit, Jervis.

170 op.cit, Derbyshire RO, Snelston Hall Drawings.

171 Shown in a photograph in Col. Stanton's possession.

172 Bury and Hillon, *Antique Furniture Sale*, September 1984.

173 Arms of Harrison of Snelston; Per pale nebulée azure and sable three demi-lions couped each holding a cross croslet fitchee or; crest; on a mount vert a demi-lion couped or seméeof lozenges azure holding between the paws a chaplet of roses. Arms depicted in Saunderson and Holmes of Derbys' Pattern Book. *Derby Local Studies Library*, MS9555 232. I am indebted to Maxwell Craven of Derby Museum and Art Gallery for this information. Aug 1985.

174 op.cit, Derbyshire RO, *Snelston Hall Drawings*.

175a Lockwood, Philip, *Plans for Proposed Alterations to Snelston Hall*, Derbyshire RO, Ref.157, 1906.

b op.cit, *Queen*, p.6.

176 Pugin, A.W.N, *Contrasts*, 1836.

177 op.cit, Burke.

178 op.cit, Merewether, pp.41-42.

179 op.cit, Cottingham, Preface to *King Henry VII's Chapel*, 1822.

180 op.cit, Summerson. A description from a survey of Nonsuch made in 1650, p.34.

181 Pugin, A.W.N, *True Principles*, 1841.

182 Derby Local Studies Library, Ashbourne RDC, *Listed Buildings*, p.40.

183 Pevsner, N, *The Buildings of Derbyshire*, London 1953. Pevsner later revised his views of Victorian Gothic, joining the Victorian Society in 1960.

184 *Catalogue of Sale*, 'Snelston Hall, Derbyshire. Sale of Valuable Fixtures and Fittings'. Allen and Farquhar, June 11th 1952, Derby Local Studies Library.

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   b Blutman, S, Books of Designs for Country Houses, 1780-1850, *Architectural History*, XI 1968, p.25.

   c Robinson, J.M, Farming on a Princely Scale: Estate Building of the fifth and sixth Dukes of Bedford at Woburn, 1787-1839, *Architectural Review*, Vol.160, pp.276-281.

189 Brown, R, *Domestic Architecture*, London 1841.
    McMordie, M, Picturesque Pattern Books and pre-Victorian Desingers, *Architectural History*, XVIII, 1975, p.43.

190 op.cit, McMordie, p.43.

191 Plaw, John, *Sketches for Country Houses, Villas and Rural Dwellings*, 1800.
    Malton, James, *Essay on British Cottage Architecture*, 1798.

192 op.cit, Temple.

193 op.cit, Derbyshire RO, Ref.157, Lockwood 1909.

194 NMRO, Snelston Hall - Drawing by LNC, undated, Bailiff's House.

195 See Chapter 1, Cottingham, L.N, *Metalworkers and Smith and Founder's Director*, 1823.

196 op.cit, See Part II Chapter 1 Church Restoration.

197 Thompson, E.P, *William Butterfield*, 1970.

198 Craven, M; Stanley, M, *The Derbyshire Country House*, Derbyshire Museum Service, 1982, p.11.

199 Clifton Taylor, A, *The Patterns of English Building*, Faber & Faber, London 1962 and 1987, p.101.

200 op.cit, Pevsner.

201 op.cit, Craven and Stanley, p.49.

202 *Derbyshire Record Office*, Ref.157/M 2225/6/8/9/30. No plan of Snelston was given in any of the deeds to aid identification. Snelston village, however, is composed solely of buildings designed by Cottingham between 1827 and 1840, indicating that Harrison demolished the various cottages that he bought.

203 *Derbyshire RO,* Col. Stanton deposited a large collection of deeds relating to 18th and 19th century estate affairs and much material remains to be listed, 1988.

204a op.cit, *The Queen,* The article related Mrs Stanton's activities as the new President of the Shire Horse Society, dog-breeder, accomplished musician and Vice-President of the Dove & Churnet Valley Choral Society, well known rose-grower etc.

  b Perkins, H, *The Origin of Modern English Society 1780-1880,* London 1969, p.42.

205 ibid, Perkins, p.43, *Hatherton Papers,* Staffs RO. Letter from the steward to a farmer, 1925.

206 op.cit, Derby Local Studies Library, *Sale Notice,* Anacre Farm Cottage.

207 See Part II Chapter 1, Restoration of Armagh.

208 op.cit, Stanton, p.39.

209 op.cit, Craven & Stanley, p.8. The authoprs quote a long list of destruction of Derbyshire houses, with the former Corporation of Derby having the worst record.

210 *Illustrated London News,* 1843, p.133.

211 *Brougham Papers,* William Brougham's personal diaries, May 1844 - June 1845; Letters from LN & NJ Cottingham to William Brougham; letter from Geo Shaw of Saddleworth; letters from tradespeople and building accounts; letters from W.Brougham to Henry, Lord Brougham etc. University College Library, London.

212 Shaw, George, *Diaries 1831-33; 1834-35 Sketchbooks 1830-50,* Manchester Central Library MS927.2.515. Entry for June 10th 1832.

213 *Art Union,* 1847, Obituary to L.N.Cottingham p.377.

214 Strong, R; Harris, J; Binney, M, *Vanishing Houses of England,* 1974, p.100.

215a RIBA has no evidence of Smirke working at Brougham, and no other documentation has come to light. RIBA Prints and Drawings.

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216 Hill MS Collection, *Brougham Hall, History of Westmoreland,* Vol.5, 1850, Cumbria Record Office.

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221 op.cit, Brougham Papers, Letter from W.Brougham to Henry, Lord Brougham, Aug 1830.

222 op.cit, *Brougham Papers,* Letter from LNC to W.Brougham, Sept 7th 1844.

223 Tyler, D, p.23, *A History of Brougham Hall,* Pamphlet, London 1988.

224a Parker, J.H, *Some Account of the Domestic Architecture in England, the Conquest to the end of the Thirteenth Century,* London 1851, pp.222-225.

