Three Oxford Architects¹

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THE local professional architect is a new figure in the social and commercial life of English provincial towns in the early 19th century. In Oxford this is especially noticeable. From the time of Wren onwards, the largest and most prestigious of university commissions tended to fall into the hands of London architects or educated Oxford dilettanti, and the town and surrounding countryside provided no comparable alternatives. Therefore local men like the Birds and the Townesends happily combined the professions of architect, mason, and builder. However, after about 1820, the national increase of population encouraged the growth in London and elsewhere of an architectural profession, and Oxford was not slow to attract a number of vigorous practitioners. The two earliest figures of any interest are Daniel Robertson (fl. 1826–33), designer of St. Clement's Church and the University Press, and Henry Jones Underwood (1804–52), who was accomplished in ' either style ' and is now most often remembered for Littlemore Church, a landmark of early ecclesiology, and St. Paul's Church, Walton Street.

Of course, there was a natural tendency for the more talented or ambitious architects to move to London once they had secured a flourishing practice. George Edmund Street is a good example ; he laid the foundations of his career at Wantage (1850-2), and at Oxford (1852-5), and then removed to London, although he remained Diocesan Architect until his death in 1881.

Abbreviations are as follows:

BFLC	Information received from the Rev. B. F. L. Clarke.
BN	Building News.
CEO	City Engineer's Office, Register of Plans Deposited. For fuller explanation see
	p. 87.
ECH ²	William Wilkinson, English Country Houses (2nd edition, Oxford, 1875).
IOI	Jackson's Oxford Journal.
JOJ KOD	Kelly's Oxford Directory.
MS.Top.Oxon.,	MS.Oxf.dioc.papers, etc. Bodleian Library manuscripts, mostly Parish Boxes and Papers of the Oxford Diocesan Church-Building Society.
OC	Oxford Chronicle.
OT	Oxford Times,
OUH	Oxford University Herald.
TC	Taunt Collection of Photographs, Oxford City Library.
VCH Oxon.	Victoria County History of Oxfordshire.
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¹ Those who have helped with this article are unfortunately too many to be named individually. But I must thank Miss E. O. Dodgson for giving me much help on North Oxford, the Rev. B. F. L. Clarke for additional material on a number of church restorations, and Mr. Peter Howell for constant information and provocation.



Another scholarly architect of the Gothic Revival not content with municipal and diocesan work was Scott's young pupil Charles Buckeridge (1832/3-73). Behind them they left a remunerative field open to those whose ambitions were less keen or whose architectural training was less sophisticated. Chiefly there springs to mind the great expansion of Oxford in the period 1850 to 1914. This was in main the work of unfamiliar local designers : Edward George Bruton (d. 1899), James Castle, Frederick Codd, Harry George Walter Drinkwater (1844-95), John Charles Gray, John W. Messenger, Harry Wilkinson Moore (1850-1915), Alfred William Mardon Mowbray (1849-1915), Herbert Quinton, Samuel Lipscomb Seckham, George Shirley, Henry James Tollit (1835-1904), and William Wilkinson (1819-1901).

Of these architects, two stand out for the quantity, and often for the quality, of their contributions to the architecture of Oxford and its environs. These are William Wilkinson and his nephew Harry Wilkinson Moore. The third architect to be here discussed is again a local man, but one rather different in character and achievement from the men I have mentioned. Clapton Crabb Rolfe (1845-1907) was another nephew of Wilkinson's. His practice at Oxford yielded less conspicuous results than that of his uncle, but though he was not so prolific his quality is unquestionable. A reconstruction of the lives of these men, together with as complete an assessment of their works as is possible, throws light on the importance of the architectural profession in the provinces at the time. In their careers one often senses an uneasy coexistence between the contemporary demands of scholarship and the practical training always necessary for an architect. Rolfe is always something of the unsuccessful gentleman architect, whereas Wilkinson, and to a lesser extent Moore, pay the price for their considerable success with a lack of full sophistication almost always discernible. The dichotomy is typical for a profession only just achieving permanent social standing.

William Wilkinson's family is said to have come from Yorkshire,2 but a William Wilkinson who may have been his great-grandfather and who died in 1793 is commemorated on a tomb in the churchyard at Witney, Oxon.3 His grandfather George (1748/9-1802) was a carpenter,4 and his father William Anthony Wilkinson (1782/3-1838) is variously listed as a carpenter, auctioneer and builder at Witney.5 Family origin therefore suggests the close

2 R. T. and A. Günther, Rolfe Family Records, vol. 1 (1914), 346 ff.

3 The tomb, on the S. side of the churchyard, commemorates this William Wilkinson, George Wilkinson, William Anthony Wilkinson, and other members of the family. The inscriptions are only partly decipherable.

4 British Directory 1790, vol. 5, 809.

5 Pigot's Directory 1823-4, 451-2 and 1830, 661-2. For his dates see Witney Register Trans-cripts in MS.Oxf.dioc.papers c. 634 (baptism 23.4.1783) and MS.Oxf.dioc.papers d. 477 (burial 18.7.1838) ; also JOJ 21.7.1838, p. 3.

acquaintance with the building trade normal for 18th century local men. More remarkable is the rapid rise to architectural success of two brothers, apparently quite independently, and the excellent marriages made by two of their three sisters. The elder brother was George Wilkinson, born in late 1813 or 1814.6 As early as 1835 he won the competition for the workhouse at Thame, Oxon. (now the Rycotewood College).7 Other early buildings in Oxfordshire by George Wilkinson include the Town Hall at Bampton (1838),8 and among several workhouses the remarkable ones at Witney and Chipping Norton, where the main blocks are built in the form of a cross, with central hexagon and lantern. He was briefly County Surveyor, but as a result of the Thame design he went out to Ireland as the chosen architect of the Poor Law Commissioners. There he built many further workhouses, including those at Kinsale (1842) and Carlow (1843). He came back to marry Mary Clinch, a Witney girl, in 1850,9 but settled permanently in Ireland. Later works included the classical-style terminus of the Dublin and Wicklow Railway at Harcourt Street, Dublin (1858-9), and large additions to the court-house at Castlebar, Mayo (1860).10 More interesting to the general reader is his Practical Geology and Ancient Architecture of Ireland (London and Dublin, 1845) which, besides giving detailed and pioneering geological information on Irish building materials, includes incidental remarks of great social interest on the difficulties of practising as an architect of poor-houses in Ireland at the time of the great famines.11 George Wilkinson finally left Dublin in about 1888, went to live near Twickenham, and died soon after.

William Wilkinson, the younger of the two brothers, was born in Witney in 1819.12 In the last months of his father's lifetime in 1838, he was coopted into the family auctioneering firm, and in this trade he continued for some years.¹³ Notices of his auctions appear at intervals in the local papers. As was common at the time, the business was not clearly limited. Wilkinson sold building materials, livestock, furniture, timber, houses, or real estate, and the local directories call him variously auctioneer, appraiser, land surveyor,

⁶ MS.Oxf.dioc.papers d. 475 (baptism 12.4.1814).
⁷ H. Lupton, *The History of Thame and its Hamlets* (1860), 23 ff.

⁸ JOJ 11.8.1838, p. 3.
 ⁹ MS.Oxf.dioc.papers d. 97 fol. 294.

¹⁰ Architectural Publication Society, *Dictionary of Architecture* part 23 (1892), W p. 48. For other Irish workhouses by George Wilkinson see *Builder* 8 (1850), 403, 416, 424, 473, 512 and 568–9, and

10 (1852), 76 and 359. ¹¹ On pp. 153-5. (1852), 482 and 496. The book is referred to with approbation in leading articles in Builder 10

¹² Date on his tomb in Witney Cemetery. Baptized 4.4.1820 (MS.Oxf.dioc.papers d, 476). ¹³ JOJ includes auction notices of 'Mr. Wilkinson' up to 14.4.1838 ; from 5.4.1838 we have notices of 'Wilkinson and Son', and after W. A. Wilkinson's death in July, notices of 'W. Wilkinson' occur from 11.8.1838 to 16.2.1856.

estate agent, architect, builder, agent for the Royal Farmers' Insurance Office, and coal, timber, stone, and lime merchant.¹⁴ As with his brother, it is very unlikely that he received formal architectural training. Yet his first known building is a new church, that at Lew on the road from Witney to Bampton, built in 1841 when Wilkinson was 21 or 22.15 This gaunt church shows as much sophistication as most architects were bringing to ecclesiastical work at this date in the revival of 'Christian architecture'. However, architecture could hardly be a full-time employment for anyone in Witney in the 1840s, so he continued his other occupations till 1856. This background enables one to understand how it was that Wilkinson depended first and foremost on severely practical abilities. All that is known of his later life and works suggests that he was never the man to get his specifications wrong or to underestimate any practical contingency. This reliability, combined with a modest sense of the picturesque and a lively interest in grouping and planning, took Wilkinson to a high and esteemed place among architects, if not to the top.

William Wilkinson left Witney in about March 1856, in which month he had offices at 2 St. Giles, Oxford, as well as in his home town.¹⁶ Shortly afterwards he was operating solely from Oxford,¹⁷ and by 1860 he had moved to 5 Beaumont Street, the seat of his practice until his retirement. From this point his career very rapidly blossomed. There were two or three crucial commissions which brought prosperity. Firstly, in about 1857, Wilkinson superseded J. C. Buckler as architect to the Oxfordshire Police Committee, at a period when numerous provincial police stations were scheduled for erection.¹⁸ Secondly, there was the vital commission from St. John's College in 1860 to lay out the Norham Manor Estate. This soon turned into a general brief of superintendence over the whole development of North Oxford. The precise extent of Wilkinson's contribution to this will never be quite clear, but he certainly laid out the roads, decided on the sites of the villas, designed many himself, and as architect to St. John's possessed certain powers of authorization and veto. These responsibilities passed with the practice to his nephew H. W. Moore, so that with the expansion of the St. John's estate further and further north, it is hardly an exaggeration to say that the whole of Oxford between St. Giles' Church and Summertown, bordered on the west by the Oxford Canal and on the east by the Cherwell, is the conception of

chronological lists below.

¹⁶ JÖJ 29.3.1856 (advertisement for tenders for Witney Cemetery). ¹⁷ JOJ 26.4.1856 etc.

18 Oxfordshire County Record Office, Quarter Sessions Estate Papers.

¹⁴ See e.g. *Pigot's Directory 1842*, 37, *Lascelles Directory 1853*, 211. A long surveying document of 1853 relating to Hailey is in Oxfordshire County Record Office, QSD.A.34. ¹⁵ For details and sources of the architectural works of Wilkinson, Moore and Rolfe, see the

Wilkinson and Moore. A fuller description of the expansion of North Oxford under the aegis of Wilkinson and Moore will be found below on pp. 83-97.

Jobs also soon abounded for Wilkinson outside the immediate environs of Oxford. In virtue of an office block which he designed in Bishopsgate, London (1860-1), the Saturday Review¹⁹ rather rashly but impressively compared him with Gilbert Scott as one of the foremost English architects. Then came the third great commission, the Randolph Hotel, Oxford (1864-6). At the opening, Dr. Adams, a Fellow of St. John's, was able to claim that ' his fame as an architect was not confined to Oxford, and even had it been so hitherto, this fabric would have entitled him to a European reputation . . . Had they (the Directors) not had a man like Mr. Wilkinson, who threw his whole soul into the work, they would never have raised this noble structure. It was the emanation of his brain, and to him was due the credit not only of the exterior but of every internal arrangement.'20

The 1860's were the climax of his career, and were marked by the publication in 1870²¹ of a book of his designs called English Country Houses. Forty-five Views and Plans of recently erected Mansions, Private Residences, Parsonage-Houses, Farm-Houses, Lodges and Cottages ; with sketches of furniture and fittings ; and a practical treatise on house-building. A second and augmented edition with sixty-one views was published in 1875. This book gives a clear picture of Wilkinson's mature style. Up to 1870 the majority of his important works incorporate elements of strictly Gothic detail in picturesque and asymmetrical façades. The lighting, however, is better than in most houses of this style, and the detailing is rarely overemphasized. There are, of course, exceptions, such as the Oxford University Gymnasium, a solid, four-square brick building with undecorated round-headed windows. Wilkinson's known church restorations are unostentatious but uninspired. He was primarily a practical architect who catered by preference for the wealthy middle classes. He built in Gothic not out of strong religious belief, but because he was most familiar with the style. In English Country Houses there is not a contentious word about the ' true ' style, and the treatise on house-building which accompanies the plates is severely limited to practical matters, as befits a book designed as an advertisement to potential clients. But the book did achieve some notice ; the final accolade to Wilkinson's success as an architect was the illustration of five of his works in Habitations Modernes, by the internationally famous architect Viollet-le-Duc, who must first have noticed Wilkinson from English Country Houses.22

¹⁹ In an article of 13.7.1861.

 ²¹ JOJ 17.2.1866 p. 5, where other speeches of interest are given.
 ²¹ By Parker of Oxford. Reviews in *Builder* 28 (1870), 252 and BN 18 (1870¹), 241.
 ²² N. Pevsner, *Ruskin and Viollet-le-Duc* (1969), n. 8.

The second edition suggests a change in Wilkinson's style in the early 1870's, reflecting a national trend. Gentler elements are favoured, and he tries often to sound a more restrained domestic Tudor note familiar to him from the stone-built houses of West Oxfordshire. The compositions are frankly less interesting but they continue to be well and originally planned. Foremost among the later works is St. Edward's School, Oxford (PL. XIVA) (1872 etc.), where the great formal quadrangle possesses a natural dignity unmatched in many schools designed by better architects. But by the late 1870s, many of Wilkinson's buildings have ceased to be distinctive. Lord Williams' Grammar School at Thame (1878-9), for instance, is competent but unremarkable handling of domestic Tudor motifs. In 1881 Wilkinson took into official partnership his nephew H. Wilkinson Moore, who had aided him since about 1875, and until 1886 the partnership of Messrs. Wilkinson and Moore operated at 5-6 Beaumont Street.23 This period is chiefly known from North Oxford, and contains few really good designs, since the older man was flagging and left most of the work to Moore, who had yet to develop a distinctive touch of his own. The villas of these years are often sharp and angular in outline, having lost the Gothic detailing of the 1860s but not yet acquired the Jacobean ornamentation which T. G. Jackson was to make fashionable in Oxford. However some of the works of the 1870's and of the years of partnership show that Wilkinson had become competent in a variety of styles. Most untypical but impressive is the large house at Shelswell, Oxon., for Edward Slater Harrison (1875-7), which is entirely and formally classical. French Renaissance is the style favoured in what is probably Wilkinson's work at the Warneford Hospital (1877), and many of the later villas do incorporate tentative Dutch or Renaissance details. Wilkinson retired in 1886, and at some time between then and 1900 he moved into his nearby masterpiece, the Randolph Hotel.²⁴ He died on 24 January 1901,²⁵ and is buried under a modest tombstone in Witney Cemetery, which had been one of his earlier designs.

William Wilkinson was not apparently sociable in character. He never married, nor did he join organizations like the Oxford Architectural Society or the Oxford Churchmen's Union, which were strongly patronized by his brother architects. His correspondence was often conducted through clerks and pupils, perhaps because of a natural taciturnity encouraged by his lack of formal training and his small-town origin. In some ways this is welcome, since in his age architects were notorious for talking clap-trap, and his nephew

²³ KOD 1883 lists Wilkinson as living in no. 5, the partnership operating at no. 6.

=4 Will of 30.3.1900, Somerset House.

²⁵ An announcement of his death occurred in the local papers, but no formal obituary followed. People were more interested in the contemporary death of Queen Victoria.

C. C. Rolfe was among the worst offenders. Yet his local influence was pervasive. Besides Rolfe and Moore, Wilkinson had a number of other pupils who afterwards made good as Oxford architects in their own right : the most important were Frederick Codd, H. J. Tollit, and Frederick J. Connell, his invaluable chief clerk. He had modest antiquarian interests, and out of kindness gave a copy of Parker's Introduction to the Study of Gothic Architecture to the young Harry Paintin, later a leading Oxford antiquarian.²⁶ The special interest we know he took in farm work doubtless gave him wide and intimate contact with the landed gentry of the area, and it was perhaps in their company that he was able to indulge his hobbies of shooting and fishing. When he wanted a holiday, he would go to visit his brother in Ireland. Wilkinson retained an interest in his native town, contributing a drawing to I. A. Giles' History of Witney (1852) and two photographs to W. J. Monk's History of Witney (1894). As a draughtsman he was inferior to Moore, but he thrice exhibited at the Royal Academy in the early 1860s.27 His success was equalled by his frugal habits : at his death he left £21,859 5s. 9d.28

While the two brothers George and William Wilkinson ensured their own social rise and success by dint of hard work and solid accomplishment, two of their sisters, Ellen and Mary, kept pace by making good marriages. Their mother lived on at Witney till 1864,²⁹ and the third known sister, Elizabeth, died there unmarried.3º Mary Wilkinson (b. 1821).31 no doubt during a family visit to her brother George in Ireland, met and later married Arthur Moore 'of Drumcondra near Dublin, Gent', 32 Four children from this union were surviving in 1909. Francis Arthur Moore and Thomas William Moore were the first two sons, and the third was Harry Wilkinson Moore, born on 27 July 1850.33 There was also a daughter, Mary Katherine Moore, who eventually settled unmarried at Clifton ; it was to her that Wilkinson left all his plans and most of his possessions.34

H. W. Moore is first heard of in March 1874, when he attracted notice in the school of Alexander Macdonald, the first Ruskin Master of Drawing, for his able draughtsmanship.35 He was therefore already living in Oxford at this date under his uncle's tutelage, and perhaps already committed to an official apprenticeship in Wilkinson's office. In these years one of his main

²⁶ Note by Paintin in Bodleian G.A.Oxon. a. 22.*

²⁷ A. Graves, *The Royal Academy Exhibitors 1769–1904*, vol. 8, 279.
²⁸ Register of Wills 1901, Somerset House.
²⁹ P.O. Directory of Northants etc., 1864, 867. A window in Hailey Church commemorates her.
³⁰ Wilkinson's will of 30.3.1900 says she is buried in Witney Cemetery.

