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MOGGERHANGER

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Although some mid-eighteenth century fabric survives concealed in its south-east corner, Moggerhanger is essentially a house of 1808–12, designed by John Soane and incorporating interior work from an earlier enlargement by him in 1791–92. It stands in a small park remodelled by Humphry Repton in 1792 (Fig. 1). Investigations related to the current restoration have revealed that it is one of the architect's most sophisticated designs. It is also one of the best documented houses designed by him, as recorded in his journals, bill books and drawings held in Sir John Soane's Museum. These also allow an insight into the architect's working methods and reveal his relentless pursuit of originality and perfection.

With so many of the architect's buildings altered

or lost, the house is a rare intact example of Soane's domestic work. However, it is also important because it informs us of so many of his buildings that have disappeared without photographic record.

Moggerhanger is much more representative of his mature work than the other surviving houses and in its north façade one can appreciate the style of New Bank Buildings, the National Debt Redemption Office and Praed's Bank. In its stair hall something of the quality of the lost interiors at the Westminster Law Courts is also apparent, particularly the Court of the King's Bench, which it anticipated by more than a decade.

Yet it is surprising that Moggerhanger does not appear in J.M.Gandy's composition 'Public and Private Buildings Executed by Sir John Soane



Fig. 1. Moggerhanger House, view from the north-east, c.1914. *Moggerhanger House Preservation Trust.*



Fig. 2. Sir William Beechey, *Godfrey Thornton* (1737–1805).
Mrs. G.W. Thornton.



Fig. 3. Henry Wyatt, *Stephen Thornton*
(1767–1850). *Mrs. G.W. Thornton.*

between 1780 and 1815', exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1818.¹ The writer had originally wondered if this implied that it was a project suppressed by Soane through unhappiness with the design. However, the composition is as interesting for its omissions as its inclusions. None of the projects that Soane designed for the family that commissioned Moggerhanger are present, and the omission may relate, not to quality, but to respect for the privacy of the passionately evangelical, extended Thornton family, who employed Soane not only at Moggerhanger, but at Albury, Marden Hill and Everton, as well as at several London houses.

SOANE AND THE THORNTONS

The Thorntons were successful City bankers, partners in the firm of Down, Thornton & Co. . For several generations they were directors of the Bank of England and it was presumably at the Bank that

Godfrey Thornton (1737–1805) met John Soane, who had been appointed its Surveyor in October 1788. The Moggerhanger estate had come to the Thorntons after 1733, when Godfrey's father, Godfrey Thornton (1701–51), had married the daughter of William Astell of Everton House.² The Astells were an ancient Bedfordshire family and the property was an outlying section of their estate.

It is clear that Soane developed a close friendship with the Thorntons, resulting in an involvement at Moggerhanger for a period of over forty years, and this is reflected in the quality that he brought to the house through continuous refinement of the design.³ Not only did he work there for Godfrey Thornton (Fig. 2) in 1792 and 1797, but he carried out substantial works at Moggerhanger for his eldest son Stephen (1767–1850) from 1806 until 1812 (Fig. 3). After that, for the next twenty years, he continued to give advice, and in 1835 Stephen sought his help on repairing the glasshouse and hothouses following a tremendous hail storm that had broken

1,900 panes of glass.⁴ In addition, when the Baltic trade, upon which the Thorntons' fortune had been based, collapsed in the 1830s, Soane lent his patron £500 at 5% interest to tide him over.⁵ By contrast, another client, the 1st Duke of Buckingham, whose patronage of Soane from 1790 onwards had been parallel to that of the Thorntons, did not fare so well. In 1833 he applied to Soane for a loan of £5,000 'for the sake of an old friendship',⁶ but Soane declined. Instead, he offered to purchase Renaissance manuscripts and antique gemstones from Stowe for £1,735 for his own museum where they remain today.⁷ Mr Thornton was clearly a less risky proposition, but, what is more, the family were important to Soane as sincere friends as well as clients.

In 1812, the year Moggerhanger was completed, Soane was also working for Stephen's younger brother William (1774–1847) who had assumed the name of Astell in 1807 upon inheriting his grandmother's family estate in Bedfordshire. Everton House was an early eighteenth-century gentry house set next to the church, and Soane designed a conservatory that extended between its two wings and helped modernise the interior.⁸ In 1818 Stephen's youngest brother, Claude George Thornton, who had married the daughter of the banker Samuel Smith of Woodhall, bought Marden Hill in Hertfordshire. Soon after he wrote to Soane, relating that he had been so kind to his family over the years and asking if he could help with his new house which needed to put into 'a comfortable condition . . . with perhaps a trifling alteration to improve the dining room'.⁹ The works were far more extensive and the whole of the house, built by Francis Carter as recently as 1790¹⁰ was remodelled into an exquisite series of intricate Soanian spaces.¹¹ In London, the installation of new chimneypieces and other alterations were carried out in the Thorntons' houses.¹²

However, his closest alliance with the family was with Godfrey's cousin, Samuel Thornton, a banker, who, with their cousin William Wilberforce, was a

passionate member of the evangelical Clapham Sect. He was also a Director of the Bank of England and had inherited a fortune of £600,000.¹³ In March 1799 Soane negotiated for him the purchase of a house in St. James's Square. His plans for alterations do not appear to have been carried out, but over the next fifteen years he looked after the repair and renovation of the building.¹⁴ In addition to the London house, Soane was involved with Samuel's country house, Albury Park, Surrey, where he implemented a series of proposals in 1802.¹⁵ Samuel became one of the four life trustees of Soane's museum when it was established by Act of Parliament in 1833,¹⁶ and the architect's respect for Thornton was marked by hanging an engraving of him in his own breakfast room at No. 13 Lincoln's Inn Fields.

Soane worked for other patrons over a period of a similar length of time, such as the 1st and 2nd Marquesses of Buckingham. But in their case he had been commissioned on a number of different projects in sequence—a house in London, work at Stowe, alterations at Brasenose College, Oxford, proposals for Sudeley Castle and the rebuilding of Wotton.¹⁷ However, with Godfrey and Stephen Thornton, the work was primarily focussed on one project, with the result that Moggerhanger was carefully reconsidered and adjusted over the years into a great work of architecture. As the relationship grew, the house also became experimental. Admittedly, the charming sporting seat that he designed for Godfrey Thornton in 1790 had a remarkable drawing room with a splayed arch-headed window, but Stephen Thornton's house of 1812 was innovatory in so many respects: the monumental telescopic chimneystacks of the kitchen pavilion anticipate the design of Dulwich as well as Pell Wall, the top-lit stair hall at the core of the plan is a precedent for much of Smirke's work, the tribune heralds that at Wotton, and the use of the Greek Doric order informed by the latest archaeological discoveries shows the seriousness of the whole affair. The intensely personal development of the design is

probably only paralleled in Soane's oeuvre in his own house at Lincoln's Inn Fields which was successively crafted and rearranged as the Museum from 1812 until his death in 1837.

DESIGN AND BUILDING HISTORY

Soane's initial survey, dated 16 November 1790, records a two-storey house with a raised plinth, string course and modillion cornice below an attic with dormers set in a plain tiled roof (Figs. 4 and 5).¹⁸ Constructed in red brick, typical of the time, the elevations were lime-washed pure white.¹⁹ The sash windows were set in the wide exposed sash boxes still commonly used outside London, where such details were prohibited because of the danger of spread of fire. Its decidedly provincial quality, however, was lifted by a pedimented entrance door with a gothic fanlight on the south side. A small stable building was attached by a carriage house across the east end. We know that there was an earlier house on the site,²⁰ but stylistic grounds suggest that the house surveyed by Soane was constructed after Robert Thornton (1734–1803) had inherited in 1751. Its small size reflected the fact that it was only for occasional use, since the family continued to live and work in London. Robert offered it for sale in 1784²¹ and Moggerhanger was subsequently bought by his youngest brother, Godfrey, of whom we treat.

Moggerhanger Lodge was extended by Soane in 1791–92 with a hall and a drawing room on the ground floor below a new bedroom and a remarkable dressing room on the first floor (Figs. 6 and 7). The enlargement produced an L-shaped plan and moved the entrance from the south to a smart new three-bay front facing east. To allow this reordering, the old stables were cleared away and a new block was constructed defining a stable yard to the west. This was two storeys high and five bays wide with single-bay, single-storey wings. It was designed in a round-

arched style similar to his stables at Tendring of 1784. The main block contained the stabling and the wings were carriage houses.

The entrance front, illustrated in the perspective included in Humphrey Repton's *Red Book* of 1792 (Fig. 8), had a small rectangular Ionic portico, the roof of which formed a railed balcony outside the window of a new dressing room.²² Repton had worked on the extension of the park at Hazells Hall near Sandy in 1790 for Godfrey Thornton's neighbour, Francis Pym,²³ and it was presumably through this connection that he was introduced to re-plan the park at Moggerhanger as soon as the house was finished. However, the commentary on the 'View from the Drawing Room' reveals Repton's concerns about practical aspects of Soane's planning:

There is a difficulty in the management of this view, from the drawing-room window being placed so near to the door of the house; because it is almost impossible to preserve an air of neatness under the windows of a drawing room (especially when they are so very low) while the hall door requires an expanse of gravel for coaches to turn upon, and is exposed to the occasional defilement of Horses waiting at the door, and immediately under the windows. I am aware that this disposition of the rooms was not a matter of choice at Moggerhanger, such inconveniences being often unavoidable where Genius is confined to the altering of an old house, instead of having full latitude to plan a new one; but it is necessary for me to explain the difficulty, and point out the manner in which we may best obviate the inconveniences arising from this proximity of the drawing room and the Entrance. I propose that the road shall pass in the form of a neat gravel walk under the drawing room window to the door, and return by a sweep at some distance behind a shrubbery.²⁴

Repton's concerns did not result in any immediate revision to the house, but the scheme for the park was realised. A new drive from the north to serve Soane's east entrance was introduced and the old drive was removed, leaving the south side to become the garden front. Like the house, it was a modest

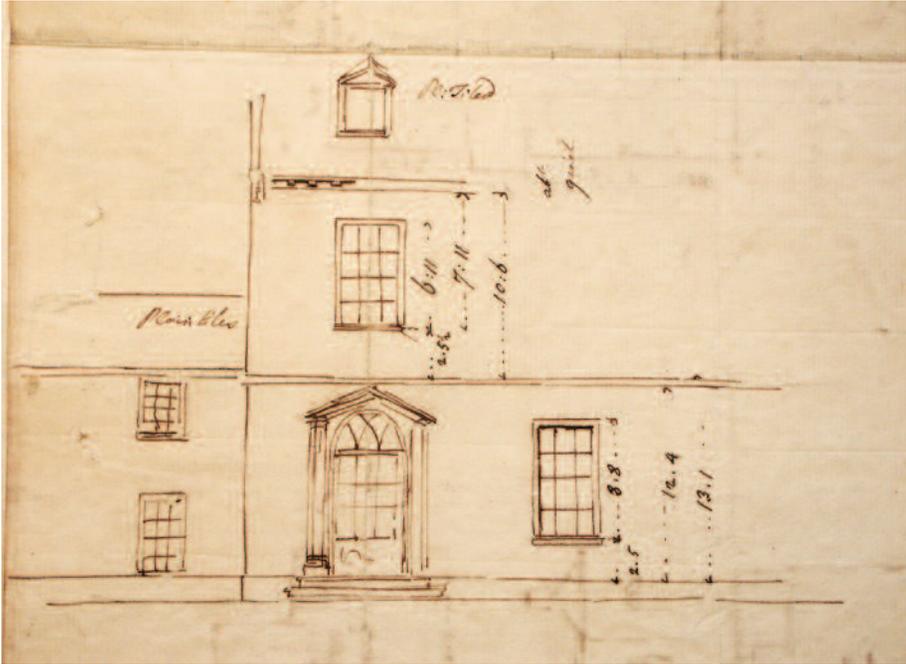


Fig. 4. John Soane, Moggerhanger House, survey notes, 16 November 1790. *Sir John Soane's Museum*, 3/3/15v.

