Proc. Hampshire Field Club Archaeol. Soc. **75 (pt. I)**, *2020, 101–139 (Hampshire Studies 2020)*
https://doi.org/10.24202/hs2020008

'UNFORTUNATELY ROMANESQUE' TWO CHURCHES OF THE 1840S IN HAMPSHIRE

By BARRY MEEHAN

ABSTRACT

The nineteenth century witnessed almost unprecedented church building activity in Hampshire. New district churches appeared in rapidly expanding urban parishes and most existing structures, including those in rural areas, underwent substantial restoration, refurbishment and enlargement. This paper compares two of these churches from the 1840s: St. Peter's, Southampton and St. Nicholas', Newnham. Despite their apparent differences, they share a number of characteristics in common, most obviously their Romanesque style and inclusion of a Rhenish helm spire. The history of their construction will be examined in the context of the contemporary revival of medieval ecclesiastical architecture and developments in Ecclesiology (the study of church buildings, furnishings and decoration). Consideration will be given to how the Rhenish helm came to be adopted at both churches and to what extent St. Peter's influenced the design and arrangements at Newnham. This article will also consider whether the same architect was involved.

INTRODUCTION

Opposite the Mayflower Theatre in Southampton is a building which, following years of disuse, now serves as a restaurant and bar. Constructed between 1843 and 1845, the former church of St. Peter's includes a curious and noteworthy feature, the so called 'Rhenish helm' spire. As the name suggests, examples of this style are most frequently encountered in the German Rhineland although they also occur in other parts of Germany and elsewhere. Characteristic of this feature is the way each face of the tower terminates in a gabled top, above which rises a pyramidal spire displaying a diamond shaped face at each angle. The effect is striking and almost certainly derived from the sole surviving example from the medieval period in this country, at Sompting in West Sussex.

The unusual character of the tower at Sompting became increasingly recognised during the first half of the nineteenth century. Descriptions and illustrations began to appear in publications such as *The Picturesque Beauties of the Counties of Surrey and Sussex* (Whittock *et al. c.*1836, 16–17) and Dallaway and Cartwright's *A History of the Western Division of the County of Sussex* of 1830 (Cartwright 1830, 105). The author of the former informs us that the church 'particularly deserves the attention of the architect and the antiquary, from its curious, and almost unique tower, and the various sculptures with which it is enriched' (Whittock, *et al. c.*1836, 16).

County surveys like these, together with more specialist publications such as John Britton's *Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain* (1807–26), appeared in increasing numbers during the early nineteenth century. The architectural treatise or primer also became popular, the most well-known being Thomas Rickman's *An Attempt to Discriminate the Styles of Architecture*, first published in 1817. These publications sought to elucidate the principal features and successive styles of medieval architecture and were important, not only in raising awareness of the country's ecclesiastical heritage, but also in furnishing examples of styles and designs which could be employed in new churches. Aimed at the churchman and patron as well as the architect, they helped to create a favourable climate in which Ecclesiology and the Gothic Revival could flourish.

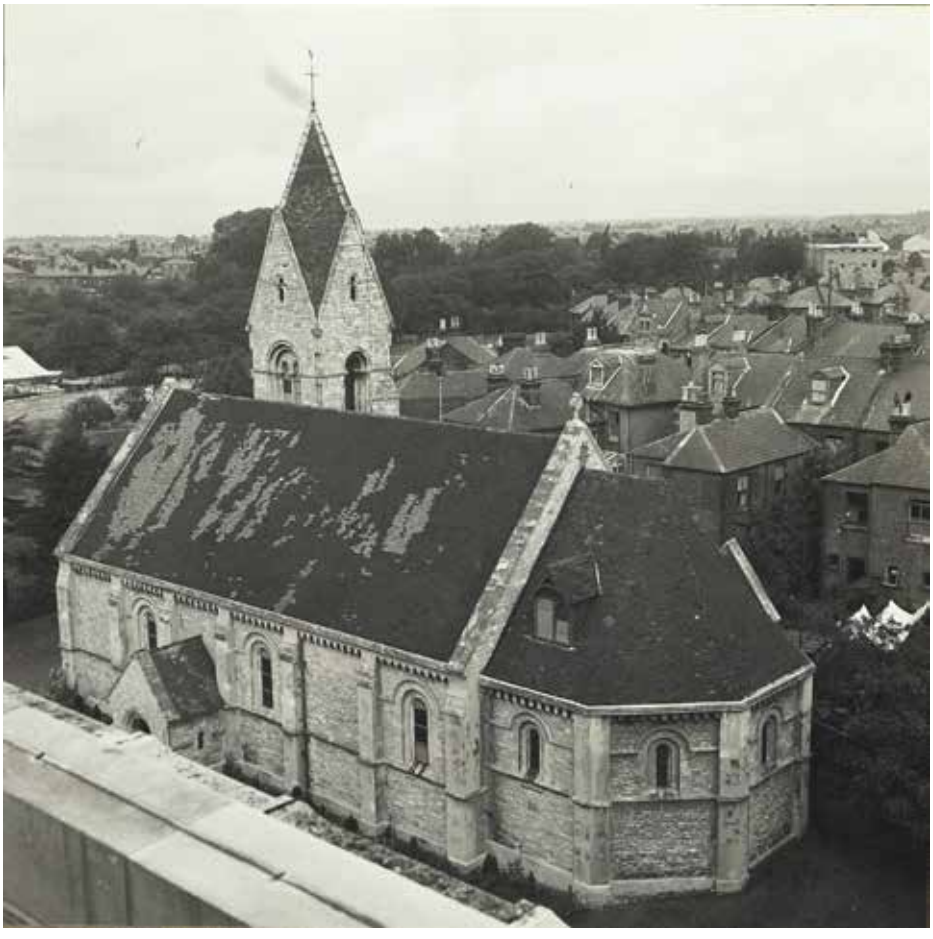

Fig. 1 St. Peter's, Southampton *c.*1940 (Hampshire Field Club Photographic Collection - HRO 65M89/Z211/427)

In common with many other parts of the country, the first half of the nineteenth century witnessed the beginnings of a great wave of church building activity in Hampshire which reached its peak during the mid-Victorian period. In part this represented the response of the established church to an expanding population, but it was also intended to tackle the associated challenges of religious instruction, education of the poor, maintaining the authority of church and state, and confronting the threats posed by nonconformity and radicalism. For these reasons the Church Building Commission and the Church Building Society were formed in 1818. However, it also corresponded with, and was aided by, a revival of religious consciousness within the church itself. Hampshire's medieval churches were, on the whole, not well placed to meet these challenges. They had remained modest in size, unpretentious in appearance and, by the nineteenth century, were often in poor structural condition. Not only were new churches provided for the towns in what had been predominantly rural parishes, but the majority of existing structures had undergone substantial restoration and alteration. This often included refurbishment, enlargement, and the removal of later accretions. In many cases Hampshire's churches were either substantially or wholly rebuilt.

During the early years of Queen Victoria's reign the appearance and arrangement of most

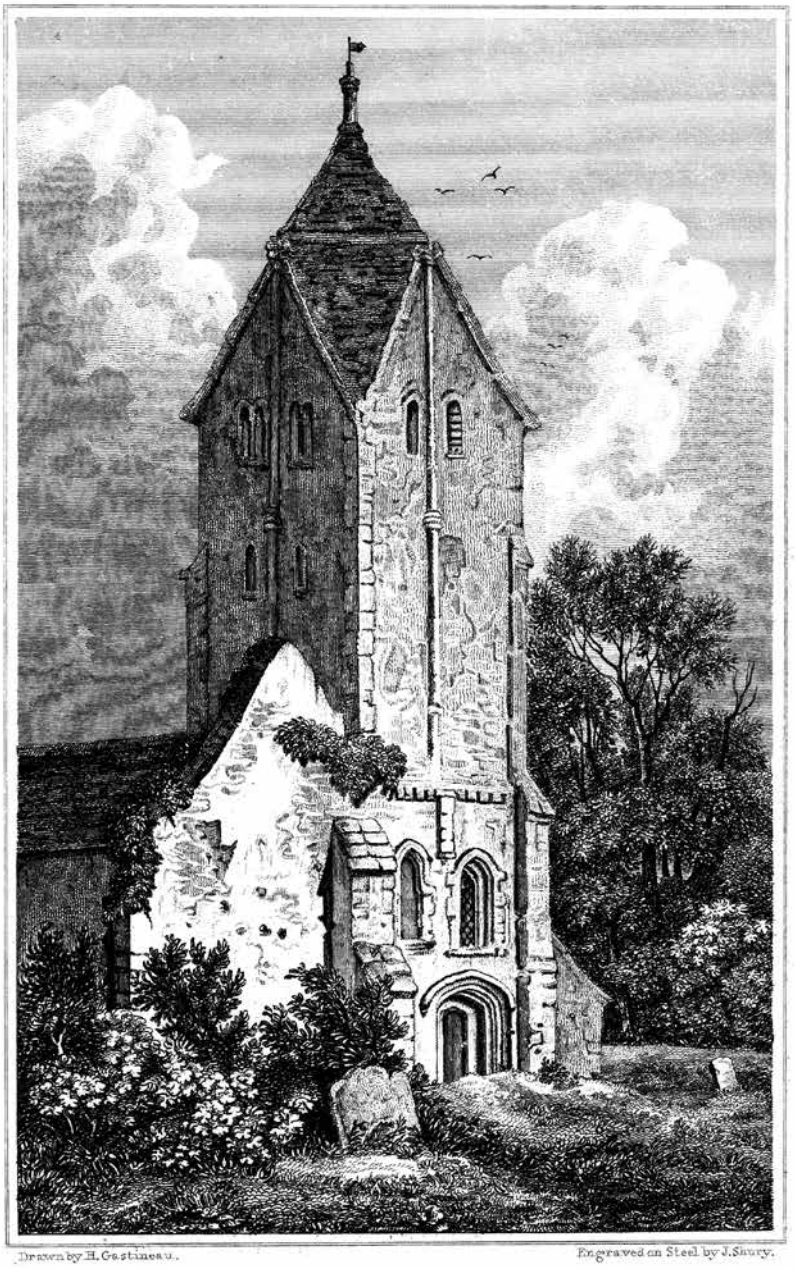

Fig. 2 St. Mary's, Sompting 1829. H. Gastineau engraved by J. Shury. Published in *The Picturesque Beauties of the Counties of Surrey and Sussex* (*c.*1836)

churches in Hampshire reflected Georgian pragmatism and attitudes to worship. It was a situation which in many cases continued well into the second half of the century. Attitudes, however, were beginning to change. The Cambridge Camden Society (later The Ecclesiological Society), a predominantly student-based body, and the more moderate Oxford Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture, had both been formed in 1839 with the intention of fostering a greater understanding and appreciation of ecclesiastical, particularly Gothic, architecture. The more influential and dogmatic society at Cambridge also expended much energy, via the pages of *The Ecclesiologist* and other publications, in the denunciation of Georgian attitudes, particularly as these affected church design, arrangement and liturgical practice. As Webster (2011, 197) suggests, 'Underpinning this were theological views, and attitudes to ceremonial, not dissimilar to those of the Tractarians and their successors'. It was consequently not long before both societies extended their influence into the field of church building, restoration and refurbishment. Yet the pace of change was slow, and the design and arrangement of churches continued to reflect the traditional attitudes of many churchmen throughout the 1840s and beyond.

Although the revival of interest in medieval church architecture dates from well before the formation of these societies, it was only during the 1840s that a particular emphasis was placed on accuracy and fidelity in church design. This extended beyond the mere replication of individual features to a much more faithful representation of the whole. Much energy was consequently expended on the observation, recording and analysis of medieval churches, including their correct proportions and arrangements. The Cambridge Camden Society was particularly influential in achieving this aim. Yet regardless of whether architects and their patrons produced churches acceptable to the Ecclesiologists, medieval example remained an important factor in their design, and was often personally observed or copied from the architectural and archaeological publications of the period.

Rickman continued to work on his treatise, producing three revised editions during his lifetime. Sompting is first mentioned in the expanded third edition of 1825, which introduced the innovation of a county gazetteer. He refers to Sompting's 'very curious tower', which 'seems earlier than [the rest of] the church, and deserves minute examination' (Rickman 1825, 322). For the fourth edition, published ten years later, he expanded his gazetteer entry and included the church in a new chapter on Saxon architecture (Rickman 1835, 248 and 306). The use of illustrations, however, was always limited in the earlier editions, and it was not until the fifth edition of 1848, published after Rickman's death, that a view of Sompting's tower first appeared (Rickman 1848, xxix). By then the church had become better known and illustrations were appearing in other publications. Indeed, the same illustration had already featured in the first volume of the *Archaeological Journal* as part of an article on Anglo Saxon architecture (Wright 1844, 26).

Although Rhenish helm spires of the Victorian period can be found scattered throughout the country, they amount to no more than a handful of mostly isolated examples. Harris (2006, 375) notes several in addition to St. Peter's. One of the earliest is St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church in Manchester, dating from 1848. The church at Flixton in Suffolk, constructed soon after the tower's fall in 1856, was next to appear. The architect Anthony Salvin apparently found evidence in the old tower roof to justify its adoption although, as Bettley points out, he is also likely to have been influenced by the recent restoration at Sompting in 1853–5 (Bettley & Pevsner 2015, 233). The 1860s witnessed others at Wormhill in Derbyshire and Hawkley in Hampshire. Churcham in Gloucestershire is later still, constructed after a fire in 1875.

Considering the novelty and visual impact of the Rhenish helm, and the increasing familiarity which published illustrations would have provided, it is perhaps surprising that it was not adopted more often. The paucity of examples no doubt reflects, to some degree, the relative unpopularity of the Romanesque style during the period. This was, after all, the era of the Gothic revival. Although it enjoyed a certain vogue during the 1840s,

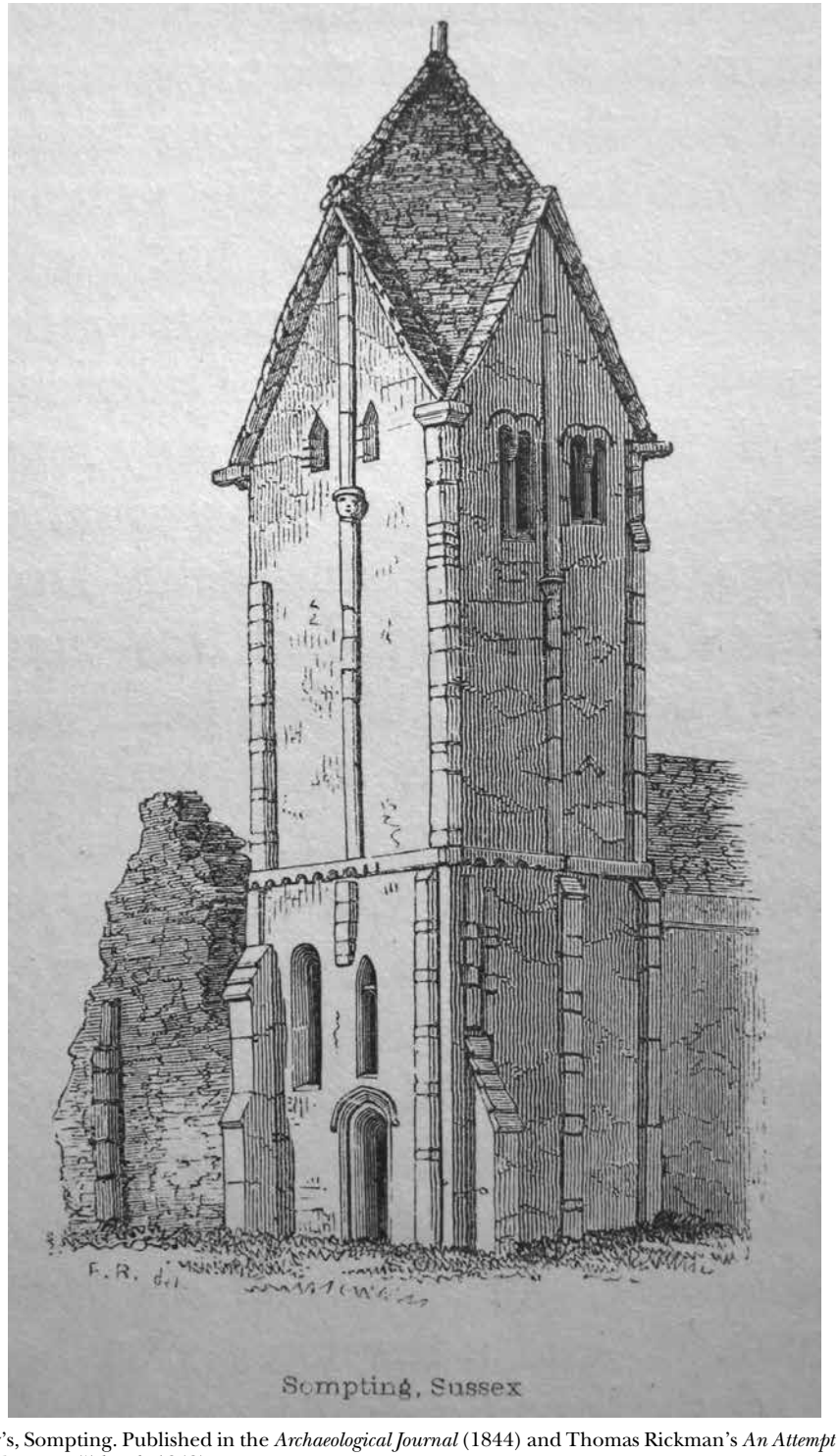

Fig. 3 St. Mary's, Sompting. Published in the *Archaeological Journal* (1844) and Thomas Rickman's *An Attempt to Discriminate the Styles of Architecture* (5th ed. 1848)

Fig. 4 St. Nicholas', Newnham by William Savage *c.*1880 (HCT PWCM 4879). © Hampshire Cultural Trust

it was the Gothic of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries which found most favour and was considered most suitable for new churches. In most cases the inclusion of a Rhenish helm is associated with the decision to employ the Romanesque style, although Wormhill represents an exception to this, being Gothic throughout. St. Stephen's, West Bowling (Bradford), dating from 1859–60 and omitted by Harris, represents another such exception.