³¹ MS.Oxf.dioc.papers d. 476 (baptism 28.9.1821). She was alive in 1900. ³² Alumni Oxonienses 1715-1886, vol. 3, 974 no. 30.

³³ Date from his grave in Wolvercote Cemetery. See n. 44.

³⁴ Will, see above, n. 24.

³⁵ JOJ 21.3.1874.

occupations was to sketch the picturesque domestic architecture of Oxford, and the fruits of this was a modest publication of Twelve Sheets of Pen and Ink Sketches of the Old Domestic Architecture of Oxford, 36 the drawings of which cover the period 1875 to 1882. They exhibit a light and neat hand and a good eye ; the severity of mid-19th century drawing is already absent. Moore's architectural drawings remained attractive and elegant throughout his professional career, and in this respect he differed from his more pedestrian uncle. His style reached a wider audience in a sketch of Old Nixon's School, a pretty building of 1658 in the old Town Hall Yard, which was published in the Builder for 1880,37 and in drawings exhibited by him at the Royal Academy between 1882 and 1890.38 In 1884 Moore matriculated as a member of Turrell's Hall, a short-lived private hall attached to the University which catered for older men, but he did not proceed to a degree.39

More important, he became his uncle's official partner in 1881, and this arrangement continued till 1886, when Wilkinson retired. Moore was thus able to retain the 'good will' of the practice. Particularly valuable was the continued superintendence of the ever-expanding St. John's Estates in North Oxford and of school designs at St. Edward's, and at St. Kenelm's School, Cowley Hill. Very little is known about Moore's practice outside Oxford, but the fact that he won first prize in a Dairy Farm competition in 1879 should dissuade us from conceiving him as only a town architect. Yet he probably did limit himself more than Wilkinson, and it would be understandable if the designs of streets and houses in North Oxford alone were enough to occupy his whole energies. Though the lay-out of these roads and villas in the 1880s and 1890s are Moore's most characteristic work, they are by no means always his best. For this is worth looking at a building like the freestone Lodge (1888) for the University Museum in Parks Road, which displays a delightful, unpretentious informality. Two sets of parish buildings, for St. Giles in Woodstock Road (1887-91) and for St. Clement's at the corner of Boulter Street (1886-91), show that Moore could handle Gothic detail with a sophisticated freedom rare in provincial architects. The same elements are used in a quietly successful church at Kingsey, Bucks. (1892-3). It is a pity that he did not make more use of this style in his domestic work. Too often his designs are lacking in tension ; the façades are pretty but there is little feeling for mass. The Clarendon Press Institute in Walton Street (1802-3) is an example of a building which has become too strung-out and

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³⁶ Oxford, 1882. Noticed in *Builder* 43 (1882³), 856. ³⁷ *Builder* 39 (1880³), 535 and 537. Other sketches of Oxford by Moore are in BN 38 (1880³), 312, 43 (1882³), 547, and 46 (1884³), 20-1. ³⁸ A. Graves, op. cit., vol. 5, 285.

³⁹ Alumni Oxonienses, see above, n. 32.

squat. Increasing use of tile-hanging and of the occasional baroque detail in the 1800's gives place to a plainer style at the turn of the century, culminating in his Northmoor Road houses and the very successful 225 Iffley Road (1903).

After 1896 or so Moore was distinctly less energetic, and was once or twice in trouble with St. John's for his sloth.⁴⁰ In 1905-8 he joined with William H. Warwick in a partnership called Messrs. Wilkinson Moore and Warwick,41 but this cannot have been a success, for Moore remained at 6 Beaumont Street in 1910, while Warwick was working separately at Summertown.42 His only other known pupil was N. W. Harrison, subsequently a successful Oxford architect. Little of Moore's 20th century work is known, but there may not be much of it. He retired in 1913 and moved into lodgings at 19 Museum Road.43 He died aged 64 on 1 March 1915, and was buried at Wolvercote Cemetery.44 His life followed the same uneventful pattern as his uncle's, but his success was less remarkable in view of his origins. But in a testimonial letter to the Oxford Times after his death, the Vicar of St. Mary Magdalen, the Rev. Horace E. Clayton, wrote : 'A kinder and more skilful man I never knew.'45 Moore lived and died unmarried.

If Mary Wilkinson made a good marriage, her sister Ellen (1816-86)⁴⁶ succeeded equally well, and married a more interesting husband. The Rev. George Crabb Rolfe (1811-93) was from a branch of the Rolfe family from Rayne, Essex.47 He became a scholar of St. John's College, Cambridge, obtaining his B.A. in 1834. After ordination he became curate to the Rev. Charles Jerram⁴⁸ at Witney, and in 1838 was presented to the perpetual curacy of the nearby village of Hailey on the road to Charlbury. This living he retained until his death. G. C. Rolfe was a typical example of the new mould of clergyman, energetic, conscientious and perhaps insensitive. In 1843 he delivered at Witney and subsequently published a sermon called The Church of England, Apostolical, not Patristical.49 It is an able, intellectual sermon of broad-church principles, disdaining Roman authority but conscious

4º St. John's College Muniments, various letters of the Bursar to Moore between 1896 and 1898. 41 KOD 1906, 165.

42 KOD 1910-11, 175.

43 Register of Wills 1915, Somerset House.
44 OT 6.3.1915. He has a granite slab in row F1.119.
45 OT 13.3.1915. The letter mentions some of Moore's works.

46 MS.Oxf.dioc.papers d. 475 (baptism 13.9.1816). Date of death on her tomb in Hailey Churchyard.

47 Rolfe Family Records, see n. 2. The authors say that the material on this branch of the Rolfes, which forms the substance of the following paragraphs, is entirely derived ' from the MS. collections of the late Mr. C. C. Rolfe '

48 Jerram's recollections of Witney in this period are to be found in his posthumously published Memoirs (London, 1855).

49 Hatchard and Son, London, 1843.

of the need for reformation and change. Certain passages show awareness of the importance of church-building, and recommend the study of emblematic decoration for its usefulness in modern church architecture. This interest was to bear fruit.

Ellen Wilkinson married George Crabb Rolfe at Witney on 13 September 1842. The union was fertile and the offspring strong ; all nine children still lived in 1907. First came George Wilkinson Rolfe (1843-1912), educated at Christ Church, and from 1884 Rector of Swanton Novers, Norfolk. Next came Clapton Crabb Rolfe (1845-1907), with whom we are most concerned. Then there are two daughters, Mary Ellen (b. 1846) and Lucy (b. 1848).59

Next is William Andrew Rolfe (b. 1850), who followed his brother Clapton into architecture. In 1880 he was a signatory of an open letter to the R.I.B.A. from a large number of architects, including Wilkinson and Moore, denouncing the unsatisfactory state of architectural competitions.51 He gives his address as Oxford, where no doubt he was studying with his uncle. But in 1881 he set up a practice in London with the assistance of his brother, who was with him at 68 Chancery Lane for about two years.⁵² On C. C. Rolfe's departure for Oxford in 1883, W. A. Rolfe moved to 17a Great George Street, where he practised between 1884 and 1898.53 He then took a partner to form the successful but dull firm of Rolfe and Mathews, which specialized in the design of luxury London flats in the period 1899 to 1909.54 The partnership had ended by 1910, and William Rolfe went on practising by himself in London until the middle of the First World War.55

The sixth child was Annie Zetterquist Rolfe (b. 1853), who in 1884 married Oliver Armstrong Fry, of St. John's College, Oxford. From 1889 to 1904 Fry was editor of the literary and social periodical Vanity Fair, famous for its cartoons, and he also wrote a preface to one of C. C. Rolfe's books. The last three children were all sons. Thomas Forster Rolfe (b. 1855) was that rare phenomenon, an undergraduate of All Souls (1874-8), and afterwards Headmaster of Tamworth Grammar School and Rector of Kirk Bramwith. Octavius Mills Rolfe (b. 1858) emigrated to Australia, where he was living unmarried in 1914. Finally, Henry Worsley Rolfe (b. 1860) matriculated at Pembroke College, Oxford, in 1879, and went on to be tutor to the Princess of Siam ; he too was living and unmarried in 1914.56

⁵⁷ Rolle' ramity Actions, see above, no. 2.
⁵³ Builder 38 (1880³), 705.
⁵⁴ Kelly's London Directory 1882, 233 and 1214, 1883, 234 and 1415.
⁵³ Kelly's London Directory 1884, 352, etc.
⁵⁴ First in Adelaide Street, later in Chandos Street. Buildings by the partnership are illustrated in British Architeet 51 (1899¹), 86 and 200, and 55 (1901¹), 114-5. ⁵⁵ At 49-50 Parliament Street. ⁵⁶ Rolfe Family Records, see above, n. 2.

⁵º Rolfe Family Records, see above, no. 2.

This ecclesiastical upbringing in a large family was the paramount influence on Clapton Rolfe. Throughout his career he thought of himself as a Christian architect whose duty it was to carry out in stone and mortar the principles of reformed Catholicism. 'Those professional men nowadays,' he wrote in 1871, 'who despise and ridicule that pure symbolic spirit which actuated our forefathers in their church-work, and probably substitute for it that f.sd money-grubbing spirit of the age, are alike unfit and unworthy of being engaged on any modern church-work whatever,'57 It is odd that Rolfe was not given a university education, since he always displayed an interest in history and scholarship. But from an early age he had ample occupation. His father's zeal demanded that the meagre church at Hailey be pulled down and replaced by a truly sacred and Gothic edifice. In 1866 Clapton Rolfe, at the age of 21, was formally appointed architect. He produced an astonishingly original plan, which evoked stern but respectful criticism from the Diocesan Architect, G. E. Street, who thought the ground plan peculiar and some of the detail 'needlessly eccentric'.58 The plans were duly altered and the church erected in 1868-9 (PL. XVB).

Hailey Church is remarkably sophisticated, both in conception and detail. Where did Rolfe get the expertise necessary to design so impressively a building at the age of 21? The obvious suggestion must be from his uncle William Wilkinson. We know he was studying at 5 Beaumont Street in 1868-70, the period when the church was built.59 Yet Wilkinson's ecclesiological experience was limited, and he never displayed much interest in this field ; so that it is attractive (though dangerous) to assume that in 1866 Rolfe had been studying with a major architect of unknown identity. Even if he was originally encouraged by his uncle, their styles and attitudes are from the first markedly different, and, as we shall see, it may be that Rolfe was not on the best of terms with his cousin H. W. Moore. In Wilkinson's office, Rolfe had semi-independent status, producing designs in his own name while doing some clerking work for his uncle.60

In the next few years his movements are not always obvious. By 1871 he had moved to Braintree, Essex, though his stay there was short.⁶¹ From about 1872 to 1878 he was in Reading, first at 16 Friar Street and then at Wilberforce Place, 154 Kings Road ;62 but by 1880 he had moved out to

57 Builder 29 (1871), 471.
58 MS.Top.Oxon. c. 103, fol. 518.
59 Letters of 7.3.1868 from Rolfe at 5 Beaumont Street in MS.Oxf.dioc.papers c. 1836, and receipt signed by Rolfe for Wilkinson of 25.8.1870 in MS.Oxf.dioc.papers c. 1854/1.

 ⁶⁰ See MS.Oxf.dioc.papers c. 1995 (Churchill) and sources in n. 59.
 ⁶¹ See e.g. MS.Top.Oxon. c. 104 fol. 322.
 ⁶² Addresses in R.I.B.A. Members Index, and P.O. Directory of Berkshire etc. 1876.

Tilehurst nearby.⁶³ In 1882–3 he spent a short spell at 68 Chancery Lane, London, helping to start his brother off as an independent architect, and perhaps also hoping to gain larger commissions in London.⁶⁴ But in 1883 he finally returned to set up in Oxford, with offices in St. Michael's Chambers, Ship Street, and a house in Park Terrace, Park Town.⁶⁵ Here he stayed until 1888, when he designed the pretty cottage called Holywell Ford over the branch of the Cherwell by the back gate to Magdalen Grove. From about 1888 to 1905 he used this house as office and home, leasing it from Magdalen.⁶⁶ His final move was to Holywell Cottage, Wheatley, where he died at the age of 62 on 18 December 1907.67 He had in 1873 married Annie du Pré (1847-1935), and they are buried together near the east wall of Wheatley churchyard. They are commemorated by a large upright sandstone slab with an open-work cross with a fleur-de-lys. It is in bad condition, and the name of Clapton Crabb Rolfe and his dates are hardly discernible. There was a single child of this marriage, Benedict Hugh Rolfe (b. 1874), educated at Magdalen College School and Merton.⁶⁸ B. H. Rolfe was co-author with Claude Rippon of a small book on walks and rides in the Oxford area.⁶⁹ Trained as an architect, he worked in London as a consulting engineer, 70 and assisted his father in some of his later works. The design for the Laundry and Industrial Buildings at Osney House (1903) was B. H. Rolfe's own ; his address at the time is I Sloane Court, a block designed by his uncle's firm of Rolfe and Matthews.71

Clapton Rolfe's career as architect and writer deserves closer elucidation than those of Wilkinson or Moore. The materials are less easily to hand, since his practice was more diffuse than theirs and his buildings less numerous ; nor has Oxford been kind to its few examples of Rolfe's work. Yet as early as 1881, he claimed in a letter that ' during the last few years I have prepared plans for about £118,000 worth of work',72 and much of this must remain within the Oxford area. Rolfe had only himself to blame if his local practice was not wider in scope. Like many 19th century architects, he was both articulate and indiscreet. In his youth he delivered a paper to the

63 Letter of 1.4.1880 in MS.Oxf.dioc.papers c. 2207 no. 4.

 ⁶⁴ Letter of 20.7.1882 in MS.Oxf.dioc.papers c. 2207 no. 22. See also n. 52.
 ⁶⁵ Letters of March 1883 in MS.Oxf.dioc.papers c. 2207 no. 22 and of November 1886 in MS. Oxf.dioc.papers c. 2208 no. 27.

⁶⁸ Rolfe Family Records, see n. 2, and J. Foster, Oxford Men 1880-1892, 522.
 ⁶⁹ Rolfe Family Records, see n. 2, and J. Foster, Oxford Men 1880-1892, 522.
 ⁶⁹ Oxford Rides (Oxford, 1896). Also, with Leslie Clarke, The Souvenir, a short prettily designed magazine for Commemoration Week 1893.
 ⁷⁰ At Queen Anne's Chambers, Tothill Street, in 1907-8.
 ⁷² CEO 406 ; cf. British Architet 51 (1899¹), 200.
 ⁷³ MS Ten Deren c. 1668 fol. 1669 (50).

7º MS.Top.Oxon. c. 1638 fol. 19.

 ⁶⁶ KOD 1890-1, 226, and 1905, 321.
 ⁶⁷ Register of Wills 1908, Somerset House. OT 21.12.1907 (obituary) and 28.12.1907 (funeral).

Architectural Conference of 1871 on the question of Symbolism and Art, and was chagrined to find that the majority of his audience could only laugh when he suggested that the tenets of theology prescribed the exact length of the communion table ; an acrimonious correspondence ensued in the Builder. and Rolfe naturally got the worst of it.73 Unlike his more practical relations, he was unsparing with the printed word. An article in the Church Builder of 187674 on the restoration of Nuneaton Abbey advocates other mystical principles of number symbolism in Christian architecture whose origin may very well be Durandus,75 an often forgotten source of ecclesiological theory. The ideas are expanded and reiterated in later works. The first pamphlet to be published separately is Chancel Screens and Roods (Reading, 1877), a paper in which Rolfe is concerned to defend the institution of screens and roods in accordance with Anglo-Catholic principles. The exegesis is mainly historical, but everywhere the doctrinal element is stressed. It comes as no surprise to learn that Rolfe's screen at Shilton, Oxon., was surmounted by the first sculptured rood set up in the Oxford diocese since the Reformation. The Ancient Use of Liturgical Colours (Oxford, 1879) is a longer and more ambitious work in the same turgid style, and contains some rather idiosyncratic views on religious history.76 In Chapter 22, Rolfe alludes with pleasure to the correct use of vestments in connexion with the mass as practised at St. Thomas' Church, Oxford, and to similar accuracy of celebration at St. Barnabas. A third work by Rolfe is the handbook Ecclesiastical Dilapidations (London and Oxford, 1883), with a preface by his brother-in-law Oliver Fry. Oddest of all his books is The Liturgical Use of Incense, an Eirenicon by C. C. R., with Preface by the Rt. Honourable Earl Nelson (London, 1900). This is the first of an ambitious series of tracts projected, called Tracts for the Twentieth Century, and is written in answer to the Archbishops' Lambeth Decree prohibiting the use of incense during the mass. The arguments are hopelessly mystical and devious, and centre on the significance of the word *Elohim* in Hebrew. The last sentence of all gives some idea of the crabbed style in which it is written : 'As the XIX century closes in ; like a lioness-robbed of a whelp and crouching to the spring to recover again-is the Church of England ; robbed of her very own ; in liturgical use of incense.'