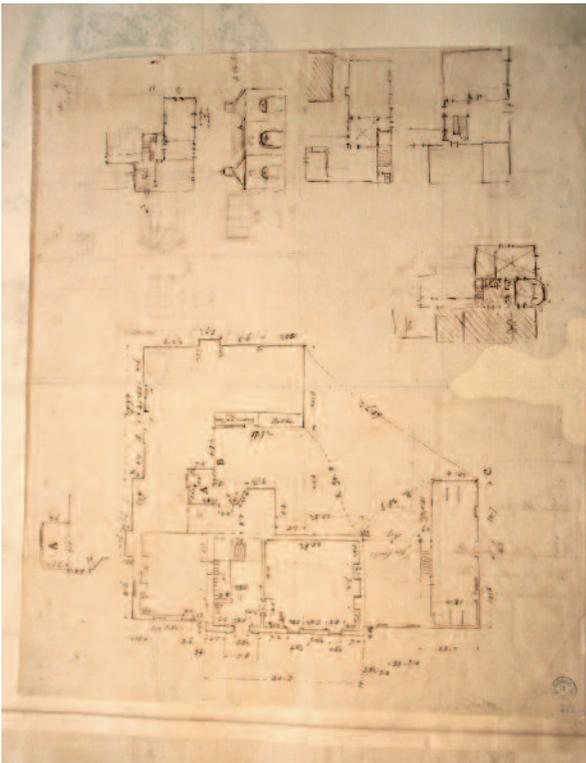


Fig. 5. John Soane, Moggerhanger House, survey notes, 16 November 1790. *Sir John Soane's Museum*, 3/3/15.

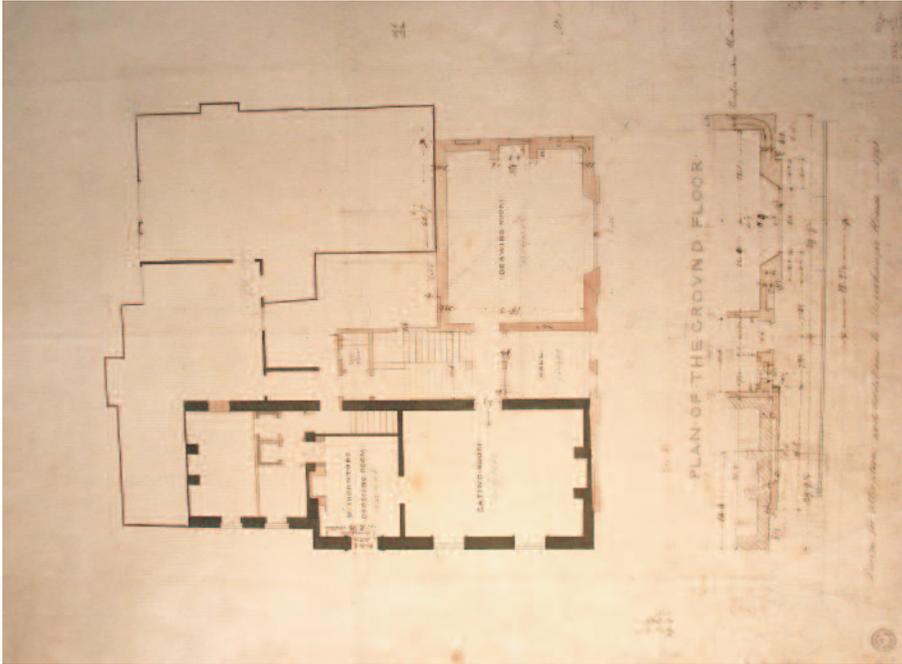


Fig. 6. John Soane, Moggerhanger House, ground floor plan, proposal, 1791. North is at the top. *Sir John Soane's Museum*, 3/3/12.

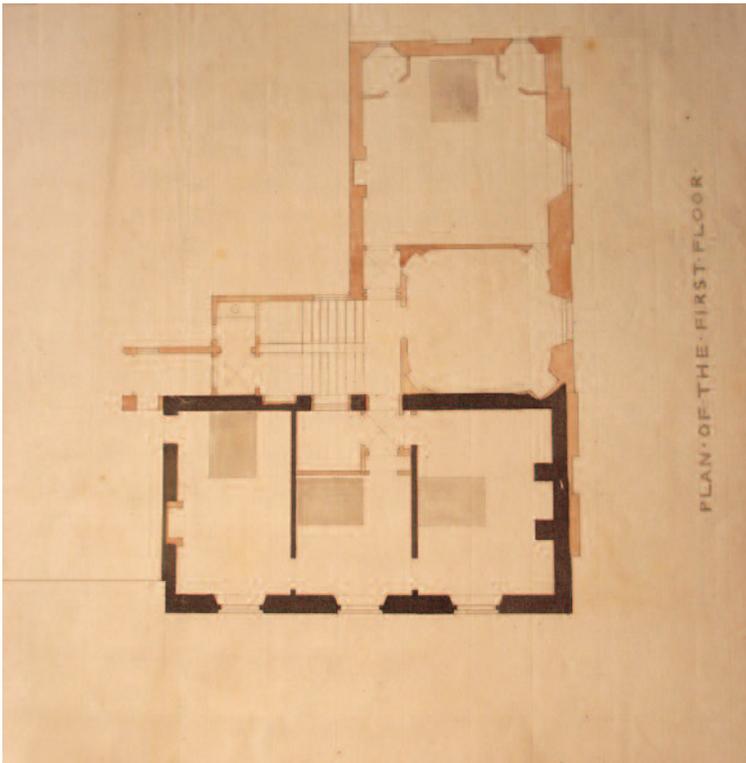


Fig. 7. John Soane, Moggerhanger House, first floor plan, proposal, 1791. North is at the top. *Sir John Soane's Museum*, 3/3/13.



Fig. 8. Humphry Repton, Moggerhanger House, view from the east, in the Red Book, Plate VI, present whereabouts unknown. *English Heritage, National Monuments Record Centre.*



Fig. 9. Humphry Repton, Moggerhanger, Home Farm, view as proposed. *Sotheby's.*

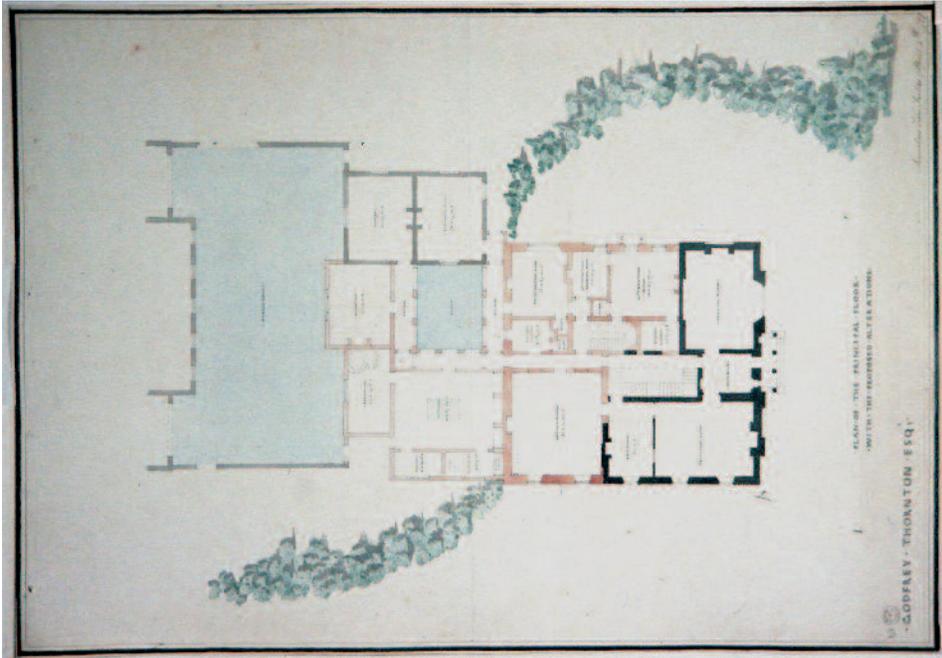


Fig. 10. John Soane, Moggerhanger House, ground floor plan, proposal, 1797. North is at the top. *Sir John Soane's Museum*, 3/3/10.

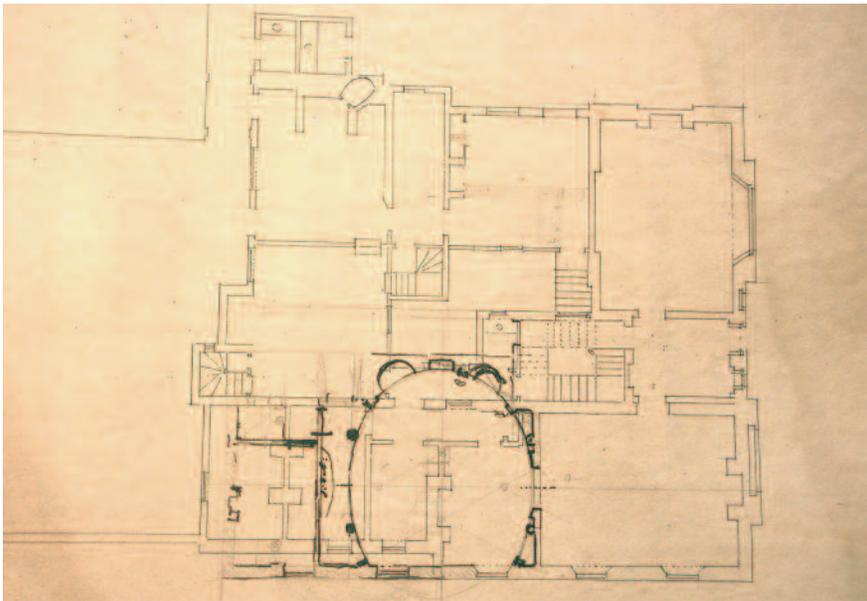


Fig. 11. John Soane, Moggerhanger House, ground floor plan, sketch with oval breakfast room proposal, 1797. North is at the top. *Sir John Soane's Museum*, 3/3/10v.