Parker had asked William Brougham for an account of the History of Brougham Hall, and he published it verbatim.

b Tyler, D, *A History of Brougham Hall,* London 1988. This booklet, published to promote 'The Friends of Brougham Hall' and the restoration of the ruins, traces the historical background of the de Burgham family and the division of the Manor of Brougham which lasted for over 300 years from 1315 to 1654.

225a op.cit, Parker.

b *Illustrated London News,* 1843, Jan-June, p.326.

226 ibid, ILN, p.326.

227 ibid, ILN, July to Dec 1843, p.323.

228 op.cit, Tyler, p.27.

229 op.cit, Brougham Papers, Letters from George Shaw to William Brougham July 12th 1848; Jan 22nd 1849; April 28th 1852.

230 Hardcastle, Mrs M.S, *A Life of Lord Campbell, 1881,* p.244, Visit to Brougham Sept 11th 1848.

231a Brougham Hall, 1986-1987, Conversations with archaeologists and information from Dawn Tyler of the Brougham Trust, April 1987.

b op.cit, Tyler.

232 op.cit, *Shaw's Diaries,* May 9th 1832.

233 ibid, June 10th 1832.

234 op.cit, *Brougham Papers,* Letter form W.Brougham to Lord Brougham May 1830.

235 See Part II Chapter 1 Restoration.

236a Johnson, P, *British Castles,* London 1978, p.172.

b op.cit, Wood, Chapter 26.

237 op.cit, Cottingham, *Plans etc of Henry VII's Chapel,* Vol.2, Preface 1829.

238 op.cit, Wood, see page 361.

239 *Catalogue of Sale,* Lot 8.

240 op.cit, *Shaw Correspondence,* Letter from Stanhope to Shaw, Oct 10th 1863.

241 op.cit, Wood, p.396.

242 ibid, Lot 122, Fireplace described as 'slate'.

243 op.cit, *Illustrated London News,* 1844, p.340.

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245 See Part I Chapter 2, Brougham Chapel interior - Evidence of Cottingham's involvement is discussed and substantiated through various letters etc.

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247 Brougham, W, Letter to the 7th Earl of Carlisle, 25th Nov 1844, *Castle Howard Archive,* J19/1/38/87.

248 op.cit, *Brougham Papers,* Letter from WB to Lord Brougham, 17th Oct 1838.

249 ibid, Letter from George Shaw to WB Oct 27th 1847.

250a ibid, Shaw did not name the Edinburgh paper; letter of 7th Dec 1847.

b *Gentleman's Magazine*, April 1848, pp.369-376.

251 op.cit, Wood, p.236.

252 ibid, p.397.

253 op.cit, *Art Union*, Obituary to LNC, Oct 1847, p.377.

254 op.cit, Wood, p.398.

255 op.cit, English Romanesque Art, *Catalogue*, p.391.

256 op.cit, Brougham Papers, Letter from Geo Shaw to WB 6th Oct 1847; 15th Oct 1847.

257 op.cit, Parker, *Some Account etc*, p.211.

258a op.cit, Wood, p.398.

b Crossley, P, 'English Gothic Architecture', The Age of Chivalry, *Exhibition Catalogue*, RA 1987, pp.60-62.

259 op.cit, Part I.

260 op.cit, *Gentleman's Magazine*, April 1848, pp.369-376.

261 *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1848, June, pp.618-620.

262 ibid, Shaw wrote a rejoinder that was published 'grievously shorn and mutilated' as he told William Brougham, in the July issue of the *GM*. In a letter to W.Brougham he suggested that an attorney in Appleby was the anonymous 'Subscriber' and further that it was repeated to him that Wordsworth had read his article with 'disapprobation', 'this looks like Lowther Castle interference as Wordsworth is notorious for his partisanship to the Lonsdale family'. This critique and the subsequent rejoinders serve to refute the suggestion in Tyler (op.cit Tyler, A History of Brougham) that the whole case of Bird versus Brougham was a publicity stunt to allow the Broughams' to publicly state their ancestry.

263 Colvin, H; Crook, J.M; Friedman, T, *Architectural Drawings from Lowther Castle, Westmoreland*, Society of Architectural Historian of Great Britain, 1980, pp.16-17.

264 op.cit, *Brougham Papers*, Letter from LNC to WB.

265a National Monument Record Office, *Brougham Hall*, Photographs taken prior to demolition in 1934.

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266 Scott, D, *Brougham Hall, Penrith*, 1897, p.10.

267 This plan was kindly sent to me by Eric Hill of Boston Lincs. He bought a collection of drawings and plans in a leather bound folio with no indication of the original owner or any other provenance. Included was a very fragile drawing of the ofices at Brougham Hall with no name or date.

268 op.cit, *Brougham Papers*, Letter from Jospeh Richardson to William Brougham May 1st 1843.

269 ibid, Letters from J.Robinson to W.Brougham Feb 23rd 1839 - August 1840 and Joseph Richardson, letters to W.Brougham 1843-1848.

270 ibid, Letter from L.N.Cottingham to William Brougham Sept 7th 1844.

271 ibid, Letter from L.N.Cottingham to William Brougham July 24th 1845.

272 ibid, Letter from Joseph Richardson to William Brougham May 20th 1843.

273 ibid, Letter of June 4th 1843.

274 ibid, Ref.38.042(1), William Brougham to Lord Brougham, Wed. morning 1843.

275 ibid, Letter from N.J.Cottingham to Wm Brougham, 24th April 1844.

276 op.cit, Wood, p.104, See illustration C.Castle Acre, oriel to Prior's lodging.

277 op.cit, Brougham Papers, Letter of Mar 28th 1846.

278 ibid, Letter of June 19th 1846.

279 ibid.

280 See Part II Chapter 1 Church Restoration.

281 op.cit, *Castle Howard Archive*, Letter from WB to Earl of Carlisle, 25th Nov 1844.

282 ibid, Letter of May 27th 1846.

283 ibid.

284 ibid, George Shaw to William Brougham Oct 6th 1847; Oct 15th 1847.