Of the two Hampshire examples so far mentioned, both are entirely in the Romanesque style. There is, however, a third featuring a Rhenish helm in Hampshire, again omitted by Harris, at Newnham to the east of Basingstoke. Its tower and spire form part of the extensive reconstruction of the church in 1846–7 and is similarly Romanesque throughout. Hampshire, then, has more than its fair share of Rhenish helms, including two of the earliest from the Victorian period.

In many respects St. Peter's, Southampton and St. Nicholas', Newnham would appear to have little in common. Geographically they are situated at both ends of the county. St. Peter's was a newly constructed town church intended to serve the expanding population of All Saints' parish. Newnham, on the other hand, is a small, ancient, rural parish church which underwent extensive remodelling and refurbishment. The planning and construction is well documented for St. Peter's but much less so for Newnham. Particularly striking, however, are their similarities, including their near contemporary dates. Construction at St. Peter's was completed in July 1845 (CRC ECE/7/1/16120/1, form of inquiry dated 03/08/1846), although the consecration was delayed until 7th May the following year owing

Fig. 5 St. Peter's, Southampton 1843. Lithograph by J. C. Bourne from a drawing by O. B. Carter (Southampton Central Library). © Southampton City Council

to difficulties concerning the conveyance of land (CRC ECE/7/1/16120; HA 25/04/1846, 1b). Only a month earlier plans for the restoration of Newnham had been forwarded to the Incorporated Church Building Society in London and work commenced later in 1846. This and other parallels lead to the implication that St. Peter's exerted a particular influence on Newnham and even that the same architect may have been involved.

ST. PETER'S, SOUTHAMPTON

St. Peter's church was designed by the Winchester architect Owen Browne Carter (*c.*1805–59). It represents one of his last known churches, more or less contemporary with St. Mary's, Nutley to the south of Basingstoke. It is also notable for being his only known church designed in the Romanesque style, and the only one to include a tower rather than a bell-cote. The design of the church underwent a number of changes during the course of its construction and an important influence was John Emilius Shadwell, the rector of All Saints'. John Langley, the curate and first vicar of St. Peter's, is also credited with being 'the mainspring of the task of building it by his exertions and gifts' (Temple Patterson 1971, 66), but although he was a member of the church building committee his influence on its evolving design is less clear.

In May 1841 Shadwell reveals that money had been collected, plans and a specification produced, and tenders advertised (LPL ICBS 3072, letter dated 31/05/1841). A year later he indicates that the church was to be oblong in shape with the potential for adding transepts at

a subsequent date, an intention also recorded in the contract of March 1843 (LPL ICBS 3072, letter dated 03/06/1842; SA D/PM9/4/26/2). While the building of transepts was never carried out, the intention to do so can still be traced in the building's tripartite arrangement including its roof design. It was similarly intended to defer the completion of the tower, a strategy not uncommon during the nineteenth century when funds were short.

The Incorporated Church Building Society – hereafter the ICBS – awarded £200 towards the completion of the work on 20th June 1842 (LPL ICBS MB 11, 121–2). This was subsequently increased by £30 (LPL ICBS MB 12, 293). The ICBS's surveyor, Joseph Henry Good, reported on the plans in July 1842, and its subcommittee highlighted two elements of the design which contravened its recently revised suggestions and instructions of May 1842. 'The font', it observed, 'should be brought before the [west] gallery', while 'the vestry should have access to it from without' (LPL ICBS 3072, report dated 04/07/1842). The intended location for the font is not known but access to the vestry must have been via the nave. Having confirmed that additions to the specification had been made and a longitudinal section provided (LPL ICBS 3072, letter dated 10/11/1842), Carter's plans were approved by the Society on 21st November 1842 (LPL ICBS MB 11, 175).

Early in 1843 Carter reported that, in compliance with Shadwell's wishes, the width of the chancel was to be reduced by two feet and the length increased by three, 'for the purpose of better marking the distinction of the chancel' (LPL ICBS 3072, letter dated 09/01/1843). By this time work on the church was already underway. The Society gave their approval a week later on 16th January (LPL ICBS MB 11, 217), although the alteration was only added to the contract on 10th August that year (SA D/PM9/4/26/2).

Following Shadwell's untimely death on 1st March 1843, Henry Almack became rector and, if anything, exerted an even greater influence. In August Carter reported the church building committee's desire to 'raise the windows one foot higher from the floor, as it would be more in character with the style of building adopted' (LPL ICBS 3072, letter dated 12/08/1843). To this Good expressed no objection. A year later Carter wrote to Langley wishing to share one of Almack's plans which he considered an improvement (SA D/PM9/4/26/5, letter dated 29/08/1844). No further details, however, are given to indicate what this involved and whether it was implemented.

In June 1844 Almack decided to complete the tower and spire despite a lack of funds, and this was formally agreed with the contractor William Williams on 17th August that year (SA D/PM9/4/26/2). Almack states that the tower's design had changed since submission of the original plans, 'to one more in character with the style of the building, which [is] Norman, or rather Transition to Early English' (LPL ICBS 3072, letter dated 14/06/1844). Further modifications to the tower's specification were agreed on 13th December 1844, and it was completed the following July (SA D/PM9/4/26/2 and 9).

ST. NICHOLAS', NEWNHAM

Entries in St. Nicholas' register of marriages (HRO 67M80/PR9) suggest that work at Newnham commenced towards the end of 1846 and was completed a year later. It essentially amounted to a rebuilding. As at St. Peter's, an application had been made to the ICBS and the associated plan and file (LPL ICBS 3757) represent almost all of the extant documentary evidence in connection with the work. The rector was George Wylie, who had taken up the post, which included the chapelry of Mapledurwell, in 1845. He was to remain rector until 1879.

Wylie sent specifications, estimates and eleven plans to the ICBS in April 1846 (LPL ICBS 3757, letter dated 07/04/1846), although none have apparently survived. Despite recent repairs the church was evidently in a poor condition and was suffering from unsound foundations. Cracks had appeared and the walls had separated, making it necessary to rebuild those to the north and west. The bell turret was also insecure so it was decided to replace it with a north tower and spire. With the exception of its intended position, no modifications to the tower's design are recorded, so it is likely that

the Rhenish helm formed part of the original plans.

Joseph Good reported positively on the plans in April 1846, indicating that they had been submitted by the Basingstoke builder Benjamin Thorne. As at St. Peter's, the ICBS's subcommittee disapproved of the font's proposed location which was in front of the pulpit and reading desk. Wylie responded by providing various practical considerations in favour of it, despite expressing a personal preference for a western position. He observed, for example, that such a position would reduce the levels of accommodation, and make it more difficult for the congregation to observe and participate in the celebration of baptism. The font had, he informs us, been 'huddled up in the corner of a pew near the door serving as a flat stool or as a bookstand to any chance occupier of the pew' (LPL ICBS 3757, letter dated 17/04/1846).

Following completion of the work at Newnham a plan was submitted to the ICBS on 21st January 1848. This shows the font beside the southern jamb of the chancel arch, and suggests that Wylie got his way (see Fig. 14). Unfortunately it does not include the name of the architect, but the accompanying certificate of completion includes the signature of 'Benjamin Thorne, Surveyor'. This, together with the fact that eleven plans had been submitted by Thorne in April 1846, prior to the work's probable commencement, suggest that he was both responsible for the working drawings and their realisation.

POSSIBLE SOURCES FOR THE RHENISH HELM AT ST. PETER'S

The original Pevsner volume for Hampshire and the Isle of Wight includes a comment by Nicholas Taylor suggesting that Carter's well known pupil, George Edmund Street, may have had a hand in the tower's design, before concluding that it is 'decidedly better than the rest of the church' (Pevsner & Lloyd 1967, 524 f.n.). Freeman more specifically proposes that the idea may have originated from a tour Street had made with his brother in the spring of 1843 when they visited 'Chichester, Boxgrove and Cowdray, etc.' (Street 1888, 7; quoted in Freeman 1991, 11). He speculates that 'if it were possible to trace one of the 600 lithographs by Carter of a view of the proposed church, for which an invoice exists in the Southampton City records, it should be possible to see if the helm roof was part of the original design' (Freeman 1991, 11). This invoice, which is dated 1843, records that 665 copies were supplied, for which Carter received £7 18s. on 18th March 1844 (SA D/PM9/4/26/5). One of these lithographs is in fact preserved at Southampton Central Library and does indeed show the tower and helm essentially as executed (see Fig. 5). The invoice, however, is not precisely dated and the lithograph bears no date at all. Consequently it is not possible to conclude, from these sources alone, that the decision to incorporate the helm dates from either before or after Street's visit.

The plans upon which Joseph Good and the ICBS's subcommittee reported in July 1842 may have represented revisions since the report refers to a west gallery, a feature not apparently originally provided for (LPL ICBS MB 11, 190). The contract includes two sheets filled with plans, sections and elevations by Carter dated 12th and 15th November 1842 (SA D/PM9/4/26/2). Of particular interest is a west elevation showing a tower of two stages with a pyramidal cap. At first glance this appears to indicate a superseded tower design but it corresponds in height and detail to the first two stages of the present structure. The elevation, therefore, represents the part originally intended to have been completed during the main phase of work and may not have been subject to any significant subsequent alterations.

Following the decision to award a grant in June 1842, certain amendments to the plans were forwarded to the ICBS for approval, as already indicated. Although none of the surviving correspondence refers to changes to the tower's design until 1844, the contract plans include a section of the proposed tower which differs from the western elevation already described. An additional belfry stage is shown, on which rests a taller octagonal spire. The upper stage is in the Romanesque style but an adjacent plan indicates that it was to hold a spire of broach form. It was this aspect of the tower's design which Almack considered inappropriate.

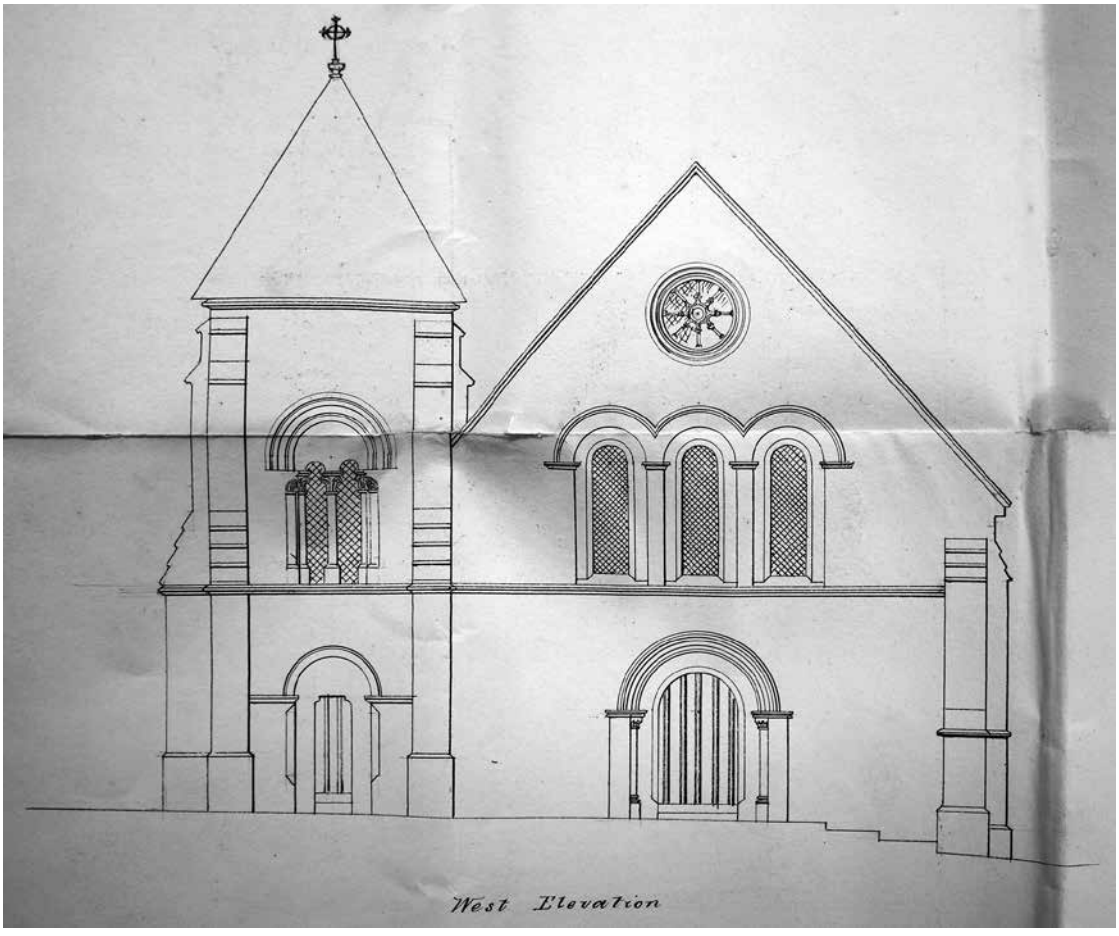

Fig. 6 St. Peter's, Southampton. West Elevation from Contract Plan No.1 by O. B. Carter dated 15th November 1842 (SA D/PM9/4/26/2)

The contract to which the plans of November 1842 belong is dated 20th March 1843, so the change of design most likely occurred after this. It was probably agreed sometime after Almack's arrival in the parish in May 1843 (Almack having been presented on the 2nd and instituted on the 18th of that month: HRO 21M65/E2/795; 21M65/A2/5). Since completion of the tower, including its upper belfry stage and spire, did not form part of the work to which the ICBS had agreed to contribute, there was presumably no need to inform them of the intended change of design. Consequently it was only in June 1844, following Almack's decision to complete the tower, that reference was made to it.