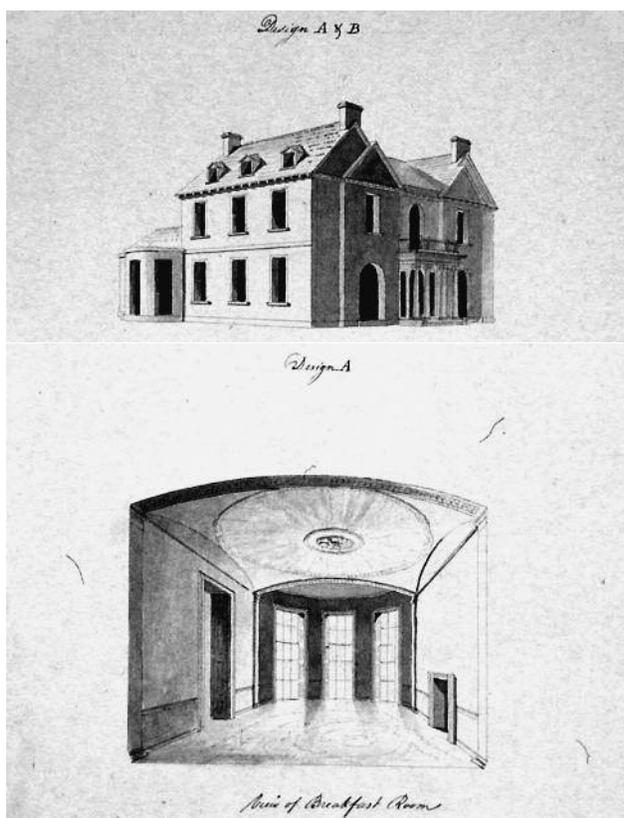


Fig. 12. John Soane, Moggerhanger House, external and internal perspectives of extension with proposed breakfast room, 1797. *Sir John Soane's Museum*, 3/3/17.

scheme, but its subtle planting exploits the Greensand ridge on which the house sits, and the views over the gentle Bedfordshire landscape. Typically, Repton felt that one estate in a neighbourhood should be dominant, and Moggerhanger was treated as the subordinate property to the Hazells, a view towards which he includes in the Moggerhanger Red Book.

Repton prepared *Supplementary Designs* to his *Red Book* in 1798, following the enclosure of the Beeston Leasowes immediately to the south of the park.²⁵ The implementation of his proposals extended the designed landscape considerably; the Northhill Road was sunk to mitigate its intrusion on the scene, and a garden alcove was constructed on the perimeter of his earlier pleasure grounds, to take advantage of the new view. However, there is no

evidence that the cottage which Repton proposed as a distant eyecatcher, or the elaboration of the Home Farm with a scheme of treillage (Fig. 9) were ever implemented.

The activity generated by the enclosures also appears to have been the catalyst that brought Soane back to the house in 1797. Moggerhanger, only the size of a parsonage, was clearly too small, and proposals were made for doubling it by building westwards into the stable yard (Fig. 10).²⁶ These, however, were followed by more modest schemes for alterations to create an oval breakfast room within the existing accommodation (Fig. 11) and for a new single-storey pavilion at the west end of the south front (Fig. 12).²⁷ The latter was to have contained a pendentive-ceilinged breakfast room, to some degree anticipating both the entrance hall that Soane



Fig. 13. Moggerhanger, Lodge, built in 1806, demolished c.1960. *H. Smith.*

eventually built at Moggerhanger in 1810–12, and the architect's own breakfast room at 13 Lincoln's Inn Fields, which followed it. However, the scheme was not implemented and work was restricted to some redecorations by John Crace, both outside and inside, where he was 'repairing and refreshing the clouded ceiling. . .and varnishing the whole of the gilding' of Mrs Thornton's dressing room.²⁸ Godfrey Thornton instead turned his attention to improving the lot of his tenants,²⁹ possibly following the example of his neighbours at Southill and Cardington where Samuel Whitbread and John Howard had provided decent well-planned dwellings rather than decorative cottages ornées.³⁰

Within a year of Stephen's succession in 1805, Soane was again at the house. The re-siting of the 1791 drawing room chimneypiece to the Old Parlour suggests that an earlier one had been retained in situ when the house was first enlarged.³¹ A new

chimneypiece using Reigate stone with dove grey marble slips was carved by James Nelson as a replacement.³² However, the main works of 1806 concentrated on the ancillary buildings.³³ A new stable yard was formed, this time to the west of the 1792 stables, and it was enclosed by a single-storey range, divided by a dung pit, to provide more stabling and a carriage house. The stables in the 1792 building were reversed to open off the new yard, but its wings were converted to a brew-house and laundry and were left to face towards the house across the old yard, now dedicated solely to the kitchen offices. The 'old entrance lodge' was taken down and rebuilt, with the architect's accounts recording thatch, yew tree columns and gothic windows (Fig. 13).³⁴ It is possible, therefore, that the lodge illustrated by Repton and designed by Soane in the first campaign as a *casa colonica* of the Campagna was never realised.³⁵

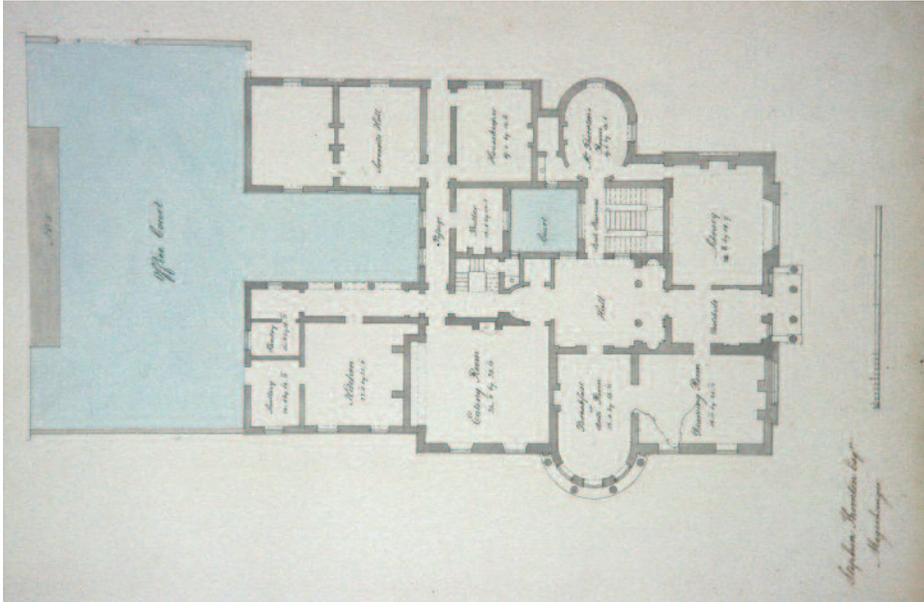


Fig. 14. John Soane, Moggerhanger House, ground floor plan, proposal, 1807. North is at the top.
Sir John Soane's Museum, 64/89.



Fig. 15. John Soane, Moggerhanger House, perspective from south-east, proposal, January 1807.
Sir John Soane's Museum, 60/95.



Fig. 16. John Soane, Moggerhanger House, perspective of hall, proposal, January 1807.
Sir John Soane's Museum, 60/46.

Stephen then returned in earnest to the enlargement of the house, reviving Soane's first proposal of 1797 to transform Moggerhanger into a substantial country house. Alternative schemes for extensions across the west side were produced in January 1807 (Figs. 14 and 15).³⁶ Each maintained the east front built for his father, but extended the south elevation with a breakfast room and eating room. The articulation of the enlarged elevation with a central semi-circular bay recalls Saxlingham (1784).³⁷ The variations were primarily in the internal planning of the hall in order to introduce a dramatic sequence of circulation spaces, one with a Greek Doric hall which clearly relates to that at Tyringham (Fig. 16).³⁸

In anticipation of construction, the existing house was re-surveyed in 1808.³⁹ However, further variations on the plan followed, this time based on the idea that the east entrance should be abandoned in favour of one from the north. The proposals for the reception rooms were unchanged, but the north

entrance and staircase hall at the core of the building shifted the centre of gravity and provided a much more cohesive plan. This gave Moggerhanger the character of a new house rather than one which had been accretively extended. Of course, the distancing of the entrance from the reception rooms also resolved Repton's concern of 1792. Soane prepared three schemes for discussion based on the idea of a two-storey building around a three-storey core. Design No. I is rectangular with a two-storey elevation to all sides (Fig. 17). Design No. II cuts back over a single-storey entrance hall to give a U-shaped plan to the first floor, facing north. Design No. III has rotated the U to face the garden (Fig. 18).⁴⁰ It was the second which was developed to give the present house. A.E. Richardson, in 1924, described the success of the elevation as 'the judicious composition of masses to produce an effect of vast size' (Fig. 19).⁴¹

With the north entrance also came the necessity of upgrading what had been a subordinate elevation,

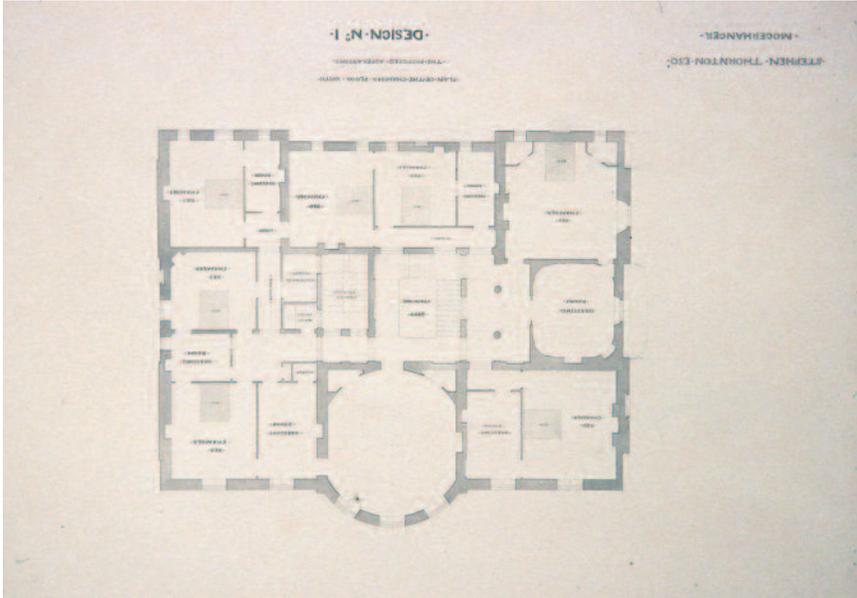


Fig. 17. John Soane, Moggerhanger House, first floor plan, proposal ('Design No. I'), November 1808. North is at the top. *Sir John Soane's Museum*, 3/4/18.

