The Norwich Suburban Villas of Boardman and Son 1865-1900

Dissertation

MSt Building History

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Addendum

At the time of submission of this dissertation the identity of Edward Boardman's client, Mr Reeve, was elusive (page 7).

It now seems not unlikely that he was Edward Galloway Reeve, for whom Edward Boardman designed a foundry and workshop on Duke Street for the manufacture of stoves and ranges. Reeve later extended the premises to include a house, having lived in Barkers Yard in his youth.[1]

Anna Allison

16 December 2020

[1] '36-42 Duke Street, Norwich: Post-Excavation Assessment and Updated Project Design' (Unpublished: Oxford Archaeology, 2019), pp xii-xiii, p. 20, p. 101 <https://library.oxfordarchaeology.com/4886/3/Report2220_XNFDUK18_Final_public_LR.pdf> [accessed 16 December 2020]

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My husband, John Allison, for his help in preparing the maps at Figures 3 to 8.

All photographs are my own unless otherwise credited.

Abbreviations

CHS Cringleford Historical Society

NML Norwich Millennium Library

NRO Norfolk Record Office

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Methodology

The drawings of Norwich suburban villas in the Boardman archive in the Norfolk Record Office were identified by reference to the recorded location of the house. These include both new villas and alterations to existing houses.

The Boardman sample is small and the number, stage, detail and completeness of the drawings varies.[2] Many of the drawings give only surnames and partial addresses. This may be a common problem.[3] Detailed work was required to identify the houses on the ground. Contemporary directories and census returns were used to identify the likely client and potential address. Even where house numbers were not listed, the house could at least be placed in a sequence of neighbours, and relative to adjoining streets. A named house (the client's house or a neighbour) could often be identified on a historic map. Referring to directories, it was possible to count the plots along from a junction or named building, to identify the client's house. The identification was confirmed by comparing the floor plan drawing with the footprint on the map, matching the elevation drawings to the elevations visible today on Google Maps or Google Earth, and following up with a site visit. For ease of identification on the ground, the houses are normally referred to by modern road names and spellings and current house numbers.

In relation to new houses, the evidence for the identification of clients is given in Chapter 2; the sites of the houses are identified in Chapter 3 and related to each other on the maps at Figures 3 to 8 in the Introduction. The Gazetteer also includes summary information for each new house.

For alteration works, the houses and clients are not introduced individually; instead, the Gazetteer gives brief details and includes full sources for the identity of clients and houses. For all houses several directory entries may be cited if no single entry provides all the data necessary to link client and house within a few years of the date of design.

All drawings were matched to a building, apart from those for two houses that were never constructed. Of these, the intended location of Fletcher's house was readily identified. In relation to Reeve's house, only basic sketch plans survive; neither house nor client could be identified from maps, directories or census returns.

The date attributed to the design or alteration of a house is taken from the drawings themselves, often a contract drawing signed and dated by client and builder. In all cases these dates are consistent with directory evidence of occupancy and are a reasonable indication of the date of design and construction, within a year or two. The firm's practice of drawing new construction in red makes clear which drawings are of new houses, and the nature and extent of alterations to existing houses.

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[2] The Boardman drawings for each client may comprise variously sketches, preliminary designs, finished designs, working drawings and contract drawings, as defined in *Understanding Architectural Drawings and Historical Visual Sources*, ed. by Susie Barson (Swindon: Historic England, 2019), pp. 3-10.

[3] Peter Baird, 'Charles Edge', in *Birmingham's Victorian and Edwardian Architects*, ed. by Phillada Ballard (Wetherby: Oblong, 2009), pp. 25-45 (p. 37) mentions the difficulties of identifying villa drawings for the Calthorpe estate.

Building control plans were sampled but not routinely consulted nor cited, as many are fragile documents that merely replicate the Boardman contract plans. They are indexed by date and building location which did not facilitate the identification of further Boardman houses.

To facilitate ready comparison of similar plans of different cardinal orientation, the positions of features may be described as right and left, front and back, in relation to the front elevation, rather than by reference to cardinal points. The drawings are listed in the Gazetteer and, to avoid excessive repetition, are not normally cited elsewhere.

Map images are not shown to scale.

Introduction

Boardman and Son

Edward Boardman (1833 -1910) established his architectural practice in Norwich in 1860. (See Figure 1.) It was to become a leading practice in Norwich in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. His son, Edward Thomas Boardman (1861-1950) was articled to his father from 1879 to 1882, and taken into partnership in 1889.[4] Boardman senior retired in 1900 when his son took over the firm, now Edward Boardman and Son.[5] He was formally recorded as a retired fellow by RIBA in 1907.[6]

Figure 1: Edward Boardman
(Image from *Contemporary Biographies: Norfolk and Suffolk in East Anglia*, ed. by W. T. Pike (Brighton: the author, 1911), p. 398.)

In 1863 Boardman considered himself to be a carpenter and builder.[7] Many architects of the 1860s had a background in these trades.[8] By 1868 he was styled 'Esq.' and advertised himself as an architect and surveyor.[9] Muthesius described the firm as 'Norwich's first proper architectural office in the modern sense',[10] perhaps established in response to the coming of the railway and the need to compete with London architects who could now easily visit Norwich. As was typical of a large provincial practice, the firm carried out every kind of job in a variety of styles.[11] As well as plans for detached suburban villas, Edward Boardman designed suburban developments for speculative

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[4] *Directory of British Architects 1834-1914*, 2 vols, ed. by Antonia Brodie and others (London: Continuum, 2001), I, p. 210.
[5] Edward Burgess, *Men who have made Norwich* ([n.p.]: [n.pub.], 1904; repr., text reset and images digitally processed by Philip Tolley, Norwich: Norfolk Industrial Archaeology Society, 2014), p. 133.
[6] Obituary, 'Edward Boardman', in *RIBA Journal*, 3,18 (November 1910 – October 1911), 64.
[7] *J. G. Harrod and Co.'s Postal and Commercial Directory of Norfolk and Norwich* (London: Harrod, 1863), p. 351.
[8] John Summerson, 'The London Building World of the 1860s', in John Summerson, *The Unromantic Castle and Other Essays* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1990), pp. 175-192 (p. 188).
[9] *J. G. Harrod and Co.'s Postal and Commercial Directory of Norfolk and Norwich*, 2nd edn ([London?]: Harrod, 1868), p. 400, p. 415.
[10] Stefan Muthesius, 'Architecture since 1800' in *Norwich since 1550*, ed. by Carole Rawcliffe and Richard Wilson (London: Hambledon and London, 2004), pp. 323-342 (p. 336).
[11] Muthesius, in *Norwich*, ed. by Rawcliffe and Wilson, pp. 323-342 (p. 336-37).

builders,[12] and at the other end of the social scale prepared designs for country houses and estate buildings.[13] Contemporaries and modern commentators alike have focused on Edward Boardman's considerable legacy of commercial and public buildings.[14] There is apparently no published research on his suburban villas.[15] They go unrecognised in the Norfolk Pevsner guide[16] and although 12 Chapelfield North and The Croft have listed status,[17] they are not attributed to the firm.

The initial aim of the research was to understand the role of Boardman and Son in villa development in suburban Norwich, and to examine Edward Boardman's influence on the Town Close Estate which was managed for the benefit of the Freemen of Norwich,[18] a privileged group including Boardman himself.[19] He was one of ten freemen delegates[20] who were consulted by the Corporation about the estate's development.[21] Although the City Committee minutes report their decisions, the absence of minutes of the delegates' deliberations leaves Boardman's personal role obscure.

Neither has it been possible to attribute the firm's later villa designs to father or son unequivocally, a problem previously examined by David Bussey and unresolved.[22] From the start of the partnership in 1890 drawings are signed only in the name of the firm and a rubber stamp is used from 1891. A list of the firm's works was prepared in support of E. T. Boardman's application for admission to RIBA fellowship in 1898, but the extent of his involvement in these projects is not explicit.[23] Fairmile is listed, for example, but it is evident from the client file that it was Edward Boardman's project.[24] The style of the drawings changes over time, even during the years of Edward Boardman's sole practice. The firm reputedly placed 'great reliance' on C. W. Yelf, the firm's surveyor, and Graham Cotman, chief draughtsman, which may also have obscured signs of authorship.[25]

Suburban life was underpinned by multiple networks[26] and an initial objective was to place the houses and clients in the context of Norwich society and the network of social and business connections, but

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[12] Stefan Muthesius, 'Nineteenth Century Housing in Norwich', in *Norwich in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. by Christopher Barringer (Norwich: Gliddon Books, 1984), pp. 94-117 (p. 109); for example: Norfolk Record Office, BR 35/2/29/4, 'Norwich, Unthank Rd: houses for Mr. Tuttle' and NRO, BR 35/2/19/3, 'Norwich, Unthank Rd./Grove Rd East: houses for James Youngs'.
[13] Burgess, p. 133.
[14] Pike, p. 398; Burgess, pp. 133-136; Obituary, *RIBA Journal*, 64; David Bussey and Eleanor Martin, *The Architects of Norwich: Edward Boardman and Victorian Norwich* (Norwich: The Norwich Society, 2018).
[15] NRO, 5079, Simon Gooch, 'Edward Boardman and Son, Norwich Architects' (Unpublished [?2013]) includes a brief, selective gazetteer.
[16] Nikolaus Pevsner and Bill Wilson, *The Buildings of England: Norfolk 1, Norwich and North East*, 2nd edn (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 2002).
[17] See Gazetteer.
[18] Muthesius, in *Norwich*, ed. by Barringer, pp. 94-117 (p. 95).
[19] Bussey and Martin, p. 2; Norwich City Freemen 1752-1981, 30 July 1860, p. 28 (transcribed and indexed by Shirley and Keith Howell, May 1999) <http://nfro.norwichfreemen.org.uk/detail/19495/> [accessed 6 April 2020]
[20] See, for example, NRO, N/TC 6/6, City Committee Minutes 1874-1877, p. 69, 14 June 1875.
[21] Elizabeth Griffiths and A. Hassell Smith, *Buxom to the Mayor: A History of the Norwich Freemen*, Norwich: Centre of East Anglian Studies, 1987), pp. 31-37; NRO, 816, 'Documents relating to the Town Close Estate Norwich compiled for use in the suit Stanley and Others v. The Mayor and Corporation of Norwich relative to the ownership of the Town Close, Norwich' (Privately printed: The Mayor of Norwich, 1887).
[22] David Bussey, personal communication, 14 October 2019.
[23] NRO, 'List of Works over £500 executed by Messrs Edw. Boardman & Son', carbon copy of contemporary typewritten list in BR 35/1/180, 'Lists of major works by Edward Boardman from the 1860s to 1897'.
[24] NRO, BR 35/1/162, '179 Curl House Newmarket Road 1885', bound volume (the only client file for a villa in the Boardman archive).
[25] Burgess, p. 133.
[26] Barrie Trinder, *Beyond the Bridges: The Suburbs of Shrewsbury 1760-1960* (Chichester: Phillimore, 2006), pp. 15-28, discusses the role of religious, economic, government and other suburban networks.