285 ibid, William Brougham's diaries, 1844.

286 ibid, L.N.Cottingham to Wm Brougham 31st July 1844; Aug 5th 1844; Aug 21st 1844.

287 ibid, N.J.Cottingham to Wm Brougham Aug 24th 1846; L.N.Cottingham to Wm Brougham 20th Oct 1846.

288 ibid, N.J.Cottingham to W.Brougham June 2nd 1845.

289 ibid, John Robinson to .Brougham March 1840.

290 ibid, N.J.Cottingham to W.Brougham May 12th 1846.

291 ibid, *Sale Catalogue*, Contents of Brougham Hall June 21st 1932, Garland Smith & Co, Mount Street, London.

292 ibid, Letter from L.N.Cottingham Aug 5th 1844.

293 V & A Museum, Prints and Drawings *Brougham Hall*, C.V.Richardson.

294 op.cit, *Brougham Papers*, Letter from Edward Pratt to W.Brougham 6th Sept 1844; 10th Sept 1845.

295 ibid, George Shaw to W.Brougham 29th July 1850.

296 ibid, L.N.Cottingham to W.Brougham 31st July 1844; Aug 5th 1844.

297 op.cit, *Sale Catalogue*, L.N.C's Museum of Antiquities, Lot 529.

298 op.cit, *Sale Catalogue*, LNC's Museum of Antiquities 1851, Lot 1425.

299 op.cit, Brougham Papers, Letter from N.J.Cottingham to W.Brougham June 25th 1845.

300 *Catalogue of Sale*, Brougham Hall Interior and Exterior Fixtures and Fittings, Wed 18th July 1934, Messrs Perry and Phillips Ltd, 59 High St, Bridgnorth, Lot 172.

301 op.cit, *Brougham Papers*, Letter from George Shaw to W.Brougham, Jan 15th 1849.

302 ibid, Letter from L.N.Cottingham to W.Brougham, Aug 18th 1844.

303 ibid, N.J.Cottingham to W.Brougham July 24th 1845.

304 ibid, L.N.Cottingham to W.Brougham Aug 5th 1844.

305 ibid, Alfred Lapworth to W.Brougham, 1844-1857.

306 op.cit, Cumbria Record Ofice.

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308 op.cit, See Part II Chapter 2.3.

309 op.cit, Brougham Papers, J.Richardson to William Brougham, Jan 25th 1844.

310 ibid, Letter from N.J.Cottingham to W.Brougham, Mar 28th 1846.

311 ibid, George Shaw to W.Brougham, July 29th 1850.

312a Information from the present owner of Brougham Hall, Christopher Terry, 1986.

   b Friends of Brougham Hall set up to raise funds £1 million required for the project Oct 1987.

   c op.cit, Tyler. A model has been made based on excavations which confirms the Cottingham kitchen wing plan and the contemporary description uncovered during my research. See pp.48-51, 1988.

313 op.cit, *Castle Howard Archive*, Letter WB to Earl of Carlisle, 25th Nov 1844.

314 *Art Union*, Obiturary to LNC 1847, p.377.

315 Pevsner, N, *Derbyshire*, 1953, p.133.

316 op.cit, Craven and Stanley, *The Derbyshire Country House*, p.33.

317 Girouard, M, *The Return to Camelot*, London 1981, pp.88-89.

318 ibid, p.88.

319 King, Ronald, *The Quest for Paradise*, Weybridge, 1979, p.203.

320 Personal letter to me from Lord Harrington, January 1986.

321 Information from archivist at Matlock Record Office, confirmed by Maxwell Craven of Derby Museum Service. See op.cit, Craven and Stanley, Derbyshire Country Houses.
     Mark Girouard informed me that he had personally looked through Lord Harrington's library to no avail, 1986.

322 op.cit, Pevsner.

323 Northumberland Record Office, *The Blackett Papers*, Ref.2BL, List 34.

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329 op.cit, Britton, *Toddington*, etc.

330 Cook, O, *The English House Through Seven Centuries*, Weybridge, Surrey, 1968, p.128.

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332 op.cit, *Blackett Papers*, Letter from N.J.Cottingham to Sir E.Blackett, Nov 16th 1847, Ref.ZBL260.

333 Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, Dunraven Papers, Ref.D3196/J/1-30.

334 *Sale Catalogue*, Adare Manor, 9th June 1982, Christie Manson & Woods. See Introduction by Knight of Glin, p.9. One of his sources of information was the *Memorials of Adare Manor*, Oxford, 1865, by Caroline, Countess of Dunraven.

335 Oxford Historical Society, *Draft Reports*, 1841, Bodleian Library (OHS was originally the Oxford Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic rchitecture, then the Oxford Architectural and Historical Society, and finally the OHS).

336 op.cit, *Dunraven Papers*, Letter from Lord Dunraven to Lady Caroline, Oct 1839, Ref.D3196/E/7/19.

337 op.cit, *Sale Catalogue*, Adare Manor, Lot 223.

338 op.cit, *Dunraven Papers*, Letter from Lord Dunraven to his wife Lady Caroline, 1846, D/3196/E/3/140.

339 ibid, Letter of March 31st 1840; 4th April 1840, D3196/E/3/123/124/125.

340 Oxford Society for Promoting Gothic Architecture, See Letters and Pamphlet by H.Markland, *OHS Archive*, Bodleian Library.

341 op.cit, *Dunraven Papers*, Letter from Lord Dunraven to Pain Feb 1842.

342 op.cit, *Dunraven Papers*, Letter from Lord Dunraven to Lady Caroline, 31st Mar 1846, D/3196/E/3/125.

343 op.cit, *Sale Catalogue*, p.10.

344 op.cit, *Dunraven Papers*, Letter from Lord Dunraven to Lady Caroline 4th April 1846, D/3196/E/3/126.

345 ibid.

346 ibid, Letter of 7th April 1840, D/3196/E/3/128.

347a Cornforth, J, A'dare Manor, County Limerick', I. *Country Life*, 15th May 1969, pp.1230-1231.

b *Dunraven Papers*, Letter of 9th May 1840.