But Rolfe was no mere religious eccentric. He was an excellent architect whose work repays close study. In style his manner seems to have undergone

⁷³ Builder 29 (1871). There was a snide comment in an editorial (p. 398), provoking a letter from Rolfe (p. 471) and a rude rejoinder from 'A Provincial Architect' (p. 490).

⁷⁴ Pp. 214-9. 75 See J. M. Neale and B. Webb, The Symbolism of Churches and Church Ornaments (Leeds, 1843), a translation of Book 1 of the Rationale Divinorum Officiorum.

⁷⁶ Rolfe gave a copy to Pusey House Library (74.00 c. 2).

a considerable change. Hailey Church is in the 'hardest' Gothic, and the model houses for artisans erected in Kingston Road, Oxford (1870), make few concessions to delicacy. Yet the church restorations of his later years were characterized by scholarship and good taste, while his domestic work of the same period exhibits a pure blend of the early Arts-and-Crafts school with the earlier type of Gothic house. Rolfe's houses can be easily identified once his idiom is learned. The outline is normally clear and unfussy, and in detail there is often a plain pointed surround to the door in brick, while the smaller windows are closely leaded and filled with patterned glass. In church-work the emphasis is on discreet, rounded forms, and particular attention is commonly paid to the woodwork, typically carved by Harry Hems of Exeter. The great glory of Standlake Church, Oxon., is the wealth of Victorian woodwork carved in a style which is never obstreperous; this includes pewends, stalls, pulpit, font-cover, altar and roofs. Rolfe's talents were best displayed when expenditure was lavish, and in restoration he always advocated a policy of a little very well in preference to a general but meagre renovation. His care and precision were exemplary, but these qualities were not enough to pay dividends. His uncompromising beliefs as an extreme Anglo-Catholic prevented him from attaining a wider practice.

On more than one occasion we know that Rolfe was passed by. He had in 1871 begun the restoration of South Leigh Church, Oxon., and had built the school nearby for the Tractarian hymnographer Gerald Moultrie. But in 1886 the completion of the restoration by the next incumbent was allotted to his cousin H. W. Moore, and Rolfe complained bitterly to the Diocesan Board about his treatment.⁷⁷ Moore certainly appears a curious choice as Rolfe's supplanter ; his willingness to step in at this juncture, coupled with the fact that Moore and Rolfe worked separately at different times at Holywell Manor, Oxford, suggests that their relations were not close. They would have made an admirable partnership, Moore concentrating on domestic commissions while Rolfe undertook the church work ; but there evidently was not the requisite sympathy between them.

Another failure of Rolfe's was his attempt to become Diocesan Architect, a post entailing supervision of all major works on churches and parsonages in Oxfordshire, Berkshire and Buckinghamshire. Street died in 1881, and the succession was hotly disputed by an amazing field. They were E. G. Bruton (who withdrew when he discovered the quality of his rivals), Edwin Dolby, H. G. W. Drinkwater, Edmund Ferrey, E. S. Harris, A. M. Mowbray, C. C. Rolfe, J. O. Scott, J. D. Sedding, J. P. Seddon, Alfred Waterhouse, and

⁷⁷ Letter of 9.11.1886 in MS.Oxf.dioc.papers c. 2208 no. 27.

William White.78 Rolfe wrote in application : 'I have told the Bishop that for many years past my chief aim in life has been to be one day appointed to the post of Diocesan Architect, and that I have constantly endeavoured by every means in my power to fit myself for the work.' And in recognition of the fact that his qualifications were far inferior to those of at least five of the applicants : 'As you are probably aware, it is said in London among men of business that a man in the prime of life who is able to devote his best energies to official duties is sometimes more fitted for an appointment than an older man who has already attained a good position in life and has consequently less time at his disposal.'79 This rather naïve idealism was disappointed with the appointment of John Oldrid Scott. Later in life, Rolfe was consoled with the post of Diocesan Surveyor in succession to E. G. Bruton. But this was a poor reward for a man of his talent. His is a tale of great promise and of sometimes really noteworthy achievement, marred by a certain narrowness of attitude which prevented him from expanding his scope. He died in obscurity, a man of moderate means. Had he placed more reliance on the ability of his architectural talents to speak for themselves, and less on his religious convictions, the story might have been different.

There follows a list of the known designs, whether executed or not, of Wilkinson, Moore, and Rolfe. It is in no way complete, though completeness has been aimed at. There is no implication that any building mentioned still exists or has been visited by me, though comments have been added where possible about later major alterations. Demolition is indicated by an obelus (†).

For convenience, the works of Wilkinson and Moore in North Oxford are separately treated.

WORKS OF WILLIAM WILKINSON

1841-2. Lew Church, Oxon. New church, started May 1841 and consecrated May 1842. Aisleless, with a distinctive S.W. tower deriving from the nearby church at Cogges. A brass plate fixed to the W. wall commemorates the laying of the foundations, and gives the name 'William Wilkinson, Architect'. See also JOJ 29.5.1841, 7.5.1842, 14.5.1842.

c. 1843 etc. Hailey, Oxon. The vicarage. MS.Top.Oxon. c. 163 fol. 9 gives notes of a conversation held in 1896 between Wilkinson and the Secretary of the Oxford Diocesan Church Building Society on the cost of parsonage houses. Wilkinson recalled building a house 'years ago' at Hailey for about £700. Its plain style suggests the early 1840's, at about the time that the incumbent, G. C. Rolfe, married Wilkinson's sister Ellen. Wilkinson enlarged the house on the

⁷⁸ MS.Top.Oxon. c. 163. Bruton's withdrawal fol. 22, applicants fol. 43.

⁷⁹ MS. Top. Oxon. c. 1638 fol. 19.

N.W. in 1854 for about £220. MS.Oxf.dioc.papers c. 1836, including plans and specifications.

1844. Worsham Bridge, near Asthall, Oxon. Repairs costing £73. J. M. Davenport, Oxfordshire Bridges (1869), 7.

1856-7. Eynsham Church, Oxon. Restoration work. The clerestory walls, E. end, parapet, chancel arch and parts of the S. side were rebuilt ; new roofs were put on the nave and S. aisle ; the W. gallery was removed and an organ substituted. Proposals to remove the N. gallery and repew the church were obstructed by the villagers, but some reseating probably occurred. MS.Oxf.dioc.papers c. 1810, including plans and sections, and *Builder* 15 (1857), 80. Much of this work disappeared in a further restoration of 1892.

1856–7. Shirburn, Oxon. Model farm buildings for the Earl of Macclesfield at Home Farm, about a mile from the castle. Brick, with roofs of Baltic timber. Extensively described in *Illustrated London News* 12.12.1857 pp. 584–5, which says that Wilkinson was at the time much occupied in the erection of farm buildings. Together with this goes the Bailiff's Cottage ' built in connexion with the new homestead' at Shirburn. ECH² pl. 59. Other brick cottages on the estate may be by Wilkinson.

1856–7. Witney, Oxon. New cemetery, including lodge, two chapels and surrounding stone wall. JOJ 22.3.1856 (advertisement for tenders) and *Builder* 15 (1857), 80. The work survives virtually intact. Wilkinson is buried in this cemetery.

1856–8. Aston and Cote, Oxon. At Cote the Jacobean manor-house was renovated and new farm buildings were erected. At Aston a set of buildings and a farmhouse were carried out on the estate of Henry Hippesley. Advertisements for tenders for Aston in JOJ 10.5.1856 and for the Cote farm buildings in JOJ 28.6.1856; also *Builder* 16 (1858), 292, which alludes to 'other agricultural buildings 'by Wilkinson in the neighbourhood.

1857. Black Bourton, Oxon. Two interlocking cottages. ECH² pl.55.

1857. Summertown, Oxford. Design for 'two cottage residences'. Advertisement for tenders in BN 3 (1857), 223. Unidentified, but presumably executed.

1857-8. St. Helen's Church, Abingdon, Berks. Restoration of the tower and fabric. G. E. Street, who was originally employed, discovered defects in the structure which led him to advise taking down the tower and steeple. The vestry sought other opinion, and Gilbert Scott and Wilkinson supplied estimates for saving the tower, of which Wilkinson's was considerably the lower. His plans were therefore adopted, and at the same time some restoration of the church was undertaken. *Builder* 85 (1857), 392 and 481, and 16 (1858), 60.

1858. Shipton-under-Wychwood Church, Oxon. Papers of this year concerning restorations for the Ecclesiastical Commissioners record that 'Mr. Williamson of Oxford' surveyed the chancels of Shipton and Ascott-under-Wychwood churches, and that restoration of the former had already begun. Wilkinson is no doubt meant. BFLC.

†1858. Cornmarket, Oxford. Business premises for Messrs. Grimbly, Hughes and Dewe, Grocers. 'The new shop front, which rests on a stone base, is constructed with pitch pine, enriched with foliage carved from nature, representing the hop, vine, hawthorn, oak and ivy. On the sides of the trusses or brackets supporting the woodwork above, various fruits are represented. A large warehouse

is connected with the shop at the back . . . An entrance is formed for carts and vans at the side of the shop.' The carvers were T. K. Margetts and H. Eyles. *Builder* 16 (1858), 661. These much-admired premises were short-lived, being razed to the ground in a fire of 20 September 1863, which claimed two lives. They were replaced in 1864 with more substantial buildings designed by Wilkinson (q.v.). For a rough illustration see TC 2159a, and for a photograph of the debris after the fire TC 2194.

1858. Northbrook Farm, near Kirtlington, Oxon. Buildings for Sir Henry Dashwood, including a stone-built homestead with covered yards costing £1,400. J. B. Denton, *The Farm Homesteads of England* (1864), 23–6, with a plan and isometric view. The Keeper's Lodge at Kirtlington Park probably dates from the same time. Cost £350. ECH² pl. 50, reproduced in BN 19 (1870²), 9. Other cottages on the Dashwood estates are mentioned in ECH and in Denton, op. cit. The 'Maison de Fermier à Dashwood ' shown in E. Viollet-le-Duc, *Habitations Modernes*, Vol. 2 (1877), pl. 132, and described on p. 7, is probably a farmhouse of about the same date at or near Kirtlington.

1858–9. Alfred Street, Oxford. The University Gymnasium, now Holywell Press Ltd. Rectangular brick building with round-headed windows and doors, surmounted by an octagonal dome and lantern. The building was equipped throughout with the latest gymnastic contrivances, especially a central Norwegian pole 60 feet in height. The client was Archibald McLaren, an early specialist in physical education. *Builder* 16 (1858), 716 and 17 (1859), 159. An additional one-storey building, centaining a private gymnasium for children, but forming part of the original design, was added in 1861. JOJ 19.10.1861. The interior has been much altered since ceasing to be a gymnasium.

1858–9 etc. Steeple Claydon Church, Bucks. New aisle, vestry, chancel arch and porch; restoration of the chancel. Estimated cost excluding chancel \pounds 500. MS.Top.Bucks. c. 7 fol 177 ff., and MS.Oxf.dioc.papers d. 795 p. 47. Not reopened until 1862.

1858–9. Watlington, Oxon. County Police Station. A plain, sturdy redbrick building at the bottom of Couching Street. Cost $\pounds_{1,600}$. Oxfordshire County Record Office QSE 1, with much correspondence.

1859–60. Witney, Oxon. County Police Station, near the church. Stone building with sergeant's house, magistrate's room and inspector's house in front, cells, guard room and stables behind. Cost \pounds 1,865 14s. 8d. Oxfordshire County Records Office QSE 9 with correspondence, and QSE 15 with plans, sections and elevations.

1860. Longleat, Wilts. Longleat Park Farm, for the Marquis of Bath. New stone farm buildings and workshops, and houses for the bailiff and clerk of works; cost \pounds 7,000 exclusive of the houses. ECH² pls. 40 and 41, showing the bailiff's house and dairy, and J. B. Denton, *The Farm Homesteads of England* (1864), 63–6, with plan and isometric view of the whole scheme.

1860. Witney, Oxon. Stone chapel in EE style for the Witney Workhouse on Tower Hill, consisting of nave, apse, and small W bellcote. Cost c. £460. Builder 18 (1860), 368 and JOJ 26.5.1860. An apsidal chancel, designed to be added if funds sufficed, was not erected. The chapel is now used as a cafeteria for the works of Crawford Collets Ltd. The Workhouse itself is a remarkable early work of William's brother George Wilkinson.

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[†]1860–1. Bishopsgate, London. Crosby House, offices for Messrs. Soane and Page. Four-storey brick building with Bath stone dressings and green stone in relieving arches and cornices. Rich in carving by Mr. Suffolk of South Lambeth, and ornamental metalwork by Messrs. Hart and Son. Cost £7,600. Builder 19 (1861), 124–5, with plate. See also Athenaeum 1.12.1860 and Saturday Review 13.7.1861. Drawing exhibited at R.A., 1862, no. 899.

1860–2. Ramsden, Oxon. Stone parsonage house S. of the church, designed in 1860 and carried out in 1861–2. MS.Top.Oxon. c. 104 fols. 246–55, and MS.Oxf. dioc.papers d. 795 p. 157. Wilkinson may have been the architect of the first church here (1840), replaced in the 1870's with one by Blomfield. BFLC.

1860 etc. In 1860 Wilkinson was commissioned by St. John's College, Oxford, to lay out the Norham Manor Estate. This was only the first of a number of largescale developments by Wilkinson and his nephew H. W. Moore in North Oxford, and they are discussed in a separate section (see PL. XIII).

1861. Banbury, Oxon. New County Police Station, at the corner of Newland Road and Marlborough Road. Brick building, including central magistrate's room flanked by constables' houses, and guard room and cells at the back. Cost $\pounds_{1,940}$. Oxfordshire County Record Office QSE 11, with plans, elevations and sections. No longer the Police Station.

1862. Oxford Workhouse Competition. In a second limited competition, Wilkinson's designs for a new workhouse were placed second to those of William Fisher, but preferred to those of E. G. Bruton. The estimate was £8,200. Wilkinson's plan was commended, and it is clear from the *Builder* 20 (1862), 637 and from subsequent embarrassments that the only factor which led to the acceptance of Fisher's designs was their cheapness. The Workhouse, built in 1862–5 to Fisher's plans, is now the Cowley Road Hospital. See also JOJ 26.7.1862 and 30.8.1862.

1862–3. Woodstock, Oxon. County Police Station. Stone building at the E. end of Rectory Lane near the S. entrance to the town. The design built simplifies Wilkinson's original proposal for the façade. Cost \pounds 1,710 14s. 6d. Oxford-shire County Record Office QSE 4, with correspondence and a pretty perspective view, and QSE 14, with plans, elevations and sections ; JOJ 18.10.1862.

1862-3. Newbald, Yorks. Farmhouse and accompanying farm buildings for Canon Jefferson. ECH² pls. 32 and 33.

1862-3. Wootton, Oxon. Hollybank, a large stone house N. of the village. For John Rowland, whose daughter married Francis Kilvert a month before his death in 1879. Cost £3,097. ECH² pls. 3 and 4, calling the house Wootton House.

1862–3. Swanbourne Church, Bucks. Restoration work. Wilkinson was appointed architect in 1862 at Sir Thomas Fremantle's instigation. To his first plans G. E. Street raised objections of detail, and on consideration Fremantle decided on a more far-reaching restoration. Wilkinson's second designs were for restoring the chancel, putting in a new piscina, aumbrey and chancel seats ; a new chancel arch and oak pupit ; erecting a screen between nave and tower ; much new roofing ; and moving the font. Total cost estimated at about $\pounds_{1,550}$. MS. Top.Bucks. c. 7 fols. 251–75, and MS.Oxf.dioc.papers d. 796 pp. 46 and 96 ; also JOJ 21.11.1863.

1863. Bampton, Oxon. New schools, with two schoolrooms. Local stone with Bath stone dressings. *Builder* 21 (1863), 485. These are not the schools about 200 yards south of the church.

1863. Chadlington House, Oxon. Large stone house to E. of main village, set back to N. of the road to Spelsbury. Originally built as a parsonage, but never occupied as such. Builder 21 (1863), 844-5 with plate; ECH² pls. 1 and 2; and a pretty sketch in MS.Top. Oxon. a. 48 fol. 99. The house has since been unsympathetically altered and extended.

1863. Oxford University Union, St. Michael's Street, Oxford. New reading room, writing room, and housekeeper's house, and low wall erected to St. Michael's Street. Cost £2,200. These are the brick extensions immediately to the east of Woodward's original Debating Chamber, which they complement. Prominent are the large north-facing windows. *Builder* 21 (1863), 755 and OUH 24.10.1863. Drawing exhibited at R.A., 1864, no. 774. 1863. 10 Broad Street, Oxford. House and shop extensively altered and

1863. 10 Broad Street, Oxford. House and shop extensively altered and refronted, and a new storey added. OUH 24.10.1863. Timber-framing and the use of red brick give this house a picturesque flavour. Now Howes Model Shop.

1863-4. Whittlebury, Northants. Brick farmhouse for Lord Southampton. Cost £1,295. ECH² pls. 34 and 35. 1863-6. The Randolph Hotel, Oxford. Five stories, white brick with stone

1863-6. The Randolph Hotel, Oxford. Five stories, white brick with stone dressings. Wilkinson was appointed architect in 1863, and building took place from April 1864 to February 1866. A steep fleche was designed to crown the building but was never executed. *Builder* 21 (1863), 755 and 22 (1864), 297-8 with plate; JOJ 17.2.1866. Drawing exhibited at the R.A., 1865, no. 791. Externally the original portion of the hotel has been little altered, though the interiors are quite different. The iron shelter to the street and the ballroom at the rear were added by H. W. Moore in 1889 (q.v.), but the frontage to Beaumont Street W. of the main block is, amazingly, post-war, by J. Hopwood (1952). It was to the Randolph Hotel that Wilkinson retired to die.