personal correspondence has not survived to allow this to be explored. Bussey and Martin have remarked that 'the story [of Edward Boardman's work] is not just about buildings but also people'.[27] They referred to the 'architectural cousinhood' of Norwich described by Binfield,[28] 'Non-conformist families who did so much for the city in terms of industry, trade and commerce; religion joining these activities with philanthropy and social conscience and architecture'.[29] Binfield noted the extent and variety of building to support the new industries and social concerns of the middle-classes, and 'the cumulative interlocking of this'. Edward Boardman was well-placed to position himself in Norwich society; he was 'chapel bedrock' […] commercial bedrock […] civic bedrock'.[30]

Figure 2: Edward Thomas Boardman
(Image from Burgess, p. 135.)

A leading member of Princes Street Congregational Church, Edward Boardman followed in his father's footsteps to become a deacon in 1884.[31] He sent his son, Edward Thomas, to school at the Nonconformist Amershall Hall, also attended by children of the Colman family of mustard manufacturers and other prominent Norwich families.[32] The Theobald family of Edward Boardman's mother were cousins of the Colmans,[33] and the connection was firmly cemented when Florence Colman, daughter of Jeremiah James Colman who brought his family business to prominence in the mid nineteenth-century,[34] married Edward Thomas Boardman (Figure 2) in 1898.[35] Edward Boardman was prominent

[27] Bussey and Martin, pp. 2-3.
[28] Clyde Binfield, 'An Excursion into Architectural Cousinhood: The East Anglian Connexion', in *Religious Dissent in East Anglia: Historical Perspectives*, ed. by Norma Virgoe and Tom Williamson (Norwich: Centre of East Anglian Studies, 1993), pp. 93-142.
[29] Bussey and Martin, p. 37.
[30] Binfield, 'Cousinhood', in *Religious Dissent*, ed. by Virgoe and Williamson, pp. 93-142 (p. 99, p. 103).
[31] NML, Helen C. Colman, *Princes Street Congregational Church Norwich 1819-1919* ([London]: Jarrold, 1919), p. 75.
[32] Bussey and Martin, p. 2.
[33] Barry M. Doyle, 'Gender, Class and Congregational Culture in early Twentieth Century Norwich', *Journal of the United Reformed Church Historical Society* (1995), 317-335 (p. 333); NRO, BR 35/9, Boardman family tree, compiled by J. R. Carr-Griffiths (1983, photocopy).
[34] Burgess, p. 1.
[35] Bussey and Martin, p. 2; BR 35/9.

in civic life, elected as a city councillor in 1889 and alderman in 1898.[36] His daughter, Priscilla, married into the long-established de Carle Smith family in 1889.[37] Joseph De Carle Smith, her grandfather-in-law, was chairman of the City Committee of Norwich Council for several years in the 1870s, also serving as city mayor in 1877,[38] and would have known Edward Boardman personally, as a freeman delegate to the committee.

Boardman's social connections through the church brought him commissions for villas. F. W. Harmer[39] and B. E. Fletcher[40] were fellow members of the congregation for whom Edward Boardman designed houses in Cringleford in the 1870s. Harmer would later award E. T. Boardman his first commission after joining his father's firm.[41] William Bond from the congregation asked Edward Boardman to make alterations to Shrublands in 1876,[42] and plans for a house alteration in Newmarket Road were drawn up in 1898 for a fellow churchgoer, Daniel Tomkins.[43]

As there is insufficient evidence to investigate social connection further, greater prominence has been given to other objectives. The research now seeks to understand something of local suburban development in Norwich and the nature of provincial architectural practice. Inspired by Franklin and her analysis of country houses,[44] the Boardman designs have been considered in the light of contemporary social attitudes and expectations of houses plans, particularly those expressed by the Victorian architects, Robert Kerr and J. J. Stevenson.[45]

The houses form a convenient, albeit not statistically representative, sample over the thirty-five-year period 1865-1900 through which to consider these questions. Edward Boardman's plans for alterations to houses survive from 1865, with the first design of a new house dating to 1874. The end of the century coincides with Edward Boardman's retirement.

The research has considered the firm's thirteen plans for new houses, in both established areas and on new roads, and alterations to seventeen other houses. The town house at 12 Chapelfield North, on a tight plot within the old city wall, is not a suburban villa but provides a counterpoint to enhance understanding of the villa itself.

The analysis of the new Boardman houses draws on an understanding of the clients and their family life cycles, and the context of Norwich suburban development. The plans are discussed by reference to the experience of building a new house, from finding a plot to living in a completed house that was

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[36] Burgess, p. 133.
[37] NRO, BR 35/9.
[38] Binfield, 'Cousinhood', in *Religious Dissent*, ed. by Virgoe and Williamson, pp. 93-142, p. 103.
[39] NML, 'Princes Street Congregational Church Year Book 1877-78' (Privately printed: Princes Street Congregational Church, 1877), p. 122.
[40] Colman, p. 59.
[41] Bussey and Martin, p. 12.
[42] 'Year Book', p. 31.
[43] Clyde Binfield, 'Church and Chapel' in *Norwich since 1550*, ed. by Carole Rawcliffe and Richard Wilson (London: Hambledon and London, 2004), pp. 409-435, p. 429.
[44] Franklin, Jill, *The Gentleman's Country House and its Plan 1835-1914* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981).
[45] Robert Kerr, *The Gentleman's House: or How to Plan English Residences, from the Parsonage to the Palace*, 2nd edn (London: Murray, 1865); J. J. Stevenson, *House Architecture*, 2 vols (London: MacMillan, 1880), II, *House-Planning.*

both a reflection of Victorian middle-class values and a practical home. Analysis of the alteration schemes adds further to the understanding of house and home.

The Boardman houses

The Boardman houses are largely clustered in Eaton, south-west of Norwich. One is closer to the city in Heigham, to the west, and another just inside the city wall nearby. Three are further to the south-west in the village of Cringleford and one in Thorpe to the east.

The map at Figure 3 shows these five areas in relation to each other.[46] The maps at Figures 4 to 8 identify the houses within each area.[47]

The Boardman Houses				
Map ref.	**Date**	**House**	**Address (present day)**	**Client**
Eaton 1 (Figure 4)				
1	1874	The Croft	14 Lime Tree Road	William Bidwell
2	1876	Melrose	25 Mile End Road	William Thorold
n/a	1881	Not built	Unknown	Mr Reeve
3	1885	Fairmile	98 Newmarket Road	Henley Curl
4	1890	Christchurch Lodge	20 Christchurch Road	William Banks
5	1890	Rothley and The Gables (attached houses)	8 and 10 Christchurch Road	Horace Bolingbroke
Eaton 2 (Figure 5)				
6	1897	Hartswood	1 Judges Walk	Charles Coller
Heigham (Figure 6)				
7	1875	Stevenston	3 Unthank Road	Charles Frazer
Chapelfield (Figure 6)				
8	1891	No name	12 Chapelfield North	John Todd
Cringleford (Figure 7)				
9	1874	Oaklands	Colney Lane, Cringleford	Frederic Harmer
10	1876	Not built	Colney Lane, Cringleford (intended site)	Benjamin Fletcher
11	1892	Cringleford Lodge	Colney Lane, Cringleford (demolished)	John Gilbert
11a		Cringleford Lodge – gateway		
Thorpe (Figure 8)				
12	1876	Hillside	228 Thorpe Road (demolished)	Elam Skoyles

[46] Ordnance Survey, Colour Raster map, 1:25000, Norwich, tiles: tg10_clipped, tg11_clipped, tg20_clipped, tg21_clipped, updated: 12 November 2019, using EDINA Digimap Ordnance Survey Service <https://digimap.edina.ac.uk> [downloaded 3 March 2020] © Crown Copyright and Landmark Information Group Limited (2020). All rights reserved (2019).
[47] These maps are created from Ordnance Survey MasterMap® Topography Layer [DWG], updated November 2019, using EDINA Digimap Ordnance Survey Service <http://edina.ac.uk/digimap> [downloaded 9 April 2020] © Crown Copyright and Landmark Information Group Limited (2020). All rights reserved. (2019).