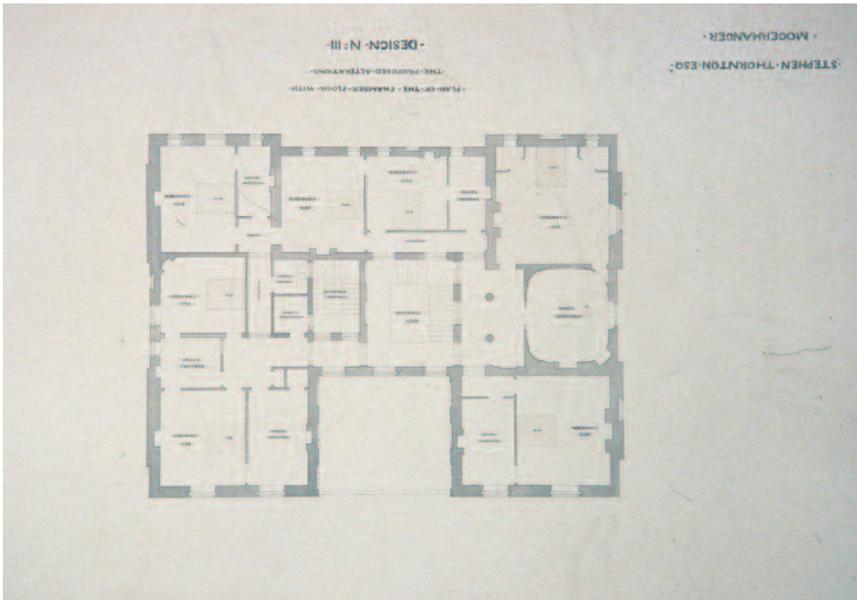


Fig. 18. John Soane, Moggerhanger House, first floor plan, proposal ('Design No. III'), November 1808. North is at the top. *Sir John Soane's Museum*, 3/4/21.

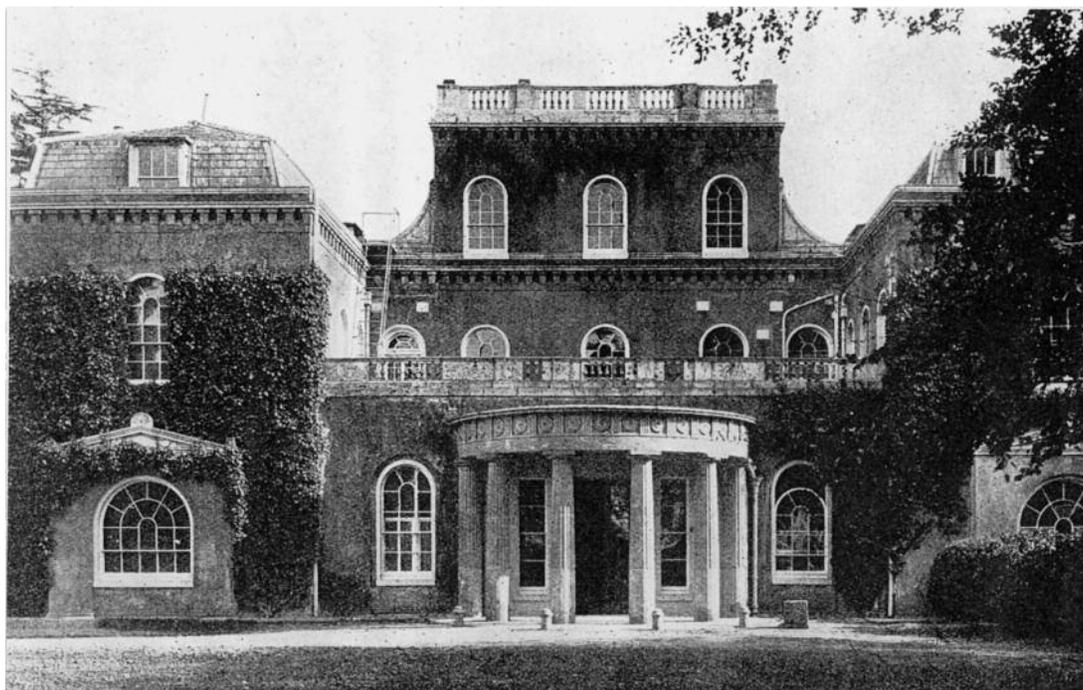


Fig. 19. Moggerhanger House, north elevation, 1924. From A.E. Richardson and H. Donaldson Eberlein, *The Smaller English House of the later Renaissance 1660–1830*, London, 1924, fig. 35.

as well as recasting the east side, which now needed to respond to the garden. The latter was achieved by the introduction of a delicate two storey verandah in place of the Ionic portico, and replacing the two gable pediments with one shallow one which extended over the whole elevation. The north elevation was completely recast (Fig. 20). It is characterised by the use of arch-headed windows, as opposed to the square-headed ones with which Soane articulated the garden elevations, and these act as an overture to the arcaded Entrance and Staircase Halls. The semi-circular Greek Doric portico introduces the visitor to the square plan of the Entrance Vestibule. On the south side the idea of the central bow was abandoned in favour of a flat elevation whose central three bays break forward and are capped by another very shallow pediment, supported on the simplest pilasters (Fig. 21). The close spacing of the three central windows reinforces

the hierarchy of the south reception rooms and gives a greater transparency to the Centre Drawing Room. The remodelling of the external envelope was substantial. The pitched roof of the whole of the 1791 house was removed and replaced by the present mansard construction that continues around the complete U-shaped plan. Parapets were introduced, and dummy windows provided symmetry where openings could not be placed because of existing chimneybreasts. The scheme was implemented between 1810 and 1812.⁴²

As David Walker has recognised, the resulting north front was a scheme unparalleled in British domestic architecture.⁴³ The composition as a whole had an Italian baroque profile but the details were the severest neo-classical. The ground floor windows of the wings were made very wide and set in shallow pedimented projections (a novel detail perhaps derived from Roman tombs), and the Baroque-



Fig. 20. John Soane, Moggerhanger House, north elevation, proposal, June 1809.
Sir John Soane's Museum, 3/4/2.

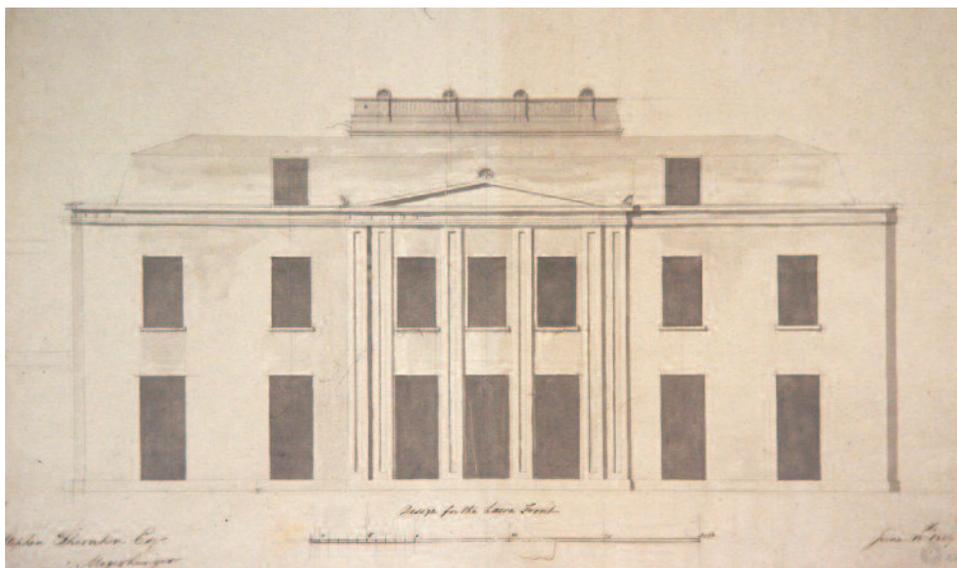


Fig. 21. John Soane, Moggerhanger House, south elevation, proposal, June 1809.
Sir John Soane's Museum, 3/4/1.



Fig. 22. Moggerhanger House, kitchen yard. *Peter Inskip*.

inspired scrolls supporting the central tower were simplified to incised concaves. What is more, the mansard roof and balustraded platform of the low tower gave a (no doubt deliberate) up-to-date French flavour to the south elevation. The cornice was a remarkable detail, tightly held into the wall plane, but given shadow by deep recessions between the brackets.⁴⁴

No drawings exist for the 1812 kitchen, built as a single-storey pavilion within the kitchen yard (Fig. 22). It was possibly intended as a free-standing block, since all the schemes show a 'passage to the offices' which terminates at the door to the kitchen yard.⁴⁵ However, the 1812 building accounts include comprehensive entries for the pavilion.⁴⁶ The link between the kitchen and the house which contains the servants' hall and extends the office passage is

contemporary, but appears to have been an addition to the scheme as first conceived.

Within the house, the rooms can be divided between the three periods of construction (Fig. 23). The Old Drawing Room at the south-east corner of the house and the bedroom above it, although predominantly re-cast by Soane, are the only survivors of the pre-Soane building; Mr Thornton's Dressing Room and the Library to the north of this, and Mrs Thornton's Dressing Room and bedroom above, are from Soane's extension for Godfrey Thornton in 1791–92; and the rest of the house is from the rebuilding of 1810–12 for Stephen Thornton.