¹1864. Cornmarket, Oxford. New premises for Messrs. Grimbly, Hughes and Dewe, Grocers. This replacement for the building of 1858 (q.v.), destroyed in the fire of 1863, was of red brick with Bath stone dressings, and in Gothic style. The shop on the ground floor was framed by four pointed arches in Bath and Hornton stone, resting on columns of Aberdeen granite. JOJ 15.10.1864. Wilkinson added further warehouses in 1878. CEO 290 and OC 12.10.1878. The whole was demolished recently for Littlewoods Store. Immortalized in R. M. Hare, *The Language of Morals* (1952) 1.3.2. For photographs see TC 2134a and 2144.

1864. South Leigh, Oxon. A pair of semi-detached cottages on the estate of Major Sibthorpe. Cost $\pounds 280$. ECH² pl. 56. Other cottages in the village are no doubt by Wilkinson.

1864 etc. Middleton Cheney, Northants. Commissions for Miss Horton. Of 1864 the large stone-built manor house, now called 'The Holt', with lodge, stables and outhouses. ECH² pl. 51 shows the lodge only. Of 1866–7 the large tomb in the churchyard to the Horton family, with elaborate Gothic canopy in Portland stone resting on granite columns. Carving by Thomas Earp, and wrought iron railings by Messrs. Thomason of Birmingham. *Builder* 25 (1867), 388 and 390 with plate. The superstructure is decaying (1970).

1864–5. Chipping Norton, Oxon. New County Police Station, on the N.E. side of the town between the Banbury and London Roads. Stone building, cost $\pounds_{1,953}$. Oxfordshire County Record Office Q SE 2.

1864-5. Duns Tew, Oxon. New parsonage to the S.E. of the church. Local

stone throughout. Cost c. \pounds 1,100, much offset by the sale of materials from the old house on the site. MS.Oxf.dioc.papers c. 1803, with plans, elevations and sections. The use of old windows and a door from the previous house and 20th century additions give the house a mixed but attractive look ; it is no longer the parsonage.

1864–5. Claydon, Bucks. New farmhouse for Sir Harry Verney. Cost \pounds 1,235. ECH³ pls. 36 and 37.

1864-6. Bignell House, near Chesterton, Oxon. A large stone house, strongly Gothic in style, built to the N. of Chesterton and a short distance W. of Bicester, for the Misses Tyrwhitt Drake. Cost with outhouses £5,500. ECH² pls. 5 and 6; pl. 5 is reproduced in BN 18 (1870¹), 283. Also *Builder* 24 (1866), 286-8, with plate reproduced in VCH Oxon. 6 facing p. 325. After large additions in front and behind, the whole house was demolished about 20 years ago, with the exception of the rear additions of 1892 and possibly later. Of Wilkinson's work there remain only the outhouses and the lodge on the A 4095, of 1866, for which see ECH² pl. 52, and E. Viollet-le-Duc, *Habitations Modernes* Vol. I (1875) p. 24 and pl. 96 (inaccurate).

1865. Upton Downs Farm, near Burford, Oxon. Stone house on its own on the A433 to Cirencester. A farmhouse for Miss Youde, $\cot \pounds_{1,390}$. ECH² pls. 28 and 29.

1865–6. 'Park Grange', 2 South Parks Road, Oxford. White brick private house. JOJ 13.10.1866 and University Estates Office. Now part of the Common-wealth Services Club.

1866. Linton, Herefordshire. New vicarage for the Rev. E. Palin. Cost \pounds 2,051. ECH pls. 21, 22 and 23, and St. John's College Estates Committee Minutes 17.5.1866.

1866. 23-24 Cornhill, Banbury, Oxon. Red brick corner house for W. J. Douglas and contiguous shop for Mr. Coleman. Ornamental brick decoration of many colours, Bath stone dressings, and wrought-iron finials to the roofs. *Builder* 24 (1866), 904-5 with plate. An attractive High Victorian Gothic composition in some danger of demolition.

1867. New College, Oxford. Rooms on the S. side of the great quadrangle were rearranged, and some windows added. Also the high dead wall along the N. side of New College Lane in the sector opposite these buildings was removed, and a low wall surmounted by railings of 'light and elegant' character substituted. OC 19.10.1867. The railings have in recent years been removed, and the wall altered.

1867. St. Edmund Hall, Oxford. Two sets of rooms added over the Hall, fronting Queen's Lane. OC 19.10.1867.

1867–8. Godington, Oxon. New rectory, a modest brick house on the S.E. side of the road leading to the church. Cost c. $\pounds_{1,200}$. Stables and outhouses added by Wilkinson in 1871. MS.Top.Oxon. c. 103 fol. 493 ff., and MS.Oxf.dioc. papers c. 1831. Now 'The Old Rectory'; whitewashed, and with two bay windows added to the S.E., but otherwise little altered.

1868. Astrop, Northants. Keeper's Lodge and nearby Pheasantry on the Astrop Estate for Sir William Brown. Cost £497. ECH² pls. 48 and 49. Another cottage is shown in E. Viollet-le-Duc, *Habitations Modernes* Vol. 2 (1877) pl. 145 (description p. 10).

1868. Henley, Oxon. County Police Station. An existing building was converted into a house for the superintendent and constable, and new brick offices,

cells, guard room and stables were added at the back. Cost $f_{1,093,178}$. Oxfordshire County Record Office QSE 6 with correspondence, and QSE 16 with plans, elevations and sections.

1868. Witney, Oxon. Stone almshouses on the N.E. side of the churchyard. For the Trustees of Holloway's Charity. Cost £725. ECH² pl. 60. A pretty group. 1868–9. 'Shelwood House', 1 South Parks Road, Oxford. Brick private

house. JOJ 16.10.1869 and University Estates Office.

1868-70. Upper Heyford, Oxon. Rectory completely rebuilt in stone for the Rev. C. B. Mount. Cost c. £2,200. ECH2 pls. 26 and 27, and MS.Oxf.dioc. papers c. 1854/1, with plans, elevations and sections. C. C. Rolfe signs one of Wilkinson's receipts for this rectory, and it may not be too fanciful to detect his hand in one or two of the details. A fine house, now divided into flats, and in deteriorating condition (1970).

1869. Swanbourne, Bucks. New brick vicarage on N. side of the churchyard, for the Rev. M. D. Malden. Cost c. £1,200. ECH2 pls. 24 and 25, MS. Top. Bucks. c. 7 fol. 276 ff., and MS.Oxf.dioc.papers c. 1622 including plans, elevations and sections.

1869. Bagley Wood, Berks. Stone lodge for St. John's College, Oxford. Cost £562. ECH² pls. 44 and 45. No doubt this is the woodman's cottage commissioned from Wilkinson according to St. John's College Estates Committee Minutes 11.7.1867 and 19. 3.1868.

1869-70. Burford, Oxon. County Police Station. Stone building, cost £1,588 198. 6d. Oxfordshire County Record Office QSE 8, with correspondence. 1869-70. Granborough, Bucks. New brick vicarage S.E. of the churchyard. Cost estimated at £1,160 5s. MS.Top.Bucks. c. 6 fol. 412 ff., and MS.Oxf.dioc. papers c. 1453, with plans, elevations and sections.

1870. Eton College, Bucks. Red brick laboratory with Bath stone dressings. Gothic building with large, low turret on the right of the façade, and with opentimbered roofs to laboratory and lecture-room. Cost c. £,2,000. Builder 28 (1870),

164 and 167 with plate.
1870. Noke, Oxon. Designs, not carried out, for a rectory at an estimated cost of £1,250. MS.Top.Oxon. c. 104 fols. 82-9. The statement in VCH Oxon. 6, 275 that Wilkinson restored the church at Noke at 'the end of the century' cannot be right, as he was not in practice then; there was a restoration of 1880, perhaps by Wilkinson (BFLC)

1870. Summertown, Oxford. Additional schoolroom for infants, on E. side of the old churchyard. Cost £750. Oxford Diocesan Calendar 1870 p. 138, and Oxfordshire County Record Office T/S Plans 44.

c. 1870-1. Minster Lovell, Oxon. New village school. Stone buildings with master's house on E. side. Oxfordshire County Record Office T/S Plans 40. A bay of 1899 has been added in the middle, unbalancing the composition.

1871. Eastleach, Glos. A group of five stone almshouses for Thomas Sebastian Bazley. Cost £920. ECH² pl. 61. An attractive group, little altered.

1871. Cassington, Oxon. Design for a parsonage and alterations to farm buildings. Cost c. £1,700. MS.Top.Oxon. c. 103 fol. 195 ff. The house was not carried out.

c. 1871-2. Clanfield, Oxon. New village school. Pretty stone buildings incorporating classrooms and a master's house. Oxfordshire County Record Office

T/S Plans 19 (the elevations may be in C. C. Rolfe's hand), and OT 27.7.1872. Much altered for the worse.

1871-3. Brashfield House, near Caversfield, Oxon. Large stone house just to the W. of the main road to Buckingham, about a mile and a half north of Bicester. Built for F. J. Staples Browne at a cost of c. \pounds 3,600. ECH³ pls. 13 and 14; the original drawing of pl. 13, by J. W. Hallam, is in MS.Top.Oxon. a. 48 fol. 73. Also W. Wing, *Brief Annals of the Bicester Poor Law Union* (1877), 60. Few external alterations, except for an addition at the S.W. corner and the removal of the verandah on the S. side. The outhouses and walled garden survive intact. The Lodge on the main road and the cottage next to it are no doubt also by Wilkinson. Now owned by the Army.

1871 etc. Deddington, Oxon. County Police Station. Wilkinson added bedrooms and cells to the station in 1871 at a cost of £392 98. 8d., and in 1874-5 adjoined a magistrate's room facing the High Street, now used as a County Library, costing £642 108. Oxfordshire County Record Office QSE 5 with correspondence, and QSE 13 with plans, elevations and sections.

1872. Eastleach, Glos. Stone farmhouse on the W. side of the village for Thomas Sebastian Bazley. Cost c. \pounds 3,000. ECH² pls. 11 and 12. Some alterations ; the conservatory has been destroyed.

1872. Sevenhampton, Wilts. Two entrance lodges to the Warneford Place Estate for the Rev. J. Warneford. Cost £230 each. ECH² pl. 53.

1872. Wingfield Convalescent Home, Headington, Oxford. Brick building with verandah to front. Cost £1,075. The Architect 7 (1872ⁱ), 306.

1872 etc. Headington Hill Hall, Oxford. Of 1872 extensive internal renovation for G. H. Morrell. JOJ 12.10.1872. Of 1877 the stables, and the charming bridge over Headington Road. OC 13.10.1877 and CEO 186.

1872 etc. St. Edward's School, Oxford. Wilkinson's largest commission, for the Rev. A. B. Simeon. The plan conceived is of a spacious open quandrangle, with houses and classrooms to N. and S., chapel and hall to E., and a lodge to W.; outhouses were behind on the N. side. BN 41 (18812), 296 and 298 gives a perspective of the scheme. All buildings except the Chapel are of red brick with stone dressings. First to be built was the North Block (1872-3), an attractive composition not enhanced by the Wilkinson and Moore additions to the west end of it (1886) and by additions to the S. façade of 1929-31. See Plate XIVA and BN 26 (1874^{1}) ; 49-50. A temporary chapel was designed but not erected ; there is a drawing for it in St. Edward's School Archives. The present stone-built chapel with its prominent W. tower (originally a more modest conception) is of 1874-7. The interior has been altered by the insertion of panelling and the rearrangement and redecoration of the apse. Next come the Woodstock Road Lodge (finished 1879) and the Big School (finished 1881). The South Block or New Buildings (1881-2), by Wilkinson and Moore, is probably chiefly due to Moore alone ; a plate is in BN 55 (18882), 778. The E. part of the S. side of the quadrangle was never built by Wilkinson and Moore, the conception being sensitively completed this century with buildings by H. S. Rogers. See OC and JOJ passim, and St. Edward's School Archives. Wilkinson must be credited with the success of St. Edward's as a design. He remained involved in the work after his official retirement, and the best work is his, not Moore's.80

⁸⁰ I am most grateful to Mr. J. W. Tate for help with this entry.

1873. Bicester, Oxon. Stone magistrate's room added to the County Police Station, at a cost of about \pounds 550. Oxfordshire County Record Office QSE 3, with much correspondence.

1873. Brightwell, Oxon. Design for a brick farmhouse for Captain Norton. Cost estimated at $\pounds_{1,700}$. Possibly not executed. ECH² pls. 38 and 39.

1873. Rousham, Oxon. Stone parsonage house E. of the church renovated and much enlarged. Estimated cost $\pounds_{1,130}$. MS.Oxf.dioc.papers c. 1990, with plans, sections and elevations ; the porch shown was omitted. Now called 'The Dower House'.

1873-4. Old Warden Park, Bedfordshire. Brick farmhouse and surrounding farm buildings for Joseph Shuttleworth. ECH² pls. 30 and 31.

1874. Chasewoods Farm, near Hailey, Oxon. Model farm for the Duke of Marlborough, including a farmhouse, offices, stables and farm buildings with a covered yard, all in local stone. Cost c. \pounds 3,000. Recommended for convenience and modernity in BN 26 (1874^T), 64, with plate. Intact still, but decaying.

1875. Buonas, Canton Zug, Switzerland. Large stone house ' on a charming site near Lake Zug' for M. Ch. de Gonzenbach Escher. Ambitious composition in Late Perpendicular style. ECH² pls. 7, 7A and 8, reproduced in BN 29 (1875²), 176-7. Wilkinson's only known claim to a 'European reputation'.

†1875. 8–9 New Road, Oxford. Offices for T. M. Davenport. Brick with stone facings, and with a prominent corner turret. CEO 10 and OC 16.10.1875.

1875-7. Burford, Oxon. New schools in Priory Lane, next to the old rectory house. Builder 33 (1875), 826. In a not very successful Jacobean style.

1875-7. Shelswell House, Oxon. Large classical mansion faced in Box ground stone, for Edward Slater Harrison. W. Wing, *Annals of the Bicester Poor Law Union* (1877), 114. Shelswell House, beautifully set in the middle of a very large park, is the only known fully classical composition by Wilkinson. The house is three-storied, with a Vanbrughian element in the attic storey. The chief feature of the front is a large columniated porte-cochere. Within there is a fine central staircase. The proud set of stone stables to the E. is of 1892 (date on guttering). The main section of this fine and ambitious house has been uninhabited since the last war, and portions of the E. side are now ruinous, e.g. the billiard room. See Plate XIVB.

1876 etc. Warneford Hospital, Headington, Oxford. 'New wing for female patients.' OC 13.10.1888. The central block at the Warneford is an elaborate composition in French Renaissance style, dated 1877 over the entrance, and this is no doubt what is meant. In 1879 Wilkinson added a laundry. OC 18.10.1879.

1876 etc. Horton-cum-Studley, Oxon. Brick vicarage in Studley. Designed in 1876 and probably built after a delay ; it was not completed till 1880. MS.Oxf. dioc.papers c. 1723, with plans, elevations and sections. Now 'The Old Vicarage'.

1877-8. St. Hilda's College, Oxford. Cowley Grange, a large house for A. G. V. Harcourt, now the South block in St. Hilda's. CEO 153 and OC 13.10. 1877 and 12.10.1878. However, the Oxford Chronicle's reference to 'Queen Anne style' could mean that Wilkinson also added to the Georgian house on the N. side of the college, now facing Cowley Place.

1877–8. St. Aloysius' Presbytery, Woodstock Road, Oxford. Large whitebrick house in Gothic style to N.E. of church. Carving by J. McCulloch of London. CEO 195 and *Builder* 40 (1881¹), 42 ff. with plate.

1877-9. Thame, Oxon. Lord Williams' Grammar School, on the Oxford road. Extensive new school buildings in Tudor style, of brick with Box stone dressings. Includes dining-hall, dormitories, school room and classrooms. Builder 40 (18811), 402 ff. with plate. F. G. Lee, History and Antiquities of the Church of Thame (1883) cols. 491–2, quotes a letter from Wilkinson saying that money was insufficient to make the buildings more than the plainest imitation of St. Edward's. Some additions have been made at the back, but the front and S. sides are little altered. Very good early photographs in TC 5575-5584. †1878. Eagle Foundry, Walton Well Road, Oxford. Long low sheds for

Messrs. Lucy between the road and St. Sepulchre's Cemetery. CEO 282.

1878-80. Headington Church, Oxon. In 1878 Wilkinson produced designs for a new N. aisle, N. porch and vestry, and for general restoration to cover the parts of the church (mainly the N. side) untouched by J. C. Buckler's restoration of 1862-3. In 1880 the N. aisle and restoration work were carried out, but the porch was omitted and the vestry decreased in size ; in addition an arch was opened for an organ (now at the W. end) between chancel and vestry. MS.Oxf.dioc.papers c. 2206 no. 28 and OC 23.10.1880.

1879. Mill Lane, Oxford. A gateway in the wall of Magdalen Grove by the house called Holywell Ford (see Rolfe, 1888). OC 11.10.1879. The original wooden gates were recently replaced with iron railings, which permit a fine view of the Deer Park.

1870. Magdalen College, Oxford. Design for a new quadrangle. Not accepted ; the competition was won by Bodley and Garner. Plans etc. in Magdalen Library.

1879. Beauchamp Lane, Cowley, Oxford. New stone stables for Cowley Vicarage. Cost c. £410. MS.Oxf.dioc.papers c. 1958 with plans and elevations. Now the 41st Oxford Scout Headquarters.