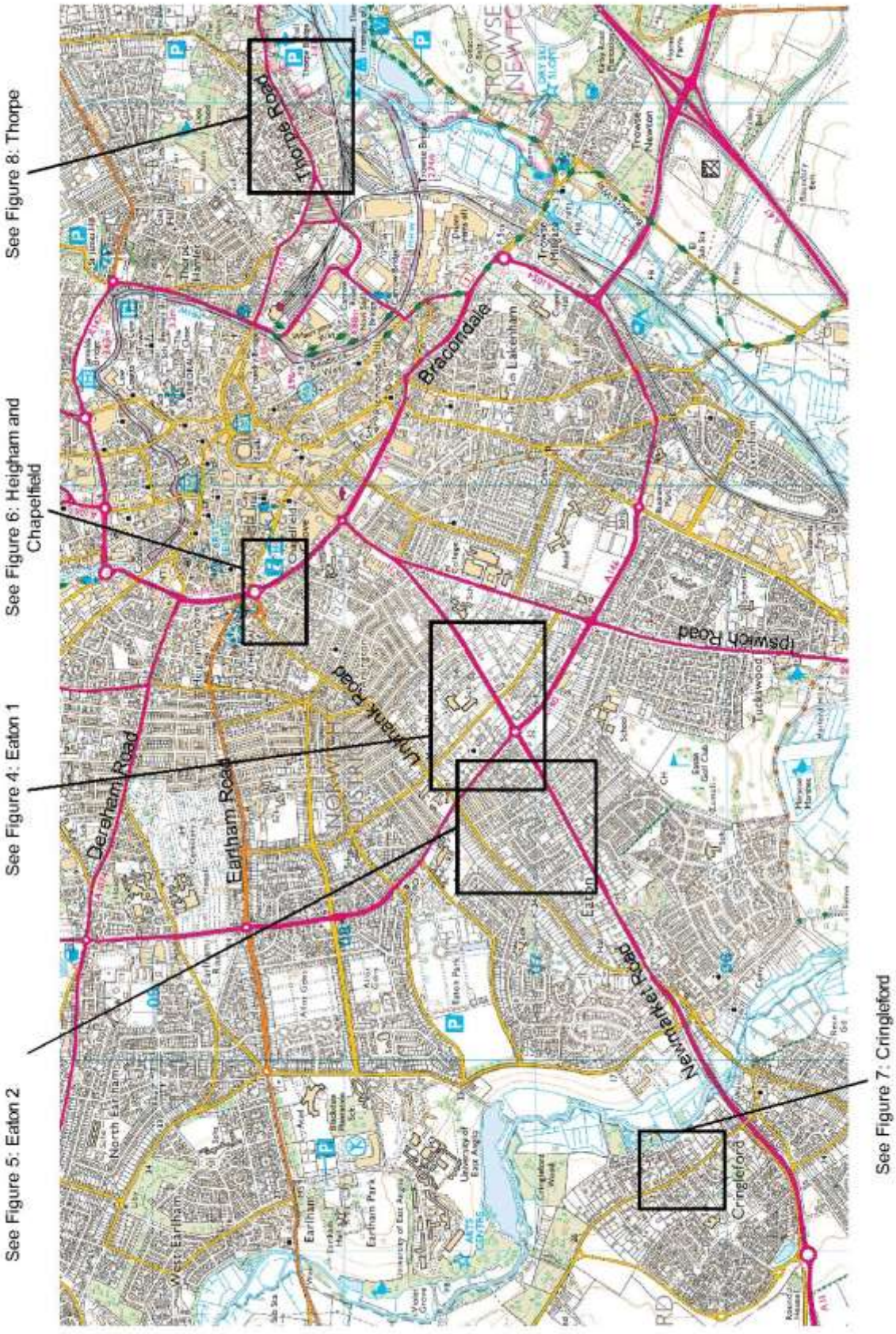

Figure 3: Map of Norwich

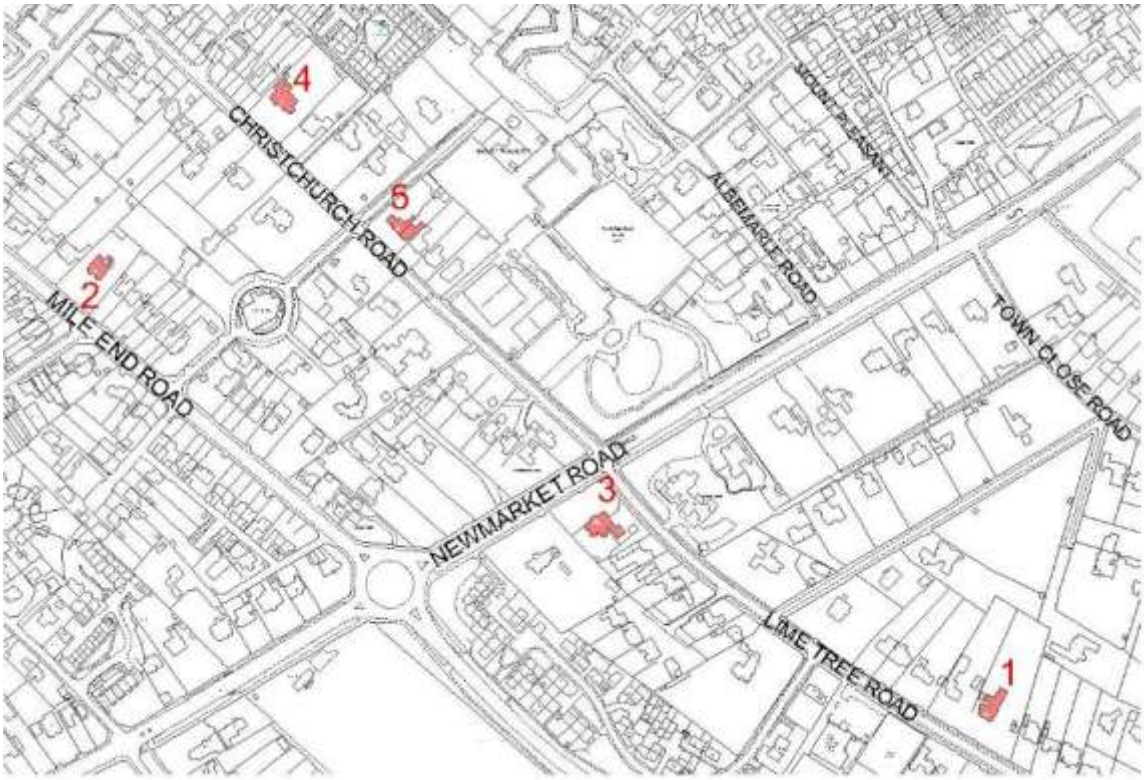

Figure 4: Map of Eaton 1 (The Croft, Melrose, Fairmile, Christchurch Lodge, The Gables and Rothley)

Figure 5: Map of Eaton 2 (Hartswood)

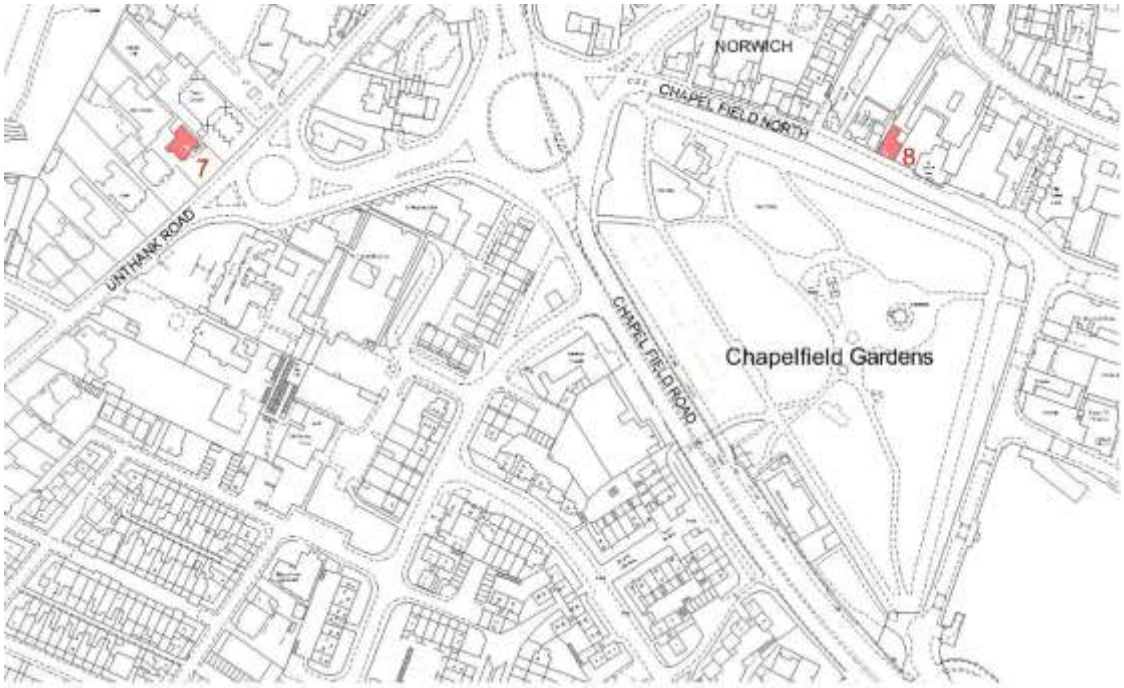

Figure 6: Map of Heigham and Chapelfield (Stevenston and 12 Chapelfield North)