348 ibid, 9th May 1840.

349 ibid.

350 ibid, Letter of 1840 'Saturday'. D/3196/E/3/140.

351 op.cit, *Catalogue of Sale*, p.10.

352 ibid, Lots 253, 926 & 927.

353 ibid, Lots 244, 245 & 246. (Attempts to trace the furniture through the auctioneers, Christies, Manson & Woods, met with no success.) .

354a op.cit, Cornforth, p.1304.

  b op.cit, *Dunraven Papers*, Ref.D3196/J/11/1-4 & J/5/1-11.

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  b op.cit, *Dunraven Papers*, Ref.D3196/J/6/1-87.

  c Cornforth.

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358 ibid, *Sketchbook 4*, March 1833, L.N.Cottingham.

359 ibid, *Sketchbook 5*, L.N.Cottingham.

360 *Craven Archives*, Ref.No.372, Bodleian Library, Information from Howard Colvin.

361 op.cit, *Snelston Hall Papers*, Derbyshire Record Office.

362 Clifton-Taylor, A, *The Pattern of English Building*, (1962), London 1987 p.361.

363 Brunskill, R.W, *Traditional Buildings of Britain*, London, 1981, pp.2 & 118.

364 *Catalogue of Sale*, Coombe Abbey Estate, 21st Aug 1923, Messrs Winterton & Sons, Litchfield, and Mr E.Whittendale, Hereford.

365 Robinson, J.M, 'Farming on a Princely Scale', *Architectural Review*, Vol.160, July-Dec 1976, pp.276-281.

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367 ibid, Chapter 3.1.

368 ibid, Part II Chapter 5.

369 op.cit, RCHM.

370 op.cit, Robinson, p.280.

371 ibid.

372 ibid.

373 *Lloyds Bank Archives*, File No.7048, c1b/51, Letters of Minutes of Public Committee of the Savings Bank re the building and fitting of a new office at Bury St. Edmunds; also letters, tenders and invoices from N.J.Cottingham and Thomas Farrow of Diss, and valuations of buildings and fixtures.

374 Suffolk Record Office, Bury St Edmunds, *Vestry Book of St James*, 1834 onwards, Meetings of 30th May 1844, Ref.541/1/4.

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376 ibid, Meeting of April 3rd 1847.

377 ibid, Account from NJC dated Jan 5th 1848.

378 op.cit, *Catalogue of Sale*, Adare Manor.

379 op.cit, Chapter 1, See L.N.Cottingham's Museum of Antiquities.

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Part II

APPENDIX I

HISTORY OF BROUGHAM

William Brougham outlined the history of Brougham in Parker's volume on Domestic Architecture of the Middle Ages (1). Brougham was first mentioned in the *Itinerary of Antonius* as a station on the Roman road and Camden in his *Britannica* of 1600 too described its situation on the road from Appleby to Penrith. The name originally Broham was thus Roman and altars and other monumental stones, also mentioned by Shaw in his diary, found close to the courtyard proved that the station was on that spot and not, as claimed by some antiquaries, at the Castle of Brougham, situated in a hollow where it defended the Pass. He went on that the family lived there before the Conquest and were allowed to continue to hold their lands under tenure of drenage to the Norman overlord. In the first year of Edward II's reign a licence was granted to Ricardus de Brun to crenellate his house, as distinct from the Castle which at that period belonged to the Cliffords. The de Burgham family held the estate until 1212 when it was divided into three parts, namely de Burgham, de Crackenthorp and Rydin. When Thomas Brougham died in 1607 the estate was sold to James Bird, a steward of the Clifford family. The Hall at that time was known as Hill House and Bird acquired a 'chamber and a bire' from previous occupants. In 1680 the male heir of the Brougham family, then living at Scailes Hall, Cumberland, repurchased the manor from Bird's grandson and entailed it to his nephews from whom it passed by succession to Henry, Lord Brougham (2). The exact origin of Lord Brougham's mansion was a most contentious subject. The *Kendal Mercury* reported that 'until it came into Lord Brougham's possession it was known as 'Birds Nest'. The Broughams refuted this with evidence from Bishop Nicholson's MSS of 1670 in the Dean and Chapter's Library at Carlisle which said that Bird built a house but it was clearly distinguishable from Brougham Hall:

> 'The great Roman way brings you to the Roman Camp, on the left Browham Castle, from this you have a prospect of Lowther Hall, Clifton Hall, Penrith Castle, likewise of Browham Hall and Chapel and of Mr Bird's House... (3)'

Interest was aroused in the matter due to John Bird of Ashton laying claim to the property in 1842. The case went to trial amid great publicity at Appleby Assizes. Lord Brougham won but the *Illustrated London News* reported in 1843 that:

> 'It appears that Lord Brougham will again have to vindicate his title for another large flock of Birds near Appleby are searching for copies of births, marriages and deaths of ancestors in order to perfect their pedigree prior to making a claim to the property... [4]'

These 'ancient' portions from the late Romanesque origins gave Cottingham the archeological basis for his mediaeval Castle at Brougham.

Footnotes:

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3   *Illustrated London News*, 1843, Jan-June, p.326.
4   ibid.

Chronology of
Cottingham's Life and Work

For each year personal details, publications and the starting date of each project is given with the length of time of building; footnotes are given only for information which is not in the main text; all designs executed except where stated otherwise.

1787   Born 24th October 1787 at Laxfield, Suffolk, 'of an ancient and highly respected family' (1), son of a farmer, John Cottingham and his wife Mary, nee Johnson, daughter of a surgeon (2). A family ancestor was Abbot of St. Mary's, York in 1483 and another, William Cottingham was master carpenter at York Minster until his death in 1457 (3).

1797   Possibly educated at Seckford Grammar School, Suffolk where his cousins James and John attended (4).

1802   Began his studies with a 'county architect and builder' in Suffolk (5).

1810   Continued architectural studies in London in the various branches of his profession (6). No record of the architects to whom he was articled have yet come to light and Cottingham himself never named them.