Freeman's suggestion, that the decision to incorporate a Rhenish helm was prompted by Street's visit to West Sussex during the spring of 1843, therefore, remains compelling. He often sketched details of the buildings he visited and would later refer to them in his own designs. Only eight of his sketchbooks now survive, six in the RIBA drawings collection at the Victoria and Albert Museum and two at the Royal Academy of Arts in London (Jackson 2011, 174). Unfortunately none of these include visits made by Street during the 1840s. Consequently, it is not possible to confirm whether his tour of 1843 included Sompting, and whether he made sketches of its tower.

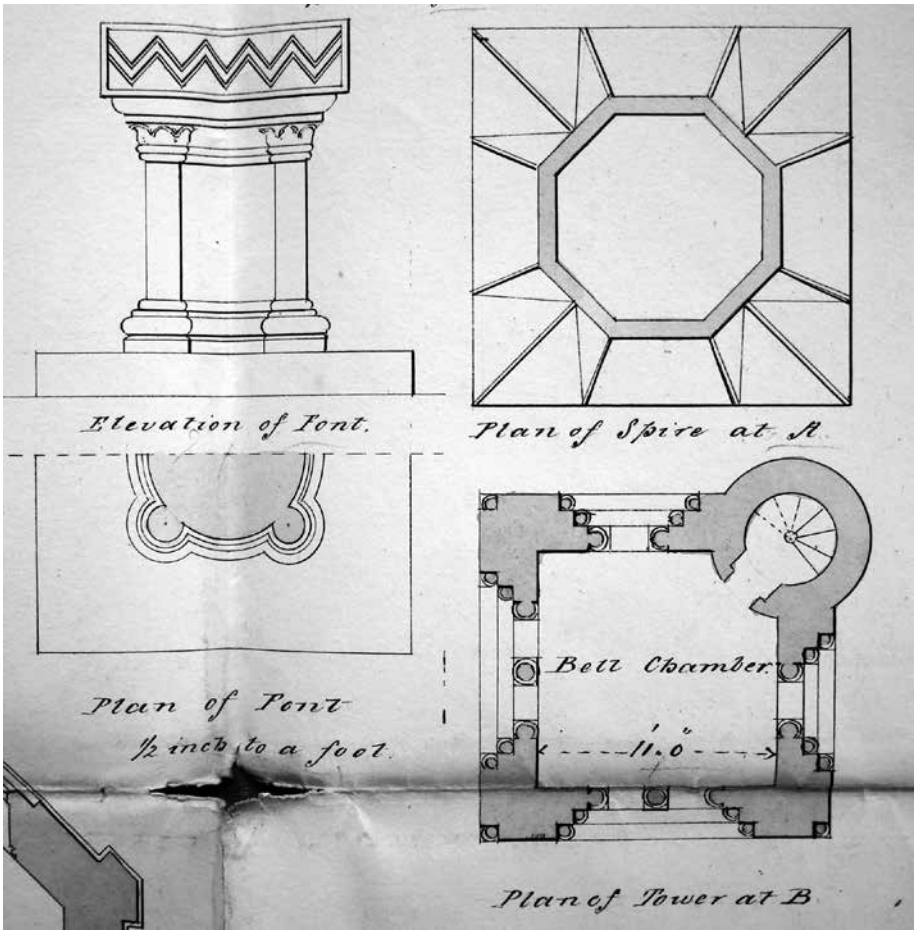

Fig. 7 St. Peter's, Southampton. Plan of font, spire & tower from Contract Plan No.2 by O. B. Carter dated 12th November 1842 (SA D/PM9/4/26/2)

It is feasible, however, that the decision to include a Rhenish helm at St. Peter's came from another source. Firstly, Carter may himself have visited and sketched the tower at Sompting. He certainly developed first-hand knowledge of many churches in Hampshire and Wiltshire during his career, although evidence is so far lacking for a similar familiarity with those in Sussex. However, an engraving of the market cross at Chichester, dated 1834 and based on a drawing by Carter, suggests that he had visited and worked in the county some years prior to his involvement at St. Peter's (see Fig. 9). He also produced a later watercolour of the same subject, though apparently set in a much earlier historical context (it is reproduced, for example, in Foster 2001, 2). This watercolour indicates that Carter had carried out a restoration of the cross in 1849, although no other evidence has so far been identified to corroborate this.

Almack may also have developed an acquaintance with the tower at Sompting. Prior to becoming rector of All Saints' he had been a fellow at St. John's College, Cambridge (Clergy List 1842, 4), but his ordination as priest in June 1831 had taken place at Chichester (WSR Ep/I/4A/1).

A personal familiarity with the church may not, however, have been necessary. The use of published illustrations was not uncommon

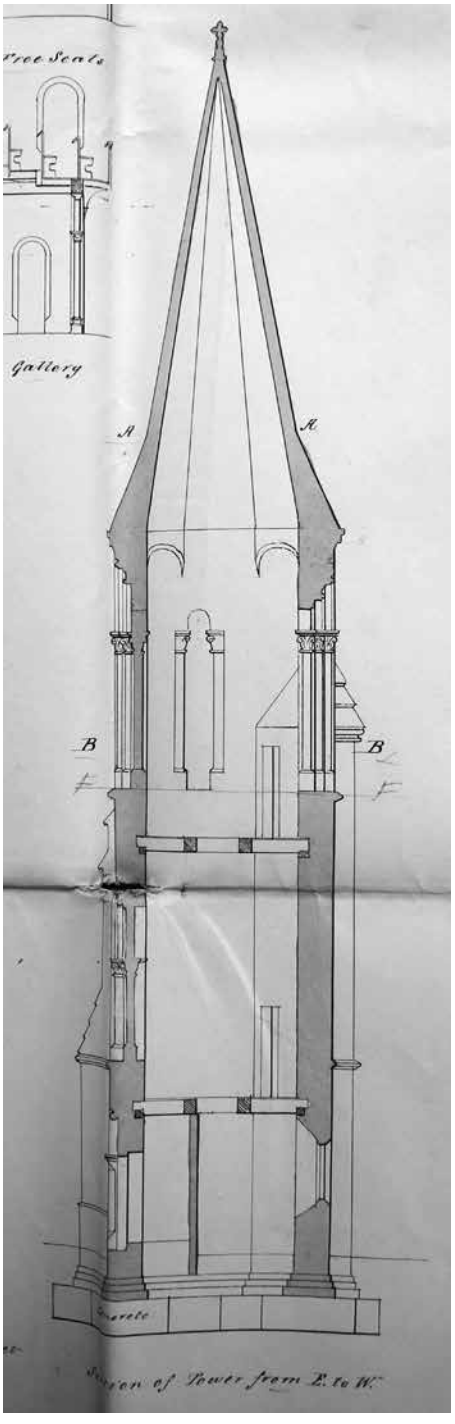

Fig. 8 St. Peter's, Southampton. Section of tower & spire from Contract Plan No.2 by O. B. Carter dated 12th November 1842 (SA D/PM9/4/26/2)

during the period, as has already been suggested. Port (2006, 48–51), for example, observes how plates from Britton's *Architectural Antiquities* influenced the designs of quite a few Commissioners' churches during the 1820s and 1830s. Other publications offered a similarly valuable resource for architects eager to recreate details from genuine and notable examples. Augustus Pugin and Edward Willson's *Specimens of Gothic Architecture* of 1821–3 is significant in this respect. As Clarke (1938, 38) indicates:

> Pugin and Willson supplied plans and sections and elevations for those who wished to design in the Gothic style, and made it possible for those who were not willing to make careful studies for themselves – and very few were – to achieve some kind of accuracy without much effort.

Carter was willing to travel and make careful studies of the buildings he admired, at least within Hampshire and adjacent counties. This is demonstrated, for example, by his perspective view of the bell-cote at Penton Mewsey (Carter 1844, reproduced by Freeman 1991, 18) which, as Freeman observes, was employed by Carter in his unexecuted designs for the restoration of Colemore in 1845 (Freeman 1991, 13). It also appeared at Nutley where, as had originally been intended at Colemore, it accommodated one rather than two bells.

The author Charlotte Yonge (Coleridge 1903, 117) provides an interesting observation in connection with the new church at Otterbourne (1837–9), which was designed by Carter in collaboration with Charlotte's father William Crawley Yonge:

> My father only knew that he admired York Cathedral [sic] extremely. He and old Canon Vaux traced out a cross plan with a stick on the ground at Cranbury. C. W. M. Carter [sic], an architect at Winchester, supplied a certain amount of technical knowledge; the fortification drawing came into use for working plans, study of Bloxam and Hooker's books and talk the rest.

This almost certainly refers to Matthew Holbeche Bloxam's *Principles of Gothic Ecclesiastical Architecture*, first published in 1829. Like Rickman's *Attempt* it was a popular architectural primer of the period and ran through a succession of revised editions. An illustration of Sompting's tower

Fig. 9 The Market Cross, Chichester 1834. Lithograph by T. M. Baynes from a drawing by O. B. Carter (WSR F-PD 215). © West Sussex County Council

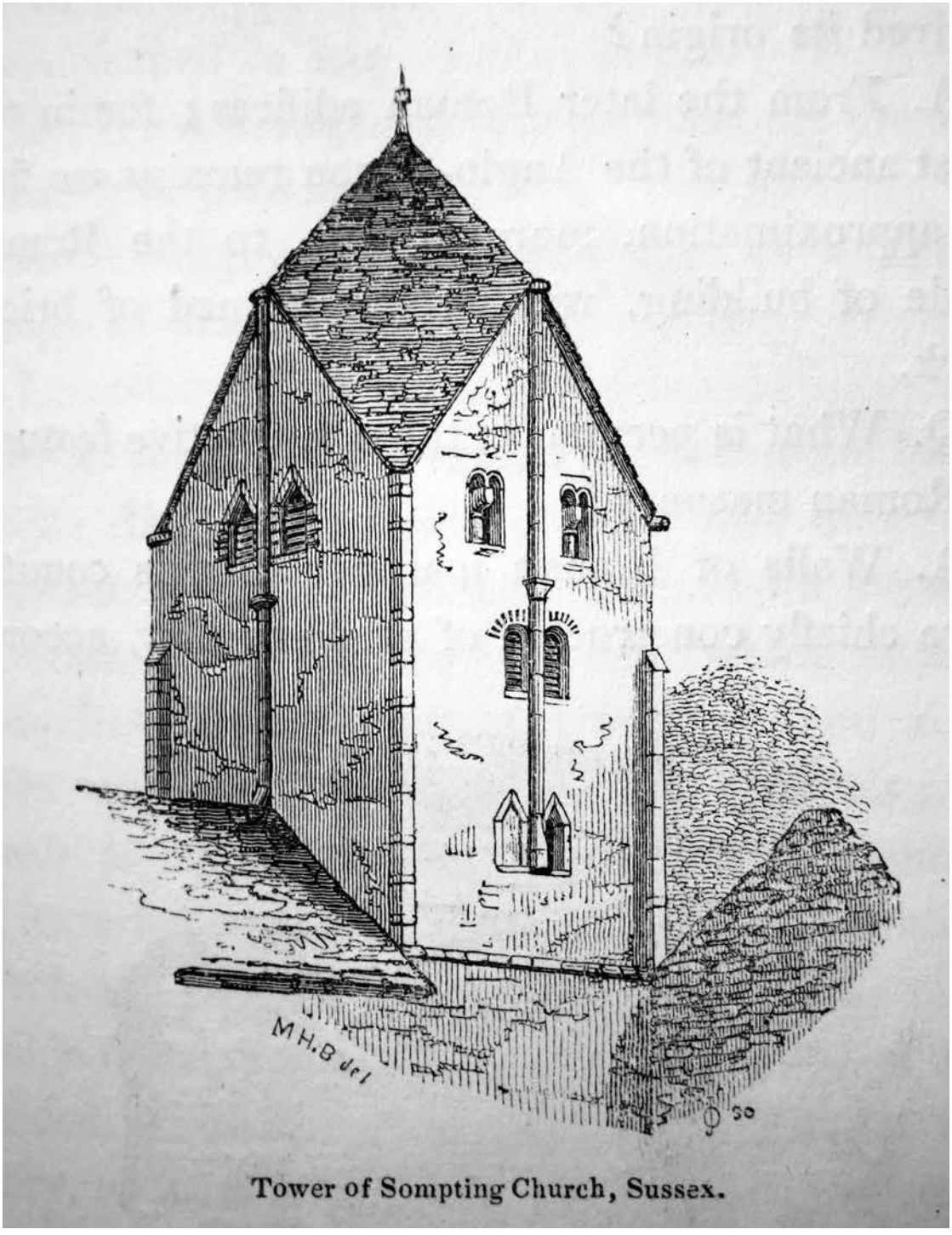

Fig. 10 St. Mary's, Sompting. Published in Matthew Holbeche Bloxam's *Principles of Gothic Ecclesiastical Architecture* (5th ed. 1843)

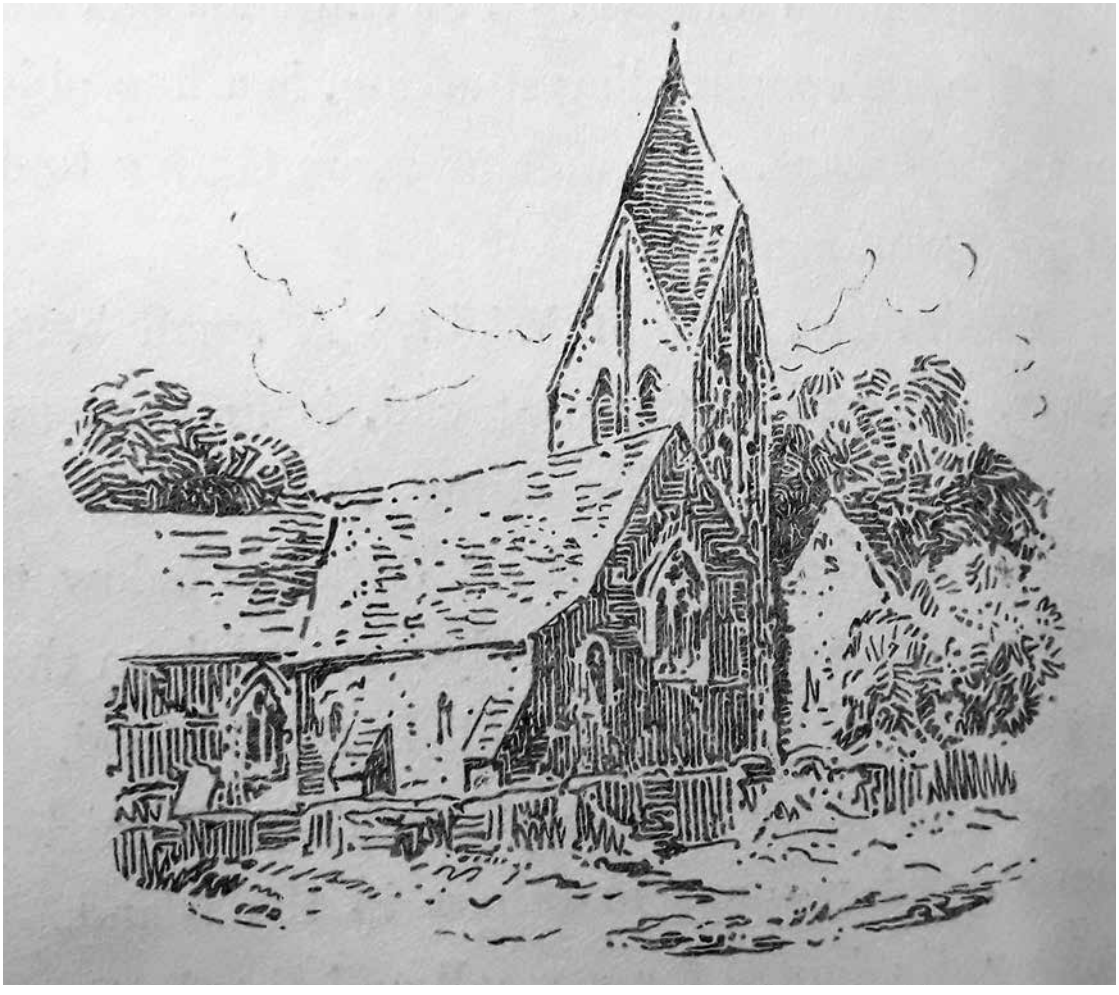

Fig. 11 St. Mary's, Sompting. Published in John Louis Petit's *Remarks on Church Architecture* Vol. 2 (1841)

first appeared in the fifth edition (Bloxam 1843, 29), published during the first half of January 1843 (PC 6, 25). Consequently it may have been consulted by Carter, Almack, or Langley prior to the decision to include a Rhenish helm at St. Peter's. If Bloxam was not the source then other publications may have served the same purpose. John Louis Petit's *Remarks on Church Architecture* of 1841, for example, also includes a view of the tower at Sompting, albeit a poor one (Petit 1841, 96). Petit was a topographical artist as well as a writer on ecclesiastical architecture and may have been personally acquainted with Carter during the 1840s. Both served as secretaries of the British Archaeological Association's Architectural Division in 1845, the year in which the Association's annual meeting took place at Winchester (GM 23 n.s., 633; Proceedings 1846, ii).