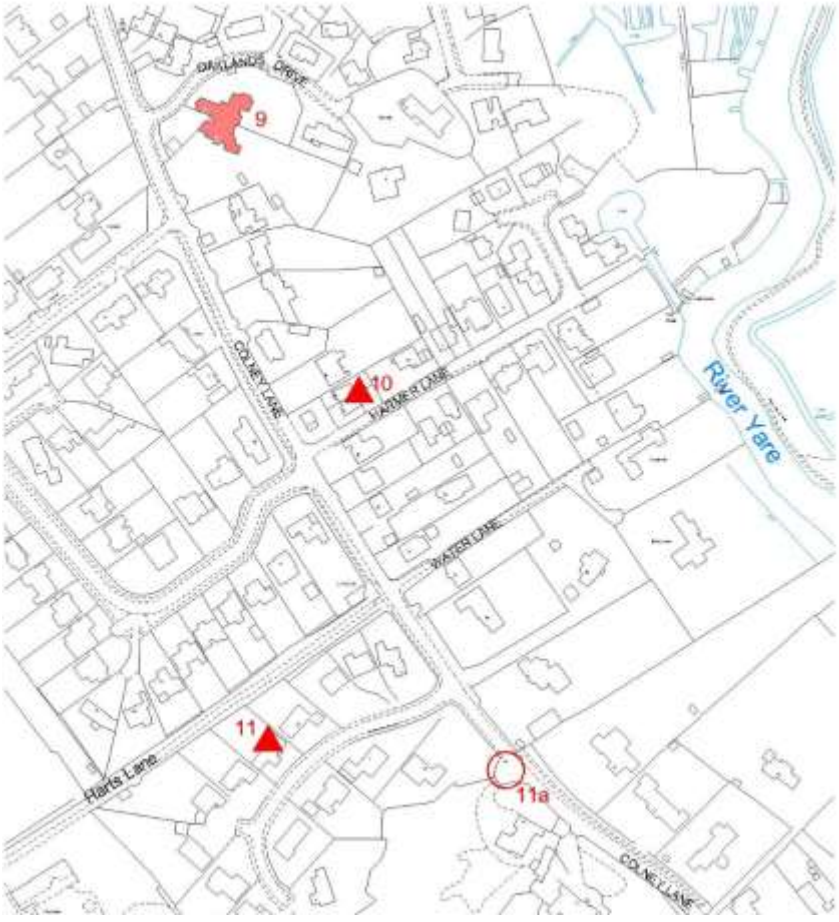

Figure 7: Map of Cringleford (Oaklands, Fletcher's house and Cringleford Lodge)

Figure 8: Map of Thorpe (Hillside)

1: The middle-class suburban villa

The suburban villa

Architectural historians have often focused on the history of the classical villa. Ackerman traced the architectural development of English villas from the Renaissance prototype and Summerson largely dismissed the late-Victorian suburban villa as a sorry debasement of the classical ideal.[48] The narrative has typically been dominated by 'suburban myths' of 'dullness, blandness and an impoverishment of the quality of life'.[49] McKellar has pointed out that suburban villas have a separate evolutionary story with vernacular roots as a socially exclusive building form that developed as a retreat away from urban life in the seventeenth century.[50]

The suburban development process itself has been considered, by Olsen in relation to the large estate and, at the other end of the scale, by Dyos explaining the role of small builders and groups of individuals.[51] The development process has since been explored further in many local studies.[52] At its simplest, the consideration of the development of individual suburbs may catalogue the streets and sample the history of buildings and residents,[53] but may go on to set these findings in the context of local and urban history.[54] Mireille Galinou undertook a comprehensive study to combine the documentary history of the development process of the Eyre family's estate with an appreciation of individual architects and analysis of the social make-up of St John's Wood.[55] Hinchliffe's work on North Oxford revealed the influence of St John's College on development. She explored the building and development process and the changing architectural style.[56]

Wilkinson studied the social structure in Roundhay, Leeds, noting the 'stepwise outward movement' from the urban centre. She discussed the location and design of houses as markers of upper-middle class living and noted that this middle-class suburb was in fact home to many social groups.[57]

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[48] James S. Ackerman, *The Villa: Form and Ideology of Country Houses* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1990); John Summerson, 'The London Suburban Villa, 1850-1880' in *Unromantic Castle*, pp. 217-34.
[49] *Changing Suburbs*, ed. by Richard Harris and Peter Larkham (London: Spon, 1999), p. 7. The myth is also challenged in Adam Menuge, *Ordinary Landscapes, Special Places: Anfield, Breckfield and the Growth of Liverpool's Suburbs* (Swindon: English Heritage, 2008), pp. 3-4.
[50] McKellar, Elizabeth, 'The Villa: Ideal Type or Vernacular Variant?' in *Built from Below: British Architecture and the Vernacular*, ed. by P. Guillery (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011), pp. 49-72.
[51] Donald J. Olsen, *Town Planning in London: The Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1964); H. J. Dyos, *Victorian Suburb: A Study of the Growth of Camberwell,* 2nd edn (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1966).
[52] For example, *Survey of London* (London: London County Council, 1973), XXXVII*: Northern Kensington*, ed. by F. H. W. Sheppard (1973) <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-london/vol37> [accessed 6 April 2020]
[53] Joyce Lee, 'Cherry Orchard: The Growth of a Victorian Suburb', in *Victorian Shrewsbury: Studies in the History of a County Town*, ed. by Barrie Trinder (Shrewsbury: Shropshire Libraries, 1984), pp. 114-129.
[54] Trinder, *Beyond the Bridges*.
[55] Mireille Galinou, *Cottages and Villas: The Birth of the Garden Suburb* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010).
[56] Tanis Hinchcliffe, *North Oxford* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992).
[57] Anne Wilkinson, 'A Middle-Class Community? Social Structure in Victorian Roundhay, Leeds, 1851-1891', *Family and Community History*, 5:1 (May 2002), 6 and 5-18.

George Sheeran has studied the villa mansions of Yorkshire industrialists and reflected on the background of the owners, their social position and aspirations and the origins of their fortunes. He noted the paucity of serious studies of middle-class houses,[58] and they remain somewhat overlooked.

Harris and Larkham have suggested that suburban house design can reveal something of the middle-class mindset and way of life: 'the consumption of design […] is an attempt to say something about our social position, importance, aspirations and outlook in ways that can be understood by those whose judgements we value.'[59]

Jill Franklin has discussed the experience of living in the gentleman's country house,[60] referring to the edicts of nineteenth-century commentators Robert Kerr, J. J. Stevenson and others, as to the proper design of a house. Kerr was clear that his principles applied to 'an entire class of dwellings […] not withstanding infinite variety of scale', from the small country house considered by Franklin to the Victorian villa occupied by similarly 'refined persons […] accustomed to the best society'. [61]

The Victorian middle classes

The middle classes, as a distinct social group, different from both landed society and the labouring poor, had been in evidence since the Middle Ages, but in the nineteenth century the traditional ranks of professional men, merchants and traders were joined by industrial entrepreneurs and the associated new professional classes, from insurers to engineers.[62] Not only did their numbers increase, but the Victorian middle-classes had new opportunities to make their mark through 'material gain, social mobility and ultimately, political and cultural leadership'.[63]

The middle-classes had the financial wherewithal to make a real choice about where they lived and for them, 'the home, and its physical expression, the house, were the central institutions of civilized life.'[64] Whatever a man's financial circumstances, he might live in a house that was worth up to twice his annual salary and pay rent, taxes and local rates of around one tenth to one eighth of the cost of the house.[65]

A larger house was needed not only as the family grew. As social standing increased, larger numbers of resident servants might be engaged to entertain greater numbers of guests in larger rooms and perhaps more specialised rooms such as the billiard room.[66] The household often also included an unmarried adult relative.[67]

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[58] George Sheeran, *Brass Castles: West Yorkshire New Rich and their Houses 1800-1914* (Stroud: Tempus, 2006), pp. 10-11.
[59] Harris and Larkham, p. 36.
[60] Franklin, pp. 39-106.
[61] Kerr, p. 63.
[62] Burnett, John., *A Social History of Housing*, 2nd edn (London: Methuen, 1985), p. 97; John Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999), pp. 11-12.
[63] Burnett, p. 97.
[64] Burnett, p. 97.
[65] Burnett, pp. 100-101.
[66] Burnett, pp. 101-102, Tosh, p. 19.
[67] Tosh, p. 21.

Although a family could climb the social ladder, middle-class business life was precarious.[68] Moreover, the class itself was still politically and socially insecure. Beginning in the 1820s, a strict code of behaviour developed which fostered coherence and bolstered confidence over much of the century, although it began to lose its relevance and power in the 1880s.[69] The code prescribed an honourable, sober life of thrift, industry and duty,[70] with a strong moral tone.[71]

The middle classes valued seclusion and privacy, particularly to control how they presented themselves to their critical peers.[72] A 'lady' would not work but instead concentrated on marriage, children and household management.[73] The 'nineteenth-century cult of the home' was related to her devotion to domestic life,[74] which was very much a middle-class pre-occupation; aristocratic hospitality was founded on a different bedrock of dynastic and political motivation, and domestic charm largely eluded the slum dweller.[75]

The middle-class house plan

Houses were available in every size and price bracket, appropriate to each stage of life and each rung on the social ladder. Contemporary commentators were ready to advise on the appropriate domestic signifiers of status and respectability.[76] Robert Kerr described the proper arrangement of a 'Gentleman's House', as comprising two 'departments', the family and the servants,[77] and discussed twelve detailed design requirements.[78] The first of these, privacy, was manifested in the separation of rooms and spaces for different functions and different people. There could be two staircases, for family and servants, two entrances, for guests and tradesmen, and segregation also of men and women. This 'planning in three social dimensions'[79] necessitated a complicated pattern of spaces. In particular, vestibules and doors ensured the separation of family and servants, each of whom valued their privacy from the other.[80]

In a 'comfortable' house rooms were carefully planned for their purpose, as well as free from draughts and other blights.[81] Convenience related to the harmony of household activity and purpose facilitated by the arrangement of the component parts of the house.[82] Spaciousness was important to comfort and privacy, avoiding low or small rooms and narrow passages,[83] but Kerr noted that, 'after everything has been conveniently provided, all must be conveniently compacted'.[84] As well as insisting on

[68] Tosh, p. 13.
[69] Burnett, p. 98; Tosh, p. 146.
[70] Burnett, p. 99.
[71] Burnett, p. 98.
[72] Tosh, p. 23.
[73] Burnett, p. 98, p. 105.
[74] Tosh, p. 4.
[75] Tosh, p. 27.
[76] Harris and Larkham, p. 40.
[77] Kerr, pp. 63-64.
[78] Kerr, p. 67.
[79] Sheeran, p.66.
[80] Kerr, pp. 67-69.
[81] Kerr, p. 70.
[82] Kerr, p. 71.
[83] Kerr, p. 74.
[84] Kerr, p. 76.