1879. South Moreton, Berks. New rectory, a red-brick house on the E. side of the lane leading to the church. Cost £1,898 10s. MS.Oxf.dioc.papers c. 2206 no. 40, and MS.Oxf.dioc.papers c. 1151, with plans, sections and elevations. An attractive small house, hardly altered since it was built.

†1880. 5 Parks Road, Oxford. Alterations at the premises of St. Stephen's House. CEO 515 and OC 23.10.1880. Demolished to make way for the New Bodleian Library.

†1880. St. John's College, Oxford. 'Resolved that Mr. Wilkinson be asked to furnish a plan for a pair of wooden gates for the terrace in front of the college.' St. John's Estates Committee Minutes 18.10.1880.

1880. Kidlington Church, Oxon. Restoration work, including new roofs and windows, and new parapet to S. aisle. Estimated cost £1,600. MS.Oxf.dioc. papers c. 2207 no. 3. G. E. Street thought that the roofs proposed diverged from the originals, but Wilkinson was able to give proof of his meticulousness by showing that he had added only what was necessary or what had been there and disappeared.

1880 etc. The Salesian College, Cowley Hill, Oxford. Red brick school buildings and chapel between Junction Road and Crescent Road. The earliest work is the centre of the block facing E. and W., and the additions of 1883 by Wilkinson and Moore are likely to be on the S. side of this ; further additions on the north side may be by Moore. Modern additions have been made discreetly on the N.W. and N.E. corners, and the gable of the 1883 addition has been removed on

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the W. side. The chapel, of uncertain date, probably formed part of Wilkinson's designs of 1880 and originally consisted of nave and narrow corridor-aisles. In 1906–8 the E. end was extended, the aisles converted to hold chapels, and a screen and rood were erected ; at some stage buttresses have been added to the exterior and a gable with bell-turret inserted at the S.W. corner. OC 23.10.1880 and 13.10. 1883. Good early illustrations in TC 2522–7 and 2988 ff., which also summarizes the alterations of 1906–8. Originally St. Kenelm's School, later the Franciscan College, Cowley, and now the Salesian College, a Roman Catholic boys' school.

Undated works

Havering Park, Essex. New farm-homestead and surrounding buildings for David McIntosh. ECH² pls. 42 and 43, showing the farm-bailiff's house and laundry. c. 1865?

Broadwell Grove Estate, near Holwell, Oxon. Keeper's Lodge, kennels, fowl-house, yards etc., for W. H. Fox. Cost c. \pounds 1,200. ECH² pls. 46 and 47. c. 1875?

Hatherop, Glos. Stone gardener's cottage for Thomas Sebastian Bazley. ECH² pl. 54, and E. Viollet-le-Duc, *Habitations Modernes* Vol. I (1875), 24 and pl. 95. After 1870.

Oddington, Oxon. A pair of semi-detached houses at Oddington Grange, for F. J. Staples-Browne. ECH² pl. 57.

Steeple Aston, Oxon. Stone labourer's cottage for F. J. Staples-Browne. ECH² pl. 58, reproduced in BN 18 (1870¹), 359.

Launton, Oxon. Stone labourer's cottage for the Rev. J. B. Brooks. ECH² pl. 58, reproduced in BN 18 (1870¹), 359.

WORKS OF WILLIAM WILKINSON AND HARRY WILKINSON MOORE, 1881–6

†1881. Turl Street, Oxford. New shop front for Mr. Hedderley. CEO 690. 1881–2. Magdalen College, Oxford. Alterations and improvements to the kitchens, and some structural work elsewhere. OC 15.10.1881 and JOJ 14.10.1882.

1882. New College, Oxford. Renovation and alteration of the kitchens. OC 14.10.1882.

⁺1882. Radcliffe Infirmary, Oxford. New porters' lodge. OC 14.10.1882. ⁺1883. 21 High Street, Oxford. Conversion of a house for Brasenose College.

OC 13.10.1883. Since demolished.

†1883. Holywell Manor, Oxford. Extensions to the chapel of 'The Penitentiary'. OC 13.10.1883. Demolished.

1884. Headington Cemetery, Dunstan Road, Headington, Oxford. Stonebuilt chapel with bellcote for this new cemetery. OC 11.10.1884. A very pretty building, no doubt by Moore, with delicate carving to the windows and bellcote, and excellent ironwork on the door.

1884. Water Eaton, near Oxford. Restoration of the chapel by the Cherwell between Oxford and Islip, for General Charles Sawyer. The chancel was restored, the roofs and screen repaired, the floor relaid and the seats rearranged. MS.Oxf. dioc.papers c. 1875 and OC 11.10.1884.

1885. St. John's College, Oxford. Restoration of the roof, opening up the rafters, in the Library. OC 17.10.1885 (inaccurate), and St. John's College Estates Committee Minutes 28.11.1884 and 23.1.1885, attributing the work to Moore alone.

1885. St. Mary Magdalen Church, Oxford. Some additional screens to make access easier for communicants. OC 17.10.1885. For additional work here, see Moore, 1887 etc.

1885-6. Lincoln College, Oxford. In 1885 a new wing to the Rector's Lodging was constructed. OC 17.10.1885, and BN 51 (1886²), 546 with plate. Drawing exhibited by Moore at R.A., 1886, no. 1701. In 1886 structural support was given to the chapel, and general repairs carried out. OC and JOJ 16.10.1886.

1886. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Extensions to the Picture Galleries. OC 16.10.1886.

1886. Headington Road, Oxford. House for T. Arnall in the Highfield Estate. OC 16.10.1886. Possibly the house on the N.E. corner with Pullen's Lane.

For works of the Wilkinson and Moore partnership in North Oxford, see the separate section.

WORKS OF HARRY WILKINSON MOORE

1879. Design for a model dairy farm, entitled *In Toto*. This won Moore the first silver medal in the Dairy Homestead Competition held as part of the Dairy Show for 1879 at Agricultural Hall, Islington. BN 37 (1879²) with description on p. 451, plate on p. 583. The design included a farmhouse in Queen Anne style and extensive farm buildings with covered yards.

1881. Newbury, Berks. Competition design for Newbury Grammar School, entitled One Lives and Learns. BN 40 (1881¹), 150. The competition was won by Messrs. Power and Hughes.

1886–91. St. Clement's Parish Buildings, Boulter Street, Oxford. An attractive set of buildings in free Gothic facing St. Clements, of brick with stone dressings. Designed in 1886 and eventually built in 1890–1. OC 16.10.1886, 15.10.1887, 11.10.1890 and 17.10.1891; MS.Top.Oxon. c. 105 fols. 164–72; BN 52 (1887¹), 810 with plate. Drawing exhibited at R.A., 1887, no. 1756. The shop attached to the hall has been much altered and an inappropriate façade added.

1886–94. Somerville College, Oxford. Brick buildings at the N.W. end of the college, with façades to the S. and to Walton Street. Moore's design was selected 'in competition with leading London architects', and was carried out in stages. The part facing S. is of 1886–7; a wing containing a gymnasium was added in 1890; and in 1893–4 the front facing Walton Street and the attractive lodge were built. CEO 1161 and 2172; OC 16.10.1886, 15.10.1887, 11.10.1890 and 13.10.1894; BN 53 (1887²), 394 with plate of S. front. Drawing exhibited at R.A., 1887, no. 1649.

1887. Clarendon Laboratory, Oxford. A small addition. OC 15.10.1887. 1887. Messrs. Elliston and Cavell Ltd., Oxford. Millinery rooms and other additions. OC 15.10.1887.

[†]1887. Pusey House, 61 St. Giles, Oxford. Addition of an extra storey to the garden front, in Tudor style. OC 15.10.1887 and BN 55 (1882²), 773 and 777 with plate. Destroyed in the complete rebuilding by Temple Moore.

1887 etc. St. Mary Magdalen Church, Oxford. Of 1887 a new oak screen to the S. aisle. OC 15.10.1887. Moore reported in 1890 on the serious condition of the tower, and in 1891 coupled this with the need to restore and renovate the S. aisle roofs and parapet, at an estimated cost of £520. Work was carried out in 1892-3. MS.Top.Oxon. c. 105 fols. 187-90 and MS.Top.Oxon. d. 42 fols. 124-31; OC 11.10.1890 and 15.10.1892. In 1897 he repaired the W. tower window prior to the insertion of stained glass. In 1912-3 he undertook further restoration work, and in 1913 designed four statues (of the Virgin, Elijah, Richard Coeur de Lion and Bishop Hugh of Lincoln) to fill the niches on the outside of the S. aisle. MS.Oxon.dioc.papers c. 1939; charming photographs of the consecration of the

statues in TC 2351–9. See plate XVIA. 1887. Boars Hill, Berks. Additions and alterations to 'The Chalet' for

Gilbert Wootten-Wootten. OC. 15.10.1887. 1887-8. University College, Oxford. Kybald House, a brick tutors' house built on the S. side of the library. CEO 1291; OC 15.10.1887 and 13.10.1888; BN 57 (18892), 484 and 493 with plate.

1887-8. Warneford Hospital, Headington, Oxford. New wing for male patients. OC 15.10.1887 and 13.10.1888.

1887-8. Ripon Hall, Boars Hill, Berks. Moore designed a small house here in 1887 as a summer residence for the President of Trinity, and added to it in 1888. OC 15.10.1887 and 13.10.1888. Since much altered and extended.

1887-8. New Hinksey, Oxford. New vicarage in red brick to W. of the church, overlooking the railway. The plan was slightly amended at J. O. Scott's suggestion. Estimated cost £1,600. MS.Oxf.dioc.papers c. 2208 nos. 33 and 35; OC 15.10. 1887 and 13.10.1888; BN 57 (18892), 814 and 818 with plate. Photograph in TC 3262a.

1887-8. South Leigh Church, Oxon. C. C. Rolfe's restoration of 1871-3 (q.v.) was never completed owing to lack of funds, and in 1887 the Rev. A. East sought alternative plans from Moore. These were for restoration of nave roof, aisle roof, side chapel, and tower, at an estimated cost of $\pounds 650$. Work was mostly completed by October 1888. MS.Oxf.dioc.papers c. 2208 nos. 27 and 36, and MS.Top.Oxon. c. 105, fol. 211.

1887-91. St. Giles' Parish Buildings, Woodstock Road, Oxford. Low onestoreyed hall with crenellated caretaker's house attached, and other rooms. Free Gothic, brick with some freestone work. Built in three stages, in 1887, 1889 and 1891. OC 15.10.1887, 12.10.1889, and 17.10.1891; BN 53 (18872), 682 with plate showing a bellcote not erected. One of Moore's most attractive compositions.

1888. Barge for Trinity College, Oxford. OC 13.10.1888. Now at Shillingford Bridge, near the Bridge Hotel. In bad condition.

1888. Museum Lodge, Parks Road, Oxford. Pretty freestone lodge for the University Museum, immediately opposite Keble and N.W. of the Museum. OC 13.10.1888.

1888. Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford. New organ loft, with framework of

wood carved by James Rogers. OC 13.10.1888. 1888. Walton Street, Oxford. Restoration of St. Paul's School, next to Moore's Somerville buildings. OC 13.10.1888. The school is of historic interest for its construction in terracotta.

1888-9. All Saints Church, Oxford. A thorough external restoration of the

fabric, replacing the old Headington stone with blocks from Hanborough, Clipsham and Doulting. OC 13.10.1888 and 12.10 1889.

†1888-91. Holywell Manor, St. Cross Road, Oxford. Large-scale extensions to 'The Penitentiary', including a new wing. OC 13.10.1888, 11.10.1890 and 17.10.1891. Entirely destroyed in 20th century renovations and extensions. 1889 etc. The Randolph Hotel, Oxford. In 1889 a large new ballroom was

constructed at the back, and the attractive iron shelter, made by Messrs. Lucy, was added to the front. CEO 1457 and 1471; OC 12.10.1889. In 1908 Moore added a large motor garage and new stabling at the rear. CEO 1357. Most of the latter work has been demolished for the post-war extension, or converted and extended.

†1889. St. Aldates, Oxford. Extensions to 'The Refuge'. CEO 1473 and

OC 12.10.1889. Demolished. 1889–90. Headington Hill, Oxford. House for Professor Vines. OC. 12.10.1889 and 11.10.1890. Probably Pollock House, Pullen's Lane.

1889-90. East Oxford Constitutional Hall, Cowley Road, Oxford. Brick block comprising hall, offices and shops on S.W. side of the road between Marston and Stockmore Streets. CEO 1458 (missing) and OC 12.10.1889. The shop fronts have been altered and the hall has been rebuilt for commercial premises, but the upper part of the façade survives whitewashed.

1889-94. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Substantial extensions to the galleries in 1889 and 1893-4, when the Ashmolean collection was housed at a cost of £15,000. OC 12.10.1889, 14.10.1893 and 13.10.1894.

1890. Corfe House, 271 Woodstock Road, Oxford. This is apparently the large house built at Summertown for the Rev. A. B. Simeon, Warden of St. Edward's School. OC 11.10.1890.

[†]1890. Balliol College, Oxford. Minor alterations to the old buildings in St. Giles and behind. OC 11.10.1890. Demolished.

1890. Pembroke College, Oxford. New gallery to the Library. OC 11.10. 1890.

1890-1. Headington Hill, Oxford. House for Professor Napier, with carving by James Rogers. OC 11.10.1890 and 17.10.1891. Apparently Cotuit Hall, Pullen's Lane.

1891-3. Departments of Human Anatomy, Anthropology and Geology, Oxford University. Freestone buildings in free Renaissance style, with a lantern at the N.E. angle (dated 1893). Bodleian G.A.Oxon.16°.59; OC 17.10.1891, 15.10.1892 and 14.10.1893 ; BN 63 (18922), 616. Entangled with later accretions behind the University Museum.

†1892. Jowett Walk, Oxford. Cricket pavilion for Balliol College. OC 15.10.1892. Approximately on the site of Balliol's present pavilion.

1892. 98 St. Clements, Oxford. Conversion of premises and large additions in rear for Technical Instruction Buildings. CEO 1876 and Kelly's Oxford Directory 1899, 109.

1802. Combe, Oxon. Village Institute and Reading Room, for Miss Adela Brooke. See pamphlet by the Duchess of Rutland in Bodleian G.A.Oxon. c. 22.

1892-3. Kingsey Church, Bucks. New church to succeed a dilapidated one of 1780-2. Simple and aisleless, but with tower and steeple ; in free Gothic, stone throughout. Estimated cost £3,000. MS.Top.Bucks. d. 3 fol. 74 ff. Aesthetically

the design is competent and pleasant rather than remarkable, but the free tracery of the windows is interesting. In 1885 Moore had exhibited a drawing of a mantelpiece in nearby Tythrop House at the R.A. (no. 1807), and he may have worked there and on the surrounding estate, where several of the cottages could be by him. See Plate XVA.

1892–3. Clarendon Press Institute, Walton Street, Oxford. Large hall with associated rooms; brick with stone dressings. Cost £5,000. OC 15.10.1892 and 14.10.1893. To be demolished.

1892-3 etc. St. Paul's Church, Oxford. New clergy vestry in N.E. corner of 1892-3. OC 14.10.1893. To improve the lighting of the church, Moore made designs in 1904 for inserting ten new windows, four on either side of the nave, and one on either side of the chancel ; only those on the S. side were put in. At the same time Moore designed a small memorial tablet. JOJ 15.10.1904 and MS. Oxf.dioc.papers c. 1946. To be demolished.

†1892–4. City Central Technical School, Church Street, St. Ebbe's, Oxford. An ambitious building on the N. side of the street, now demolished. Cost £4,500. CEO 2002 ; OC 14.10.1893 ; Kelly's Oxford Directory 1899, 109.

1893. Christ Church Choir School, Brewer Street, Oxford. Brick, with stone dressings and ornament carved by Messrs. Butcher and Axtell. CEO 2013 and OC 14.10. 1893. The front is similar to the Clarendon Press Institute, but better proportioned.

†1893. Parks Road, Oxford. House on the west side between Keble and Banbury Roads. CEO 2173, unsigned but clearly by Moore. Demolished if built.

1894–6. Corn Exchange and Fire Station, George Street, Oxford. Brick with stone dressings. CEO 2429; OC 13.10.1894 and 12.10.1895. A large and good composition, eclectic in detailing but never heavy. The front to George Street is better than that to Gloucester Green, which was not intended to be as open as it now is. Some of the carving is very attractive. The building is unobtrusively signed by architect and contractor on the inside of a doorway arch to George Street. To be demolished.

1894 etc. University College, Oxford. Numerous additions and extensions. In 1894 Moore planned and presumably carried out a subway under Logic Lane roughly under his later bridge. CEO 2354. In 1895–7 came the brick and oakframed building in Logic Lane containing lecture rooms and accommodation for students. OC 17.10.1896. In 1896 he designed a cottage, carriage house and harness room in Logic Lane for the Master ; this pretty group was demolished in the early 1960's. CEO 2742 ; photographs in TC 1743a and b. Then in 1901 he added the freestone Durham Buildings on the N.E. corner of Logic Lane and High Street, connecting it with the timber-framed block in 1901–2. CEO 91 ; OC 11.10.1901 and 17.10.1902. In 1903 Moore added an extra bay on the W. end of the Hall, connecting it with the Senior Common Room with a passage, opened up the roof (destroying Keene's plaster ceiling) and restored it. CEO 398, TC 1746, and JOJ 15.10.1904. Finally, in about 1905, a bridge designed in 1902 was added over Logic Lane. CEO 214 and JOJ 14.10.1905. Plate of High Street block and bridge in Academy Architecture 31 (1907¹), 127. Apart from the matter of the Hall ceiling, Moore's works here are unobtrusive and well done.