It is possible that by the late 1830s publications such as Bloxam's *Principles* exerted a greater influence on wealthy amateurs and patrons, such as William Crawley Yonge, than on architects such as Carter. This may also have been the case at St. Peter's too, since both Shadwell and Almack were clearly influential in

the church's evolving design. While Carter no doubt consulted these and similar publications during the course of his career, other examples of his ecclesiastical work, particularly those connected with bell structures, suggest that his preference was to base his designs on features he had himself seen and studied. Unlike the bell-cote at Penton Mewsey, however, he had no need to replicate complex, subtle details at St. Peter's, only the broad outline of its model. The source therefore remains unconfirmed and difficult to establish. But whatever it was, and whoever originated the idea, the inclusion of the Rhenish helm remains consistent with Carter's practice of incorporating distinctive medieval bell structures within his own designs.

CONSERVATIVE ARRANGEMENTS

There are, in addition to the use of the Rhenish helm, other parallels observable between St. Peter's and Newnham, particularly in connection with their style and internal arrangements. Yates (2000,153) refers to St. Peter's as 'a good example of a conservative urban church of the 1840s in a town as yet uninfluenced by the Oxford Movement'. This is underlined by Temple Patterson (1971, 69) who suggests that the 'strong evangelical tone of the Church in Southampton naturally meant that the Oxford or Tractarian Movement found little support there'. This was, he suggests, partly due to the leadership of Charles Sumner, the Bishop of Winchester, whom he describes as 'an earnest and conscientious evangelical esteemed by his whole diocese, who tended to confine his appointments to clergy of the same school of thought' (Temple Patterson 1971, 68). Although the bishop did not hold the advowson to All Saints' during the 1840s, he did hold that of St. Mary's, a neighbouring Southampton parish, together with other churches associated with it. Significantly, the conservative attitudes observable at St. Peter's, reflecting as they do evangelical or 'low church' tendencies, can also be detected at Newnham. The advowson to All Saints' was held by the Crown during this period, while Newnham was held by Queen's College, Oxford.

The decades following Waterloo witnessed, in many of the country's expanding urban centres, church building on an almost unprecedented scale. Unless large sums of money were forthcoming, however, the intention was normally to accommodate the maximum number of churchgoers in as economical and functional a manner as possible, while still retaining the appearance of a temple of the established church. Architects from Wren onwards had given much consideration to the question of how best to design such churches, whilst ensuring that the minister could still be seen as well as heard. It was a problem which continued to exercise architects such as John Shaw throughout the first half of the nineteenth century (see, for example, Shaw 1839). This led to churches with proportions and arrangements unlike those of their medieval predecessors, characterised by broad naves, galleries on three sides, and short, inconsequential chancels.

These auditoria increasingly came under attack during the 1840s as Pugin and the Cambridge Camden Society advanced forcefully articulated views on the 'correct' design and appearance of churches, from the proportions and style of the buildings themselves to the furnishings and arrangements within. Such views ultimately became very influential and their impact was far reaching. However, they were slow to take root and were initially confined to high-minded and sympathetic churchmen. As Webster points out, 'It is important to remember that in the 1840s these [late-Georgian] attitudes were still comfortably accepted by the vast majority of Anglicans' (Webster 2000, 2–3). Consequently the new churches and restorations of this period reflect a variety of attitudes from the staunchly conservative to the ecclesiologically aware.

It is first worth considering the use of the Romanesque style, which characterises both churches, since this may itself be indicative of Low Church leanings. This is in contrast to the 'Catholic connotations of the Gothic' (Mowl 1985, 46). The Ecclesiologists did not consider Romanesque an appropriate style for new churches and it is not surprising, therefore, that a review of St. Peter's, published in *The Ecclesiologist* shortly after its consecration, was unfavourable. Referring to the church as 'of no pretension' and 'scarcely challenging criticism', it nevertheless made a series of criticisms

beginning with the choice of style which it describes as 'unfortunately Romanesque' (TE 6, 34).

The inappropriateness or undesirability of the Romanesque style for church building was not, however, a unanimously held view during the 1840s. Although the ICBS stated in its suggestions and instructions of 1842 that 'No style seems more generally suitable for an English Church than the Gothic of our own country', it nevertheless suggested that Romanesque was 'also suitable, and offers peculiar advantages under certain circumstances, especially when the material is brick' (quoted in Parry 1984, 274). A debate on the suitability of the style was held at a meeting of the Oxford Architectural Society on 29th January 1845, during the construction of St. Peter's, and the opinions expressed were typically varied (Oxford Architectural Society 1845, 4–10). Carter may have become aware of this debate since he was admitted as a member of the society later that year (Oxford Architectural Society 1845, 51).

Admiration for the Romanesque was, in fact, increasingly being expressed during the 1830s and churches began to appear in that style. John Shaw utilised it, for example, in his church of Holy Trinity, Gough Square (in the parish of St. Bride's, Fleet Street). Dating from 1837–8, the experience prompted him to write *A Letter on Ecclesiastical Architecture, as applicable to Modern Churches* (Shaw 1839) in which he advocated its use. He believed that it was particularly suited to the construction of inexpensive churches accommodating galleries, and similarly advanced the desirability of using brick. The plain lancet style of the thirteenth century had often been chosen for low budget Commissioner's churches during the 1820s and 1830s which, according to Port, 'lingered on into the 'forties, sometimes in a Norman dress' (Port 2006, 189). A significant number of Romanesque churches consequently appeared in both rural and urban parishes during this period.

In addition to the money awarded by the ICBS, St. Peter's received aid of £350 from the Church Building Commission in February 1843 as part of the Second Parliamentary Grant of 1824 (CRC ECE/7/1/16120/1). Augustus Frederick Livesay's church of St. James', Milton in Portsmouth (1840–1, but since rebuilt) also received aid from both the Commission and the ICBS and, although much smaller than St. Peter's, was similarly designed in the Romanesque style. Its relative popularity during the 1840s is further demonstrated in Hampshire by such churches as St. Mary's, Elvetham (1840–1 by Henry Roberts), St. John the Baptist, Cove (1842–4 by George Alexander) and St. Barnabas', Swanmore (1844–5 by Benjamin Ferrey), the latter two also receiving aid from the ICBS.

Although a privately financed job, Elvetham is of particular interest concerning its Evangelical connections. It was built for George (third Baron) Calthorpe, an Evangelical churchman with philanthropic associations with the London City Mission and the Society for Improving the Condition of the Labouring Classes (Curl 2012, 22–3, where the church is incorrectly referred to as St. Mary's, Hartley Wintney). Calthorpe became the Vice-Patron of the latter society and the church's architect, Henry Roberts (1803–76), was both a founder-member and its Honorary Architect (Curl 2012, 23–4). During his career Roberts was associated with a number of well-connected Evangelical patrons and it was through these that he received the ecclesiastical commission at Elvetham.

The choice of the Romanesque style at Newnham was, of course, at least partly informed by the architecture of the old church, as it was at Kingsclere in 1848–9. The nave and tower at Kingsclere now present a consistent and imposing Romanesque display, but this was not the case prior to 1848. Later medieval alterations had significantly modified its appearance, including a new or remodelled belfry stage to the tower, a flatter nave roof and the insertion of later windows including one of three lights in the west wall of the nave. At the end of 1847 Thomas Hellyer, the architect employed, argued for a restoration of the nave and transepts in the Gothic style of *c.*1300 (HRO 90M72/PW14, letter dated 31/12/1847). The building committee, however, favoured a Neo-Norman restoration of the nave and tower, no doubt wishing to return them to something approaching their original appearance. Hellyer became a member of the Cambridge Camden

Society in 1843 (Brandwood 2000, 402) and had designed the nearby church of St. Paul's, Ashford Hill (1844–5) in the early Decorated style. He therefore considered a Norman restoration to be out of step with current ecclesiological trends and consequently open to criticism (HRO 90M72/PW14, letter dated 07/01/1848). Such views did not, however, prevent him from designing the neo-Norman church of St. Luke, Portsea in 1855–6 (LPL ICBS 4585). With its west gallery and diminutive apsidal sanctuary it represents a surprisingly conservative design for its date, and possesses what O'Brien *et al.* (2018, 468) describe as 'Quite a pleasing Evangelical interior'.

The reviewer in *The Ecclesiologist* next considered the proportions of St. Peter's:

> The general appearance is particularly stumpy: a defined chancel besides nave and apse being essential in an imitation of Romanesque. Nothing can look worse than an apse stuck immediately on to a nave; and the position of the tower aggravates the defect. The details affect prettiness, but are fairly executed. One can never help remarking however a miserable want of characteristic solidity in these pseudo-Romanesque churches.

Despite the decision to provide for a slightly longer and more distinct chancel, the reviewer highlights the fact that it continued to lack prominence and distinction. This reflected early nineteenth-century attitudes and practice which viewed a substantial chancel as superfluous and a needless expense. Since the Communion Service was only rarely celebrated, and the focus of worship had shifted from the altar to the pulpit, the chancel, if used at all, often provided additional accommodation for the congregation. Although the emphasis of the review is essentially on aesthetical considerations, they correspond with the Ecclesiologists' view that the focus of worship ought to return to the altar. Chancels, therefore, were to be long and accorded greater dignity of purpose, a view not shared by the Commissioners (Port 2006, 266).

The nave at St. Peter's, which is broad in relation to its length, is well suited to the accommodation of a large congregation without the necessity for aisles. It is probably due to this width that Carter decided to include what Pevsner regarded as an 'inappropriate' hammer beam roof (Pevsner & Lloyd 1967, 524). He also commented that the church 'is meant to be divided into a tripartite space, but the two transverse arches are very wide and the whole appears as a single broad space'. Again this reflects early nineteenth century pragmatism rather than medieval precedent and the Evangelical desire to ensure uninterrupted sightlines of the preacher for as many members of the congregation as possible. Much more appropriate, in the view of the Ecclesiologists, were the Gothic-aisled churches designed by architects such as Richard Cromwell Carpenter (Elliot 2011, 141–56). Based on the proportions of specific medieval examples, such as the Austin Friars' church in London, his designs were considered better suited to the performance of revived Anglican ritual and were positively received by the Ecclesiologists.

Further criticisms were reserved for the tower. Having observed the use of the Rhenish helm at St. Peter's (described as 'rather audacious') and its connection with Sompting, the reviewer of the Ecclesiologist considered the tower's windows to be 'unsuccessfully treated'. No reference, however, is made to the furnishings or arrangements within, possibly because the reviewer had not actually seen them, but no doubt these would have been accorded similar criticism.

Of the three extant ground plans of St. Peter's contemporary with its construction, two are very similar in their details. One is held at Lambeth Palace Library with the associated ICBS file (LPL ICBS 3072) and the other, which is in a much poorer condition, is preserved at Southampton Archives (SA PR23/13/1). Although not dated, they represent the church's arrangements following its completion. The third forms part of the contract with the contractor William Williams, dated 20th March 1843, and is therefore somewhat earlier (SA D/PM9/4/26/2). It is this plan which Yates (2000,153) refers to when he describes the church as conservative in its arrangements. He points out, for example, that the pulpit and reading desk are located together in the north-east corner of the nave, effectively reflecting the two or three decker pulpit arrangement of the Georgian church. The chancel stalls were also intended for the use of children

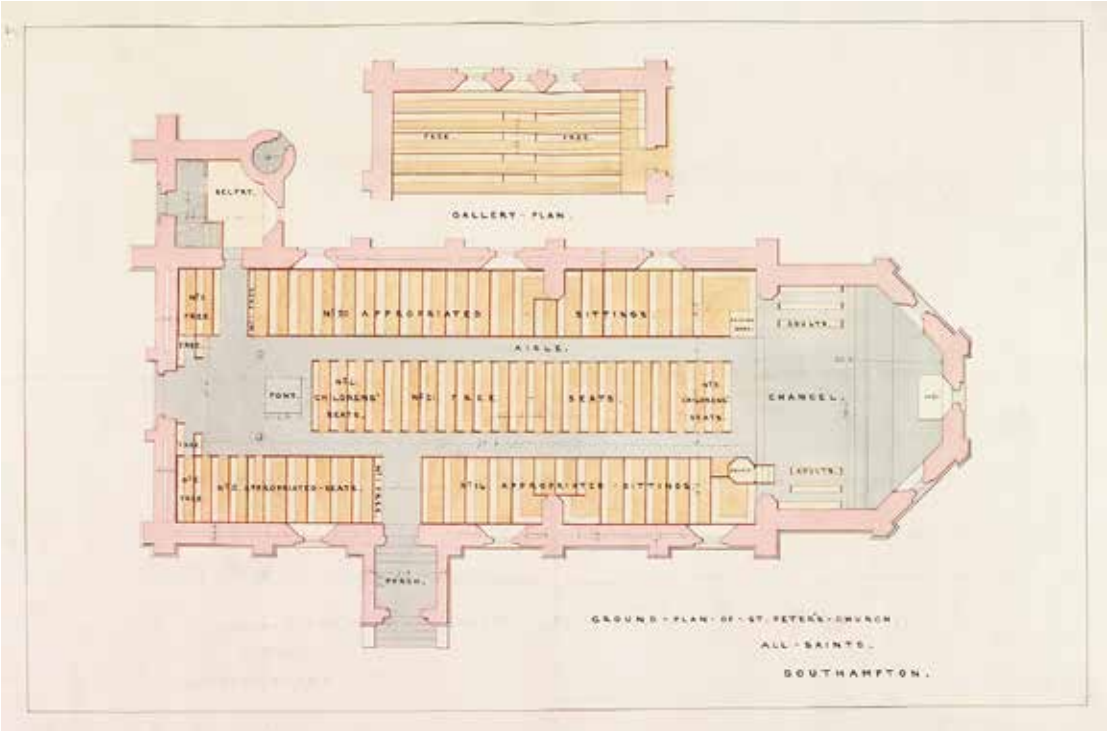

Fig. 12 St. Peter's, Southampton. Ground plan *c.*1845 (LPL ICBS 3072). © Lambeth Palace Library

rather than a surpliced choir. The surpliced choir, located in stalls on either side of the chancel, was an innovation introduced by Tractarian incumbents during the 1830s and 1840s, and their adoption was supported by the Ecclesiologists (see, for example: Cambridge Camden Society 1843, 4 and 16). Essentially unknown in ordinary Anglican parish churches prior to this period, they continued to be an exceptional feature during the 1840s.