plentiful light and ventilation,[85] Kerr championed salubrity, the wholesomeness that encompassed the avoidance of smells and the distant siting of domestic outbuildings and other 'unpleasant places'.[86] He advised that the aspect of rooms should exploit the natural advantages of sunshine, and their prospect enjoy views through large windows and well-sited bay windows.[87] The dull English weather should be countered by 'vivacity', with cheerfulness derived from components of the other principles, particularly 'general comfort and convenience of arrangement'.[88] The 'subdued power' of elegance contributed to cheerfulness with 'finish, precision, delicacy and repose'.[89] A suitably dignified home would exude importance, eschewing meanness to give an effect of 'solid value for the money spent', particularly in the provision of spacious thoroughfares.[90] Although elaborate decoration would inevitably convey vulgarity, excessive plainness would be inhospitable. A gentleman's house should be 'fairly adorned'.[91]

By the time J.J. Stevenson was writing in 1880, views were changing. The relationship between master and servant was in flux. To treat servants as inferiors was to risk workshy 'unprofitable servants' and 'the frequent changing of their places'.[92] While privacy remained essential to comfort,[93] convenience, compactness and simplicity took on new significance as the means to save unnecessary labour and facilitate a smaller complement of staff in response to the increasing 'servant problem'.[94]

Stevenson's first principle of household planning was multifariousness, the proliferation of special-use rooms and spaces required by 'more complicated ways of living'.[95] His approach also appealed to economy and amenity,[96] and he devoted many pages to the discussion of modern conveniences, along with innovative construction methods and materials. Financial privilege could be exploited to enjoy modern household amenities as expressions of status.[97]

The house was infused with social value translated into house design.[98] The middle classes 'believed that an appropriately impressive residence gave visual expression to its social status and ideals'.[99] This had important implications for the form and plan of middle-class housing.

[85] Kerr, p. 78.
[86] Kerr, p. 79.
[87] Kerr, pp. 79-84.
[88] Kerr, pp. 84-85.
[89] Kerr, pp. 85-86.
[90] Kerr, pp. 87-89.
[91] Kerr, pp. 89-90.
[92] Stevenson, p. 79.
[93] Stevenson, p. 3.
[94] Stevenson, pp. 48-49, p. 80.
[95] Stevenson, p. 47.
[96] Burnett, p. 196.
[97] Burnett, p. 196.
[98] Burnett, p. 190, Tosh, p. 24.
[99] Burnett, p. 196.

The suburban villa – architectural style

While contemporary ideas about the plan of the house were somewhat prescriptive, the choice of architectural styles was wide; Kerr discussed ten of them.[100] The essential decision was between Classical and Gothic design: the 'Battle of the Styles'.

There was something of a reaction against 'Georgian smoothness',[101] the perceived monotony and utilitarianism of Georgian design.[102] The quest for variety in pursuit of architectural 'character' produced eclectic mixtures that could include elements of Georgian, Italianate, Gothic and French styles and might be influenced by contemporary writers such as Ruskin.[103]

Some classical styles did not adapt well to a town suburb; the Greek Revival style of large public buildings could be cumbersome at the domestic scale.[104] The Italianate villa of the eighteenth-century 'suburban village' found its way to early nineteenth-century suburbs because of its picturesque versatility,[105] but it had become characterised as the typical retreat of retired tradesmen,[106] rather than a pure evocation of the rural idyll, and Gothic style now articulated rural sentiment.[107] Gothic had become the dominant domestic architectural style by the middle of the century.[108]

Some contemporaries questioned whether a single style could be 'the artistic expression of the thoughts and ideas of this nineteenth century', but recognised that any such uniform style would be 'directly connected with the social, moral, and intellectual conditions of the people'.[109] The popularity of Gothic style could be attributed to its eclecticism and freedom that made it widely applicable.[110] Gothic design may have provided something of a pressure-valve for the middle classes otherwise constrained by rigid convention; the style could reconcile 'the drive to conform and the drive to be different'.[111] Deference to the gentry and aristocracy as arbiters of fashionable taste also played a part; a Gothic house evoked connotations of national history and aristocratic lineage.[112]

Gothic came to domestic design via the parsonages designed by ecclesiologists such as Butterfield and White, which were a suitable model for the suburban house because of their rural associations.[113] Gothic design allowed an irregular exterior which could better accommodate many and varied rooms and spaces. The development of the suburban villa and eclecticism of style owed much to the

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[100] Kerr, pp. 340-380.
[101] 'Suburban Villa', p. 221.
[102] Arthur M. Edwards, *The Design of Suburbia: A Critical Study in Environmental History* (London: Pembridge Press, 1981), p. 27; and Burnett, p. 114, citing G. Laurence Gomme, *London in the Reign of Victoria 1837-1897* ([London?]: Blackie, 1898), pp. 136-8.
[103] 'Suburban Villa', p. 222.
[104] Burnett, p. 115.
[105] Hinchcliffe, p. 91.
[106] Hinchcliffe, pp. 65-66, citing R. J. Morris, 'The Middle Class and the Property Cycle during the Industrial Revolution', in *The Search for Wealth and Stability*, ed. by T. C. Smout (London: Macmillan, 1979).
[107] Hinchcliffe, p. 94.
[108] Burnett, p. 204.
[109] Percival Gordon Smith and Keith Downes Young, 'Architecture', in *Our Homes and How to make them Healthy*, ed. by Shirley Forster Murphy (London: Cassell, 1883), pp. 33-308 (p. 306).
[110] Smith and Young, in *Our Homes*, ed. by Murphy, pp. 33-308 (p. 304).
[111] Harris and Larkham, pp. 36-37.
[112] Burnett, p. 196.
[113] Hinchcliffe, p. 91.

initiative of the 'lower school' of architects,[114] as characterised by Summerson, and a builder might add Gothic features to 'a basically unchanged box'.[115]

For the upper-middle classes, the individual Vernacular Revival designs of Webb, Shaw, Nesfield and Stevenson, created an organic, harmonious house that began to influence their more anonymous suburban contemporaries.[116] The Queen Anne style offered more classical symmetry. Initially developed by Nesfield and Stevenson in the 1860s, it was popularised by Norman Shaw in Bedford Park. Perhaps it was 'a rejection of the gloomy moral seriousness of the Gothic'[117] but the Victorians Percival Gordon Smith and Keith Downes Young saw it rather as a blend of classic detailing and the 'homely picturesqueness' of Gothic.[118] Stevenson agreed that modern planning took elements from both Gothic and classical styles.[119]

In the latter part of the century Voysey and Lutyens were producing designs influenced by Webb's earlier work. The new approach of the 1890s 'drew on both Gothic and Classical pasts, but united them in an individual style characterized by simplicity, respect for materials, craftsmanship and proportions'. Lutyens built houses to a free plan, perhaps even with elements of an open plan, embracing irregularity and the natural contours of the site, allowing rooms to be well lit on two or three sides.[120]

Sheeran found that the adaption of the villa plan to Gothic houses was surprisingly widespread amongst Yorkshire industrialists, who might blend Gothic style with a classical plan round a top-lit hall rather than a courtyard plan.[121] The favoured classical plan was derived from a square or rectangle of six or nine spaces with the entrance and hall in the middle of the elevation.[122] Franklin too found classical plans to be 'surprisingly persistent […] behind many strange exteriors'.[123]

The Boardman clients and their houses are reviewed against this contextual backdrop. The social rank of clients and the stage of their family life cycles are considered, and the houses are positioned in the spectrum of nineteenth-century house plans and architectural style. The Norwich suburban gentleman's house is then analysed against the principles of house design and domestic life expounded by contemporaries.

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[114] 'Suburban Villa', p. 219.
[115] Burnett, p. 205.
[116] Burnett, p. 205; 'Suburban Villa', p. 219.
[117] Burnett, p. 205.
[118] Smith and Young, in *Our Homes,* ed. by Murphy, pp. 33-308 (p. 305).
[119] Stevenson, pp. 45-46.
[120] Burnett, p. 207.
[121] Sheeran, pp. 62-3
[122] Sheeran, p. 60.
[123] Franklin, p. 130.

2: The clients and the family life cycle

Suburban living broke the traditional link between work and home, and introduced the possibility of multiple house moves, a relatively easy process for most middle-class people who rented their homes.[124] Some of the Boardman clients had moved house several times as the family life-cycle progressed or as their fortunes improved.

Muthesius categorised middle-class London tenants according to their financial means.[125] Although this has limited direct application to those in Norwich who owned their own houses, the Boardman clients may be stratified in a similar way. Their experiences also seem to correspond to Burnett's analysis of a family's changing housing needs.[126]

Just scraping into the category of lower middle class were the lowest-paid clerks, living in houses that might cost £120-£200, with five or six rooms, and not necessarily keeping a full-time servant. Above them were the lower professional men, clerks or shopkeepers, in houses of six or seven rooms, worth about £200-£300. The Boardman clients were from the ranks of the rather more well-to-do. A professional man or owner of a medium-sized factory would perhaps have looked for a house costing about £500 with seven or eight rooms. The house of a more prosperous entrepreneur or professional man, might be worth £1000 and include perhaps ten rooms to accommodate a household of three female servants, including a cook or governess. The richer upper-middle classes might typically have a house worth up to £3000 and five or six servants.