1814   Set up his own business as architect and surveyor; address, 66 Great Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields (7).
       Began his collection of Mediaeval Antiquities.

1820   Possibly travelled on the Continent. No documentary evidence has come to light but in his publication of 1822 he referred to churches on the Continent and he bought back architectural casts for his museum.
       Began an architectural survey of Westminster Hall and King Henry VII's Chapel.

1821   Entered competition for the Salters' Hall; no premium awarded.

1822   Married Sophia Cotton, second daughter of R.T.Cotton, architect, of Finsbury, by whom he had two sons, Nockalls Johnson and Edwin Cotton, and a daughter Sophia (8).
       Published *Plans etc of Westminster Hall,* London 1822; *Plans etc of King Henry VII's Chapel.*

Advertised that he gave lessons in civil architecture, see preface to *Plans etc of King Henry VII's Chapel.*

Appointed Surveyor to the Cooks' Company, a post he held until 1840 (9).

Commissioned by John Harrison of Derbyshire to design a mansion; Snelston Hall.

1823 Published *Working Drawings of Gothic Ornament and a Design for a Gothic Mansion:* 1823; *The Ornamental Metalworker's Director,* 1st Ed. 1823.

Restored Snelston Chapel, Derbyshire.

1824 Published *The Metal Worker's Director,* 2nd Ed. 1824.

1825 Book of Watercolour drawings for Snelston Hall, Cottages etc for the Domain and Estate etc at Snelston Derbyshire: unpublished.

Commissioned to build estate of houses, shops and a hotel in Waterloo Bridge Road for John Field esq: Work continued until 1828, (demolished 1951).

Restoration of Rochester Cathedral; 1825-29, and further works at Rochester until 1840.

1826 Gothic plans for Snelston Hall.

1827 Snelston Hall; foundation stone laid 11th June 1827; work continued on the Hall, estate and village, and furniture designs until 1842, (Snelston Hall demolished 1952).

1828 Moved to 43 Waterloo Bridge Road, part of John Field's Estate designed by LNC in 1825. Museum of Mediaeval Antiquities set up at this address.

1829 Published *Plans etc of Henry VII's Chapel,* Vol.II.

Restoration of Magdalen College Chapel, 1829-33.

1830 Extensions, interior design, church restoration at Brougham for Henry, Lord Brougham; work continued until 1847 (demolished 1935).

1832 Son, NJC attended King's College School.

Published *Reasons etc Against Pulling Down the Lady Chapel at St. Saviour's, Southwark,* with James Savage. Published lithographs to aid restoration funds.

Crosby Hall restoration campaign.

Elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, May 10th.

Entered Fishmonger's Hall Competition; won 3rd premium.

Restored St. Alban's Cathedral, 1832-33.

Designs for restoration of St. Saviour's Southwark, in conjunction with George Gwilt.

1833 Designs for extensions to Coombe Abbey for the Earl of Craven; (demolished).

Designs for Cottages at Binley for the Earl of Craven, (possibly executed).

1834 Extension and interior design at Elvaston Castle, Derbyshire.

Restoration of Armagh Cathedral, 1834-42.

1835 Interior design at Matfen Hall, Northumberland for Sir Edward Blackett; 1834-47.

1836 Entered Houses of Parliament Competition.

1838 Designed Gothic apartment as showrooms for Samuel Pratt & Sons, London.

1839 Restored Ashbourne Church, Derbyshire 1839-46.

Designs for Eglinton Tournament.

1840 Designs for Adare Manor for Earl Dunraven.

Published *Metalworker's Director;* 3rd Edition.

1841 Survey of Temple Church, (published in *Temple Church etc* by William Burge); discovered wheel window and lead coffins; discovered mediaeval tiles in the Chapter House, Westminster: published article in *Archaeologia.*

Restoration of Hereford Cathedral, 1841-49.

Restoration of Roos Church, 1841-42; Great Chesterford Church, 1841.

1842 Elected Hon. Member of the Oxford Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture.

Restorations of Norman Tower at Bury, 1842-49; St. Mary's Church, Bury, 1842-46; Davington Church, 1842; designs for bench ends at the Temple Church; Milton Bryan Church 1842-44.

1843 Restoration and design at St. Mary's, Nottingham; work continued by Scott & Moffat.

1844 Restoration of Market Weston Church, Louth.

Built Savings Bank and Bank Cottage, 1844-46.

1845 Restoration of Kilpeck Church, 1845-48; Horringer Church.

Built St. Helen's Thorney, Notts, 1845-49.

1846 Restoration of St. Mary's Clifton; Theberton Church.

    Built Tuddenham School, Suffolk; Great Chesterford School; extensions to Clifton Hall, Nottingham.

    Extensions to the General Hospital, Bury, Suffolk (demolished).

    Restoration of Lady Chapel, Hereford Cathedral.

1847 Died 13th October, 1847, at home in Waterloo Bridge Road, of disease of the heart (hypertrophy) and Dropsy (10).

Cottingham, despite ill health, worked until the week before his death, attending a meeting at Hereford cathedral on the progress of the restoration (11). He was survived by his widow Sophia who died in 1871. His will, witnessed by his son Edwin Cotton Cottingham, a medical practitioner, and his brother Lionel Cottingham, stipulated that his elder son, Nockalls Johnson Cottingham should continue the business (12). This he did, completing such work as the restoration of the Lady Chapel, Hereford, the restoration of Barrow and Ledbury Churches, the Norman Tower at Bury, and the building of St. Helen's, Thorney. NJC died in 1854 on his way to America, when the ship 'Arctic' foundered off Cape Cod (13). The obituary to L.N.Cottingham listed many of his works and concluded:

> 'His temper and feelings with regard to his profession might by the stranger be considered enthusiastic; but his heart and affection were equally ardent, and those who once knew him ever entertained the greatest esteem and friendship for his amiable domestic habits and generous benevolent disposition. Many who have enjoyed his friendship and those who have received the advantage of his sound and able instruction, and since attained eminence in their profession, will feel this to be a just eulogy to the memory of so highly-gifted and true-hearted a man.' (14).