The architect's handling of the circulation through the interior is masterly. The development of the north-south axis from the semi-circular portico, across the square semi-domed hall, through the

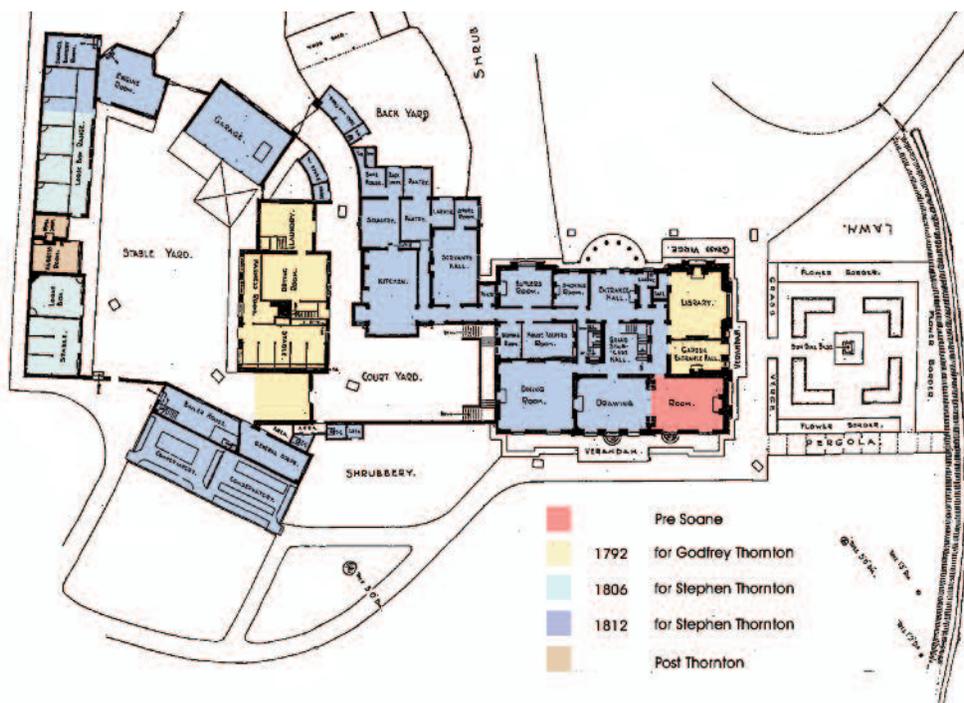


Fig. 23. Bedfordshire County Council Architect's Department, Moggerhanger House, ground floor, survey plan, 1919, coloured 2004, to show the architectural development. *Bedfordshire and Luton Archives and Record Service. Peter Inskip.*

double-height staircase hall to the Centre Drawing Room (Fig. 24) is brilliantly juxtaposed with the turning of the axis of the house as one moves up the staircase to gain the spectacular vista eastwards across the stair well, through the Circular Landing to Mrs Thornton's Dressing Room (Fig. 25).

As with many of Soane's houses, the Eating Room is the grandest apartment in the house, and at Moggerhanger it is nearly square on plan and of great originality. The rotation of the Ionic columns from the conventional arrangement of transverse screens across the ends of the room to longitudinal screens either side, implies the extension of the corridor into the space on one side and distances the landscape on the other. This disengages the core of the room, which is left to focus on the dining table. The concept is reinforced by the subtle stepping of the

ceiling planes (three levels within the subordinate spaces and a further three in the core) which culminate in a deep recess over the centre of the room.

The first floor was planned to celebrate Mrs Thornton's Dressing Room, which acted as the ladies' sitting room. It is worthy of note that a room from the 1792 extension should be retained as the culmination of the 1812 house; the only modification was the introduction of a remarkable layered window treatment that adjusts the earlier room to the new two-storey verandah outside. The lozenge-shaped treatment of the space, with its ceiling divided into rectangular compartments, its walls modulated by flush pilasters supporting a frieze that is interrupted by arched recesses recalling columbaria, and the simplest white marble chimneypiece articulated by black marble lines are Soane at his very best.

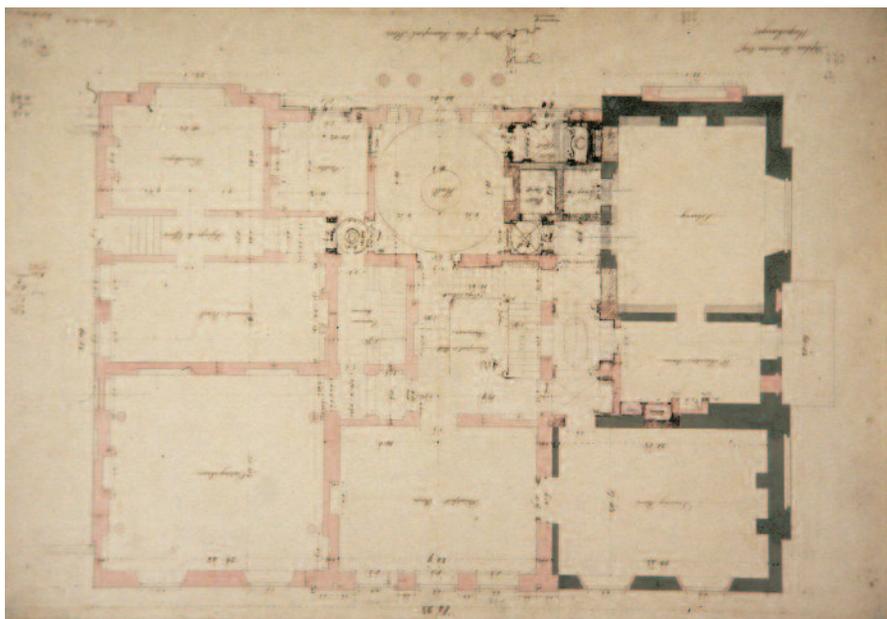


Fig. 24. John Soane, Moggerhanger House, ground floor plan, proposal, February 1809. North is at the top. *Sir John Soane's Museum*, 3/4/32.

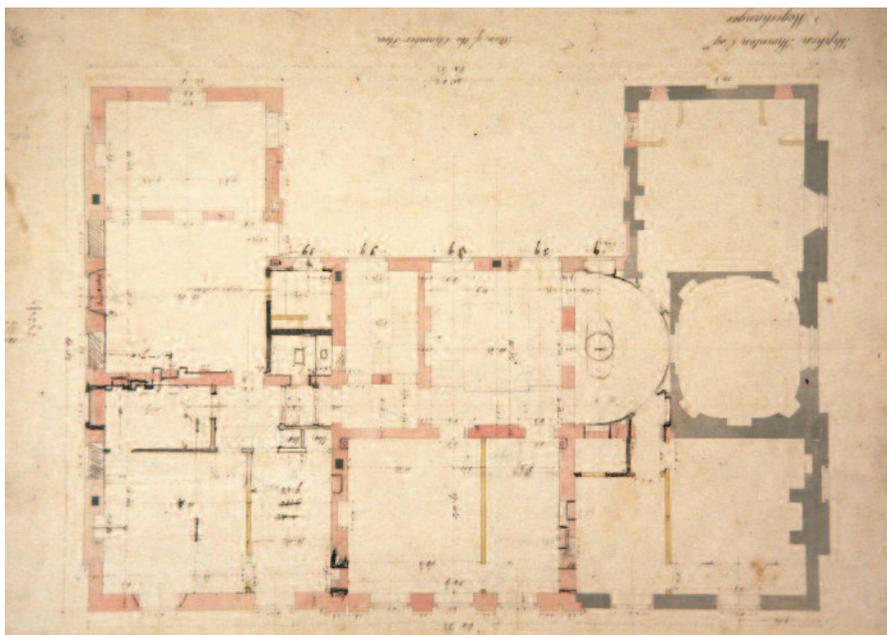


Fig. 25. John Soane, Moggerhanger House, first floor plan, proposal, February 1809. North is at the top. *Sir John Soane's Museum*, 3/4/31.



Fig. 26. Moggerhanger House, attic bedroom.
Peter Inskip.

Unusually for the time, Soane also paid particular attention to the attics, which accommodated bachelors' bedrooms at the centre and servants' dormitories across the ends. To make best use of the volume, he arched his ceilings into the roof space, enclosing the roof trusses as transverse divisions which articulate the rooms (Fig. 26). The walls are inclined, answering the lower planes of the mansard roof, and producing a parabolic effect with the ceiling. As on the main bedroom floor, the chimneypieces are of remarkable quality for their location.

Beyond the house, the 1806 range on west side of the Stable Yard was enlarged to the north with additional loose boxes, and this was further

extended by Soane with a return building constructed to accommodate the horse engine used to raise water to the head of the house.⁴⁷ The north end of the Stable Yard was completed with a free-standing carriage house which marked the division of the secondary drive between the kitchen and stable yards. A glazed conservatory screened the south end of the yard from the garden.

CONSTRUCTION

The construction of Moggerhanger reflects the changing nature of the building industry at the end of the eighteenth century. Improvements in transport meant that much of the production process was in London rather than the provinces. All of the craftsmen were Soane's favoured tradesmen who worked on many of his other houses.⁴⁸ The accounts record the manufacture in the metropolis of windows and doors, marble chimneypieces and plaster enrichments, and they include sums for packing cases and 'carting to the Inn.' Specialist suppliers were also in London: John Flaxman RA provided plaster busts in 1796,⁴⁹ Coade and Sealey manufactured the artificial stone balusters for the



Fig. 27. Moggerhanger House, label of consignment found attached to the back of wainscot in the Night Nursery.
Peter Inskip.

parapets at 5s. *od.* each in December 1809,⁵⁰ and the plasterer William Rothwell supplied substantial quantities of Parker's Cement, a patented metallic stucco based on London clays, for finishing the elevations.⁵¹ Materials came by sea around the East Anglian coast and down the Ouse and Ivel to Sandy, where they were unloaded at Girtford Bridge, a mile from Moggerhanger. A label found on the back of joinery in the Night Nursery on the first floor shows that it had been despatched 'pr Baileys Waggon' on 13 October 1810 (Fig. 27); the account of the joiners, John and James Perry, allowed for the cost of the carriage. Only fifty years earlier the situation had been quite different, and mid-eighteenth century building accounts generally show everything procured locally, with only the finest crafts and materials, such as gilding and crown glass, supplied from London.⁵²

London-based construction, however, did not alter the fact that materials remained expensive at the beginning of the nineteenth century, whilst labour was still comparatively cheap. Their re-use is evident at Moggerhanger. Fielded and panelled doors were salvaged from the pre-Soane house and incorporated on the second floor of the new. Redundant doors from Soane's first campaign were set aside and re-used in the day nursery. The same also applied to rather more important elements. The 1792 chimneypiece in the first drawing room was relocated to the Old Parlour when it was redecorated in 1806; all the schemes for the new north elevation prepared in 1809 show the 1792 rectangular Ionic portico redeployed from the east front to the north. The earliest surviving drawing showing the Greek Doric semi-circular portico was not made until 1810.⁵³

The use by Soane of standard details at different periods is characteristic of the architect, and is best seen in the joinery. Panelled doors and shutters of 1792 are formed with a series of stepped planes, a detail also found at Chillington (1785–9) and Aynho (1799), whilst those of 1812 are treated as flush doors, with the panels defined by his favourite sunk mouldings. Sunk

mouldings had been preferred since 1806, when he had observed some rushes growing near Stowe which had suggested the idea to him as a reference to the primitive origins of architecture.⁵⁴ In the same vein, the strigulated iron balustrade found on the generous staircase is a detail more characteristic of the 1790s than the second decade of the nineteenth century. Analysis of the building accounts indicates that only a fraction of the ironwork needed for the balustrade can have been supplied in 1812, and the balance must have been salvaged and re-used from the much smaller 1792 staircase that was replaced.⁵⁵ Standard details also meant repetition of designs. The beautiful white marble chimneypiece drawn for Mrs Thornton's Bedroom in April 1792⁵⁶ is identical to those drawn for both Mr Dillingham at Letton in 1786 and for a Mr Patterson (Fig. 28).⁵⁷ Designs for complete rooms were also re-cycled at other properties; in 1802 a new library for Robert Knight at No. 49 Grosvenor Square was a replica of Mrs Thornton's Dressing Room, built ten years earlier.⁵⁸