†1895-6. Friars Street, Oxford. Additions to Holy Trinity Parish Schools (by Basil Champneys, 1871). CEO 2595 and OC 17.10.1896.

1895 etc. Oxford Eye Hospital, behind the Radcliffe Infirmary, Oxford. A new wing was added in 1895. OC 12.10.1895. Moore made further extensions to the Eye Hospital in 1901 and 1905-6. CEO 96, 807 and 859 ; OT 12.10.1901 and JOJ 21.10.1905.

1896 etc. St. John's College Cricket Pavilion, off Woodstock Road, Oxford. The tile-hung pavilion behind the W. side of the road between nos. 209 and 211. is of 1896. CEO 2726 and OC 17.10,1896. Moore added the groundsman's

house, no. 211, in 1898–9. CEO 3244. 1896. All Souls College, Oxford. Annexe to Common Room rebuilt. OC 17.10.1896.

1897. 'The Bulldog', St. Aldates, Oxford. Complete rebuilding of this pub then called 'The New Inn', for Messrs. Simonds. Brick, with quaint rusticated Venetian windows and other dressings in stone. CEO 2003.

1898. Mansel House, 41 Museum Road, Oxford. Large brick tutors' house for St. John's College. CEO 3069. A pair of semi-detached houses with one entrance at the front and the other at the back. The main front is to the S., away from the street.

^{†1900.} 50/51 Cornmarket, Oxford. Alterations for A. Pearson and W. Woodward. CEO 3468. Demolished.

1903. 225 Iffley Road, Oxford. A large detached house in brick for W. Tyrwhitt. CEO 329. The composition of this house with studio at the back is very free, and shows how far Moore had progressed in domestic design.

1907. 67 Divinity Road, Oxford. Semi-detached house on N.W. side of the road for C. Clayton, by Messrs. Wilkinson Moore and Warwick. CEO 1179. Of no interest.

1907. 'Cherwell Edge', South Parks Road, Oxford. Design for extensive additions on the S. and E. sides of this house (originally by J. W. Messenger), including a small chapel for the nuns. CEO 1218. The additions were eventually made by Basil Champneys after the intervention of Merton College.

[†]1909. 'The Rise', Headington Hill, Oxford. Some additions at the rear.

CEO 1440. 1910. 'The Firs', Headington Hill, Oxford. Minor additions for G. H.

1913. 6 Beaumont Street, Oxford. Additions and alterations at the back of the house. Moore was converting his own office and house for Worcester College at the time of his retirement. CEO 2173.

WORKS OF WILLIAM WILKINSON AND HARRY WILKINSON MOORE IN NORTH OXFORD

So many are the works of Wilkinson and Moore in North Oxford that it is only logical to treat them in a separate section. By way of explanation, something must first be said about the development of North Oxford as a

residential area, and the principles of classification in the subsequent lists must be explained.

S. L. Seckham, the City Surveyor, was the original architect employed by St. John's College to develop certain areas of North Oxford.⁸¹ His first estate of Park Town (1853–5) was so rapidly occupied that plans were speedily made for two others, Walton Manor and Norham Manor. An undated lithograph in St. John's Muniments, of the late 1850s, shows Seckham's original proposal for Walton Manor, with detached Italianate houses clustered on all sides of a Gothic church. A revision of this scheme is shown on another Seckham lithograph which accompanied the sale of lots for Walton Manor in June 1860; here similar large houses are strung along the west side of Woodstock Road on either side of the corner with a new road, now Leckford Road. But Seckham was very soon superseded as superintendent architect of Walton Manor by William Wilkinson, who took over the layout of his predecessor but not the individual house designs ; the only Seckham house actually built in the area is 121/123 Woodstock Road, already completed by 1860.

Wilkinson seems from the first to have been St. John's chosen architect for Norham Manor, and had produced a master plan by July 1860. A sketch of the Norham Manor Estate which may have been by Wilkinson survives only in the form of a photographic negative in the Minn Collection in the Bodleian (PL. XIII).⁸² It certainly shows Wilkinson's original scheme for the estate, since the roads occupy the same lines as those shown on the inset plan of the estate issued for the first sale of lots in July 1860. The villas shown on the drawing are more Italianate than those that were built ; this must be Seckham's residual influence. The layout of the estate shown is peripherally much the same as it is now, with roads on the approximate lines of the present Norham Gardens, Fyfield Road, and Norham Road. But the internal part of the estate developed differently, since the lots were sold later and quite considerable respect was shown to the wishes of individual clients.

With the unification of the two main estates under Wilkinson's control, the areas scheduled for domestic development were rapidly increased to cover much of the land between the Oxford Canal and the Cherwell, until by the mid-1870's it was meaningless to talk merely of the Walton Manor and Norham Manor Estates. The St. John's College Estates Committee Minutes on several occasions record authorization to Wilkinson to make a general plan for a new area under similar conditions to his original brief.

Wilkinson's exact responsibilities and official position in this development

⁸¹ Information in this section is mainly from unclassified documents in St. John's College Muniments. I am grateful to Mr. H. M. Colvin for giving me access to these. ⁸² MS.Top.Oxon. d. 501, fol. 89. Mr. Peter Howell points out that the sketch could be by Seckham.

are not altogether clear. It seems that his primary duty was to lay out the new streets and to determine the positions of houses along them, as also along already existing roads. Secondly, he had certain powers of approval and veto over all designs for St. John's property in North Oxford. These powers he was called upon to exercise vigorously. A very strict set of rules was enforced to ensure high standards of workmanship (and, in certain areas, social exclusiveness) and to prevent shoddy building. Where faults were found or complaints made, the St. John's Bursar never failed to demand a full account which, it is fair to say, Wilkinson was normally able to give. The management of the estates was authoritarian but efficient. The power of veto meant that Wilkinson bore general architectural responsibility for every building on the estate, whether designed initially by him or not. This causes difficulties of attribution. For instance we know that he approved but did not design the scheme for the north side of Keble Road, and many such individual houses not designed by Wilkinson were no doubt improved by him to conform to St. John's regulations. In every case he had to authorize that building could proceed, and to issue certificates of completion after a personal inspection. Plans, sections, and elevations of every building had to be permanently deposited with him; what has happened to this complete catalogue of North Oxford's development is unclear. His third responsibility was that of assessing ground rents and negotiating with the local property speculators who took up the expensive leases. Here his early surveying experience will have stood him in excellent stead.

Wilkinson's position gave him the opportunity for designing many of the individual houses. Yet as far as the Norham Manor houses are concerned, he designed comparatively few of the early villas, and he never took the part of a speculator in the development of the properties. On Norham Manor the main developer of individual lots was an architect and speculative builder called Frederick Codd, originally a pupil of Wilkinson. Codd's style is so close to that of his master that it is difficult to tell from sight alone whether a house is by Codd or by Wilkinson. Codd's designs are somewhat cruder, but those in Norham Gardens, Bradmore Road, the west side of Banbury Road and Canterbury Road are as competent as Wilkinson's. Wilkinson may have passed private clients straight on to Codd. But Codd also took a speculative interest in the development of new lots, and continued to hold the leases of some houses after they had been occupied. All Wilkinson's earlier Norham Manor Villas were apparently for private clients, though some of the later ones were designed for entrepreneurial builders. As yet, much less is known about the development of Walton Manor, or indeed of the whole area between Banbury and Kingston Roads.

When H. W. Moore became Wilkinson's official partner in 1881, the superintendence of North Oxford designs was for a time continued. Development had by this time reached what is now St. Margaret's Road, and under Moore's aegis the St. John's residential estates were continued north to reach the lines of Frenchay Road, Staverton Road, and Linton Road. Development also continued along the sides of the Banbury and Woodstock Roads. From 1881 onwards, there is a distinct tendency for more of the houses to be individually designed by Wilkinson and Moore, and after 1886 by Moore alone. There is good evidence that Moore designed many of the houses in North Oxford officially attributed to Wilkinson and Moore, and domestic work was certainly his main concern after 1886. Moore remained the official St. John's architect who laid out the lines of the new roads as they were required, retained powers of veto, and had priority in designing individual houses. Indeed, so predominant was Moore's style of North Oxford architecture that builders and other architects (e.g. J. C. Gray, a pupil of Codd's), imitated him very closely. Yet the documents show that Moore personally designed an amazing number of picturesque and tasteful houses in North Oxford, the best of which are the latest, those in Northmoor Road. However, he proved a less satisfactory overseer than Wilkinson. By the late 1800s his procrastinations were exasperating the St. John's authorities, and in 1897 the Bursar threatened to sack him several times for 'dilatoriness and indeed complete neglect with which you treat the business entrusted to you'.⁸³ The last road laid out by Moore is Frenchay Road (1895), as far as is known. His output of private houses fell off dramatically from about 1902, which is probably when he finally parted company with St. John's. From then on a duller architect called George Gardiner designed larger numbers than Moore.

The methodology of the following lists must be explained, and some warning given about omissions.

'North Oxford' is an inevitably vague term. I have endeavoured to follow a sensible classification by streets rather than a chronological or strictly topographical one. Only works forming parts of a new residential area are included, with a few exceptions such as Walton Street and Plantation Road, where infilling is treated as part of the new development. Several works in the Woodstock Road are treated separately, and South Parks Road (Wilkinson 1865–6 and 1868–9) and Parks Road (Wilkinson 1880, Moore 1888 and 1893) are included in the main lists.

It must be emphasized that the information which follows is in no sense complete. The absence of a building does not mean that it is not by Wilkinson or Moore, but simply that this is not known to be the case. General com-

83 Letter of St. John's Bursar to Moore, 30.11.1897.

ments are added to elucidate further where this is possible, but it is clearly not possible to give a complete architectural history of North Oxford within the scope of this article.⁸⁴ General data about the development of the area are rarely available ; on occasions the Oxford Chronicle or Jackson's Oxford Journal give summaries of progress, but the history of individual roads has normally to be compiled from fragmentary pieces of information about the houses in it. This is fullest for Norham Manor, thanks to the invaluable work of Miss E. O. Dodgson, who has examined the St. John's lease books and estate ledgers. Little is yet known about Walton Manor and the further developments of the early 1870's. Evidence for Leckford Road is very scanty, and the lists for Farndon Road, Warnborough Road, and the west side of the Woodstock Road between Plantation Road and St. Margaret's Road should be regarded as particularly incomplete.

However, from the 1870s, all plans for new buildings and for major external alterations to existing ones had to be submitted to the City Engineer for approval, in accordance with a new municipal regulation. Thus the City Engineer's Office has a theoretically complete list of applications from about 1876, together with tracings of the work to be executed. This record, though difficult to handle because of the nature of the indexing, is adequate from about 1880, and makes it easier to trace the North Oxford works of the Wilkinson and Moore partnership and of Moore himself than the earlier works of Wilkinson. These records do not always give the architects of the buildings registered, but authorship is often discoverable from signatures on the tracings or on the applications for building permission which accompany them. Sometimes it is possible to infer from a comparison of unsigned drawings with the style of the building that Moore, whose hand is easily recognizable, was the architect in question ; these attributions are marked with an asterisk (*) in the following lists. Where the style of the buildings is suggestive but the tracings are lost, or where the style of the buildings and the tracings is suggestive but not conclusive, an entry is marked with a question-mark. The CEO numbers given under sources refer to the numbering of the plans in the City Engineer's Official Register, which recommences in the middle of 1900 according to new municipal legislation.

Unless otherwise stated, all buildings mentioned are domestic houses in brick with stone dressings.

Banbury Road

The east side of the road, between Norham Road and Norham Gardens, formed part of the original Norham Manor Estate. The west side as far as Canter-⁸⁴ Completeness is aimed at in the Card Index of Victorian Buildings currently being compiled at the Oxford City Library.

bury Road was developed in the later 1860's, mainly by Codd. In these areas Wilkinson designed only two or three houses. Further north, from Park Town to Belbroughton Road on the east and from St. Margaret's Road to Staverton Road on the west, large numbers of houses were designed by Moore, though some, especially on the west side are by other architects.

Wes	t side :	
†31	Wilkinson, 1864–6	ECH ² pls. 19 and 20, JOJ 13.10.1866. An important house, demolished for the Wolfson Buildings for St. Anne's.
IOI	Moore, 1886	CEO 1114.
103	Moore, 1886	CEO 1118.
105	Wilkinson and Moore, 1886	CEO 1086, OC 16.10.1886.
107	?Moore, 1886	CEO 1148 (missing).
III	Moore, 1887	CEO 1258.
113	Moore, 1887	CEO 1233.
115	Wilkinson and Moore, 1881-2	CEO 707, OC 14.10.1882. Extensions by Moore, 1895. CEO 2609.
117	Moore, 1897	CEO 2954. Much altered.
East	side :	
52 a	nd 54 Additions of 1880-3 by	Wilkinson and Moore. No. 54 was converted,

	a S. wing was added, and connexion was made with no. 52, to which a lecture room was added. CEO 573, OC 15.10.1881, JOJ 15.10.1882, and OC and JOJ 13.10.1883.	
56	Additions to a house by John Gibbs (1866-7) by Moore, 1900. CEO	
60	3549. Wilkinson, 1865–6. ECH ² pls. 17 and 18, JOJ 13.10.1866. Another very important house, fully discussed by E. O. Dodgson, <i>Oxoniensia</i> 32 (1967), 53–9. Perhaps Wilkinson's most characterful house. Threatened.	
62	Small addition by Moore in 1901 to a house by E. G. Bruton. CEO	
66a 72 74 82/84/86/88 90 92 94 96 98 100 102 104 106	119. Of 1863, probably by Wilkinson. JOJ 17.10.1863, OC 15.10.1864. Wilkinson and Moore, 1884. CEO 909. Additions of 1905 by Moore. CEO 791. Wilkinson and Moore, 1884. CEO 939. Moore, 1893. CEO 2014. A block of four houses. ?Moore, 1890. CEO 1533 (wrong number). ?Moore, 1890. CEO 1578 (missing). *Moore, 1891. CEO 1681. *Moore, 1893. CEO 2027. *Moore, 1893. CEO 2075. *Moore, 1893. CEO 2075. *Moore, 1894-5. CEO 2414. Extensions by Moore, 1896. CEO	
100	2682.	

88
108	Moore, 1894-5. CEO 2440.
110	Moore, 1895. CEO 2513.
112	Moore, 1896. CEO 2747.
114	Moore, 1897. CEO 2927.
116	Moore, 1897. CEO 2955.

Bardwell Road

Residentially developed as far as the present Charlbury Road in the period 1890-6. Most of the houses not by Moore are by Herbert Quinton or Messrs. Radclyffe and Watson.

North side :

I	*Moore, 1890–1. CEO 1638.
3	Porch added in 1896 by Moore to a house of 1892 by J. C. Gray. CEO 2647.
5/7 13 15 17	 2047. ?Moore, 1891. CEO 1796 (missing). *Moore, 1894. CEO 2303. ?Moore, 1894. Cf. no. 13. Moore, 1895. CEO 2544.
South side : 18 20/22 24	?Moore, 1893. CEO 2124 (missing). Moore, 1893. CEO 2031. Moore, 1896. CEO 2659.

Bevington Road

The south side houses are by Codd. Nos. 11/12 and 13 on the north side are probably by Wilkinson. They are to be demolished.

Bradmore Road

None of the houses is known to be by Wilkinson, though several could be by him. Frederick Codd designed some.

Moore added a porch at no. 6 in 1887. OC 15.10.1887.

Canterbury Road

Entirely by Codd, 1871-6.

Chalfont Road

Laid out by Moore in 1888. The architectural history of this road has proved intractable. All the houses are of 1889-1899, brick semi-detached in Moore's characteristic style, but some of them are builders' imitations, and one pair of E. side houses is by Messrs. Radclyffe and Watson (CEO 2359).

Definitely by Moore : 21/23 and six further pairs of houses on the W. side. CEO 3353, and 2525 and 2549 (both missing). 2/4*, 6/8,* 10/12,* 14/16, 18/20,* 22/24 and 42/44 on the E. side. CEO 2411, 3064, 3221 and 3093. Probably by Moore : 34/36 and 38/40 on the E. side. CEO 3154.

Not by Moore : 1/3 and 5/7 on the W. side. CEO 1518 and 1639.

See also CEO 1567 (missing), 1864 (missing), 2006, 2118 (wrong number), 2359, and 2879.

Church Walk

The two S. side houses, nos. 3 and 5, are by Wilkinson, 1875. JOJ 16.10.1875 and St. John's Muniments. N. side houses by Codd.

Crick Road

No house is known to be by Wilkinson. 14/15 is unattributed.

Moore added a porch and conservatory to no. 6 in 1887. OC. 15.10.1887.

Farndon Road

Little is known about the S. side. A plan for the N. side was commissioned from Wilkinson in 1878, and the houses erected in 1879–1883.

10/11 Wilkinson, 1879. CEO 435.

18/19/20 Wilkinson and Moore, 1883. CEO 853.
 21/22 Wilkinson and Moore, 1883. CEO 837.

23/24 Wilkinson and Moore, 1883. CEO 837.

25/26 Wilkinson, 1880. CEO 574.

Stables to N.E. of 25/26 down a private lane by Wilkinson, 1879. CEO 371. Much altered.

Frenchay Road

Laid out by Moore in 1895. All the houses may be by him.