Footnotes

1   Art Union. Obituary of L.N.Cottingham, Oct 1847, p.377.

2   Laxfield Parish Records, Suffolk Record Office, FC80, John Cottingham and Elizabeth Johnson, married by licence 16th Dec 1782.
Laxfield Parish Records, Suffolk RO, 27th Sept 1804.
Lease of land to John Cottingham, farmer, of Laxfield, Framlingham Woodbridge; Little Glenham Records show Cottingham's engaged as farmers, builders, plumbers and teachers and in 1844, Whites Suffolk Directory records a John Cottingham who was relieving officer and Registrar at Hermitage Place, Framlingham. Other members of the Cottingham family, LNC's cousins moved to Great Chesterford and farmed in Essex. A cousin of LNC's father, J.O.Cottingham, 9 St. Peter's Hill, Humber, was a builder who undertook work for Cottingham in his capacity as Surveyor of the Cooks' Company, see Minutes Book, Cook's Company, 19th June 1829, MS31115.

3   Harvey, J, English Mediaeval Architects, 1954, p.74.

4   Suffolk Record Office, Admission Seckford Grammar School, Suffolk, Crisp, F>A, 1900, LNC may have been tutored privately or he may have attended Seckford Grammar School. The records of other Suffolk Schools have no entries for Cottingham in the late 18th century.

5a   op.cit, Art Union, p.379, Research into Suffolk architects of the appropriate date revealed no records of apprentices. Very few records remain of the architects and builders, and nothing was revealed through an examination of archive material relating to country houses and public buildings of this time. Cottingham himself never gave the name of any architects with whom he trained. Possible Suffolk architects of the appropriate date working in Suffolk who may have had Cottingham as a trainee are; Coleby Clarke of Woodbridge, (Boyton Rectory 1808); Robert Heffer (Wetherden Rectory 11816) and John Field worked for the Bishop of Derry at Ickworth, Thomas Leverton (Culford 1803); George

Thompson (who built the Castle House, Woodbridge 1805); William Brown of Ipswich (Earl Stonham Rectory); Thomas Adler (Snettisham 1808); Benjamin Catt (Helmingham Parsonage 1812).
I am indebted to Birkin Haward of Ipswich who is compiling a Dictionary of Suffolk architects, for advice on possible lines of research.

b   Guildhall Library, Ref.516/SAL(1) Letter from LNC to the Fishmonger's Court, 1832.

6   ibid.

7   op.cit, Cook's Company Records, Guildhall.

8a   Wicks, James, 'Robert Turner Cotton, H.G.Cotton & L.N.Cottingham' Blackmansbury, Dec 1968, Vol.V, pp.110-120.

b   op.cit, Art Union, 1847, p.377.

c   King's College School Archives. I am indebted to Mr Frank Miles, the Archivist, who wrote to me with information July 16th 1987 & Aug 8th 1987, from the College Archive.
N.J.C was at King's College School from 1832-35. In 1832 when NJ entered the school it was possible for parents to obtain a 'Nomination' from those who gave donations towards the founding of the College in 1829. L.N.C obtained a 'Nomination' from the Rev. John Ireland, Dean of Westminster Abbey. Other pupils at the school in N.J & E.C's time were architects George Devey, Calvert Vaux who trained in LNC's office, Jacob Wrey Mould, Henry Crisp, William Lightly, William Burges, D.G.Rosetti, E.M.Barry, Henry Bayly, and Frederick William Cumberland, (designer of Toronto University in 1859).

9   Guildhall Library, Cook's Company Minute Books, Ref.MS31114.

10   Death Certificate; L.N.Cottingham, District of Lambeth, General Register Office, London.

11   Chapter Acts Book, Oct 1847, Hereford Cathedral Library.

12   Last Will and Testament of LNC, PRO, PROB 11/2072.

13   King's College Archive; Dictionary of National Biography; Nautical Magazine, Vol.174, 1955, p.210.

14   op.cit, Art Union, Oct 1847, p.377.

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192 Illustration in W.B.Scott's *Antiquarian Gleanings in the North of England*, of LNC's aumbrey door and bench ends at Brougham Chapel. See Fig.193.

193 Letter by NJC with sketch for the aumbrey door at Brougham Chapel, 1845.

194 Horringer Church, Suffolk. Cottingham's north aisle with remains of bench pews and vestry door with iron hinges. 1845. (Photos J.M.).

195 Barrow Church, Suffolk: interior restored by NJC, 1849; simple panelled benches in the nave. (Photo J.M.).

196 Barrow Church: carved oak stalls: NJC, 1849: remains of 15th century rood screen used for the design.

197 Barrow Church: carved oak pulpit. NJC. 1849.

198 Early English lancet East window at Barrow Church: stained glass by NJC. 1849.

199 Theberton Church Suffolk: carved oak bench ends in the chancel, based on 15th century Woolpit Church. LNC, 1846. See Fig.180.

200 Deal open benches in the nave at Theberton. LNC, 1846.

201 The South aisle arcade with the mediaeval wall painting restored by Cottingham. Theberton, 1846.

202 The timbers, spandrels, bosses and angels of the South aisle roof. Theberton, LNC, 1846.

203 The monument to the Hon Frederica Doughty, Theberton. LNC, 1846.

204 Windows of the South aisle: St Peter: Coats of Arms of the Doughty family; and St Paul: Thomas Willement. Theberton 1846.

205 Interior of Milton Bryan Church. LNC, 1842.

205a Cottingham's North porch and entrance door at Milton Bryan.

206 Brass corona at Milton Bryan. LNC(?), 1842.

207 West front of St Helen's, Thorney, Notts by LNC, 1846-50. (All Photos of St Helen's by J.M.).

356 Edlaston Road Lodge, as built. LNC c1829. (Photos JM 1988).

357 - 361 Edlaston Road Lodge, details of Gothic stone mullioned windows and mediaeval label heads.