The sequence of house moves for William Henry Bidwell offers relatively rare evidence of individual experience within the anonymous class of clerks who collectively enjoyed social and occupational mobility, but whose personal stories can be difficult to uncover.[127] Bidwell paid Boardman £797 for his house, The Croft, in about 1874,[128] a price suited to a middle-ranking professional man. Bidwell's domestic progression had followed a common pattern.[129] Having lived in city centre lodgings as a young bank clerk,[130] he was married by the age of thirty, with one servant, and living in Park Lane off Earlham Road in Heigham,[131] a street of mostly detached and semi-detached villas,[132] perhaps relatively new.[133] Then came the move to a detached villa, The Croft, supported by an extra servant.[134]

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[124] Tosh, p. 25.
[125] Stefan Muthesius, *The English Terraced House* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1982), pp. 43-44.
[126] Burnett, pp. 103-04.
[127] P. J. Waller, Town, City and Nation: England 1850-1914 ((Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983, pp. 149-151.
[128] 'Houses, residences', manuscript list, in BR 35/1/180.
[129] Burnett, p. 100-101.
[130] Census 1861.
[131] Census 1871.
[132] A. W. Morant, *Map of the City of Norwich: Compiled from the Latest Surveys,* scale 1 inch = 5 chains (1:3960), (Norwich: Fletcher and Son, 1873).
[133] Muthesius, in *Norwich*, ed. by Barringer, pp. 94-117 (p. 110).
[134] *The Imperial Postal Directory of the City and County of Norwich*, ed. by James J. Bane (Norwich: Hamilton, 1879), p. 29; Census 1881.

Bidwell had another rung to climb and had moved to a grander house in Thorpe Road by 1891.[135] He was about forty, the typical age for a man to have established his status and reached the peak of his aspirations for the family house.[136] Many of the Boardman clients commissioned their houses as family homes around the age of forty. Curl, Harmer, Fletcher, Gilbert, Bolingbroke, Thorold and Coller were all in this age group, although their circumstances varied.

Henley Curl's dramatic social progression, from draper's assistant to chairman of his family firm, is already documented.[137] Nevertheless, the changes of address demonstrate the unprecedented opportunity for advancement amongst the Victorian middle classes. Henley apparently eluded the census enumerators in 1861 but is likely to have been living with his brothers and their future business partner, Arthur Bunting, in lodgings that accommodated some twenty-seven draper's assistants. Henley was perhaps lost in the crowd when the enumerator called.[138] He joined his brothers in partnership with Bunting soon after 1866,[139] and had a terraced house on Dereham Road in north Heigham by 1875.[140] He moved to The White House, a large villa in substantial grounds on St Giles Road in Heigham,[141] before 1881, with five children and three servants.[142] The business partnership was dissolved in 1882,[143] but the brothers established another shop[144] and expanded the business. Aged about forty-two,[145] Curl built Fairmile in 1885 at a cost of £1943 10s 10d,[146] putting him in the richer middle class.[147]

Curl was a self-made man, but the second-generation entrepreneurs, Harmer and Fletcher could aspire to the grandest of the Boardman houses, in Cringleford. As they expanded their family businesses, their success was reflected in changes of address. Frederic William Harmer became head of the family firm of clothing manufacturers in Norwich and a distinguished amateur scientist.[148] In 1864, aged about twenty-eight, he lived in a modest villa in West Parade, Heigham.[149] By 1868 he was in Heigham Grove, an area of substantial villas in large grounds off Earlham Road,[150] and had three servants.[151] The move to Oaklands in Cringleford came in about 1874, at age thirty-eight;[152] he lived there with four sons and five servants.[153]

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[135] Census 1891*; Directory of the City of Norwich, including its Hamlets (London: Jarrold, 1896)*, p. 319; Ordnance Survey 1:2500 map, Norfolk 63.15, surveyed 1880-83, published 1886.
[136] Burnett, p. 103.
[137] Burgess, pp. 33-36.
[138] Census 1861, Jacob and Edward Curl; Nick Williams, *Norwich: A City of Industries* (Norwich: Norwich HEART, 2013), p. 111.
[139] Williams, p. 111.
[140] *The Post Office Directory of Norfolk*, ed by E. R. Kelly (London: Kelly, 1875), p. 379.
[141] NML, Ordnance Survey 1:500 map, Norfolk 63.11.21, surveyed 1883, published 1884.
[142] Census 1881.
[143] Williams, p. 111.
[144] *Kelly's Directory of Cambridgeshire, Norfolk and Suffolk*, ed. by E. R. Kelly (London: Kelly, 1883), p. 439; Williams, pp. 111-12.
[145] Census 1891.
[146] 'Errors and Omissions', dated October 1886, bound in BR 35/1/162.
[147] Muthesius, *Terraced House*, p. 44.
[148] Burgess, pp. 117-18; Census 1881.
[149] *History, Gazetteer and Directory of Norfolk,* ed. by William White *(London: William White, 1864),* p. 269; Morant's 1873 map.
[150] Harrod Norfolk 1868, p. 435; Census 1871; Ordnance Survey 1:2500 map, Norfolk 63.11, surveyed 1883-84, published 1886.
[151] Census 1871, Mary Harmer.
[152] *J. G. Harrod & Co.'s Royal County Directory of Norfolk with Lowestoft in Suffolk*, 4th edn. (Norwich: Harrod, 1877), p. 110, records Harmer at Oaklands. The cost of the house is unknown.
[153] Census 1881.

As a young man, Benjamin Edgington Fletcher lived with his parents in Heigham, first in Unthank Road[154] and later in the higher status Essex Street.[155] Aged thirty-five, he took over his father's printing firm in 1871 and soon developed the business.[156] He commissioned a house design from Boardman in 1876, for a Cringleford plot,[157] but was still living on Bracondale in 1881 with five children and five servants.[158] The Boardman designs suggest he aspired to a particularly impressive house and by 1883 he had moved about eight miles west of Norwich to Marlingford Hall.[159]

John Wilson Gilbert also commissioned a grand house in Cringleford. He was a solicitor, related to the landed Gilbert family of Chedgrave, Norfolk.[160] Apparently well-to-do by birth, he enjoyed an impressive address at a younger age than other Boardman clients. He was lodging in London in 1871, as a clerk aged twenty-three,[161] before practising in Norwich, first in partnership[162] but with his own firm by 1892.[163] He was already living in a villa on Unthank Road in 1879[164] and by 1881 had moved to Eaton Grove, in large grounds on Newmarket Road. Here the family kept a coachman and four servants.[165] The move to Cringleford Lodge came in 1892 when Gilbert was about forty-five, with five children[166]. The house cost £4970,[167] more than twice as much as any other house in the sample, placing Gilbert in the richer upper-middle class.[168] There were thirteen rooms for the family, which also suggests a superior house,[169] appropriate for a man who would put his family crest over the door (see Figure G 25).[170] With no male indoor servants his household was not firmly in the top drawer, but he had six female servants.[171]

Charles Tarrant Coller was also born into comfortable circumstances as the son of Richard Coller who established himself as a coal merchant and became mayor of Norwich in 1876.[172] In 1881, aged 22, Charles and his brother already lived on Bracondale, a turnpike road characterised by early villa development;[173] Charles was both a coal merchant and a farmer of four hundred acres.[174] In 1892 he was living at Lime Grove, a semi-detached villa in Lime Tree Road.[175] He married in about 1894,[176]

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[154] Census 1861.
[155] Census 1871; 'Heigham Grove Conservation Area Appraisal' (Unpublished: Norwich City Council, March 2011), p. 17.
[156] Burgess, p. 123.
[157] BR 35/2/23/8/3, 'Plan of estate in Cringleford, Norwich, for sale by Messrs Spelman, 1873'.
[158] Census 1881.
[159] *History, Gazetteer and Directory of Norfolk*, 4th edn, ed. by William White (Sheffield: William White, 1883), p. 582.
[160] Haydn Jenkins, Roger Bellinger and Jane Bellinger, 'The Gilbert Family in Cringleford', in 'Cringleford Families 1850-1950' (Unpublished: CHS, 2006), pp. 32-35 (p. 32).
[161] Census 1871.
[162] Jenkins, Bellinger and Bellinger, in 'Cringleford Families', pp. 32-35 (p. 32).
[163] *Kelly's Directory of Norfolk* (London: Kelly, 1892), p. 544.
[164] *Hamilton Norfolk*, 1879, p.85.
[165] Ordnance Survey 1:2500 map, Norfolk 63.14, surveyed 1880-82, published 1886; Census 1881.
[166] Census 1891.
[167] 'List of Works over £500', in BR 35/1/180.
[168] Muthesius, *Terraced House*, p. 44.
[169] *Muthesius, Terraced House,* pp. 43-44.
[170] BR 35/2/55/19/4, 'The Gilbert of Norfolk Pedigree'.
[171] Muthesius, *Terraced House*, pp. 43-44; Census 1901, Marianne Gilbert.
[172] Burgess, p. 137.
[173] Muthesius, in *Norwich*, ed. by Barringer, pp. 94-117 (p. 95).
[174] Census 1881.
[175] *Kelly Norfolk 1892*, p. 748; Ordnance Survey 1:10560 map, Norfolk 63.SE, surveyed 1880-83, second edition, published 1886.
[176] Census 1911.

and built Hartswood, at a cost of £2151[177] as the new family home around 1897, when he was about thirty-eight.[178] By 1901 the household comprised his wife, three sons, and four servants.[179]

Horace Charles Bolingbroke's family circumstances were less assured. His prospects may have been compromised when his father, a silk manufacturer, died before Horace was eight.[180] In 1881 Horace was still living with his widowed mother in Southfield, a large villa on Newmarket Road. He became the County Accountant,[181] and moved into The Gables with his wife and two domestic servants when he was about thirty-eight in 1890.[182] The Gables and its neighbour Rothley cost £1870 in 1890,[183] and are a pair of attached houses presented to deceive the eye and appear as one dwelling. It seems that Bolingbroke could not afford the detached house he desired and required rental income, letting out Rothley to tenants.[184] Housing aspiration beyond his means might be related to his upbringing as the son of a genteel widow.