Although the two later plans of St. Peter's differ in a number of particulars, the impression of a conservative urban church remains. The pulpit is now located opposite the reading desk in the south-east corner, not for reasons of ecclesiological propriety but because the arch jamb to the west obstructed the view of those sitting on the north side of the nave (LPL ICBS 3072, letter dated 06/05/1845). Both pulpit and reading desk are shown adjacent to square or double pews (one of which was for the minister and his family), a surprising anachronism at this date. The later plans continue to indicate that no surpliced choir was envisaged, although the chancel benches were intended to accommodate adults rather than children. The children were relocated to the front and back of the central block of stalls, all of which were free. At Newnham it is not clear whether a surpliced choir was intended, but the stalls immediately east of the chancel arch are given as free on the ICBS plan (see Fig. 14), so most likely it was not.

Some of the discrepancies observable between the plans of St. Peter's may relate to alterations made, apparently without Almack's sanction, by Carter himself. Almack stated that the architect had made 'arrangements in fitting up the interior quite at variance with the plan sealed by the Church Building Society and with our agreements' (LPL ICBS 3072, letter dated 11/03/1845). But despite Almack's apparent irritation with Carter, he essentially considered them an improvement (LPL ICBS 3072, letter dated 06/05/1845; CRC ECE/7/1/16120/1, letter dated 09/06/1845)

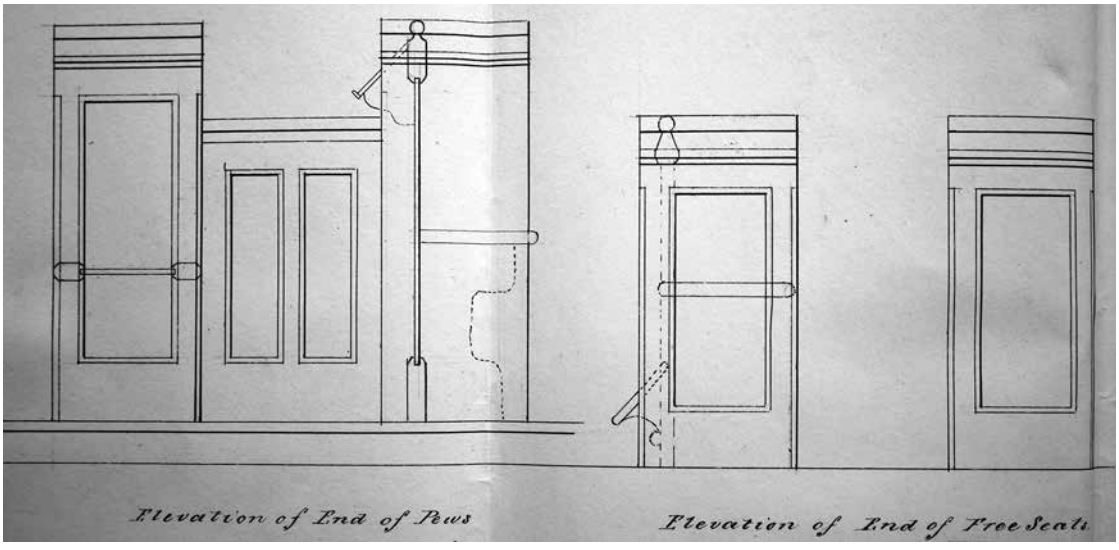

Fig. 13 St. Peter's, Southampton. Elevations of appropriated pews & free seats. From Contract Plan No.2 by O. B. Carter dated 12th November 1842 (SA D/PM9/4/26/2)

and they were subsequently approved by the Society and presumably also by the Commission (LPL ICBS MB 12, 190).

The nave seating at St. Peter's was arranged in three rather than the usual two blocks, with taller 'closed' pews on each side incorporating doors, and a substantial block of open benches (without doors) in the centre. This, like the proportions of the church, was an old fashioned arrangement which, as Yates (2000, 159) observes, was typical of many churches constructed during the 1820s and 1830s, including those built for the Commissioners. Such an arrangement 'restricted the number of private pews and made provision for open benches in the wide central aisle of the nave or in other parts of the building, and made them free for the use of the poor' (Yates 2000, 159).

It was necessary, both for the Commissioners and the Society, to provide a substantial proportion of free sittings for the poor since they constituted the greatest need. The ICBS insisted that at least one half of the additional sittings provided with their support were designated as free (Cooper 2011, 211). However, the arrangement at St. Peter's did not in fact meet the Society's guidance which stated that 'There must invariably be an open central passage up the whole length of the Church, from west to east' (quoted in Parry 1984, 281 and Cooper 2011, 220). The central aisle held, as with many other aspects of church design, a symbolic significance for the Ecclesiologists, representing as it did 'the whole Christian course and the straight way to Heaven' (Cambridge Camden Society 1841b, 6). A significant part of the internal alterations carried out by Carter comprised increasing the length of the free benches in the central aisle, and reducing those of the appropriated pews on either side. The pews at Newnham were, by contrast, arranged in two rather than three main blocks, as befitting a church of medieval proportions. Nevertheless, the ICBS plan indicates that seating arrangements reflected those at St. Peter's. The central aisle accommodated a narrow line of seats or stalls which again provided free sittings to the poor.

As part of its reconstruction Newnham received a new set of furnishings including a replacement font. The present chancel stalls, with their boldly shaped poppy heads, may date from the reconstruction but the nave pews were replaced in 1892. The faculty for their replacement, however, records that they also possessed doors (HRO 21M65/263F/2). Again this was not unusual during the 1830s and, despite objections from the Ecclesiologists (see

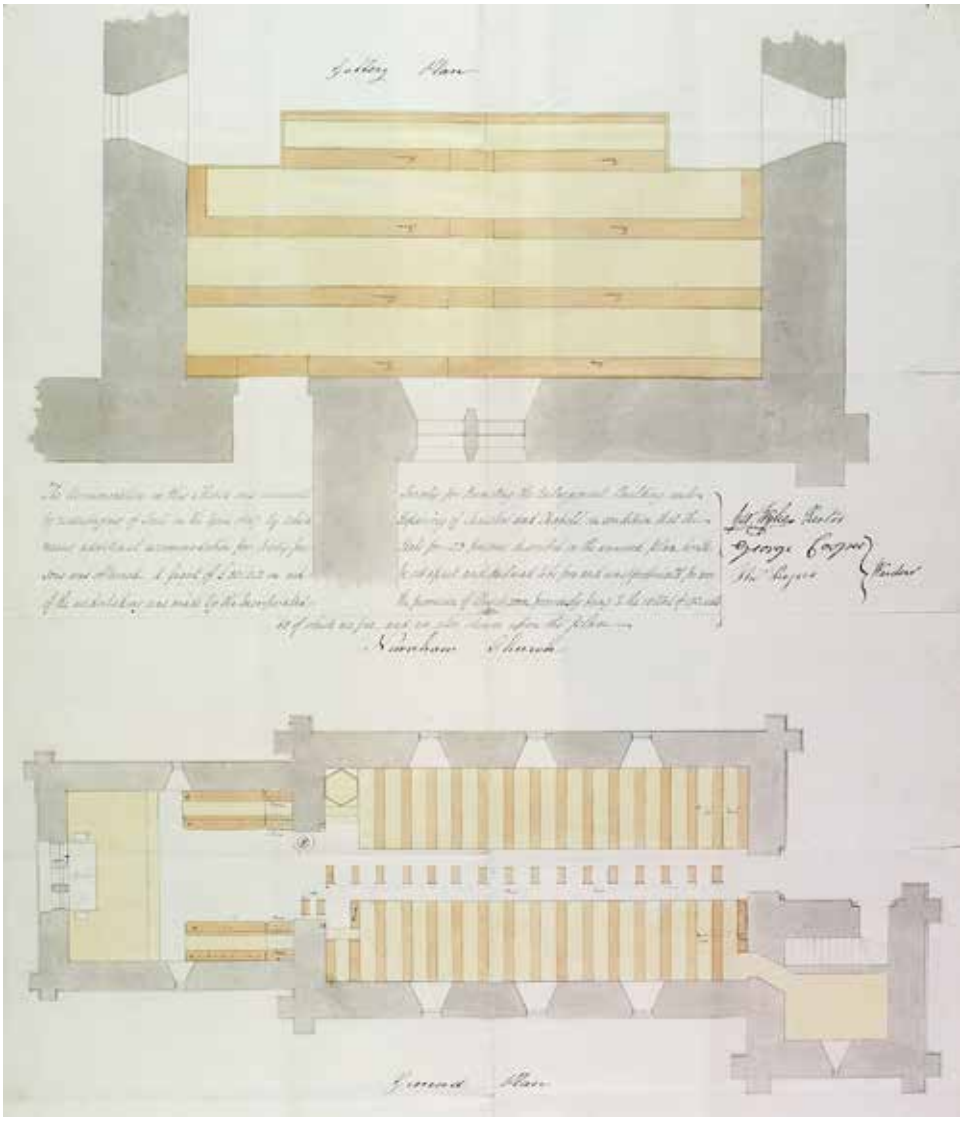

Fig. 14 St. Nicholas', Newnham. Ground plan & gallery plan *c.*1847 (LPL ICBS 3757). © Lambeth Palace Library

for example: Cambridge Camden Society 1841a, 12), examples continued to appear throughout the 1840s and beyond. The pews provided for the later restoration at Mapledurwell also originally possessed doors (see photograph No.750, dated 22/07/1911, in HRO DC/L6/4/2/6). Rows of east facing pews incorporating doors represent a transitional stage between the large box pews of the eighteenth-century Georgian church and the uniform open benches usually favoured for refurbishments during the mid-Victorian period. They were reflective of the class divisions evident in most churches during the early nineteenth century, which separated the rich from the poor and accorded the latter seating of a less commodious and more humble design.

At Kingsclere, indecision concerning the

new sittings reflected a wavering of opinion. The church restoration committee had initially specified closed pews throughout, but quickly changed their minds and restricted their provision to the transepts only (HRO 90M72/PW10, minutes for 07/02/1848 and 28/02/1848). As at St. Peter's the closed pews were taller, specified at four feet rather than two feet ten inches in height. The ICBS had indicated in 1842 that two feet eight inches was 'in all cases to be preferred, both for convenience and appearance' (quoted in Parry 1984, 281 and Cooper 2011, 220), but the authorities at Kingsclere had not applied to that society for aid. The arrangements at Kingsclere were evidently considered unsatisfactory, however, and doors were added *c.*1851 to the first ten rows of pews in the nave (HRO 90M72/PW14). These presumably represented appropriated sittings, and the doors were only removed in 1989 (HRO 21M65/F1989/88).

The pews at Hurstbourne Priors, which continue to preserve their doors, date from as late as 1870 (Bullen *et al.* 2010, 347). It is perhaps not entirely coincidental that this restoration, which included a reconstructed nave in the then unfashionable Perpendicular style, also included a new neo-Norman west tower. Although carried out nearly 25 years later, the restoration is reminiscent of Newnham's and points to similar Low Church leanings. In both cases the new tower replaced a timber bell turret and incorporated genuine Norman doorways.

The decision to place prestigious rented pews towards the front and the free, open benches towards the back is commonly encountered during the early nineteenth century. It was an arrangement which existed at St. James', Milton (LPL ICBS 2612, plan), for example, and is still preserved at St. Mary's, Hartley Wintney. It can also be observed to a certain extent at both St. Peter's and Newnham, although the ICBS plan for the latter suggests that the free sittings at the back of the nave may also have included doors. As Almack observed in connection with St. Peter's, 'the side seats westwards of the columns meant to support the gallery' could not be 'let for hire, as being at too great a distance from the desk and pulpit, &c' (LPL ICBS 3072, letter dated 11/03/1845). In both churches a significant proportion of the seating was appropriated: 230 compared with 332 free sittings at St. Peter's, and 130 compared with 123 at Newnham (LPL ICBS 3072; ICBS 3757).

Appropriated pew space, that is, pews reserved for a particular user who might pay a rent or have some other exclusive right to it, produced additional funds which were in many cases necessary to support the church and its minister. At St. Peter's the scale of pew rents varied per sitting from 12s. 6d. to £2 2s. per annum, depending on their position. But for the Cambridge Camden Society, 'the evils they represented more than outweighed any economic benefits: they were socially divisive and encouraged smugness and self-satisfaction' (Webster 2000, 7). Although there continued to be slightly fewer free sittings at Newnham, compared to those which were appropriated, the number had risen from 68 to 123, an increase of 80 percent. Caution is necessary, however, when considering these figures since parishes were prone to exaggeration in order to secure a favourable grant (Webster 2011, 203). But if the figures for Newnham are reliable then free sittings represented approximately 48 percent of the whole, an improvement on 35 percent prior to the church's refurbishment.

As noted earlier, the ICBS had to point out the unsuitable positions proposed for the fonts at both St. Peter's and Newnham. Despite this, Wylie's preferred position at the east end was either subsequently countenanced or overlooked. An eastward position for the font was again not uncommon during the early decades of the nineteenth century but by the 1840s was increasingly seen as inappropriate and objectionable. The Ecclesiologists advocated a position near the main entrance, symbolic of the infant's reception into the church, which in practice meant the west end (see for example: Cambridge Camden Society 1841a, 9). A westward position had already formed part of the regulations of the Church Commissioners (Port 2006, 98) and was taken up by the ICBS in 1842. Its suggestions and instructions indicate that the font was to be 'fixed at the west end of the building, or as near as convenient to the principal entrance, but not so as to be under a gallery' (quoted in Parry 1984, 281). If Newnham's font had been placed at the east

end, as shown on the ICBS plan, then the faculty plan of 1892 (for repewing the nave) indicates that it had by then moved to its ecclesiologically more appropriate position near the western entrance.

To what extent the ICBS sanctioned eastward positions for fonts during the 1840s requires further research. According to a ground plan for Cove church, the font was centrally placed under the crossing tower between nave and chancel (LPL ICBS 3077, plan). It might be argued that this position partially met the Society's instructions since one of the church's entrances was in the south transept. The architect's certificate of completion, however, reveals that it had changed from the position originally intended, having been 'executed according to an arrangement approved by the Lord Bishop of Winchester' (LPL ICBS 3077, certificate of completion dated 13/12/1844). Since the consecration of the church had already taken place, and Bishop Sumner was a member of the Society's board, it was perhaps felt prudent to let it pass. A similar arrangement from the late 1830s existed at Otterbourne, but this would have immediately pre-dated ecclesiological influence. However, despite the many pragmatic points put forward by Wylie for the location of his font, it is unlikely that an eastern position, under the chancel arch and away from the main entrance, would have been countenanced by an ecclesiologically minded incumbent of the late 1840s.

Hampshire's population was, like that in the rest of the country, expanding most rapidly in its towns and cities. The population of the Southampton parish of All Saints', for example, rose from 2315 in 1801 to 8464 in 1851, an increase of 265 percent (VCHH 1912, 450). By the 1820s the need for additional church accommodation was already being felt and it was proposed to build a new chapel of ease (CRC ECE/7/1/16120/1, letters dated 10/12/1824 and 04/02/1828). Raising the necessary funds, however, proved difficult, particularly as the parish church had only been rebuilt during the 1790s. Instead, the proprietary chapel of St. Paul's was constructed but the need for additional accommodation, particularly for the poor, remained. This is revealed in a letter from Shadwell to the Church Commissioners in 1842 (CRC ECE/7/1/16120/1, letter dated 06/12/1842):

> The Population at the Census in 1841 was 6560 since which time many new houses have been built and more will still be built in consequence of the new docks and railway and the West India steam packets starting from this Port. I have proposed to build a new Church in consequence of the great want of Church Room. The Mother Church holds 1270 in pews but all the pews are attached to houses by a special act of Parliament under which the Church was built and the only free seats are a few benches in front of the Communion table holding about 30 and a gallery for children at the top of the Church above the first gallery holding about 70. There is also a proprietary Chapel not consecrated without any district attached to it and no free seats. This holds about 700.

It resulted in the construction of St. Peter's which provided an additional 562 sittings (LPL ICBS 3072). Although most rural parishes were not expanding at anything like this rate, many were still experiencing substantial growth during the first half of the century. Newnham's population rose from 260 in 1801 to 360 in 1851, an increase of nearly 40 percent (VCHH 1912, 439). It is not, therefore, surprising that many of Hampshire's churches, both urban and rural, experienced difficulties in accommodating their parishioners.