Both the 1792 and 1812 campaigns involved the adaptation of an existing building and this gave rise to the use both of stucco and dummy windows. The original house was built with slightly rustic red bricks, but those of 1792 were more precise. The 1812 alterations to the house, however, were in a grey London stock. This not only applied to the large extension on the west, but also to the raising of the walls to form the parapets and shallow pediments, where the existing walls were brought in line with the new work. To unify the extension with the old house, Soane used stucco in 1792 and he repeated this approach when he recast the building twenty years later. The 1812 ashlar ruling of the elevations would have necessitated the replacement of the earlier render. Accounts record William Rothwell supplying Parker's Metallic Stucco 'jointed and coloured to imitate stonework including reveals'⁵⁹ and for 'cutting off part of old colouring from the East front of House and old stucco from South front'.⁶⁰ The metallic stucco was chosen because of

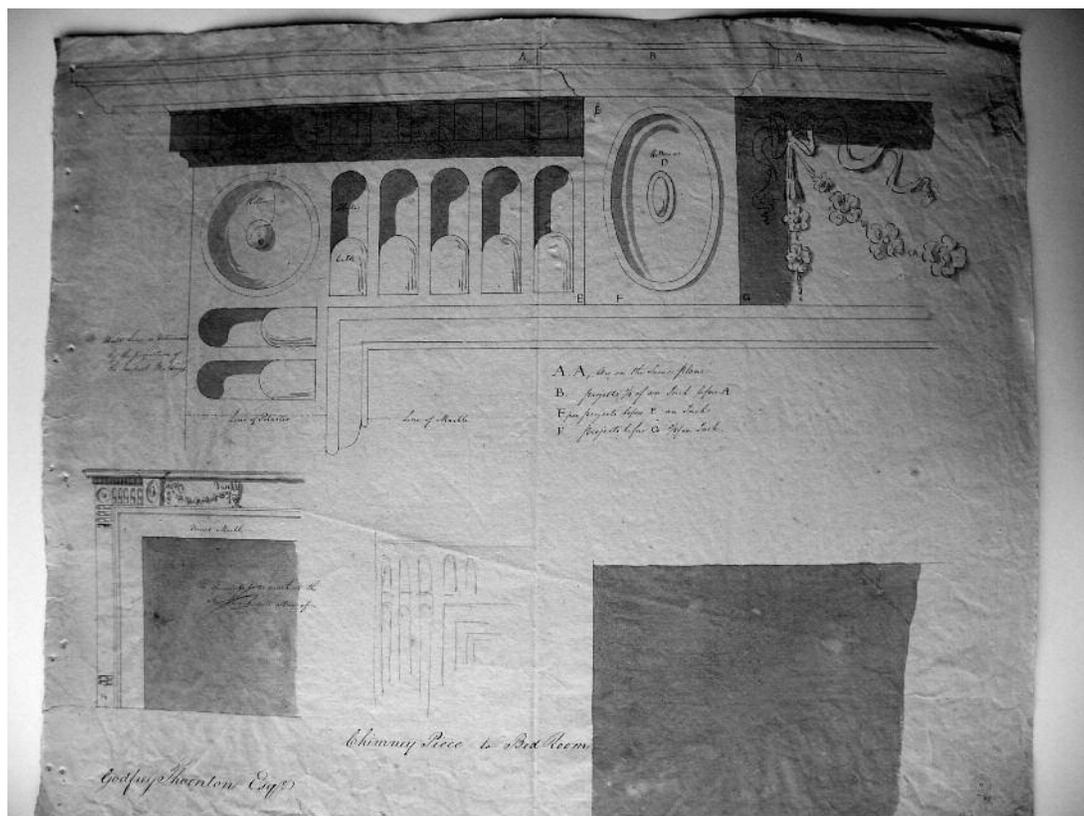


Fig. 28. John Soane, Moggerhanger House, chimneypiece in Mrs. Thornton's bedroom, proposal, April 1792. *Sir John Soane's Museum*, 81/1/27.

its longevity, and the fact that it still survives is a credit to its inventor.

Dummy windows are present in both campaigns. The east elevation was given symmetry when it was extended in 1792 by placing dummy windows across the blind section of the wall of the original house to balance the new windows to the north. Except for the omission of the internal mouldings, each was constructed as a sash window, glazed with crown glass, and set in front of a black painted void six inches deep. The extension and adaptation of the north front required the exercise to be repeated in 1812, and there the spun glass was carefully selected to correspond with the arch-headed windows.

In the use of the latest services Moggerhanger

stands in advance of all its neighbours. One of the most expensive items in the 1812 accounts was the installation of piped water. Water closets were installed, one off the entrance hall and another on the first floor, and sinks were provided in the scullery and the housekeeper's room. The prime reasons for building the three-storey tower at the centre of the house must have been the housing of the water tanks. Remnants of the horse engine supplied by William Good survive in the new engine house sited over the well in the stable yard.⁶¹ Soane's interest in artificial lighting is also evident from John Thwaites & Co. delivering 'a strong brass arm to carry a lamp to run upon rollers on a wheel of 18 inch diameter supported on 6 brass arms to attach to handrail of stairs' in 1812.⁶²

SOANE'S DESIGN METHODS

The drawings and the extensive references to Moggerhanger in Soane's journals also tell us much about his method of working. The production of the large number of alternative schemes demonstrates how carefully the design was considered in the office. Not only are there variations on each scheme, but finished office drawings were re-worked by Soane's hand with a spontaneous ink line. The drawings were sent round to Godfrey Thornton for consideration at his house in Austin Friars or at the bank, and this gave rise to further studies.⁶³ Three designs for the stables, delivered on 9 March 1792, were followed by three more, taken round by Soane himself on March 15.⁶⁴

Soane's presence on site was of great importance. The survey notes of the existing house were made by him at Moggerhanger in November 1790, not by an assistant.⁶⁵ During each of the campaigns he was frequently in Bedfordshire to inspect the work as it progressed. Travelling was a major expense, reimbursed by the client, and the journey took all day. 'Left Moggerhanger at half past eight, walked to Biggleswade, from thence Leeds coach to London by half past ten at night. Expenses £1.5s.6d.'⁶⁶ The total journey was about fifty miles, of which the walk was five. On other occasions, he was more fortunate. 'Left Moggerhanger at nine o'clock with Mr Stephen Thornton and his son in chaise to Town, got home by four o'clock'.⁶⁷ Such visits were coupled with inspecting other projects nearby, and Soane records going over to Everton, Wimpole and Tyringham. Frequently he would stay the night with the Thorntons while Moggerhanger was still usable. If he was going on to Tyringham, he occasionally stayed the night at the Swan in Bedford, which had been rebuilt by Henry Holland for the 5th Duke of Bedford in 1792.⁶⁸ Repton, by contrast, stopped at the Sun Inn in Biggleswade.⁶⁹ Soane also kept abreast of work by his contemporaries, with Mr Thornton taking him on horseback over to Southill in 1797 to see the great house that was being

remodelled by Holland for the brewer, Samuel Whitbread II,⁷⁰ and, on a return journey in 1810, he 'called at Haileybury and saw college',⁷¹ just completed by William Wilkins.

This presence on site meant that the house as built does not necessarily follow the final drawn scheme. Certain items were added, others simply omitted. An example of the former is the south verandah. The double-deck verandah that was key to the transformation of the east front was originally planned to be the only verandah at Moggerhanger, and its outline is indicated in the surviving drawings as early as July 1809.⁷² However, it was clearly successful, and the building accounts show that the introduction of the single-storey verandah on the south front followed. Both were completed within the main campaign for recasting the house. It is a masterly piece of design, with the centre breaking forward in response to the Centre Drawing Room that lay behind the elevation. In its detail it develops that of the east verandah, with its cast iron lattice 'garland panels' and Greek key pattern frieze, but it is articulated by the introduction of '10 handsome cast iron columns 11ft. 4ins. long' supplied by Cutler and Macnaughton in December 1811.⁷³ The elevation of the south front dated 10 June 1809 shows none of this, and the giant pilasters that articulate the centre bays extend to the ground (Fig. 21).⁷⁴ Opening up the house for repair has shown that the pilasters were built as the drawing, and that they were filled in at ground floor level within two years to accommodate the verandah. An example of an omission is to be found in the Eating Room: a drawing of 1811 shows the blind recesses on the north wall as sash windows complete with panelled shutters, but because of their location within the building they were to be treated as dummy windows glazed with looking glass (Figs. 29 and 30).⁷⁵ By responding to the windows on the south side that look out onto the lawn, they would have given the Eating Room a remarkable symmetry, and would have provided further evidence of Soane's interest in the use of mirror. The square

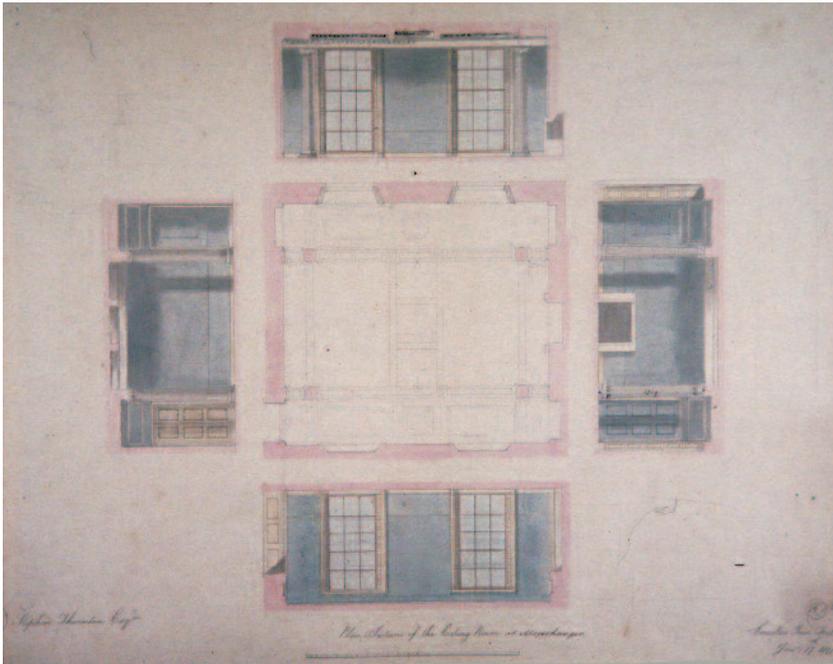


Fig. 29. John Soane, Moggerhanger House, plan and internal elevations of the eating room, proposal, January 1811. *Sir John Soane's Museum*, 3/4/9.

reveals that exist today, however, are too small to accommodate the dummy windows. Paint microscopy by Catherine Hassall has demonstrated that these have never been disturbed and indicates that the delightful conceit was never implemented.⁷⁶ Perhaps they were abandoned as being too theatrical a device for puritan Bedfordshire.