362 The Lower Lodge, Snelston Hall; altered by Lockwood in 1909. (Photo JM 1988).

363 Designs for additions and alterations to Cottingham's Lower Lodge by Philip Lockwood, 1909. (Photo Newton; Derbyshire RO).

364 Design for Bailiff's Cottage, Snelston. LNC 1825-29. Compare with Cottingham's watercolour, design No.10. (NMRO).

365 Design for the Schoolhouse. LNC 1825-29. (NMRO).

366 The Bailiff's Cottage, Snelston, as built. LNC c1830. (All photographs of Estate Village by JM 1988).

367 Detail of cast iron leaded light casements, Bailiff's Cottage.

368 Schoolhouse built in sandstone, with stone dressings. LNC 1830.

369 Cast iron casements and stone mullioned windows of the Schoolhouse, Snelston.

370 Double cottage by Snelston brook. LNC c1830-40.

371 Half-timbered double cottage by Snelston brook. LNC c1830-40.

372 The Snelston Arms Inn, (now a private dwelling), c1830-40 LNC.

373 School Cottages, Church Road, Snelston. LNC c1830-40.

374 Lattice casements of School Cottages.

375 View of School Cottages; chimney expressed on the outside in the Mediaeval manner;note matching window in the outhouse.

376 Simple double cottage, Church Road, Snelston. LNC c1830-40.

377 Baldersby village houses; William Butterfield c1859.

378 Gothic detail oin the windows and bold chimney stacks on the outside. William Butterfield, Baldersby c1859.

379 Ashbourne Mansion, Church Street; brick with stone dressings, originally E-shaped in traditional Derbyshire style, c1680. (Maxwell & Craven).

380 Hazelbadge Hall, Derbyshire; a farmhouse dating from 1549; straight coped gables and mullioned windows.

381 Brook Cottage, Snelston; note stone base of earlier cottage; and Gothic detailing; compare with Fig.382.

382 Anacre Cottage, Snelston estate, late 18th century. (John German Ralph Pay, Sale Particulars 1981).

383 OS Map;Appleby Division, Brougham Hall.

383a Brougham Hall, Westmoreland, altered and extended by LNC 1830-46; main courtyard with entrance. Kendal RO).

384 Brougham Hall, prior to its demolition in 1935; South-West front overlooking the terrace.

384a George Shaw's drawing of Brougham Hall, 1833; sketches in his journals. (Manchester Public Library).

384b Model and Plan of Brougham Hall 1988, based on present day excavation and remaining photographs. (Model, see Tyler, p.50; Plan JM).

385 George Shaw; Brougham Hall, 1833.

386 George Shaw's drawing of the entrance to Brougham Hall, 1833.

386a Gateway to Brougham Hall, Westmoreland. (date unknown) (Kendal Library).

387 Present day ruins of the entrance gateway at Brougham. (NMRO).

388 Inner courtyard side of entrance gateway and tower with origins dating from the 12th to 14th centuries. (Parker 1851) (Photo JM 1987).

389 The 'Norman Tower', described by Shaw in 1833. LNC 1830-33. (Photo taken prior to demolition in 1935, NMRO).

390 Sizergh Castle, Cumbria; pele tower of 1330, with windows enlarged in the 15th century.

391 Bucks engraving of Naworth Castle in 1739 showing the 14th century keep. (Worsley, Country Life, 1987).

392 Naworth Castle; windows of the chapel c1500.

393 The dining room at Brougham; linenfold panelling and square panelled ceiling with armorials. (Slae Cat. Perry & Phillips 1934).

394 Carved armorials; ceilings at Brougham; possibly dining room or stair-well ceiling. (Kendal RO).

395 Cottingham's stone bridge leading from the Hall to the Church c1840. (Photos JM 1987).

396 Cottingham's Library at Brougham 1838-40. (V & A Brougham File).

397 View of the Library, looking West; panelled ceiling with pendant knops. (V & A).

398 The Armour Hall, Brougham Hall. LNC c1845-46. Print from the original watercolour by C.V.Richardson. (V & A).

399 The Armour Hall c1910. (V & A).

400 Photograph of the Armour Hall at Brougham showing carved stone fireplace in 15th century Gothic, oak panelled walls, square panelled ceiling resting on spandrels. (Photo C.Fearnsides. See Tyler).

401 View of the Armour Hall prior to demolition - showing screen of carved oak. (Sale Cat. Perry & Phillips 1934).

402 Four poster bed, possibly made up from early fragments by S.Pratt. (Photo C.Fearnside. See Tyler, where date of 1571 is suggested).

403 Brougham Hall in process of demolition 1935. Norman arches with zig-zag mouldings and columns are revealed - possibly parts of Cottingham's Norman bedroom, c1845. (Kendal RO).

404 The oriel window 'of later character' to the Norman bedroom over the groined archway can be seen at the extreme right. See also Fig.383. (Kendal RO).

404a Drawing of Brougham by Thomas Bland, dated 1847-50, after the completion of the Armour Hall, Norman passage, Norman bedroom and grand staircase. (Carlisle Library).

405 Plan of offices, Brougham Hall. LNC(?). (Eric Hill) (1831-43).

406 North elevation of offices, Brougham Hall; inscribed original design and dated 1831. (Eric Hill).

407 Unmarked elevation for Brougham, possiby offices c1831. (Eric Hill).

408 West front of Brougham. See Fig.407: LNC's drawings, possibly 1831. Note wrought iron gate, possibly of a design from Cottingham's *Metalworker's Director* of 1823. (NMRO prior to demolition in 1935).

409 Drawing by Fairholt of the inner courtyard at Brougham. LNC 1830-47. Note clock turret. (Tullie House, Carlisle).

410 The clock designed by LNC, erected in 1843-44, (movement by Vulliamy), prior to demolition in 1935. (Abbot Hall Museum, Kendal).

411 The 'oaken doors' to the inner courtyard remain but the doorknocker, a cast of the Durham knocker has gone. (Photo JM 1987).