South side :

Moore, 1896. CEO 2773. 1/3 5/7 $\frac{5/7}{9/11}$ *Moore, 1897. CEO 2928. 13/15/17/19/21/23 ?Moore, 1898. CEO 3073 (missing). Moore, 1898-9. CEO 3242. This house has a workshop attached. 25/27 North side : 2 *Moore, 1899. CEO 3272. 4/6 8/10 Moore, 1896. CEO 2681. 12/14 16/18 20/22 Moore, 1898. CEO 3099. 24/26 1 28/30 Probably all by Moore : cf. nos. 13-23. 32/34 36/38/40/42

Fyfield Road

This was the last road on the Norham Manor Estate to be developed, and the houses were built in 1872-1881. Only one house is by Wilkinson, 2/3/4 on the N. side, of 1880. CEO 484 and OC 23.10.1880.

The mews behind Fyfield Road were built by Frederick Codd ; Moore added a coach house and groom's room in 1881. CEO 636.

Hayfield Road

Laid out by Wilkinson and Moore in 1886, and administered by the Oxford Industrial and Provident Land and Building Society for the erection of artisans' dwellings.

The houses were all built to the designs of Moore in the years 1886–8. Except for 4/6, which is a semi-detached house with a shop of 1888 by Moore, they are uniformly neat red-brick blocks of eight or ten dwellings, of identical design. There are altogether nine such blocks.

At the same time (1886), Wilkinson and Moore rebuilt 'The Hutt' publichouse, which has since been demolished.

See CEO 1141, 1151 and 1218; OC 16.10.1886, 15.10.1887, and 13.10.1888.

Kingston Road

Planned in 1869. Some of the houses near the N. end are by Wilkinson and Moore, while those on the W. side nearer the S. end are mainly builders' work. By far the most interesting houses are the model artisans' dwellings on the E. side, for which see Rolfe, 1870.

West side :

81/82	Wilkinson and M	loore, 1882.	CEO 730.
$\left\{\begin{array}{c} 8_3/8_4\\ 8_5/86\end{array}\right\}$	Wilkinson and M	loore, 1881.	CEO 642.
87/88	?Moore, 1887.	CEO 1214.	
89/90	?Moore, 1888.	CEO 1325.	No. 90 includes a shop.
East side :	101 416	00 0 GE	0

92/33 Polstead Rd., *Moore, 1887-8. CEO 1297.

93/94	*Moore,	1887-8.	CEO	1297.
95/96	*Moore,		CEO	
97/98	*Moore,	1888-9.	CEO	1402.

Leckford Road

Laid out in 1871-3. Very little is known about the history of the individual houses. The 'Dutch' houses on the S. side are by Wilkinson's pupil F. J. Connell.

Linton Road

⁶ Pegged out ⁷ in 1895, on the line of an old farm track. Four of the houses in the western sector are by Moore, but those E. of the intersection with Northmoor Road are mainly by George Gardiner. No. 1, although in Moore's style, seems to be by J. C. Gray (CEO 2679).

 North side :
 3/5
 *Moore, 1902. CEO 190.

 South side :
 2
 Moore, 1894. CEO 2329. One of his nicest houses.

 4
 Moore, 1901–1. CEO 7.

 6
 Moore, 1903. CEO 338.

Norham Gardens

The main residential road of the Norham Manor Estate, and the most fashionable habitat in Oxford for the first fifty years of its existence. The most important houses are all on the S. side, and of these Wilkinson himself designed four or five. Many of the other houses on either side are by Codd, but nos. 3 and 9 are by Charles Buckeridge.

South side :

South side :	
I	Wilkinson, 1864–5. OC 15.10.1864. A whole new bay was added to the E. side of the house by Moore in 1903. CEO 432.
5	Wilkinson, 1863–5. OC 17.10.1863.
7	?Wilkinson, 1860–2. JOJ 18.10.1863. The first house of the estate. Additions of 1867 are recorded in OC 19.10.1867, and it is on the basis of these being by Wilkinson that the original house is attributed
II	to him. Wilkinson, 1866–7. JOJ 13.10.1866, OC 19.10.1867. Small exten- sion by Moore in 1899. CEO 3271.
13	Wilkinson, 1868–70. ECH ² pls. 9 and 10, showing the garden front. The plate is redrawn (inaccurately) in Viollet-le-Duc, <i>Habitations</i> <i>Modernes</i> Vol. 2 (1877) pl. 182 (description p. 18). The house has been gravely altered.
17	House by Codd, 1873–4. Extensions by Moore in 1892, when it was serving as St. Hugh Hall. OC 15.10.1892.
Norham Road	
Many o	f the houses in this road have not yet had their architects identified.
North side :	
14/15 16/17	
18/19	Wilkinson, 1877–9. CEO 202, 262, and 345 (missing).

20/21

24/25	Wilkinson.	1880.	CEO 529.
11 1	- Standard and a second s		0.0

26	Wilkinson, 1880.	CEO 562.

South side :

30/31 Wilkinson, 1880. CEO 497 and OC 23.10.1880.

32/33 ?Wilkinson, 1881. CEO 637.

No. 37 is referred to in a letter of St. John's Bursar to Wilkinson of 9.7.1880, when it was erected, as emanating from Wilkinson's office. The designer of this and the similar 36 is probably not Wilkinson, but F. J. Connell.

Northmoor Road

'Pegged out' by Moore in 1895. The S. sector of the road contains some of Moore's latest and best houses. Apart from 1/3 and the modern 15, the only house not by Moore in this part of the road is 2, an excellent house by E. W. Allfrey. There do not seem to be any houses by Moore N. of Linton Road.

West side :		
5/7	*Moore, 1901. CEO 99.	
	Moore, 1904. CEO 543.	
9	Wilkinson Moore and Warwick, 1905. CEO 782.	
13	Moore, 1903-4. CEO 509.	
17/19	*Moore, 1902-3. CEO 315.	
East side :		
4	*Moore, 1901-2. CEO 142.	
4 6 8	*Moore, 1901-2. CEO 142.	
8	*Moore, 1902. CEO 183.	
10	*Moore, 1903-4. CEO 459.	
12	Moore, 1904. CEO 588.	

Plantation Road

An old road, in which some infilling took place in the 1880's and 1890's. North side :

41/43/45/47/49/51 *Moore, 1889. CEO 1475.

57/59 ?Moore, 1890. CEO 1536.

South side :

2/4/6/8/10/	Wilkinson and Moore, 1884. CEO 919. A very attractive block of
12/14	houses, designed for the Oxford Cottage Improvement Society, and
	illustrated in BN 55 (18882), 584, where it is attributed to Moore alone.
16/18	Wilkinson and Moore, 1884. CEO 946.

22

*Moore, 1893. CEO 2074. ?Moore, 1895. CEO 2556. Very simple for Moore. 44/46

Polstead Road

Opened up in accordance with Moore's plans in 1887. No other architect is known to be represented in this road.

South side :

1/3	?Moore, 1888. CEO 1432.
5/7	Moore, 1887. CEO 1217.
9/11	*Moore, 1892. CEO 1838.
13/15	*Moore, 1893-4. CEO 2147.
	*Moore, 1892. CEO 1875.
	?Moore.
	?Moore, 1888–9. CEO 1411.
29/31	*Moore, 1887-8. CEO 1282.
33/92 Kin	gston Rd. *Moore, 1887-8. CEO 1297.
North side	
	?Moore, 1888. CEO 1351 (missing).
	?Moore, 1800, CEO 1565 and 1614.
26/28	
33/92 Kin North side 2/4 6/8 10/12 14/16 18/20 22/24	gston Rd. *Moore, 1887–8. CEO 1297.

93

7

Rawlinson Road

Laid out by Wilkinson and Moore in 1886. The houses not by Moore are all either by J. W. Messenger or by Herbert Quinton, who worked for the firm of Pike and Messenger.

South side :

 1/3
 ?Moore, 1887. CEO 1226.

 5
 ?Moore, 1889. CEO 1460 (missing).

 7
 *Moore, 1889-90. CEO 1521 (missing, but cf. no. 9).

 9
 Moore, 1889-90. CEO 1505.

 North side :
 2

 2
 *Moore, 1888. CEO 1349.

 4
 Moore, 1888. CEO 1343.

4	Moore, 1888. CEO 1333.
12	Moore, 1888-9. CEO 1405.
14	Moore, 1889. CEO 1421.
16	Moore, 1889. CEO 1476.
18	*Moore, 1889, CEO 1454.

St. Bernard's Road

An old lane, at first called St. John's Road. Some infilling.

North side :

 1/2/3
 Moore, 1896.
 CEO 2733.

 South side :
 63/64/65/66/67
 ?Moore.

 75/76
 *Moore, 1890.
 CEO 1583.

St. Margaret's Road

Laid out in 1879, on the course of Rackham Lane, and originally called Rackham Road. All the houses are of 1879-1886.

0	0.44		· .		
So	uU	h s	10	e	2

†1 †2 †3 †4 8/9 10/11	 ?Wilkinson and Moore, 1883. CEO 851. Demolished. ?Wilkinson and Moore, 1883-4. CEO 872. Demolished. ?Wilkinson and Moore, 1883-4. CEO 872. Demolished. Wilkinson and Moore, 1883-4. CEO 869. Demolished.
8/9	Wilkinson and Moore, 1883-4. CEO 878.
12/13 14/15/16	Wilkinson and Moore, 1884. CEO 903. Wilkinson and Moore, 1885. CEO 1039.
North side :	
19/20	?Wilkinson and Moore, 1886. Cf. 21/22.
21/22	Wilkinson and Moore, 1886. CEO 1135.
23/24	Wilkinson and Moore, 1886. CEO 1083.
25/26	*Wilkinson and Moore, 1886. Cf. 23/24.
27/28	Wilkinson and Moore, 1885–6. CEO 1069.
29/30	Wilkinson and Moore, 1885. CEO 1019.

31/32	Wilkinson and Moore, 1885.	CEO 981.	
33	Wilkinson and Moore, 1885.		
34	Wilkinson and Moore, 1885.	CEO 996.	
34 36	Wilkinson and Moore, 1886.	CEO 1082.	
37 38	?Wilkinson and Moore, 1886.		
38	Wilkinson and Moore, 1886. 1898 by *Moore. CEO 3086.		Summerhouse added in
39	?Wilkinson and Moore, 1886.		

Southmoor Road

Planned by Wilkinson in 1880 and laid out in 1881-2. Difficult to disentangle.

West side :			
1/3 5/7 13/15/17/19 21/23 33/35 53/55 69/71/73/75 85/87/89/91 93/95 105/107 109/111	*Moore, 1887. CEO 1191. Wilkinson and Moore, 1884-5. CEO 970. ?Wilkinson and Moore, 1883. CEO 815 (missing). Wilkinson and Moore, 1883. CEO 806. Wilkinson and Moore, 1882. CEO 798. Wilkinson and Moore, 1884. CEO 975. Wilkinson and Moore, 1884. CEO 914. ?Wilkinson and Moore, 1884-5. CEO 929. Wilkinson and Moore, 1884-5. CEO 955. Wilkinson and Moore, 1884-5. CEO 952. Wilkinson and Moore, 1884-5. CEO 952.		
East side : 2/4/6/8/10/12 14/16/18/20 22/24/26/28/2 34/36/38/40 42/44/46/48/2 94/96/98/100	30/32 50/52 /102/104	Wilkinson and Moore, 1884. CEO 944. Wilkinson and Moore, 1885. CEO 1037. ?Wilkinson and Moore, 1885. CF. 14/16/18/20. Wilkinson and Moore, 1882. CEO 772. Wilkinson and Moore, 1883. CEO 841a. Wilkinson and Moore, 1884. CEO 966.	

The following houses may also be by Wilkinson and Moore or by Moore alone : 57/59/61/63, 77/79, 81/83, 97/99/101/103; 66/68/70/72/74/76, 110/112, and 114/116/118.

Staverton Road

The two houses here listed are probably Moore's only ones in this road. The main development is of 1900–6, though there are some earlier houses. By Moore (*) 6/8 and 10/12 on the N. side, of 1900. CEO 3496.

Tackley Place

Probably builders' houses ; nothing is known of the architects.

Walton Well Road

The focal point of this area, as formally developed, was Walton Well, at the corner of Longworth and Walton Well Roads. Here, Moore designed a public drinking fountain in 1885. It is a pretty composition of Portland stone carved by

McCulloch of London, and illustrated in BN 53 (1887²) after p. 894. See also CEO 1027.

Many of the S. side houses, including the extravagant Lucy's Social Club, were designed by the builder J. C. Curtis. For the rebuilding of the Eagle Foundry, see under Wilkinson, 1878.

South side :

 27/29
 Wilkinson and Moore, 1883-4.
 CEO 866.

 31/33/35/37/39/41
 Wilkinson and Moore, 1886.
 CEO 1081.

 North side :
 10/12/14/16
 ?Moore.

 20/22/24/26/28/30
 *Moore, 1887-8.
 CEO 1280.

Warnborough Road

Few houses have yet been attributed, though George Shirley of J. Galpin's firm seems to have been prominent in development here. The only house known to be by Wilkinson is 7/8, of 1880. CEO 490.

Winchester Road

Many of the houses have not been attributed. Developed in the early to middle 1870's

East side :

 $\begin{array}{c} 5/6\\7/8\\9/10 \end{array} \hspace{0.5cm} \text{Wilkinson, } 1874-5. \hspace{0.5cm} \text{JOJ} \hspace{0.5cm} 16.10.1875, \hspace{0.5cm} \text{and} \hspace{0.5cm} \text{St. John's Muniments.} \\ \text{Cf. } 14-23 \hspace{0.5cm} \text{Norham Road.} \end{array} \\ \text{West side :} \\ \begin{array}{c} 22\\23/24\\25/26 \end{array} \end{array} \\ \text{Wilkinson, } 1875. \hspace{0.5cm} \text{JOJ} \hspace{0.5cm} 16.10.1875 \hspace{0.5cm} \text{and} \hspace{0.5cm} \text{CEO} \hspace{0.5cm} 66. \end{array}$

Woodstock Road

The earliest systematic development was on either side of the corner with Leckford Road, and this formed the nucleus of the Walton Manor Estate. Much of this has been demolished. In the 1880's, the E. side of the road between St. Giles and Bevington Road was developed, and houses were built up as far as St. Margaret's Road and beyond. By the turn of the century, development had passed the line of Staverton Road. Great numbers of the northern houses were designed by Moore.

Other works in Woodstock Road are to be found in the main lists : St. Aloysius' Presbytery under Wilkinson 1877–8, St. Edward's School under Wilkinson 1872 etc., St. Giles' Parish Buildings under Moore 1887–91, 271 Woodstock Road under Moore 1890, and St. John's Cricket Pavilion under Moore 1896 etc.

West side :

83/85/87/89 Moore, 1890-1. CEO 1647.

Of the houses between Plantation Road and St. Margaret's Road, several were probably by Wilkinson. No evidence is yet forthcoming about the survivors, though e.g. 111 is almost certainly by Wilkinson.

†113	Wilkinson, 1860. ECH ² pls. 15 and 16. At the N. corner of Leck- ford Road, for Edwin Butler. Demolished 1968.
†117	Additions by Moore, 1901. CEO 2.
143	Wilkinson and Moore, 1886. CEO 1140 and OC 16.10.1886.
	?Wilkinson and Moore, 1886-7. CEO 1176.
145	?Moore, 1888. CEO 1376.
147	*Moore, 1889. CEO 1477.
149/151	
153 155	Moore, 1904–5. CEO 663.
157 159	Moore, 1899–1901. CEO 3344.
161	Moore, 1889–90. CEO 1511.
163	*Moore, 1890. CEO 1550.
165	*Moore, 1890. CEO 1599.
167/169	Moore, 1898. CEO 3129.
179/181	
183/185	Moore, 1898. CEO 3085.
187/189	*Moore, 1901-2. CEO 136.
191/1932	
195/197 5	Moore, 1900–2. CEO 3624.
203/205	000
207/209	*Moore, 1902. CEO 231.
211	*Moore, 1898–9. CEO 3244. Groundsman's house at St. John's Cricket Field.
213/215	?Moore, 1898. CEO 3088 (missing).
221/223	Moore, 1899. CEO 3337.
East side :	
	Wilkinson and Moore, 1884. CEO 883.
38/40	Wilkinson and Moore, 1881. CEO 616. This house was designed
50	for Alexander Macdonald, first Ruskin Master of Drawing and teacher
	of Massar Us 'furnished the outline of the design' to the architects
	of Moore. He 'furnished the outline of the design ' to the architects
	according to OC 15.10.1881.
74	Wilkinson and Moore, 1881. CEO 601.
76	Wilkinson and Moore, 1881. CEO 652.
78	Wilkinson and Moore, 1881. CEO 676.
80	Wilkinson and Moore, 1882. CEO 723.
82	Wilkinson and Moore, 1883. CEO 828. Additions of 1891 are
	probably by Moore. CEO 1715.
84	Wilkinson and Moore, 1885. CEO 1054.
86	Wilkinson and Moore, 1887. CEO 1213.

WORKS OF CLAPTON CRABB ROLFE

1866–9. Hailey Church, Oxon. New church to replace an earlier building. Plans were made by Clapton Rolfe for his father, G. C. Rolfe, Vicar of Hailey, in 1866. Street's report of November 1866 found many faults of detail and planning,

so Rolfe produced new designs, approved in July 1867 and carried out in 1868–9. MS.Top.Oxon. c. 103, fol. 506 ff., MS.Top.Oxon. d. 42 fol. 70, MS.Oxf.dioc. papers d. 797 pp. 65, 99, 184 and 187, and MS.Oxf.dioc.papers c. 1836 ; also BN 18 (1870^T), 296 and 301 with plate. Plan of nave, chancel and N. aisle, with unusual proportions. The short chancel is raised well above the nave, and the narrow aisle is designed to give full view of the altar. Close attention is paid to detail, e.g. the ironwork of the lamps, the font, and the encaustic tiling flanking the altar. The church was originally seated with chairs, but pews, probably designed by Rolfe, were added in 1902. The most original feature of the exterior is the N.W. bell-turret, influenced like the rest of the church by 13th century French Gothic models. See Plate XVB

1869. Churchill, Oxon. Restoration of the mortuary chapel, chancel of the former parish church, the rest of which had been demolished in 1826. Work included substitution of a gable head for the porch on the W. end, insertion of a new E. window and one other window, repaying in places, reseating the whole, moving a few monuments, and stopping up a doorway. MS.Oxf.dioc.papers c. 1995.