It was not uncommon for unmarried offspring to live with their parents well into adulthood.[185] William Banks still had his adult children living with him when he retired.[186] William Hazeldine Thorold followed the pattern of Fletcher and Bolingbroke, and lived with his parents into his thirties, sharing their detached villa in Thorpe.[187] Like his father, a surveyor, William belonged to the new professional classes; he was a *Times* correspondent and Secretary to the Home & Foreign Investment Agency.[188] He made the move to his own family home in one bound, commissioning Melrose at the age of about forty-one in 1876.[189] Perhaps he had built up some savings while living with his parents, but his new wife was a widow with two children and may also have brought funds into the marriage. The couple went on to have two more children.[190]

Some Boardman clients were rather older when they commissioned their houses; Todd, Skoyles, Frazer and Banks were not seeking a suburban haven to bring up children. John Timothy Todd was the son of a Poringland farmer, working as a clerk and living with his parents in 1861,[191] before moving to city lodgings[192] and then to a modest suburban house supported by one or two servants.[193] Aged about fifty-three, he was still a bachelor and rather than build a family villa, he instead commissioned a town house overlooking Chapelfield public gardens just inside the city wall.[194] It cost

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[177] 'List of Works over £500', in BR 35/1/180.
[178] *Kelly Norfolk 1900*, p. 325, records Coller at Hartswood.
[179] Census 1901.
[180] Census 1851, Census 1861.
[181] *Jarrold Norwich 1896*, p. 511.
[182] Census 1891.
[183] 'List of Works over £500', in BR 35/1/180.
[184] For example, *Jarrold Norwich 1896*, p. 139, Herbert Stowe Harrington lived at Rothley. Tenancies may have been short-term as Rothley was unoccupied at the census in 1891 and 1901. Disappointingly, the rate books do not provide straightforward evidence of occupancy of Rothley.
[185] Tosh, p. 21.
[186] Census 1911.
[187] Census 1861, Census 1871.
[188] *Hamilton Norfolk* 1879, p. 36; *White Norfolk 1883*, p. 614.
[189] The cost of the house is unknown.
[190] Census 1881.
[191] Census 1861.
[192] Census 1871.
[193] Census 1881; Census 1891; Morant's 1873 map.
[194] Census 1901.

£1065 9s. 10d. in 1891.[195] Perhaps this was when he became Secretary to the Norwich Permanent Building Society.[196] Todd's experience provides insight into the housing choices of a householder who did not conform to the domestic conventions of the suburban dream.[197]

Skoyles, Frazer and Banks all made a move to the suburbs from life 'over the shop' or very nearby in city centre premises, but after their families, if they had them, had already grown up. Although the young Elam Skoyles, a tailor, was living in a terraced house in Heigham in 1851,[198] he was on Castle Row in 1871, not far from his business premises.[199] He became a substantial business man[200] who could pay £1054 15s. 5d. for his house, Hillside, in about 1876.[201] Then aged 50 or so, he moved in with his wife, two grown sons, and two servants.[202]

Charles Frazer built Stevenston Villa in Unthank Road in about 1875 at a cost of £1334 10s. 6d.[203] . He was born in Scotland,[204] but such geographical mobility was not uncommon in middle-class life.[205] When he moved in with his wife and two female servants, he was aged fifty-two, the owner of a sawmill on Palace Plain near Norwich cathedral.[206] The couple had previously lived on Palace Plain very close to the sawmill.[207]

William Banks had also been living with his family in the city, as a draper in London Street.[208] By 1892, aged fifty-three, he had moved to Christchurch Lodge,[209] which cost £1878.[210] The household included his wife, three children (two of them adults) and two servants.[211]

Many of the Boardman houses were family homes for young families, but census returns indicate that Bidwell and Bolingbroke, had no surviving children.[212] All the Boardman clients had at least two female indoor servants, commensurate with Muthesius's expectations for these houses.[213] According to census returns, Curl employed three, Coller four, and Fletcher and Harmer employed five, while Gilbert had six servants by 1901.[214] Some superior social standing is perhaps signified by the presence of a cook in the last three of these households,[215] all of which also included a governess or nurse (sometimes two) for the children. Curl, Coller and Frazer also employed cooks, while Skoyles and Todd had housekeepers. The census evidence for the employment of a coachman, another

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[195] 'List of Works over £500', in BR 35/1/180.
[196] *Jarrold Norwich 1896*, p. 134.
[197] Such householders could include older people, childless couples, spinsters and bachelors (P. J. Waller, p. 147).
[198] Census 1851; Morant's 1873 map.
[199] Census 1871.
[200] *Harrods Norfolk 1877*, p. 477; *White Norfolk 1883*, p. 610.
[201] 'Houses, residences', in BR 35/1/180.
[202] Census 1881.
[203] 'Houses, residences', in BR 35/1/180.
[204] Census 1881.
[205] Burnett, p. 102.
[206] *White Norfolk 1883*, p. 582; Census 1881.
[207] Census 1871; OS 1:2500, 63.11, 1883-84.
[208] Census 1891.
[209] *Kelly Norfolk 1892*, p. 521, p. 534.
[210] 'List of Works over £500', in BR 35/1/180.
[211] Census 1891.
[212] Census 1911, Anna Bidwell; Census 1911, Horace Bolingbroke.
[213] Muthesius, *Terraced House,* pp. 43-44.
[214] The evidence for servants is from clients' census returns.
[215] Muthesius, *Terraced House*, p. 44.

indicator of a higher status family, is not always clear as the coachman could be recorded in separate accommodation, perhaps on a service road, but the Boardman drawings include a coachman's cottage for Harmer and Gilbert, a coach house for Thorold and Curl, and a stable yard for Fletcher. Site plans indicate likely stables for Banks and Coller.

Eight clients lived in their Boardman houses at least into old age, many of them certainly for life.[216] Six clients were earlier householders in the older suburbs near to the city (five of them in Heigham) before moving to newer, higher status developments further away. Two clients (Bidwell and Fletcher) still had another rung to climb, and Banks later retired to Lowestoft.[217] Two widows retreated to the city in due course; Mrs Bidwell moved to the smart terrace of The Crescent in Heigham,[218] and Mrs Frazer returned to Palace Plain close to the sawmill.[219]

All but one of the clients gave names to their new houses, an indication of social pretension, particularly in respect of Christchurch and Cringleford Lodges which appropriated the name often used for the lesser seats of the landed classes.[220] Frazer rather sentimentally named his house after his Scottish birthplace, Stevenston. Todd chose not to name his town house.

Although this analysis has concentrated on the men who were nominally the clients and might conventionally have been expected to choose the house design,[221] it was the lady of the house who was responsible for the management of the middle-class home and its ambience,[222] and there is evidence in the Boardman archive of female agency. The Curl client file includes a brief list of 'Matters decided by Mrs and Mrs Curl' relating to paint colours, materials and fittings at Fairmile.[223] In relation to alterations at 20 Unthank Road, it was Miss Blakely who was the client, although her brother was of similar age and apparently lived with her.[224]

It is informative to take account of the family life cycle and social circumstances of the Boardman clients because family composition, age, lifestyle, income and occupation can contribute to the understanding of suburban life and the interpretation of individual houses.[225]

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[216] Todd, Census 1911; Curl, Census 1911; Harmer, see Ann Hobbs, 'Frederic William Harmer', in 'Cringleford Families 1850-1950' (Unpublished: CHS, 2006), pp. 24-3 (p. 30); Gilbert, see Jenkins, Bellinger and Bellinger, in 'Cringleford Families', pp. 32-35 (p. 32); Coller, see *Kelly's Directory of the Counties of Norfolk and Suffolk*, ed. by A. Lindsay Kelly (London: Kelly, 1929), p. 297; Bolingbroke, see *Kelly's Directory of Norfolk 1933* (London: Kelly's Directories, 1933), p. 361; Census 1911, Thorold; Census 1901, Skoyles.
[217] Census 1901.
[218] Census 1911, Anna Bidwell.
[219] Census 1891, Sarah Ann Frazer.
[220] Menuge, *Ordinary Landscapes,* p. 16.
[221] Hinchcliffe, p. 92-93.
[222] Burnett, p. 198.
[223] Bound in BR 35/1/162.
[224] Census 1871.
[225] Waller, p. 152.

3: Suburbs and sites

The 'flight to the suburbs' took the middle classes away from the noise, smells and crime of the city to the fresher air and quiet of suburban life. Commercial and industrial growth meant that there were fewer plots available for residential use in any case.[226] The suburban ideal also exerted a positive pull, the promise of a different life and different values, away from city vices.[227] As the city came to represent work, the suburb epitomised home.[228]

Norwich suburbs

See map at Figure 3.