Most parishes responded to the need for additional accommodation by constructing galleries. In 1832 the officiating minister for Itchen Abbas applied for funding to construct a gallery at the west end of his church. In support of his application he provided an interesting and revealing description of how the church was then arranged, and the difficulties he encountered (LPL ICBS 1456):

> I have taken the liberty of applying to you on behalf of the Parish Church of Itchin Abbas [sic] which in its present condition does not afford seats for the population. The body of the church contains pews for the different houses and by a late alteration and equal distribution each farm house and every one above the rank of a cottager has its seat. The lower end of the church is set apart below the pews for free sittings for poor women and in general they are filled by them or their children. There are no sittings for the labouring poor men except some forms [i.e. benches] in a confined part of the chancel, when

> they cannot well hear and are just out of sight of the Minister. There is not room in this place for half the men who usually attend church if they were to attend altogether, and inattention in the younger men receives no check, nay is in some degree encouraged by the secluded position of the seats. The Parish after encountering the expence of altering and rearranging the pews which are new in the body of the church, decline any further expensive undertaking and I see no possible remedy for this great evil but in building a Gallery.

During the 1840s, however, the provision of galleries was increasingly being seen as objectionable, the Ecclesiologists going as far as to state that 'GALLERIES UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES ARE TOTALLY INADMISSIBLE' (Cambridge Camden Society 1843, 6). Prominent among the criticisms put forward was their inefficient use of space and 'unsightly' appearance, a word often used to describe them during the Victorian period. If the accommodation needs of a church could not be met by replacing or re-arranging the pews then the Ecclesiologists advocated enlargement through the addition of aisles (see for example: Cambridge Camden Society 1841b, 17; Cambridge Camden Society 1843, 8). Consequently many clergy were busy removing galleries and enlarging their churches during later restorations. Donald Baynes, the curate of Thruxton from 1836, was typical of this new breed of ecclesiologically-minded clergymen. Among his many acts of restoration and refurbishment were the removal of the church's west gallery in 1844 and the addition of a north aisle in 1850–1, all of which he paid for himself. During the 1844 alterations the nave was also reseated in 'American oak, and without doors' (HRO 79M71/PR2), a clear point of contrast with those provided at St. Peter's and Newnham, and reflecting quite different attitudes.

Yet despite this increasingly unfavourable attitude towards galleries they still represented a quick and economical means of providing additional accommodation at a time when it was particularly needed. John Henry Parker, the well-known architectural writer and publisher, was probably voicing the opinion of many when he suggested, during the debate on the Romanesque style referred to above, 'that our theories must sometimes give way to practical necessity, and that galleries at present seemed unavoidable' (Oxford Architectural Society 1845, 5). Moreover, the distaste for galleries was not as yet widespread, at least for those placed at the west end. Consequently incumbents and their patrons, particularly those who were not ecclesiologically minded, continued to favour and specify them. In their suggestions and instructions of 1842 the ICBS objected to the placement of galleries in the chancel, but otherwise permitted their construction so long as they were 'made to appear as adjuncts and appendages to the architectural design of the interior, rather than as essential parts or features of it' (quoted in Parry 1984, 282). It further stated that 'The Society will not sanction any plan involving the erection of a gallery, unless in cases where it is distinctly shown that no room is unnecessarily sacrificed, by inconvenient arrangements, on the floor'.

West galleries continued to be constructed during the 1840s, including examples at St. Peter's, Newnham, Elvetham, Swanmore and Kingsclere. The gallery at Newnham, like that at Kingsclere, replaced an earlier structure and has never been removed. Although the church was essentially rebuilt, opportunity was not, with the sole exception of the tower, taken to enlarge. The inclusion of a gallery was, no doubt, considered necessary, providing as it did the majority of the free seating required in order to secure the £30 grant from the ICBS. This, together with the reseating of the nave, provided an additional 60 sittings, representing a 31 percent increase on the total prior to the restoration (LPL ICBS 3757). The gallery at St. Peter's, which no longer survives, also provided a significant proportion of the church's free seating and offers yet another example of similar arrangements adopted at both churches.

THE QUESTION OF CARTER'S INVOLVEMENT AT NEWNHAM

Benjamin Thorne is credited as the person responsible for the reconstruction and refurbishment at Newnham (Bullen *et al.* 2010, 412). But since it included the provision of a Rhenish helm spire it is perhaps not surprising that

Fig. 15 St. Nicholas', Newnham 1832 by Chevalier Grant (WCL HC364). © The Dean & Chapter of Winchester 2019. Reproduced by kind permission of The Dean & Chapter of Winchester

Carter's involvement has also been proposed (Bell 2004, 26; Hare 2014, 4). Both authors similarly suggest the possibility of Street's involvement at Newnham but this seems unlikely given that he had left Carter's practice in 1844 to further his education with George Gilbert Scott (Street 1888, 6).

Before considering Carter's possible involvement further, however, it is worth focussing on Thorne. Surprisingly little has so far come to light concerning his life and work. He originated from West Meon, having been baptised there in 1809 (HRO 67M81/PR6, baptism on 9th July, 1809), but by the beginning of the 1840s he had moved to Basingstoke where, for many years, he maintained premises in Church Street. Entries describe him variously as 'builder' (Post Office 1847, 1099; NA HO 107/1681, f.185; White 1859, 493), 'carpenter' (White 1859, 493) and 'joiner' (Slater 1844, 10), 'upholster' (Post Office 1847, 1099; NA HO 107/1681, f.185; Post Office 1855, 17; White 1859, 493) and 'cabinet maker' (Post Office 1847, 1099; White 1859, 493). They indicate that he did not specialise in one particular trade but oversaw a substantial enterprise. By 1851 he was employing as many as 28 men (NA HO 107/1681, f.185). He apparently also practiced as a surveyor and the fact that he referred to himself as the architect for the later restoration of nearby Mapledurwell church (LPL ICBS 4289, plan), again for Wylie, suggests that he could and did provide his own designs. As at Newnham, it was Thorne who signed the certificate of completion for the ICBS in 1854. This certificate was a requirement of the Society and it was expected that the signature of the architect or surveyor responsible would be included.

The alterations at Mapledurwell were substantial, comprising repairs, new fenestration, the removal of a medieval north porch and its accompanying doorway, and new furnishings. It was also intended to rebuild the bell turret over the centre of the nave but this was subsequently abandoned (LPL ICBS 4289, letter dated 19/10/1854). The approach to restoration was broadly similar to that undertaken at Newnham. Early illustrations reveal that windows of various periods, including several of post-Reformation date, had been inserted in the walls of both churches, providing an attractive but inconsistent appearance. At Newnham a uniform series of windows, nominally in the Romanesque style, were provided, while at Mapledurwell consistency was achieved through

the provision of lateral lancets and a three light Decorated east window. Such an approach was consonant with restoration practice of the period which often sought to return a church, or its constituent parts, to a condition free from later alterations and accretions. It is an approach which can be observed, for example, at Kingsclere in 1848–9, at nearby Nately Scures in 1864–6, and at Colemore during Carter's restoration of the nave in 1845.

Colvin (1995, 25) observes that:

> Most architects were prepared to act as measuring surveyors and although the engagement of a surveyor did not necessarily mean going to him for the design, the two functions were so intimately associated that the terms 'architect' and 'surveyor' were almost synonymous in eighteenth-century parlance.

Port also suggests that 'there still existed a fluidity between architect and builder in the 1820s and 1830s' and gives as an example Benjamin Bramble, the contractor for the churches of St. John the Evangelist, Forton and St. Mary's, Portsmouth (Port 2006, 121 and 333). Both were designed by Thomas Ellis Owen and, in the case of Forton, his father Jacob. Bramble, however, was also the designer of Holy Trinity, West Cowes and the former Portsmouth Guildhall of 1837 (Lloyd & Pevsner 2006, 122; O'Brien *et al.* 2018, 476). By 1840 the architect had emerged as a 'professional man set aside from the building trade by education and specialized training' (Colvin 1995, 29), but it is clear that many builders and surveyors continued to provide their own designs and working drawings. Brown (1841, 69) felt it necessary, in connection with domestic architecture, to spell out the distinction:

> For the guidance of those gentlemen who may be about to build, we shall here point out the difference that exists between the architect and the mere builder, it having become a practice among the latter class of the present day to assume the title of architect, without possessing any of the necessary qualifications except that of making mechanical drawings. The duties of a builder and those of an architect are altogether distinct, the difference being as great as between those of a physician and an apothecary, or a counsellor and an attorney. The builder is a contractor for work; the architect a designer, planner, and director of that work, and an auditor of the accounts. But if both be united in the same individual, he cannot rank as an architect.

This suggests that the distinction was not widely understood by potential clients, although Jenkins (1961, 211) considers Brown's comments to be over-dramatic.

The terms 'architect' and 'surveyor' remained interchangeable and the roles closely associated well into the nineteenth century (Wilton-Ely 1977, 192). This can be easily appreciated when reading through the files of the ICBS. Its surveyor, Joseph Good, for example, provided two reports on the plans for Cove church in 1842, describing himself as surveyor in the first and architect in the second (LPL ICBS 3077, reports dated 27/06/1842 and 24/12/1842). In both reports Good describes the designer of the church, George Alexander, as the architect, but correspondence from John Randell, treasurer to the church building committee, refers to him as surveyor (LPL ICBS 3077, letter dated 12/12/1844). Good's report on the plans for the new church at Swanmore describes Benjamin Ferrey, the church's designer, as the architect, but Ferrey himself signed the certificate of completion as surveyor (LPL ICBS 3415, report dated 11/04/1844 and undated certificate of completion).

Documents signed by a 'surveyor' do not, therefore, necessarily indicate that a separate architect was involved. The church of St. Maurice, Winchester, for example, was rebuilt in 1841–2 and had also received grant aid from the ICBS. Freeman (1991, 13) suggests that William Gover, who provided the designs and signed the certificate of completion as surveyor (LPL ICBS 2514), was 'not in reality a true architect'. By this he probably meant that Gover had not received the same level of training and was more intimately connected with the building trade. Yet even Carter recorded his occupation as surveyor in 1833–4 (HRO 40M83/PR5, baptisms of James Owen Carter on 16th February 1833 and Caroline Ann Carter on 23rd December 1834), although he referred to himself as architect thereafter.

As Colvin observes, architects such as Carter continued to carry out the role of surveyor and at St. Peter's he also acted as clerk of works. Both are recorded in the 'memorandum of

an agreement', dated 14th August 1843 (SA D/PM9/4/26/4), which states that Carter was expected to inspect the works at least once a week during the course of construction. Unfortunately no such agreement exists to confirm roles and responsibilities at Newnham.

The role of surveyor was, according to Dobson (1849, 151), 'often carried on as a distinct branch of architectural practice', although he suggests that it is 'often appropriated by those who have no real claim to it'. Similarly, he states that 'The profession of the architect and the trade of the builder are sometimes carried on by the same person', but warns that 'this union of the directive and executive functions is not to be recommended' (Dobson 1849, 150). One of the reasons he gives is that 'the absence of professional control will always be a strong temptation to a contractor to prefer his own interests to those of his employer, however competent he may be to design the buildings with the execution of which he may be charged'. Brown (1841, 69) had made the same point eight years earlier. But Thorne was apparently trusted by Wylie, and may have carried out both functions despite the potential conflict of interests highlighted by Dobson and Brown.

This flexibility of roles and the terminology used to describe them suggest that there is no reason for assuming that Thorne either worked under or carried out the designs of a separate architect. Thorne, Wylie and others connected with the work at Newnham may have developed a familiarity with Carter's new church through one of his 665 lithographs, thus enabling them to emulate its most characteristic feature. There are, however, other reasons for favouring Carter's involvement.

In terms of planning there exist a number of striking similarities between Newnham and St. Peter's. These have already been observed in connection with the arrangements of the furnishings, but they extend to the planning of their towers. Both are north-west towers, and although Newnham's only partly extends beyond the north wall of the nave it was originally intended to be a true north tower like that at St. Peter's. This could not be carried out owing to the defective nature of the ground and consequently the present position was adopted (LPL ICBS 3757, letter dated 21/01/1848).

A further similarity is that both towers accommodated the vestry. As previously observed, access to the vestry at St. Peter's was intended to be from the nave only. A similar arrangement, this time overlooked by the ICBS, was actually carried out at Newnham and remains to this day. It is true that the intention to avoid external access to the vestry appears not to have been unique to these two churches. It had been pointed out, for example, at Cove in June 1842 (LPL ICBS MB 11, 120–1), although in this case the vestry was in the more usual position on the north side of the chancel.

Both towers also provide access to the west gallery, removing the need for a staircase at the back of the nave. This had been advocated by Rickman (Port 2011, 56), although the provision of twin turrets or flanking lobbies was a more typical arrangement in early nineteenth century churches. Separate access to the west gallery, provided as an integral part of the tower's structural design, is much less frequently encountered, particularly in restorations of medieval fabrics. At St. Peter's access is via an external doorway in the west face of the tower and is in addition to a spiral stair (which provides access to the tower's upper stages) in the north-east angle. No doubt access to the gallery at Newnham was also intended to be via a doorway in the tower's west face, but the need to alter its position would have necessitated changes to its design. Access to the gallery at Newnham is via an external doorway in the south face of the tower and is kept quite separate from the vestry. This separation was originally intended at St. Peter's but, following criticism from the Society's subcommittee, a link was provided between the vestry and the foot of the gallery stairs. Both are unlike the arrangements formerly existing at Swanmore and Kingsclere where access was provided via stairs at the back of the nave. The solution adopted at Newnham suggests a more intimate knowledge of the arrangements at St. Peter's than would have been possible through an acquaintance with the lithograph.

Carter was no stranger to the Basingstoke area. He may have represented one part of the Winchester partnership 'Carter and Coles' who supplied plans for the proposed alterations at St. Michael's, Basingstoke in 1839 (HRO 46M74/

PW1, committee meeting on 27/06/1839). They were unsuccessful, and the contract was awarded to the Reading architect John Berry Clacy who carried out the work in 1840–1. Carter had, however, provided the drawings for *Picturesque Views in and near Basingstoke*, which was published in 1841. This included views of St. Michael's Church, the Town Hall and Cornmarket, the Holy Ghost ruins and the church of St. Mary's at Old Basing, the latter being an adjacent parish to Newnham.

Carter had also carried out improvements to the music gallery at the Town Hall (now the Willis Museum) in 1845. Correspondence between Carter and Robert Cottle, a prominent figure in Basingstoke affairs and mayor five times, indicates that, although the money owing to Carter for this work was a matter of contention, there existed a warmth and familiarity between them which evidently went back several years (HRO 46M89/8, letter dated 01/05/1846). Indeed, it was Cottle, a printer and bookseller, who had printed and published *Picturesque Views* in 1841. Carter and Cottle evidently shared a mutual interest in art since both were local honorary secretaries of the Art Union of London (HC 16/03/1844, 1a). It is therefore possible that, despite the wrangling over his fees for the Town Hall improvements, Carter was recommended to Wylie and Thorne, even by Cottle himself.

It is difficult to deny, however, that the low proportions of the tower and helm spire at Newnham are unsatisfactory, whether due to poor design, lack of funds, lack of ambition, or defective ground. The detailing of such features as the church's windows is also not comparable with those at St. Peter's, being crude and unscholarly both in their design and execution. A similar criticism might be extended towards the tower. Although there is a certain similarity in the twin bell openings, both of which are contained within an outer arch, those at St. Peter's possess greater enrichment and swagger. The materials employed are also different. The tower at Newnham is built of brick with a flint face, whereas the specification for St. Peter's indicates that the church was built of rubble stone (SA D/PM9/4/26/2).