412 Chair illustrated in Sale Catalogue, Contents of Brougham Hall, Garland, Smith & Co, June 21st 1932; one of lots 922 & 930. Attributable to Cottingham, made by S.Pratt 1846. (See Fig.413).

413 Cottingham's throne chair for St Mary's, Bury of 1846, almost identical in design of base to the Brougham chair. (Photo JM 1987).

414 The Library of Brougham Hall, prior to demolition 1935. (Garland Smith & Co).

415 Ruins of Brougham Hall. Cottingham's door and hinges?

416 A remanant of carved foliage and birds. Brougham 1988.

417 Part of a three light window.

418 A Gothic arch with carved labels intact. (NMRO).

419 St Chad's Uppermill. George Shaw c1840. Compare wth Snelston. (Oldham Chronicle 21.6.52).

420 Plan of Brougham 1988. Brougham Hall Trust. (Tyler). Compare with Fig.384b: (Plan, JM 1988).

421 Elvaston Hall. (Castle) c1820. Entrance front, James Wyatt 1817. (Derby Local Studies).

422 Elvaston Castle. East front, LNC c1830. (Derby Local Studies).

423 Elvaston Castle today. Wyatt's front balancing the 17th century brick portion of the old house. (Photo JM).

424 Cottingham's East front, unchanged today. (Photo JM).

425 Elvaston;'Hall of the Fair Star'. Wyatt redecorated by LNC, 1830.

426 Elvaston Castle; door decorated with chivalrous mottoes, Hall of the Fair Star, c1830.

427 Matfen Hall, Northumberland. Thomas Rickman 1832. (Northumberland RO).

428 Matfen Hall 1985. Now a Cheshire Home. (Photo JM).

429 Oak staircase at Matfen Hall, in the style of the 15th century. LNC 1836. (Photos JM 1985).

430 Carved lions hold shields emblazoned with the Blackett crest. Matfen.

431 Cinquefoil roundel with shield of arms; staircase, Matfen.

432 Adare Manor: the South front, parapet and bay windows of the Drawing room, LNC 1840. (Dunraven Papers PRONI).

433 The West front: tower and building to the right of it by P.C.Hardwick c1850. (Dunraven Papers. See Cornforth).

434 A view of the Great Gallery in 1865. (Christie's Sale Catalogue 1982).

435 Bookcase for Adare Manor, attributed to LNC 1840. (Christie's) Compare with LNC's Snelston bookcases, Fig.304.

436 Throne chairs for Adare. LNC 1840. (Christie's).

437 Plans and elevations of double cottage for farm labourer to be erected for the Rt. Hon. Earl of Craven at Binley, Warwickshire. LNC c1833. (Derbyshire RO). All other drawings by LNC for Coombe are missing.

438 Savings Bank, Bury St Edmund's. LNC 1846. Crown Street front. (All Photos JM 1988).

439 Rear elevation of the Savings Bank and Bank Cottage entrance, overlooking St James' Graveyard.

440 The Crown Street front echoes the symmetry of its neighbours.

441 Oriel window on Crown Street corner; note brick diapering and detail of chimneys.

442 Side elevation of Savings Bank, facing the Norman Tower.

443 Rear oriel window with quatre foil decoration.

444 Variety of fenestration in side elevation.

445 Savings Bank entrance; note cast iron hinges.

446 Savings Bank interiors; seven light mullioned windows with flattended arches and spandrels.

447 Bank Cottage front door and entrance lobby ceiling of carved oak.

448 Oak cupboard front with linenfold panels and carved drawer and cast iron fireplace; Bank Cottage.

449 Layer Marney in Essex; domestic architecture of 1530 in Suffolk; a source for LNC's Savings Bank. (Parker).

450 Frontispiece to *Designs for Schools and School Houses*, Henry Kendall 1847.

451 Design for Poor Boys School, Bury: Kendall.

452 Poor Boys School as built, Bury. (Photo JM 1988).

453 Tuddenham School, LNC, 1846. (All Photos JM 1987).

454 Roman Cahtolic Parish School, Spetchley. A.W.N.Pugin 1841.

455 Tuddenham School with Schoolmaster's house at right angles.

456 Tuddenham School entrance porch; bay window of Master's house.

457 Entrance to single storey schoolroom.

458 Double height schoolroom with Gothic arch windows, Tuddenham.

459 Rear view of Tuddenham School; all functions clearly expressed.

460 Schoolmaster's House; note asymmetry of fenestration and plan.

461 Large schoolroom with prominent chimney stack.

462 Use of flint, brick and stone; Suffolk building materials, Tuddenham.

463 Detail of gable window and cross.

464 Detail of coped gable of Schoolhouse porch.

465 The interior of Tuddenham school has been modernised for use as a private house; the Gothic door to the original Schoolroom remains, the floor worn by the tread of many feet.

466 Great Chesterford School, LNC 1846. Extension at right angles, 1875. (All Photos JM)

467 Windows of 15th century style in gable end of Schoolroom, inserted either side of LNC's buttress in 1875.

468 Great Chesterford School: Schoolmaster's house attached.

469 Details of Schoolmaster's house, dormer windows, stone quoins with grotesque heads; note use of Suffolk materials.

470 Detail of single light window with trefoils.

471 Single storey lean-to kitchen, Schoolmaster's house.

472 Rear elevation of Master's house, Great Chesterford.

473 Rear elevation, door to woodshed, Great Chesterford.

474 Plans for alterations to Cottingham's School, 1875. (Essex RO).

475 Plans and drawings for proposed additions, Great Chesterford School, 1875. (Essex RO).

476 Interior of Great Chesterford School, details of windows and doors.

477 Great Chesterford School; details of ironwork grilles and a Gothic firegrate.

478 The old school, Great Chesterford, 17th century; Cottingham's precedent for use of brick and flint; note Gothic arch window.

479 Little Chesterford Manor Farm, early 16th century.

480 Little Chesterford Manor Farm; stone mullioned windows and clunch and flint walls.

481 Chair illustrated in Sotheby's Sale Catalogue of 14.7.89; attributable to LNC. (Compare with Fig.412, Brougham chair).