Paint microscopy used as an archaeological tool has also shown that Soane's designs for the blank arched openings at ground floor level between the Best Stair and the Best Corridor were never implemented. The previously published photographs of this element⁷⁷ actually show a series of openings that were made in a neo-Soanian style at the end of the nineteenth century, and confusion has arisen from the drawn rather than the archaeological evidence.⁷⁸ It appears that at Moggerhanger Soane abandoned the idea of the blank openings during construction, realising that the design would be

stronger if the arcaded treatment was reserved for the first floor of the stair compartment. Introducing a plain wall strengthened the north-south axis from the front door to the drawing room. Having blank openings on the first floor accommodated the change of axis to west-east, which opened up the stair to the Circular Landing and Mrs Thornton's Dressing Room, with its view onto the verandah. The Best Corridor would have been very dark without the openings which may have reinforced this misconception. It was not realised that Soane had treated the corridor and the Circular Landing above as a tribune, linked by a lozenge-shaped oculus which was floored over when the arches were cut through the adjacent wall.

Paint analysis has also shown that Soane's decorative schemes at Moggerhanger gradually moved from the conventional to the architectural. Outside, the lead white on the windows of 1792 was

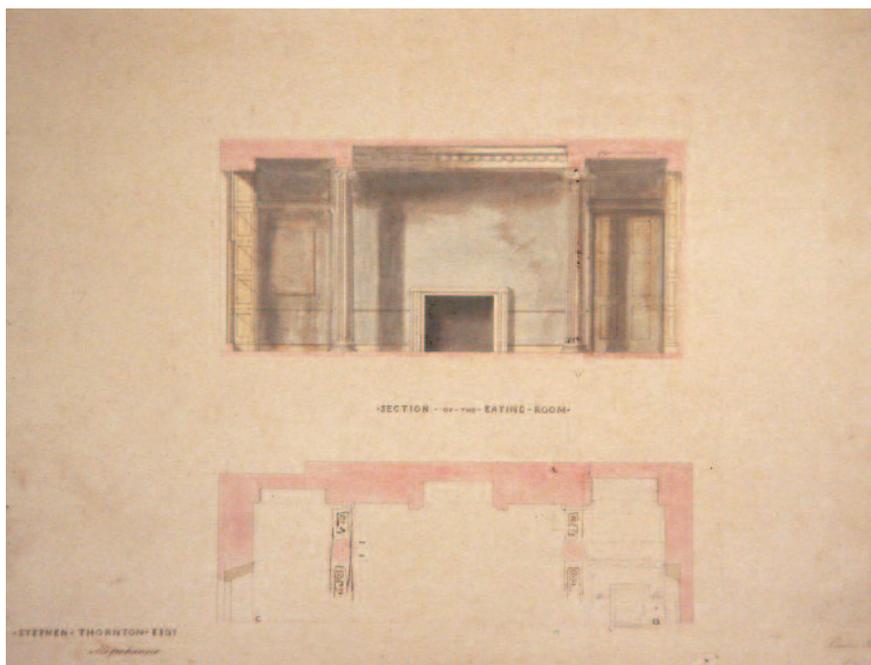


Fig.30. John Soane, Moggerhanger House, part plan and one internal elevation of the eating room, proposal, January 1811. *Sir John Soane's Museum*, 3/4/12.

replaced in 1812 by a very dark charcoal colour to stress the openings as voids, almost as in one of Soane's architectural drawings. Throughout Godfrey Thornton's time John Crace's involvement in comparatively simple schemes shows the importance placed on execution and quality. With Crace's retirement about 1806, William Watson became responsible for all the decoration for Stephen Thornton, but the emphasis on quality never faltered. At Moggerhanger, the precision of the painting and the glazing and varnishing of the finishes are of the greatest importance. Whilst the dark windows appear to have been given an almost matt finish, the front door was highly varnished, and, inside, the grey staff beads were cut-in against the wall colour with the greatest accuracy. In addition to this, the discovery of preliminary trials below the finished decoration in both the drawing room and dressing room is evidence of his keenness to get the

colour exactly right. The analysis has also demonstrated that the decoration of 1812 was maintained virtually unchanged up to the death of Stephen Thornton. It was not until the second half of the nineteenth century that more elaborate colours were introduced, with Pompeian Red decoration in the Eating Room and a deal of gilding on the cornices. Similarly, the dark paint outside was repainted three times in the same way for Stephen Thornton before more conventional schemes were reintroduced after the house was sold.

The decorative scheme of 1812 reinforced the architectural concept of moving through from the entrance to the Centre Drawing Room. Typical of Soane, the entrance hall was treated as a dark space, with the whole room, including its plastered walls and saucer dome, grained as oak in the manner that Watson was to repeat in the corridors at Wotton in 1822. At Moggerhanger he charged 2 guineas for



Fig. 31. Moggerhanger House, wallpaper found in the Library, with silver flowers and green verditer border. *Peter Inskip.*

'shading ceiling in hall in imitation of boards'.⁷⁹ The large flower at the centre of the room was 'painted and bronzed', as were the raffle leaf ornaments on the pendentives. The staircase hall, lit at high level, contrasted with this, its dusty pink articulated by grey joinery and staff beads, and, beyond, the lightness of the drawing rooms was complemented by violet walls, whilst the grey continued on the doors, windows and dado. The use of grey on the joinery was consistent throughout the house, but was alleviated by satinwood graining on the skirtings, doors and columns in the buff-painted Eating Room, where it was only used on the shutters and sash windows. The Library did not adhere to this pattern; there green, used on architraves and dado, was allied with grained doors, windows and skirtings, and the walls were covered with a simple, but rare, wallpaper of floral motifs in silver leaf (now tarnished and black), and edged with applied verditer green-painted borders (Fig. 31). The pink and grey scheme of the Best Staircase extended to the circulation spaces. However, in the passage to the kitchen this

was gradually modified in relation to the use of this area. Whilst the pink continues, the smooth plaster underlying it changes to a gritty plaster beyond the green baize door, where the realm of the butler and housekeeper is reached; further on, within the kitchen pavilion, the plaster is omitted altogether and white limewash decorates the wall direct.

In contrast to the (mainly) painted ground floor, the bedrooms were consistently decorated with small scale printed papers, but the use of grey joinery gave a unity to the scheme. Elaboration was reserved for Mrs Thornton's Dressing Room. The sharp-edged, polychrome decoration of this room, with its gold details, glazed finishes and flatted panels, would have had a strong impact during the time of both Godfrey and Stephen Thornton, especially as the room was approached by corridors, stairs and landings which were all painted the same, grey in 1792 and soft pink with grey details from 1812. The architectural respect that had retained it largely unaltered in 1812, was paralleled by respect of its decoration, and the complete repainting of the room necessitated by the

alterations of 1812 followed the same general pattern as the 1792 scheme, but using different, brighter colours, with stronger contrasts, and painted wreaths of roses and ribbons on some of the ceiling panels.⁸⁰

Outside, the stucco, the Ketton stone dressings and the Coade stone balusters were all lime-washed. It was a pale Bath stone colour in 1792 and John Crace is recorded as 'colouring the fronts' when working at the house for Godfrey Thornton around 1797. In 1812 a much stronger ochre was introduced, when the accounts record '304 yards Straw Colouring'.⁸¹ The same lime-wash was also applied to the grey brick kitchen wing and the red brick stables. Similar to the treatment of the kitchen passage, the lime-wash gave a unity to the buildings, whilst the different underlying finishes of brick or render supported the hierarchy of the site. Hierarchy also applied to the proposals put forward for the decoration of the ancillary buildings. Cost would have determined that joinery on outhouses and cottages would have been limited to earth pigments. However, there is a very charming touch in Repton's 1798 suggestion that the door of the cottage which he proposed as an eyecatcher should be painted green:

This cottage should be so ornamented by flowering shrubs, & by painting the door and windows green, that it may not appear the humble habitation of a poor labourer, but rather the reward of some favourite Servant, made comfortable by the elegant attention of the Ladies who may be supposed to take pleasure in decorating this little Spot.⁸²

LATER HISTORY

Stephen Thornton was squire at Moggerhanger for nearly fifty years and died in 1850. He was succeeded by his eldest son, another Godfrey. He rebuilt the conservatory,⁸³ but died in 1857 without issue. Stephen's other children were by then old, and established in other houses of similar social status.

As Moggerhanger was not an ancient seat, there

appears to have been little incentive for another member of the family to take it on. The estate was sold to the Reverend and Mrs E.H. Dawkins.⁸⁴ He died only a year later and in 1860–1 his widow employed an architect named Slater to build a church and a parsonage house in the village to his memory.⁸⁵ Their son stayed on at Moggerhanger until 1885, when Richard Mercer purchased the property.⁸⁶ The two drawing rooms had been combined into one room sometime before the sale, but the Mercers appear to have been responsible for some alterations in a carefully thought out Soanian style, which included work in the Best Staircase and Library.⁸⁷ Sydney Fane bought the house following the death of Richard Mercer in 1904. He converted the 1806 carriage house to further stables because of his passion for hunting, and, having a young family of four sons, he rearranged the nursery.⁸⁸

However, the house was occupied by Godwin College as a school in the First World War.⁸⁹ The Moggerhanger Estate was acquired by the Bedfordshire County Council in 1919 to provide a county sanatorium and small holdings. The use of the building as a hospital caused remarkably little change to the house, since most of the wards were in new corrugated iron-clad wings that extended out into the garden from the corners of the building.⁹⁰ The landscape structure of the pleasure grounds survives, but agricultural use has resulted in the loss of many of the parkland trees. The farmland remains with the County Council, but the house and the pleasure grounds are now the property of Moggerhanger House Preservation Trust, which is restoring them to their Soanian state with the support of the Heritage Lottery Fund, the Pilgrim Trust, the Leche Trust, the Getty Grant Program and English Heritage.