Nor do the furnishings at Newnham provide many clues. Most have been replaced but the choir stalls may date from the refurbishment of 1847–8 as already suggested. Their boldly shaped poppy heads, comprising three leaf clover shapes with two oval lobes below and a cusped lozenge above, find no parallels in Carter's other known refurbishments, although so few examples are known that the comparison is of limited value. The font, which is octagonal and very plain, similarly differs from those known from Carter's ecclesiastical work, including the example provided at St. Peter's (see Fig. 7). According to the contract plans this was square and Romanesque in style (SA D/PM9/4/26/2). The Newnham font also contrasts with Thorne's more elaborate example at Mapledurwell, although this too is octagonal. Finally, the design of the gallery front differs from that provided at St. Peter's, which is again recorded on the contract plans.

The ICBS plan for Newnham is, unfortunately, not signed (see Fig. 14). A reasonably accomplished plan, it is noticeably superior to that signed by Thorne for Mapledurwell (LPL ICBS 4289, plan). Whereas the Newnham plan includes subtly drawn details, extending to the walls, window mullions and doorways, those provided for the Mapledurwell plan are crudely rendered by comparison. Similarly, the walls, floors and sittings are coloured on the Newham plan, but the Mapledurwell plan is drawn in pencil with no colour applied. A comparison of the Newnham plan with others known to be by Carter, however, would suggest that he was not responsible either. Despite the comparative quality of the Newnham plan, Carter's usually display a superior level of refinement and attention to detail. This is demonstrated, among others, by his plans for St. Peter's (see Fig. 12).

Various stylistic details also make Carter's authorship of the Newnham plan unlikely. The walls in many of Carter's plans, for example, are coloured pink to denote new masonry, as seen in his ICBS and contract plans for St. Peter's, the ICBS plan for Nutley (LPL ICBS 3547), the ground plan for Otterbourne (HRO 27M66/PW4, No.1) and those for his school at Hyde in Winchester (HRO 20M65/89/1; 20M65/89/5). Existing walling is usually given in grey, as in his two extant ground plans for the restoration of Grateley church in 1850 (HRO 32M76/PW7; LPL ICBS 4163). Where

Fig. 16 St. Nicholas', Newnham from the north 2019

both new and existing walling is shown, as in one of his plans for the enlargement of Oakley church in 1839 (SAL ICBS 2749b) and the ICBS plan for the proposed restoration at Colemore (SAL ICBS 3255), both colours are employed to distinguish between them. This was common practice during the Victorian period, but in the Newnham plan all the walls are grey, including the newly constructed tower. The pew blocks in the Newnham plan are given in brown, which corresponds with others by Carter, including the ICBS plan for St. Peter's and those for Nutley and Grateley. The floors in Carter's ground plans of this period, however, are normally shown in a blue tint. This can again be seen in the ICBS plans for St. Peter's, Nutley and Grateley. Apart from the sanctuary, which is yellow, the floors on the Newnham plan are, by contrast, uncoloured.

Carter's ground plans often incorporate fine ink lettering, indicating free seating and the constituent parts of the church. In the ICBS plan for St. Peter's the lettering is bold and in upper case. More often it is given in a fine italic, as in the contract plan for St. Peter's, the two plans for Hyde school, and the plan already referred to for Oakley. By contrast, the Newnham plan includes no such lettering, apart from small inconsequential labels denoting the free sittings. It is true that the ground plan for Nutley also bears no lettering, apart from certain pencil markings which may have been applied later, but the plan is small by comparison, incorporating as it does various sections and elevations. Typical, also, of Carter's ground plans is the inclusion of measurements, with finely drawn dotted lines denoting the areas covered. These can be seen, for example, in his plans for St. Peter's, Grateley, Nutley, Otterbourne, and his two plans for Hyde school. That for Oakley includes measurements for the northern extension only. The Newnham plan provides no such measurements, and the dotted lines denoting the extent of free sittings are crudely drawn.

Many of the same characteristics, including the blue floors, italic lettering and precise measurements, also occur in the ground plans Carter prepared as part of an extensive series of drawings of Wiltshire churches in 1847–50. About twelve ground plans, plus another in lithographic form, are preserved in this important collection of Carter's work which is held at the Wiltshire Museum in Devizes.

The crude and unscholarly nature of the reconstruction at Newnham, together with the doubtful authorship of the ICBS plan, would tend to suggest that, if Carter played any part at all, it was limited in extent. It may be possible, for example, that Carter was only tasked with producing preliminary plans, or exercised an arm's length involvement during the progress of the works. He might also have acted in the capacity of a consultant. Whereas his involvement at St. Peter's was personal and direct, this may not always have been the case, particularly if the work was modest in nature or was carried out at some distance from Carter's office in Winchester. A possible example may be observed at Ringwood church. Freeman (1991, 22) points out that Carter had been consulted over the stability of the tower during the church's reconstruction in 1853 (HRO 22M84/PW42). His connections with the church, however, dated back some ten years prior to this, although the precise nature of his involvement is unclear.

On 7th March 1843 Carter wrote a letter to Charles Sharp, a surveyor from Ringwood, in connection with alterations then taking place. Sharp had sent him proposals, including a sketch, which apparently related to a new porch. Carter offered his frank opinions in terms of the proposed plan, style and materials to be employed. The letter indicates that Carter had previously provided plans and was suggesting ways in which costs could be reduced. Records of bills paid indicate Sharp's direct involvement with the work, and the letter suggests that he had exercised particular authority in the planning as well as the execution of the work. This is apparent in Carter's proposals for reducing costs, stating in connection with the materials originally specified that 'My reason for introducing so much stone was that I considered it required by your conditions, as the stone quoins &c were named in them' (HRO 121A13/1/1/6). The impression given by the letter is that Carter's involvement was distant and ultimately subordinate to Sharp's.

Given the distance involved and the limited rail communications available at that time,

Fig. 17 All Saints', Crondall *c.*1880 by William Savage (HCT PWCM 4899I). © Hampshire Cultural Trust

Carter may have been obliged on occasions to maintain an arms-length involvement. As Colvin (1995, 44) points out:

> The improvement in communications meant that the new professional architect, while retaining his London office, could personally supervise the erection of half a dozen buildings at once, in a way that had been quite impossible for his eighteenth-century predecessor, who supplied a plan and elevation, answered queries by letter, and relied on the experience and discretion of his master craftsmen to give satisfaction to his client and observe the established rules of sound building. The Industrial Revolution, which provided the professional architect with so many new opportunities, also provided him with the means to exploit them, and his triumph came in the 1840s and 1850s with the railways, which … finally destroyed the autonomy of the local builder.

No doubt this also reflected the challenges faced by provincial architects such as Carter, particularly when engaged in commissions beyond their immediate vicinity. However, his possible involvement at Newnham seems, if anything, to have been on an even more restricted basis since, as already observed, Thorne was associated not only with the completion of the church but with the initial plans delivered to the ICBS. If Carter did create preliminary plans then responsibility must soon have transferred to Thorne. Contemporary examples for such an arrangement, at least in Hampshire, are not easy to identify, and other factors would tend to suggest that Carter's involvement at Newnham must be considered doubtful. Newnham was much more accessible from Winchester than Ringwood would have been, and consequently a restricted or arm's

length involvement would seem less appropriate or necessary. Ringwood is approximately 30 miles from Winchester, whereas Newnham is not quite 23. But more significantly, Ringwood was only connected to the railway network (via the Southampton and Dorchester line) during the second half of the 1840s, whereas the section between Basingstoke and Winchester had opened in May 1840 (White 1961, 114 and 154).

Despite their positions at opposite ends of the County, the opening of the railway between Basingstoke and Winchester would also have made Southampton more accessible. Newnham is situated between Winchfield and Basingstoke stations (Hook was only opened in 1883), and both were on a direct rail route to Southampton. Several trains ran in each direction during the mid-1840s, and although St. Peter's was further from the terminus than the present central station, it would have been relatively straightforward for Wylie, Thorne and others to visit the church and examine its structure and arrangements.

The identification of churches as potential models by parish authorities is not without precedent. One such example is the tower at Crondall. Constructed in 1659, it is modelled on that of Battersea old church (SHC CRON/6/2), built twenty years earlier, and reputedly followed an investigation by members of the Crondall vestry (Stooks 1905, 8; Bullen *et al.* 2010, 232). A similar search for models may have occurred at Newnham. St. Peter's was, after all, a relatively high profile church only recently constructed and it no doubt caused a certain degree of interest among the County's churchmen and designers. Given its style and traditional churchmanship St. Peter's may have particularly appealed to Wylie as a potential model. This may in turn have led to the decision to base the Newnham tower on that of St. Peter's, including its north-west position, accommodation of the vestry, access to the west gallery, and of course its Rhenish helm.

THE BISHOP SUMNER VOLUMES

There remains, however, one other connection between Owen Carter and Newnham church. Winchester Cathedral Library holds four large and extremely interesting volumes of illustrations, particularly watercolours, most of which depict churches from Hampshire and the Isle of Wight. Comprising over 600 views, the majority date from the second quarter of the nineteenth century and provide a valuable record of their appearance prior to Victorian alterations and rebuilding. In some cases, as at Newnham, churches are shown both before and after reconstruction. The earlier view, from the south-east, is signed by Chevalier Grant and dated 1832 (WCL HC364, see Fig. 15). A second, from the north-east, shows the church after reconstruction and is neither signed nor dated (WCL HC363).

The collection may have been instigated by Charles Sumner and is consequently, for convenience, referred to here as the Bishop Sumner volumes. What is noticeable about the illustrations is that, although the style, size and medium employed vary considerably, groups can be identified which are almost certainly attributable to the same artist. Such identification is not a straight forward task for two main reasons. Firstly, the volumes are arranged broadly alphabetically by place, so that work by the same artist is scattered throughout the collection. Secondly, while some artists, such as Grant, signed and/or dated their work, the majority did neither.

Some of the artists featured in the collection confined their work to specific geographical areas. Grant, for example, supplied views of the neighbouring churches at Mapledurwell (one of two views of that church), Old Basing, Basingstoke and Eastrop (WCL HC325; HC32; HC30; HC200). The later view of Newnham church can be identified as part of another, entirely anonymous and undated, group of watercolours. Unlike the examples by Grant, these are more geographically dispersed. What characterises them stylistically is a muted colour palette and broadly oval compositional frame. The churches themselves are well detailed (though not necessarily accurately), and the blue sky is softly interspersed with splodges of white cloud. Otherwise whites, greys and browns predominate.

What is particularly significant about this group is that they include all of Carter's

Fig. 18 St. Nicholas', Newnham *c.*1848. Attrib. O. B. Carter (WCL HC363). © The Dean & Chapter of Winchester 2019. Reproduced by kind permission of The Dean & Chapter of Winchester

Fig. 19 St. Peter's, Southampton *c.*1848. Attrib. O. B. Carter (WCL HC467). © The Dean & Chapter of Winchester 2019. Reproduced by kind permission of The Dean & Chapter of Winchester

known churches: Otterbourne (WCL HC385), Ampfield (WCL HC288), Nutley (WCL HC379), and St. Peter's, Southampton (WCL HC467). This makes an attribution to Carter, who was also a noted architectural and topographical artist, particularly compelling. Lithographs based on Carter's own drawings exist for Ampfield, Otterbourne and St. Peter's, and are probably contemporary with their construction. The lithographs for St. Peter's date from 1843, as already established, and were sold in aid of the church's construction (see Fig. 5). The corresponding watercolours for all three churches appear to be closely based on these lithographs (and their now lost original drawings), showing them from the same angle and differing only in matters of detail.

Other watercolours executed in the same

style appear to have no known connections with Carter's architectural work. These include Rotherwick (WCL HC424), an adjacent parish to Newnham, and Tufton (WCL HC511). No significant work of the 1830s or 1840s has been identified at Rotherwick, and although repairs were carried out to the west end of Tufton in 1836, following a fire the previous year, the surveyor responsible is recorded as Hopgood (probably John Hopgood) of Andover (LPL ICBS 1936).

The group also comprises the recently constructed churches at Beauworth (WCL HC128), St. Maurice, Winchester (WCL HC563), St. James, West End (WCL HC489), and St. James, East Cowes (WCL HC153). Beauworth was built in 1838 but the architect remains unknown. The watercolour is therefore suggestive of an attribution to Carter. Caution is necessary, however, when considering possible attributions on the basis of these watercolours since they include churches known to have been designed by other architects. The church of St. Maurice's, Winchester, for example, was rebuilt in 1841–2 to the designs of William Gover, as already observed. Its watercolour appears to be based on a near-contemporary lithograph by George Frederick Prosser, which shows the church from essentially the same angle (see, for example, HRO 1M82W/PZ16). St. James', West End was constructed in 1836–7 to the designs of the architect James Wild and was eventually replaced by the present church in 1888–90 (O'Brien *et al.* 2018, 750). St. James', East Cowes is earlier still, having been designed by John Nash and constructed in 1831–3. Of this church only the tower now survives, the rest having mostly been rebuilt in 1868–70 (Lloyd & Pevsner 2006, 134–5).

Among the illustrations contained within the Bishop Sumner volumes are two depicting Fyfield church. Like those for Newnham, they show the church before and after its extensive restoration of 1846–7. Carter was responsible for this restoration and probably produced the later watercolour (WCL HC219). Although its colours are noticeably more vibrant, the style is otherwise very similar. Another watercolour depicting Holy Trinity, West Cowes (WCL HC157) features a correspondingly vibrant colour palette and may also be attributable to Carter. This pre-ecclesiological Gothic church dates from 1832, and was designed, as previously observed, by Benjamin Bramble of Portsmouth.

This group of watercolours was painted on white sheets of card and their measurements are similar. The Newnham watercolour, for example, measures 172 × 268mm, whereas the one depicting St. Peter's measures 175 × 252mm. The measurements for all 13 watercolours identified as part of this group range between 162–185mm in height and 250–275mm in length, a variation of 23mm and 25mm respectively.

Since the reconstruction work at Newnham was completed by the end of 1847 it is reasonable to assume that the group of watercolours, here attributed to Carter, date from about that time. During 1847–50 Carter was occupied on a series of measured drawings of Wiltshire churches as already observed. Unlike the perspective views contained within the Bishop Sumner volumes, these consist of ground plans, sections, elevations and architectural details which are mostly signed and dated. Many of the sections and elevations, particularly for the period 1847–9, are provided with a light colour wash and bear a certain resemblance to the group of watercolours within the Bishop Sumner volumes. They share, for example, the same broadly oval compositional frame and a similar use of whites and browns. The skies are somewhat softer and less vivid, but a similar combination of blue sky and white cloud is in evidence. A comparison of the transverse section for Bratton church (WMD DZSWS: 1982.2008), for example, which dates from 1848, with the watercolour of St. Peter's, lends further weight to the attribution.

There are, curiously enough, certain small inaccuracies observable in at least two of the watercolours. The Fyfield watercolour, for example, depicts several features which do not in fact occur. These include a single light window in the west wall of the south porch, a hood mould to the nave south window, a south east buttress to the chancel and a line of coping stones along the nave's west gable. The inaccuracies are perhaps surprising, given Carter's architectural background and known involvement with the church. Similarly, the Newnham watercolour depicts the inclusion

Fig. 20 St. James the Great, Bratton. Transverse section looking east by O. B. Carter 1848 (WMD DZSWS: 1982.2008). © Wiltshire Museum, Devizes

of keystones (a Classical rather than a Norman device) in the lateral windows of the church, a feature which again was never realised. Both churches represent late restorations, carried out between 1846–8, and a possible explanation is that the watercolours may have been executed prior to their completion, or were based on superseded plans. Another is that, for all Carter's undoubted skill as a draughtsman, he was occasionally prone to inaccuracy. This is suggested, for example, by his view of Old Basing church (Picturesque Views 1841, pl.4), in which the tracery of the nave's west window is not precisely rendered. The watercolours may also reflect Carter's method of working. Based on earlier sketches or lithographs, they were probably painted in his studio and may have comprised a certain degree of erroneous recollection and 'artistic licence'.