1870. Kingston Road, Oxford. Houses for artisans, on the E. side of the road. Light brick terraces with bands of darker brick decoration, some timber-framing, and Gothic details and doorways. BN 18 (1870¹), 90 and 92 with plate, and *The Architect* 8 (1872²), 62 with plate. The houses illustrated are nos. 159–164, a block of six. Further north, two blocks of ten houses and one of eight houses (nos. 119–128, 129–138 and 149–156) follow exactly the same design, but were probably built a little later. A different pattern is followed in nos. 114–118, a block of five houses with rather more picturesque façades, no doubt also by Rolfe. These terraces are among the best North Oxford houses.

1871. Cogges Church, Oxon. Restoration of the chancel, raising the floor level and introducing new fittings. BN 21 (1871²), 397. Little of this work survives. c. 1871. Ascott-under-Wychwood, Oxon. New village school. Oxfordshire

c. 1871. Ascott-under-Wychwood, Oxon. New village school. Oxfordshire County Record Office T/S Plans 2. A house for the master was included in the designs but not built. Since extended.

c. 1871. Leafield, Oxon. Addition to the village school of an infants' room and a porch. Oxfordshire County Record Office T/S Plans 35. Now surrounded by later additions.

 \dagger 1871–2. Newbury, Berks. St. Nicholas' Infants National School. Pretty composition with half-timbered gable and porch, at the corner of West Street and a new road. Plans, elevations and sections in Berkshire Record Office D/EX 268; see also *The Architect* 8 (1872²), 62 with plate. Apparently demolished.

1871-3. Rayleigh Church, Essex. Restoration, probably of the nave in 1871 and certainly of the chancel in 1873. The new Caen stone font is described and illustrated in BN 21 (1871²), 492-3. Rolfe's plan of the chancel is in Essex County Record Office D/CF 12/5.

1871-3. South Leigh Church, Oxon. Restoration for the Rev. Gerard Moultrie. Plans were for rebuilding the porch, renovating the nave, aisle and chapel roofs, restoring the chancel arch; and for installing new seating, flooring and heating, and a rood and an altar table, both painted by Messrs. Gibbs and Moore of London. MS.Top.Oxon. c. 104 fols. 318 and 333; BN 24 (1873'), 476 and 479 with plate, and BN 59 (1890²), 432 with early photograph; also Six Years'

Work at Southleigh : A Report by the Rev. Gerard Moultrie (1883 2nd edition). Ewan Christian restored the chancel at the same time. During this work murals were discovered and restored by Messrs. Burlison and Grylls. Funds ran out, so the nave and chapel roofs were not touched. For the completion of the restoration, not by Rolfe, see under Moore, 1887–8.

1871 etc. Nuneham Courtenay Church, Oxon. A new church for the villagers a little W. of the main road, built by Edward Harcourt. Planned in 1871, and mainly finished by 1874, though work continued till 1880; the S.E. (Harcourt) chapel is of 1890. BN 21 (1871²), 397, *The Architect* 12 (1874²), 304 with plate, and MS.Top.Oxon. d. 93 fol. 54. The church consists of a long nave without aisles, chancel, apsidal S. organ-chamber, and later S.E. chapel. The exterior is in an unimpressive 13th century Gothic, but the interior is better and little altered. Among the details typical of Rolfe's church work are the rere-arches to all the windows (cf. Cuxham and Inkpen). As at Hailey, the altar is in prominent view. The S.E. chapel, presumably by Rolfe, is an adaptation of the Harcourt Chapel at Stanton Harcourt. See Plate XVIB.

†1874 etc. Curbridge Church, Oxon. In 1874 Rolfe designed a new church to replace the existing chapel of 1847. It was to be a simple aisleless building with a long nave and small apsidal sanctuary, and with a W. bell-cote over tall double lancets. It was not built, but in 1895 the apse was added to the old chapel, 'so that if ever a new church should be erected this chancel may form a part of it according to Mr. Rolfe's plan drawn 20 years ago'. This building was pulled down in 1906 and replaced with an entirely new church built by Sir Charles Nicholson. The Architect 12 (1874²), 304 with plate, and MS.Oxf.dioc.papers c. 2073.

1875. Mancetter Church, Warwickshire. Restoration work, including reseating and other works. BFLC.

1875 etc. Holyrood, South Leigh, Oxon. Brick buildings next to the church on the S.E. Originally St. James's School, an Anglican boys' school founded by Gerard Moultrie. Probably built in stages, and from the start incorporating the local school by John Gibbs, which now forms the N.W. part of the complex. The main block, perhaps of c. 1880, is a charming red-brick building with apple-green bargeboards and dormer windows ; there is a curious stone tympanum above the back door depicting the tortoise and the hare. The small chapel by Rolfe has disappeared in 20th century extensions, though the fleche survives. The whole has been badly altered. Six Years' Work at Southleigh : A Report by the Rev. Gerard Moultrie (1875 1st edition).

1876. Chipping Norton, Oxon. Additions to Hailey Glebe Farm. Cost c. £344. MS.Oxf.dioc.papers c. 1836, including plans.

1876–7. St. Mary's Abbey and Vicarage, Nuneaton, Warwickshire. Rolfe designed a completely new church, consisting of nave (no aisles), transepts, chancel and crossing tower, to be built on the foundations of the Benedictine nunnery destroyed at the Reformation. In order to recreate the feeling of a medieval abbey church, the transepts were to be Norman in style, the nave Transitional, and the choir and central tower Early English. All that was ever built was four bays of the nave, going W. from the ruined medieval piers of the crossing ; this was finished in 1877, with carving by Harry Hems of Exeter. BN 30 (1876¹) 418 and 420 with a plate showing the excellence of the whole scheme ; *Church Builder* 1876, 214–9 with a long disquisition by Rolfe on the principles of the restoration and on medieval

numerology; and *Builder* 35 (1877), 568. N. transept and choir were added this century by Brakspear in a style unsympathetic to Rolfe's scheme, but there is still no S. transept or crossing tower, and the nave remains of four bays instead of the originally intended seven. However, the vicarage on the S. side of the churchyard is an excellent stone house clearly by Rolfe (presumably of *c*. 1877), with typical careful detailing of the doors, bargeboards, etc.

1877. Thorpe Malsor Church, Northants. Chancel rebuilt, nave much repaired, and new S. porch added. New chancel roof, reredos, retable, carved stalls, sedilia and pulpit. Private chapel formed out of vault on N. side. Carving by Harry Hems. Cost c. £5,000. BN 33 (1877²), 498.

1878. Eglwys Cummin, Carmarthenshire. Church restoration. BFLC.

1879–80. Nuneaton Grammar School, King Edward Road, Nuneaton, Warwickshire. N. Pevsner and A. Wedgwood, *Warwickshire*, 365–6. A large red-brick building of clean line, and with characteristic virtues of detail. It has been much added to.

1879–92. Standlake Church, Oxon. Large-scale restoration for the Rev. L. S. Tuckwell. Though undertaken in stages, Street approved the whole design in 1880, calling it 'very carefully prepared and in all respects good'. The original estimate was $\pounds_{3,500}$ — $\pounds_{4,000}$, but $\pounds_{6,000}$ was eventually spent. The striking feature throughout is the elaborate woodwork, for which Harry Hems of Exeter was responsible. In 1880–1 the W. gallery was removed, and the nave was restored with new oak pews and roof, both lavishly carved. In 1882–3 the S. porch was rebuilt, the S. aisle reroofed and reseated, and the S. transept renovated with new stone font and oak cover. In 1884–5 and 1888 the N. aisle and N. transept were reroofed and reseated and the walls were rebuilt. Finally in 1889–91 the chancel was restored with equal elaboration. New fittings include altar, stalls, lectern, pulpic (illustrated in British Architect 17 (1882¹), 274), screen, font and pews. There can be no more impressive example of a thorough, discreet and tasteful Victorian restoration. MS.Oxf.dioc.papers c. 2017; MS.Oxf.dioc.papers c. 2207 no. 4; Standlake Parish Magazine 1879, 135; and L. S. Tuckwell, Some Reminiscences of Thirty Happy Years of Clerical Work in the Parish of Standlake, Oxon., 10 ff.

1882–4. Appleton Church, Berks. Thorough restoration of the nave, planned in 1882 and carried out in 1883–4. Originally Rolfe designed a completely new chancel, but this was not executed. In the nave, the floor was lowered, the plaster ceiling removed, the timber roof restored, and new seats (altered at the insistence of J. O. Scott after vigorous protest by Rolfe) were put in. In a second phase of restoration, the nave was strengthened, the N. aisle refloored, the font restored, and a new pulpit provided. Total cost was $\pounds 606$ 3s. 8d. MS.Oxf.dioc.papers c. 2207 no. 22 and c. 2208 no. 6.

1884. Chipping Ongar Church, Essex. New S. aisle in brick and flint with oak roofs. Early English in style. Stone and woodcarving by Harry Hems. *Builder* 47 (1884²), 775.

1884–8. Shilton Church, Oxon. Restoration work. In 1884–5 the chancel was restored, and a rood carved by Harry Hems set up over a new screen of Perpendicular type. In 1888 the nave was restored with open seats and a pulpit, while further work was done in the chancel, choir stalls being provided. Total cost c. £1,000. MS.Top.Oxon. d. 42 fol. 153 and MS.Top.Oxon. c. 105 fol. 191 ff. ;

Builder 47 (1884^2) , 810. The gates of the chancel screen are at present used as a screen to the tower arch.

1885. Banbury Road, Oxford. Design for a large detached house on the W. side of the road for the Rev. A. E. Clarke. CEO 1023 (tracings very fragmentary). Apparently not executed ; the only possible houses are no. 109, which looks untypical of Rolfe and should be by J. W. Messenger, and no. 80, which is on the wrong side of the road. The tracings have no elevations, but include sections which suggest a tile-hung house with some timber-framing.

1886. Northmoor Church, Oxon. Small-scale restoration, concerning mainly the E. part of the nave and the transepts, which were restored and refloored. Restoration of nave roof, cleaning and repair of stonework ; new oak S. door, lectern and pulpit. MS.Oxf.dioc.papers c. 1914, with plan. The work may have been extended to include the W. half of the nave.

1886–7. 29 Abbey Road, Oxford. House for the Rev. W. H. Smithe, Warden of the Sisterhood of St. Thomas. CEO 1133 and OC 15.10.1887. A very pretty and characteristic brick house.

†1886-7 etc. Sisterhood of St. Thomas, St. Thomas's Street, Oxford. Buildings and extensions of various dates round Osney House, now almost entirely demolished. Of 1886-7 was a new infirmary, apparently on the Osney Lane side of the complex. CEO 1121 and OC 15.10.1887. This was followed in 1889 by a new chapel with sculpture by Harry Hems. OC 12.10.1889; a photograph of the interior is in In West Oxford, ed. T. W. Squires, pl. XXII. Both were demolished for extensions to the G.P.O. Sorting Office. In 1895 Rolfe made additions to the Industrial School attached to Osney House, a building fronting St. Thomas's Street. CEO 2552 (the writing is Rolfe's). Finally, in 1903 B. H. Rolfe under the superintendence of his father C. C. Rolfe added a workroom at Osney House, and built a brick block with Dutch gables, containing a laundry and industrial premises, at the corner of Hollybush Row and St. Thomas's Street. CEO 399 and 406. The buildings of 1895 and 1903 were sadly demolished in 1969. The only survivals of Rolfe's works for the Sisterhood are the brick gateway to the convent with sculptured figures, and a small cottage on the N. side of Osney Lane just W. of the crossing with Hollybush Row. Both can be safely attributed to Relfe on grounds of style.

†1887. St. John's Hall, Marston Street, Oxford. Buildings for the Cowley Fathers, now seemingly demolished. A figure of St. John the Divine from the studio of Harry Hems was included. OC 15.10.1887. The exact work Rolfe did here is not clear, but he may have had something to do with the design of the sculptured group on the back wall of the Mission House. It is unlikely that he designed the Mission House, which is basically an agglomeration of converted houses.

1887. Holy Trinity Church, Wood Green, Witney, Oxon. Enlargement and improvement of the vestry. MS.Oxf.dioc.papers c. 2073. 1888. Holywell Ford, Mill Lane, Oxford. Here Rolfe designed a completely

1888. Holywell Ford, Mill Lane, Oxford. Here Rolfe designed a completely new L-shaped cottage for Magdalen College opposite the back gate to the deer park, to replace the old mill cottage. The house spans a branch of the Cherwell, and includes two footbridges. There is a summer-house in the garden. CEO 1318. From about 1889 to 1906 Rolfe lived and worked in this house. Dylan Thomas was among later famous inhabitants.

†1889. Barnett House, Turl Street, Oxford. Red brick house at the corner of Broad Street and Turl Street for J. O. Sankey. CEO 1448. An elegant and

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characteristic house, demolished in the early 1960's for the extensions to Exeter College and Parker's Bookshop. There are good photographs in TC 2256 a-d.

1893. St. Thomas's Vicarage, Oxford. Brick house on the N. side of the churchyard. CEO 2061; see also MS.Top.Oxon. d. 42 fol 132 and MS.Oxf.dioc. papers c. 1953. Unmistakably in Rolfe's mature style, though this authorship is not yet proven. See Plate XVIC.

1895. Cuxham Church, Oxon. Chancel completely rebuilt in a subdued Arts and Crafts Gothic. Simple chancel arch, E. window with triple lancets, sedilia and piscina, and characteristic S. window with rere-arch. N. vestry also new. MS.Oxf.dioc.papers c. 1791.

1896–7. Inkpen Church, Berks. Extensive restoration and enlarging. Rolfe added a N. aisle and new arcade, replacing the N. wall lancets in the wall of his aisle. On the S. side he added a new porch, and opened a window in perpendicular style with flying rere-arches. The E. wall was rebuilt with three lancets ; a new oak roof was constructed for the undivided nave and chancel ; the belfry was repaired and a tile-hung bellcote added. New fittings included an elaborate reredos, oak screen and rood, wooden altar tables, pulpit and lectern, and much new seating ; Harry Hems was responsible for carving and sculpture throughout. The oak fontcover is not by Rolfe but by G. F. Bodley (1904). MS.Oxf.dioc.papers c. 1107 ; *Builder* 72 (1897^I), 279 ; F. J. Driscoll, *Inkpen and Its Church* (1945), and N. Pevsner, *Berkshire*, 158–9. The Society for the Preservation of Ancient Buildings made an unjustified fuss about the work done by Rolfe here.

1896–7. Somerton, Oxon. Substantial stone-built additions to the rectory. MS.Oxf.dioc.papers c. 2010. Now 'The Old Rectory'. Dull.

†1896-8 etc. Holywell Manor, Oxford. In 1896-7 Rolfe enlarged the chapel at the Penitentiary, now demolished. In so doing he found a well which, in a paper read to the Oxford Architectural and Historical Society, he identified with the original Holy Well. *Proc.OAHS* 6 (1896), 110-2. In 1898, in conjunction with his son B. H. Rolfe, he designed extensive alterations and additions to the Penitentiary, carried out in a revised and enlarged form in 1900. CEO 3144 and 3483, and OC 12.10.1900. These have also been demolished.

1897. Swinbrook Church, Oxon. Restoration work, including new roofs to the aisles, reslating nave and chancel roofs, renovating the S. porch, etc. Cost \pounds 496. A more extensive restoration had been planned, to include much work on the chancel, a new altar and pulpit, new floors and seating, but economies were necessary. MS.Oxf.dioc.papers c. 2037. Not now noticeable.

1899. Dormston Church, Worcestershire. Restoration work. BFLC.

The Society is grateful to Balliol and St. John's Colleges, and to Trust Houses Ltd., for grants towards the cost of publishing this paper.

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Proposed layout for Norham Manor Estate, Oxford, from a lost water colour probably by William Wilkinson, c. 1860. See p. 84.

Photo : Bodleian Library THREE OXFORD ARCHITECTS

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PLATE XIV



A. North block at St. Edward's School, Oxford, before additions of 1886. By William Wilkinson, 1872-3. See pp. 59, 75. Photo : St. Edward's Archives



B. Shelswell House, Oxon., by William Wilkinson, 1875-7. The main front. See p. 76.

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PLATE XV



A. Kingsey Church, Bucks., by Harry Wilkinson Moore, 1892-3. See p. 80.
Photo : J. Faucett



B. Hailey Church, Oxon., by Clapton Crabb Rolfe, 1866-9.

See pp. 64, 98. Photo : J. Fawcett

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A. Consecration of statues on the south aisle of St. Mary Magdalen Church, Oxford, 1913 ; designed by Harry Wilkinson Moore. See p. 80. Photo : Taunt Collection, Oxford City Libraries



B. Nuneham Courtenay Church, Oxon., by Clapton Crabb Rolfe, 1871–4 etc. See p. 99. Photo : E. T. Saint



C. St. Thomas's Vicarage, Oxford, by Clapton Crabb Rolfe, 1893. See p. 102. Photo : A. J. Saint

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