APPENDIX

BUILDING TRADESMEN

The following are recorded in the surviving building accounts in the Soane Museum:

1792	
Sash frames	Mr Holland
1794–97	
Painter	John Crace
Cast busts	John Flaxman RA
1806	
Carpenter	Isaac Elger
Glazier	John Hinde
Bricklayer	J Smith and W Elson
Mason	James Nelson
1810–12	
Artificial stone	Coade and Sealy
Bellhanger	John Baker
Bellights	Green and Pellatt
Brass founder	John Thwaites & Co.
Bricklayer	John Gray
Carpenter	Richard Mantell
Carver	Robert Hume
Ironfounder	Cutler and Macnaughtan
Joiner	John and James Perry
Mason	Charles Drew
Mason	Thomas Grundy
Painter and glazier	William Watson
Plasterer	William Rothwell Rothwell and Cook
Plumber	William Good
Slater	Tyson and Sharp
Smith	John Mackell and Son

NOTES

- 1 London, Sir John Soane's Museum (hereafter SM), P87. Exhibited at the Royal Academy 1818, no.915.
- 2 For the history of the Thornton family see John B. Burke, *Burke's Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Landed Gentry* (hereafter *Burke's*), 1952, s.v. Thornton of Birkin and Astell of Everton.
- 3 An instance of the developing friendship is recorded in Journal 2, 1793 'July 8th. Paid Newton for a workbox for Miss Thornton £3.13.6. (not to be charged)' [SM, Moggerhanger Journal 2].
- 4 Stephen Thornton to John Soane, 10 August 1835 [SM, Correspondence Div 2/F7/L8].
- 5 SM, Private Correspondence, Division 2, Folder 7, Letter 6: Stephen Thornton to Soane, Moggerhanger House, 17 December 1833.
- 6 Arthur T. Bolton, *The Portrait of Sir John Soane*, London, 1927, 528.
- 7 Peter Thornton and Helen Dorey, *A Miscellany of Objects from Sir John Soane's Museum*, London, 1992, 57 and 103.
- 8 SM, 8/3/3-5.
- 9 SM, Private Correspondence, VII-B.2.3, letter 3 (6 August 1818), quoted in Ptolemy H. Dean, *Sir John Soane and the Country Estate*, London, 1999, 139.
- 10 Howard Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600–1840*, New Haven and London, 1995, 228.
- 11 SM, 3/2/1-5.
- 12 Soane worked for both Godfrey Thornton and Stephen Thornton at their houses in Austin Friars and Harley Street, surveying the houses in conjunction with negotiating leases for the properties as well as minor alterations. [SM, G. and S. Thornton, Journals 4 (1800 and 1803) and 5 (1813)].
- 13 Gillian Darley, *John Soane, An Accidental Romantic*, London, 1999, 213.
- 14 *Survey of London*, XXIX, London, 1960, 181.
- 15 SM, 4/5/11-38.
- 16 Darley, *op. cit.*, 304.
- 17 Peter Inskip, 'Soane and the Grenvilles', *Apollo*, CLIX (506), April 2004, 17–24.
- 18 SM, 3/3/15, 16 November 1790.
- 19 A surviving area of this was temporarily revealed during repairs in 2002 on the north elevation of the original house which had been enclosed by Soane with the construction of Mrs Thornton's Dressing Room in 1791 [Records of Moggerhanger House Preservation Trust (hereafter MHPT)].
- 20 Archaeological excavations have revealed footings

- to the north of the present house. A substantial well was covered over when the 1812 addition was constructed. See Albion Archaeology, *Interim statement ... on archaeological discoveries*, Document 2003/20, 15 May 2003.
- 21 Bedford, Bedfordshire and Luton Archives and Record Service (hereafter BLARS), X612/50.
- 22 Humphry Repton, Red Book for *Moggerhanger in Bedfordshire, a Seat of Godfrey Thornton Esqr.* (hereafter Moggerhanger Red Book), May–August 1792, sold by Mrs D Curzon (née Thornton) Sotheby’s 1985, photographs in Swindon, National Monuments Record Centre, BB 86/26, held at BLARS, Acc 6014, Z/493/10–35.
- 23 Humphry Repton, Red Book for the Hazells, 1790, in the possession of Lord Pym.
- 24 Moggerhanger Red Book, BLARS, Z/493/19.
- 25 Additions to the Moggerhanger Red Book, *Fine Books and Manuscripts from library ... of A.G. Thomas*, Sotheby’s, 21–2 June 1993.
- 26 SM, 3/3/10.
- 27 SM, 3/3/17.
- 28 SM, Moggerhanger Bill Book, A. 1797.
- 29 Several thatched and rendered cottages on the estate in Moggerhanger and Beeston bear a circular plaque with the initials ‘G T’ followed by dates between 1797 and 1801.
- 30 The Hon. John Byng recorded that at Cardington, Mr Whitbread and Mr Howard ‘strive which shall most benefit and adorn it, for what cannot the riches of the one and the charity of the other accomplish’ [*Torrington Diaries*, IV, 109]. The cottages built by Godfrey Thornton were similar to those constructed on the Cardington and Southill Estates. Those at Cardington are quoted as an example of conscious attempts to provide decent housing by Gillian Darley, *Villages of Vision*, London, 1975.
- 31 SM, Moggerhanger Bill Book E, J. Nelson, mason, 27 February 1806.
- 32 SM, Moggerhanger Bill Book E, J. Nelson, mason, March–September 1806.
- 33 SM, Case F, Carpenter’s account I, Elger, 1806.
- 34 *Idem.*
- 35 Moggerhanger Red Book, pl. V, BLARS, Z/493/25.
- 36 SM, 3/3/1–7, 64/89–96.
- 37 SM, 60/95, January 1807.
- 38 SM, 60/46, January 1807.
- 39 SM, 3/4/34–36, 1808.
- 40 SM, 3/4, 1808.
- 41 A.E. Richardson & H. Donaldson Eberlein, *The Smaller English House of the Later Renaissance 1660–1830*, London, 1925, fig. 35.
- 42 The development of the design can be traced in the drawings held by the Soane Museum [SM, 3/3/1–18 and SM, 3/4/1–36] and the building accounts are comprehensive in recording nearly every detail of the recasting of the house between 1810 and 1812 [SM, Moggerhanger Bill Book G].
- 43 Prof. David Walker, unpublished assessment for Heritage Lottery Fund, 1997.
- 44 SM, 80/1/5.
- 45 SM, 3/4/26, 1808.
- 46 SM, Moggerhanger Bill Book G and Moggerhanger Notes 3.
- 47 *Idem.*
- 48 See Appendix 1.
- 49 SM, Moggerhanger Journal 2, 1796.
- 50 SM, Moggerhanger Bill Book G.
- 51 *Idem.*
- 52 Peter Inskip, ‘Discoveries, Challenges, and Moral Dilemmas in the Restoration of the Garden Buildings at Stowe’, *Huntington Quarterly*, 1992.
- 53 SM, 3/4/16, 3/4/8, 1810.
- 54 SM, AL Soane Case 168, Architecture Common Place Book Z, 24 February 1807, fol.186 [quoted in David Watkin, *Sir John Soane, Enlightenment Thought and the Royal Academy Lectures*, Cambridge, 1996].
- 55 SM, Moggerhanger Bill Book G.
- 56 SM, 81/1/27.
- 57 SM, 28/7, and SM, 81/1.
- 58 SM, 40/3/26, 1802.
- 59 SM, Moggerhanger Bill Book G.
- 60 SM, Moggerhanger, Wm Rothwell, Plasterer’s Day Account, April–May 1812.
- 61 SM, Moggerhanger Bill Book G.
- 62 SM, Moggerhanger Bill Book G, 23 December 1812.
- 63 SM, Moggerhanger Journal 1, pl.58, 1791.
- 64 SM, Moggerhanger Journal 2, 1792.
- 65 SM, 3/3/15, November 16 1790.
- 66 SM, Moggerhanger Journal 5, 12 November 1808.
- 67 SM, Journal 5, 3 February 1812.
- 68 Colvin, *op. cit.*, 504.
- 69 *Torrington Diaries*, 28 May 1792.
- 70 SM, Journal 3, 10 June 1797: ‘At Moggerhanger, taking plans. Left Moggerhanger with Mr Thornton on his horse to Mr Whitbread’s, from thence to Bedford, from Bedford to Tyringham in a chaise, got there by 6 o'clock. Expenses £4.16s.6d, part to Mr Praed’.

- 71 SM, Moggerhanger Journal 5, October 1810.
- 72 SM, 3/4/3.
- 73 SM, Moggerhanger Bill Book G.
- 74 SM 3/4/1, June 10 1809.
- 75 SM 3/4/9, Jan 17 1811.
- 76 Catherine Hassall, *Paint Analysis for Moggerhanger House Preservation Trust*, unpublished, 1997–03
- 77 Dean, *op. cit.*, pls.1.20, 9.13 and 9.19.
- 78 Hassall, *op. cit.*
- 79 SM, Moggerhanger Bill Book G, 1812, 239. The original graining has been revealed in the current investigations on the east and south walls. It has been lost elsewhere when the room was stripped of its plaster in the twentieth century, presumably following an outbreak of rot that resulted in the introduction of the concrete roof on filler joists over the area.
- 80 SM, Moggerhanger Bill Book G, 240 ‘4 wreaths and ribbon 3;3:0’. Evidence of these in situ was revealed in 2003.
- 81 SM, Moggerhanger Bill Book G, 174, 1812.
- 82 London, British Library, RP 5265, Additions to the Red Book for Moggerhanger by H. Repton, 1798, [quoted in J. Phibbs, Du Bois Landscape Survey Group, *Moggerhanger House – A Survey of the Landscape*, unpublished, 2000].
- 83 BLARS, Beadel and Sons, Moggerhanger Sale Particulars, London, 1857.
- 84 *Burke’s Peerage*, 1937, s.v. Dawkins of Over Norton.
- 85 Nikolaus Pevsner, *Buildings of England, Bedfordshire and Huntingdonshire*, London, 1968. Before the construction of the church, Moggerhanger lay within the parish of Blunham and the Thorntons’ mausoleum is, therefore, at Blunham, two miles away.
- 86 BLARS, Sales Particulars, 1885. Richard Mercer (1825–1904) is recorded subsequently as owner in Kelly’s *Directory* [*Burke’s*, London, 1937, s.v. Fane of East Farleigh].
- 87 A similar design approach was taken at Soane’s Pell Wall, Shropshire (1822), where substantial additions were made in a neo-Soanian style in the late nineteenth century.
- 88 Sydney Algernon Fane purchased Moggerhanger following the death of Richard Mercer in 1904 [Kelly’s *Directory* and *Burke’s Peerage*, London, 1937, s.v. Fane of Wormsley]. Dates on the rainwater hoppers record work on the house in 1908.
- 89 Postcard illustrating Moggerhanger entitled ‘Godwin College’ [Collection of Mrs G.W. Thornton]. The house is described as ‘unoccupied’ in 1920 [Kelly’s *Directory*].
- 90 BLARS, HOMPCK, F.W. Smart, County Surveyor, drawings as existing and proposed alterations for County Sanitorium, 1919–20.