Carter's presence in Newnham may be coincidental or it may point to an involvement in the recently completed reconstruction of the church. Even if he was not personally involved he may have developed an awareness of this work and the influence which St. Peter's had on its design. Unlike St. Peter's, however, reports describing the restoration and re-opening of the church at Newnham appear to have been absent from the local and ecclesiological press. The fact that the church is modest, exciting no particular claims to attention, and its situation retiring, away from Carter's base in Winchester, would tend to argue for some sort of involvement on his part.

CONCLUSION

This paper has focussed largely on the question of influence, and in many respects has raised more questions than it has answered. This is particularly true concerning the source of the Rhenish helm adopted at St. Peter's, and the extent to which architectural publications of

the period exerted an influence on Carter and his patrons. Further research is needed to answer these questions with a greater degree of confidence. Irrespective of whether Carter was involved at Newnham, its reconstruction in 1847–8 was almost certainly influenced by his church in Southampton which had only recently been completed. The most obvious parallel is the inclusion at both churches of the Rhenish helm, representing perhaps the two earliest examples of its adoption in Victorian England. Various other parallels suggest that those responsible for the work at Newnham possessed an intimate knowledge of arrangements at St. Peter's which may have been aided by the arrival of the railways. They also suggest that a similarly conservative attitude to worship existed at both churches.

The question of Carter's personal involvement at Newnham is more problematic. No documentary evidence has so far come to light connecting him with the church, whereas Thorne's involvement is clear from the moment the plans were sent to the ICBS. Thorne appears to have been a capable builder and surveyor who had gained Wylie's trust. Not only was he involved at Newnham but he later carried out the restoration at nearby Mapledurwell, apparently to his own designs. The roles of builder, surveyor and architect remained fluid during this period, as were the terms used to describe them, and it is feasible that Thorne also provided the designs and working drawings at Newnham. It is also possible that Carter either supplied preliminary designs, acted as consultant, or maintained an arm's length involvement during the course of the work. Such an approach may be analogous to his apparent involvement at Ringwood, although insufficient documentary evidence survives in both cases to enable parallels to be drawn with confidence. Indeed, the extent to which provincial architects such as Carter maintained a direct and continuing involvement in their work during this period may provide a further avenue for research. The substantial nature of the work at Newnham, together with improved rail connections from Winchester, would tend to cast doubt on his involvement. Moreover, for all the shortcomings of Carter's design at St. Peter's, as identified by Pevsner and the reviewer in *The Ecclesiologist*, the proportions and detailing of its tower and windows exhibit a greater degree of sophistication than those at Newnham.

There remains, however, the unsigned and undated watercolour of Newnham church contained within the Bishop Sumner volumes. Attributed to Carter during the course of this paper, it points to a contemporary awareness of the church and is suggestive of his involvement in its reconstruction.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank Dr. Robert Hill and Dr. John Hare for reading through and commenting on earlier drafts, and for providing much encouragement. Indeed, it was through a chance conversation with Dr. Hare that the paper came to be written. I am grateful to Lisa Brown at the Wiltshire Museum in Devizes for allowing me to view the many Carter illustrations and lithographs in her care; to Jo Bartholomew, the Curator and Librarian at Winchester Cathedral, for allowing me to see the original Bishop Sumner volumes and providing the measurements of the watercolours here attributed to Carter; and to Jeff Ford for allowing me to see inside the tower and vestry at Newnham. The staff of the Hampshire Record Office, Hampshire Cultural Trust, Lambeth Palace Library, Southampton Archives, and West Sussex Record Office have also been particularly helpful.

REFERENCES

Abbreviations

GM	Gentleman's Magazine	PC	The Publisher's Circular
HA	Hampshire Advertiser	n.s.	New Series
MB	Minute Book	TE	The Ecclesiologist

Primary sources

Church of England Record Centre [CRC]
ECE/7/1/16120 Southampton St. Peter, Ecclesiastical Commissioners file (1823–1939).

Hampshire Archives and Local Studies [HRO]
1M82W/PZ16 Winchester St. Maurice framed print of church by G F Prosser.
20M65/89/1 St. Bartholomew, Hyde school ground plan 1845.
20M65/89/5 St. Bartholomew, Hyde school ground plan, section, elevation and specifications for new infants' schoolroom 1852.
21M65/263F/22 Newnham faculty for reseating church 1892.
21M65/A2/5 Act book of Bishops Pretyman-Tomline and Sumner 1824–44.
21M65/E2/795 Henry Almack presentation deed, Southampton All Saints.
21M65/F1989/88 Kingsclere faculty for removal of pew doors.
22M84/PW42 Ringwood letter reporting on the stability of the tower 1853.
27M66/PW4 Otterbourne four plans for new church.
32M76/PW7 Grateley ground plan of church 1850.
40M83W/PR5 Winchester St. Cross with St. Faith register of baptisms 1813–69.
46M74/PW1 Basingstoke St. Michael minute book of the committee for church alterations 1839–43.
46M89/8 Bill for improvements made to the music gallery at the town hall, Basingstoke and correspondence 1845–6.
67M80/PR9 Newnham register of marriages 1837–88.
67M81/PR6 West Meon register of baptisms and burials 1733–1812, marriages 1733–54.
79M71/PR2 Thruxton register of baptisms, marriages and burials 1702–1812.
90M72/PW10 Kingsclere restoration committee minute book 1848–9.
90M72/PW14 Kingsclere correspondence and papers relating to the restoration 1847–52.
121A13/1/1/6 Letters to Charles Sharp, surveyor of Ringwood 1842–3.
DC/L6/4/2/6 Photograph No.750 of the interior of Mapledurwell looking east, 1911.

Lambeth Palace Library [LPL]
Incorporated Church Building Society files:
ICBS 1456 Itchen Abbas, St. John the Baptist (1832–4).
ICBS 2612 Milton (Portsmouth), St. James (1839–41).
ICBS 3072 Southampton, St. Peter (1842–6).
ICBS 3077 Cove, St. John (1842–4).
ICBS 3757 Newnham, St. Nicholas (1846–8).
ICBS 4585 Portsea, St. Luke (1852–65).
Incorporated Church Building Society General Committee Minute Books 11 (1841–3) and 12 (1843–7).
The church plans, including those now held by the Society of Antiquaries, can also be viewed at http://images.lambethpalacelibrary.org.uk.

National Archives [NA]
HO 107/1681 1851 Census. Registration district: 116 Basingstoke. Registration sub-district: 1 Basingstoke ff.1–281.

Southampton Archives [SA]
D/PM9/4/26 Papers concerning the building of Southampton St. Peter. Includes contract (20th March 1843) containing two plans dated 12th and 15th November 1842 (D/PM9/4/26/2).

Society of Antiquaries London [SAL]
ICBS 3255 Colemore, St. Peter ad Vincula: plan (*c.*1845).
ICBS 2749b Oakley, St. Leonard: plan (1839).

Surrey History Centre [SHC]
CRON/6/2 Crondall churchwardens' and overseers' accounts 1623–1822.

West Sussex Record Office [WSR]
Ep/I/4A/1 Ordinands' Subscription Book 1829–62 (Diocese of Chichester).

Winchester Cathedral Library [WCL]
The Bishop Sumner volumes of illustrations of Hampshire and Isle of Wight churches (mostly 19th cent.) in 4 vols.
Owen Browne Carter (attrib.) *c.*1848:
HC128 Beauworth, St. James.
HC153 East Cowes, St. James.
HC157 West Cowes, Holy Trinity.
HC219 Fyfield, St. Nicholas.
HC288 Ampfield, St. Mark.
HC363 Newnham, St. Nicholas.
HC379 Nutley, St. Mary.
HC385 Otterbourne, St. Matthew.
HC424 Rotherwick.
HC467 Southampton, St. Peter.
HC489 West End, St. James.
HC511 Tufton, St. Mary.
HC563 Winchester, St. Maurice.

Chevalier Grant:
HC30 Basingstoke, St. Michael (1832).
HC32 Old Basing, St. Mary (1832).
HC200 Eastrop, St. Mary (1830[?]).
HC325 Mapledurwell, St. Mary (1832).
HC364 Newnham, St. Nicholas (1832).
The illustrations can also be viewed as digital files at Hampshire Archives and Local Studies (HRO CD/34).

Wiltshire Museum at Devizes [WMD]

DZSWS 1982.2008 Bratton, St. James the Great. Transverse section looking east, by Owen Browne Carter 1848.

Printed primary sources

Clergy List, 1842, London.

Slater, I 1844 *Pigot and Co.'s Royal National and Commercial Directory and Topography* (Pt 2: Hampshire, Oxfordshire, Somersetshire, Wiltshire, North Wales and South Wales).

Post Office, 1847 *Post Office Directory of Dorsetshire, Hampshire, Wiltshire, with Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Huntingdonshire and Berkshire, Northamptonshire, Oxfordshire*, London.

Post Office, 1855 *Post Office Directory for Hampshire, Wiltshire and Dorsetshire*, London.

White, W 1859 *History, Gazetteer, and Directory of Hampshire and the Isle of Wight*, Sheffield.

Secondary sources

Bettley, J & Pevsner, N 2015 *Suffolk East,* London and New Haven.

Bell, N 2004 *Newnham. A History of the Parish and its Church* (locally published church guide).

Bloxam, M H 1843 *Principles of Gothic Ecclesiastical Architecture Elucidated by Question and Answer* (5th ed.), London.

Brandwood, G K 2000 Appendix: a Camdenian roll-call, in Webster, C & Elliott, J (eds) *'A Church as it should be': the Cambridge Camden Society and its Influence*, Stamford, 359–454.

Brown, R 1841 *Domestic Architecture*, London.

Bullen, M, Crook, J, Hubbuck, R & Pevsner, N 2010 *Hampshire: Winchester and the north,* New Haven and London.

Cambridge Camden Society, 1841a [attrib. to J M Neale] *A Few Words to Churchwardens on Churches and Church Ornaments No. I. Suited to Country Parishes* (6th ed.), Cambridge.

Cambridge Camden Society, 1841b [attrib. to J M Neale] *A Few Words to Churchwardens on Churches and Church Ornaments No. II. Suited to Town and Manufacturing Parishes* (2nd ed.), Cambridge.

Cambridge Camden Society, 1843 [attrib. to J M Neale] *Church Enlargement and Church Arrangement*, Cambridge.

Carter, O B 1844 Penton Meusey church, Hants, in Weale, J *Quarterly Papers on Architecture*, Vol. 2, London.

Cartwright, E 1830 A history of the western division of the County of Sussex. *The Parochial Topography of the Rape of Bramber, in the Western Division of the County of Sussex,* Vol. 2, Pt. 2, London.

Clarke, B F L 1938 *Church Builders of the Nineteenth Century: a study of the Gothic Revival in England*, New York.

Colvin, H 1995 *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600–1840* (3rd ed.), New Haven and London.

Cooper, T 2011 Victorian guidance on seating from the incorporated church building society, in Cooper, T & Brown, S (eds) *Pews, Benches & Chairs. Church Seating in English Parish Churches from the Fourteenth Century to the Present*, London, 211–36.

Curl, J S 2012 Henry Roberts (1803–76) architect and housing reformer. Evangelical, family, and other connections, in Webster, C (ed.) *The Practice of Architecture: eight architects 1830–1930,* Reading, 15–47.

Dobson, E 1849 *Rudiments of the Art of Building*, London.

Elliottt, J R C 2011 Carpenter (1812–55): the Anglicans' Pugin, in Webster, C (ed.) *Episodes in the Gothic Revival. Six Church Architects*, Reading, 133–62.

Foster, P 2001 *A Jewel in Stone – Chichester Market Cross 1501–2001,* Chichester.

Freeman, R 1991 *The Art and Architecture of Owen Brown Carter (1806–1859).*

Hare, J 2014 Four churches from North East Hampshire: Mapledurwell, Newnham, Up Nately and Nately Scures, *Hampshire Fld Club Archaeol Soc Newsletter* **62** 3–5.

Harris, B L 2006 *Harris's Guide to Churches and Cathedrals,* London.

Jackson, N 2011 George Edmund Street (1824–81): an architect on holiday, in Webster, C

(ed.) *Episodes in the Gothic Revival. Six Church Architects*, Reading, 163–98.

Jenkins, F 1961 *Architect and Patron,* London.

Lloyd, D W & Pevsner, N 2006 *The Isle of Wight,* New Haven and London.

Mowl, T 1985 The Norman Revival, in Macready, S & Thompson, F H (eds) *Influences in Victorian Art and Architecture*, London, 41–8.

O'Brien, C, Bailey, B, Lloyd, D W & Pevsner, N 2018 *Hampshire: South,* New Haven and London.

Oxford Architectural Society, 1845 *Proceedings for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture, Hilary Term 1845,* Oxford.

Parry, T V 1984 *The Incorporated Church Building Society, 1818–1851*, unpubl M.Litt. Thesis, University of Oxford.

Petit, J L 1841 *Remarks on Church Architecture*, Vol. 2, London.

Pevsner, N & Lloyd, D 1967 *Hampshire and the Isle of Wight,* London.

Picturesque Views in and near Basingstoke, 1841, Basingstoke.

Port, M H 2006 *Six Hundred New Churches. The Church Building Commission 1818–1856*, Reading.

Port, M H 2011 Thomas Rickman (1776–1841): 'A name to whom we owe, perhaps, more than any other', in Webster, C (ed.) *Episodes in the Gothic Revival. Six Church Architects*, Reading, 45–98.

Proceedings at the Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, at Winchester, September MDCCCXLV, 1846, London.

Rickman, T 1825 *An Attempt to Discriminate the Styles of Architecture, in England, from the Conquest to the Reformation: with notices of above three thousand British edifices: preceded by a sketch of the Grecian and Roman Orders* (3rd ed.), London.

Rickman, T 1835 *An Attempt to Discriminate the Styles of Architecture in England from the Conquest to the Reformation: with a sketch of the Grecian and Roman orders; notices of numerous British edifices; and some remarks on the architect of a part of France* (4th ed.), London.

Rickman, T 1848 *An Attempt to Discriminate the Styles of Architecture in England from the Conquest to the Reformation: with a sketch of the Grecian and Roman orders; notices of numerous British edifices; and some remarks on the architect of a part of France* (5th ed.), London.

Shaw, J 1839 *A Letter on Ecclesiastical Architecture, as Applicable to Modern Churches: addressed to the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of London,* London.

Stooks, C D 1905 *A History of Crondall and Yateley in the County of Hants,* Winchester.

Street, A E 1888 *Memoir of George Edmund Street, R.A. 1824–1881,* London.

Temple Patterson, A 1971 *A History of Southampton 1700–1914. Volume Two: the beginnings of modern Southampton, 1836–1867*, Southampton.

VCHH, *The Victoria History of the County of Hampshire and the Isle of Wight*, Vol. 5 (1912), London.

Webster, C 2000 'Absolutely Wretched': Camdenian attitudes to the late Georgian church, in Webster, C & Elliott, J (eds) *'A Church as it Should be'. The Cambridge Camden Society and its Influence*, Stamford, 1–21.

Webster, C 2011 Patterns of church seating from Waterloo to 1850, and the role of the Cambridge Camden Society, in Cooper, T & Brown, S (eds) *Pews, Benches & Chairs. Church Seating in English Parish Churches from the Fourteenth Century to the Present*, London, 197–210.

White, H P 1961 *A Regional History of the Railways of Great Britain. Vol. 2 Southern England*, London.

Whittock, N, Thomas, A & Gastineau, H *c.*1836 *Picturesque Beauties of the Counties of Surrey & Sussex, from Original Drawings*, London.

Wilton-Ely, J 1977 The rise of the professional architect in England, in Kostof, S (ed.) *The Architect. Chapters in the History of the Profession*, New York and Oxford.

Wright, T 1844 Anglo-Saxon architecture, illustrated from illuminated manuscripts, *Archaeol J* **1** 24–35.

Yates, N 2000 *Buildings, Faith and Worship. The Liturgical Arrangement of Anglican Churches 1600–1900* (rev. ed.), Oxford.

Author: Barry Meehan, 18 Saffron Close, Chineham, Basingstoke, RG24 8XQ