Norwich is unusual in that there are few early nineteenth-century terraces and crescents, with basements and a third storey, but a preponderance of individual villas.[229] Major routes into the city gradually attracted groups of suburban houses. Much villa development lined the main turnpike routes, the Newmarket and Ipswich Roads, as well as Bracondale which, as one of the first developments, acquired houses by 1819.[230]

Another early development, by about 1815, was north of Newmarket Road in South Heigham, the 'New City', including a grander terrace of houses in The Crescent. Villas were built eastwards along Thorpe Road from the 1830s, and to the north of the city from about 1828.[231] In the 1820s and 30s the north-western side of Newmarket Road was gradually developed.[232] An 'ornamental avenue to the City' was envisaged in 1834,[233] with trees planted along Newmarket Road in 1842.[234] Substantial houses in large gardens grew up along the south side of Newmarket Road during the 1840s.[235]

The better houses in Norwich were also built on the Dereham, Earlham, Unthank and Thorpe Roads, from about 1850 onwards, alongside small groups of terraced and semi-detached houses. Essex Street off Unthank Road, and other similar side streets, offered the next best housing together with smaller houses. In the 1860s and 70s smaller villas were built in Park Lane, off Earlham Road.[236] Lower middle-class housing was clustered in south Heigham and the Heigham Lodge Estate, north of Unthank Road, where Grove Streets East and West (now Clarendon and Grosvenor Roads) were laid out in 1877 by Edward Boardman.[237] The Unthank family carefully controlled house size, workmanship and materials through building covenants.[238]

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[226] Burnett, p. 191.
[227] Burnett, p. 104.
[228] Hinchcliffe, p. 17.
[229] Muthesius, in *Norwich*, ed. by Barringer, pp. 94-117 (p. 94, p. 109).
[230] Muthesius, in *Norwich*, ed. by Barringer, pp. 94-117 (p. 95); J. K. Edwards, 'Transport and Communications in the Nineteenth Century', in *Norwich*, ed. by Barringer, pp. 118-135 (p. 118), a map of Norwich turnpikes.
[231] Brian Ayers, *English Heritage Book of Norwich* (London: Batsford, 1994), p. 106-07.
[232] Muthesius, in *Norwich*, ed. by Barringer, pp. 94-117 (p. 95).
[233] 816, Documents relating to the Town Close Estate, p.97.
[234] Muthesius, in *Norwich*, ed. by Barringer, pp. 94-117 (p. 96).
[235] Muthesius, in *Norwich*, ed. by Barringer, pp. 94-117 (p. 96).
[236] Muthesius, in *Norwich*, ed. by Barringer, pp. 94-117 (p. 109-110).
[237] Muthesius, in *Norwich*, ed. by Barringer, pp. 94-117 (p. 109); BR 35/2/19/3, 'Mr James Youngs, Unthanks Road'.
[238] Rosemary O'Donoghue, 'Victorian Suburb: Some Aspects of Town Planning in Nineteenth Century Norwich', *Norfolk Archaeology*, 38 (1983), pp. 321-328 (p. 321).

The Boardman houses were built, from 1874 onwards, in the suburbs of Eaton, Heigham and Thorpe, in Cringleford village three miles west along the turnpike, and in Chapelfield just inside the city wall.

Eaton

Lime Tree Road

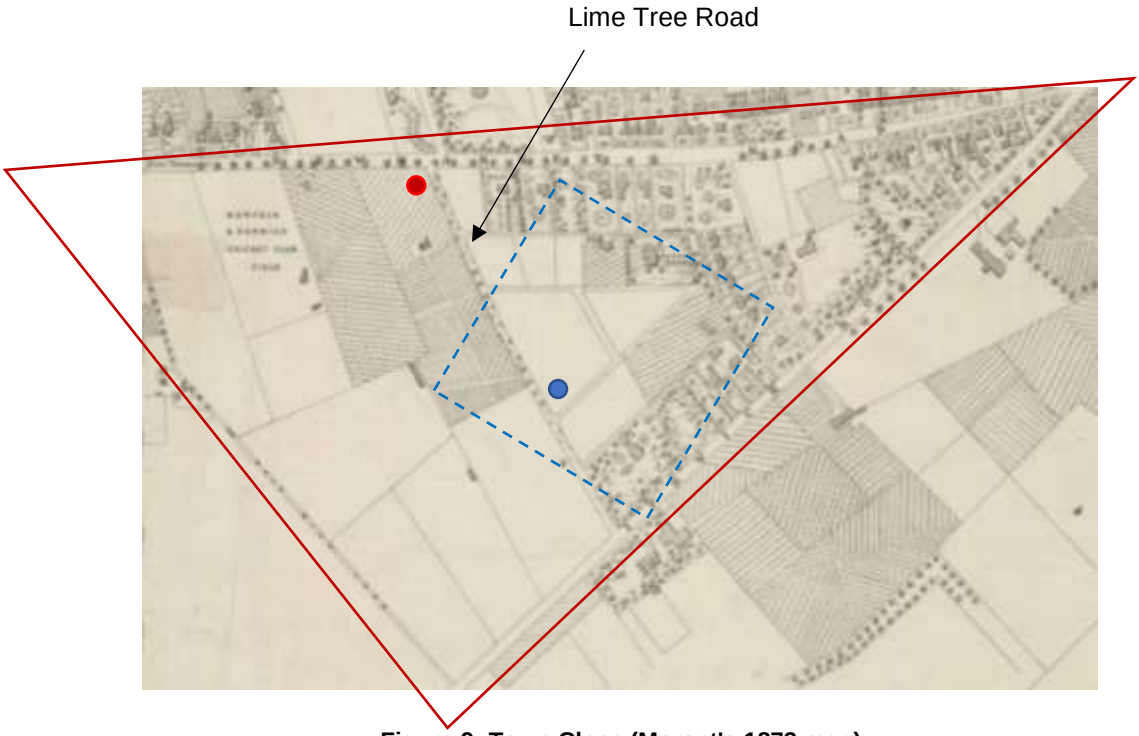

Figure 9: Town Close (Morant's 1873 map)

The area highlighted in blue is also shown in Figure 100.
The dots are the future sites of two houses: The Croft (1874) in blue and Fairmile (1885) in red.

The Town Close Estate in Eaton was a planned development starting in 1840, bounded by the Ipswich, Newmarket and Eaton Roads. It had been a 'working suburb'[239] in the early nineteenth century, outside the city walls and providing grazing land for the city, rather than housing.[240]

The estate was still largely agricultural in 1873 when the City auctioned land on Lime Tree Road to be let for development, any unlet plots being offered as agricultural land.[241] The City Committee had agreed in 1873 to plant lime trees, from which the new road took its name, to 'materially improve the Estate'.[242] Lots 3 to 7 were initially let as agricultural land for £20, but Robert Daws subsequently offered the reserve price of £24 in total, and made an agreement to build houses with an annual value of £25 within five years.[243] Two lots were released from the requirement to build on them and he instead built two houses on each of lots 3 and 6.[244] William Bidwell's plot for The Croft was one of

[239] Hinchfliffe, p.15, uses the phrase as a technical term to discuss similar land in Oxford.
[240] Ayers, p. 107.
[241] N/TC 6/5, City Committee Minutes 1867-1874, p. 362, 6 March 1873; p. 365, 19 March 1873.
[242] N/TC 6/5, p. 370, 7 April 1873.
[243] N/TC 6/5, p. 362, 6 March 1873; p. 367, 3 April 1873; p. 401-2, 4 December 1873.
[244] N/TC 6/5 p. 401-2, 4 December 1873.

these divided lots[245] (See Figure 9,[246] Figure 10.[247]) Daws submitted plans for a house, which was to have bay windows projecting no more than four-and-a-half feet beyond the building line, sixty-three feet from the road.[248] This was Bidwell's house, the agreement with Daws evidenced by signatures on the Boardman drawings.

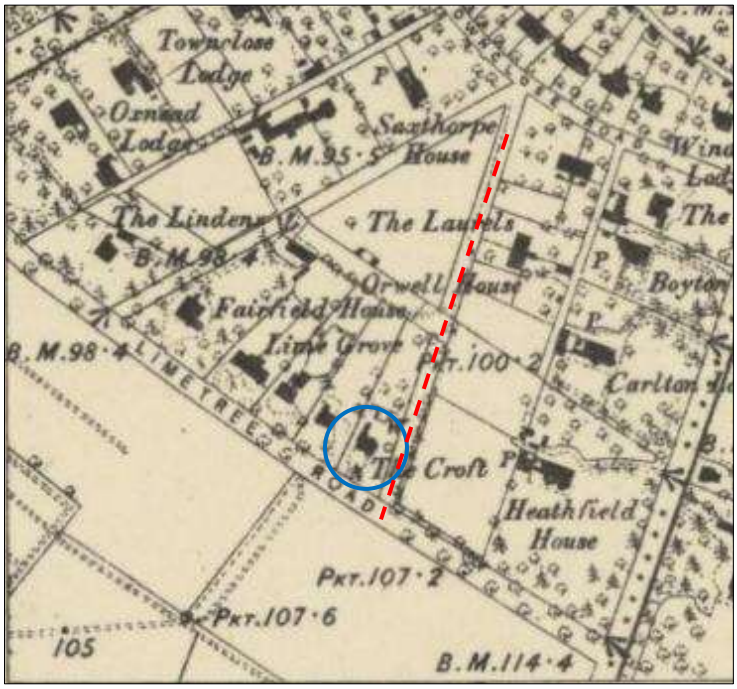

Figure 10: Location of The Croft, Lime Tree Road (OS map 1880-83), reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland. The dashed red line shows the location of the proposed side road (never built).

Lime Tree Road was developed in a piecemeal fashion and Bidwell experienced the disadvantages of living on a building site. He successfully approached the Committee to lease the neighbouring strip of land intended for a side road, because of the nuisance from 'disorderly persons' loitering there.[249] This land is still part of the garden of The Croft.

In 1878, now laying out the remainder of the Town Close estate for building purposes, the Committee offered plots on the south side of Lime Tree Road.[250] Curl's plot was Lot 1,[251] and in about 1885, he built his house at 98 Newmarket Road,[252] at the south corner with Lime Tree Road. (See Figure 9 and Figure 11.[253])

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[245] *Hamilton Norfolk 1879*, p. 29.
[246] Morant's 1873 map.
[247] OS 1:10560 map, 63.SE,1880-83.
[248] N/TC 6/5, p. 407, 1 January 1874.
[249] N/TC 6/6, p. 16, 6 August 1874.
[250] N/TC 6/7, City Committee Minutes 1878-1882, p. 75, 7 November 1878.
[251] BR 35/2/87/3/3, 'Norwich Town Close Estate: Plan of Building Sites to be Let by Auction 1879' (January 1879); BR 35/2/87/3/2, undated and untitled plan, identifying Curl's plot.
[252] *History, Gazetteer and Directory of Norfolk*, 5th edn (Sheffield: William White, 1890), p. 607; *Jarrold Norwich 1896*, p. 236; *Directory of the City of Norwich, including its Hamlets* (London: Jarrold, 1905), p. 239, Census 1891.
[253] Ordnance Survey 1:2500 map, Norfolk 63.14, surveyed 1880-82, revised 1905, published 1907.

Figure 11: Location of Fairmile (OS map 1905),
reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland.

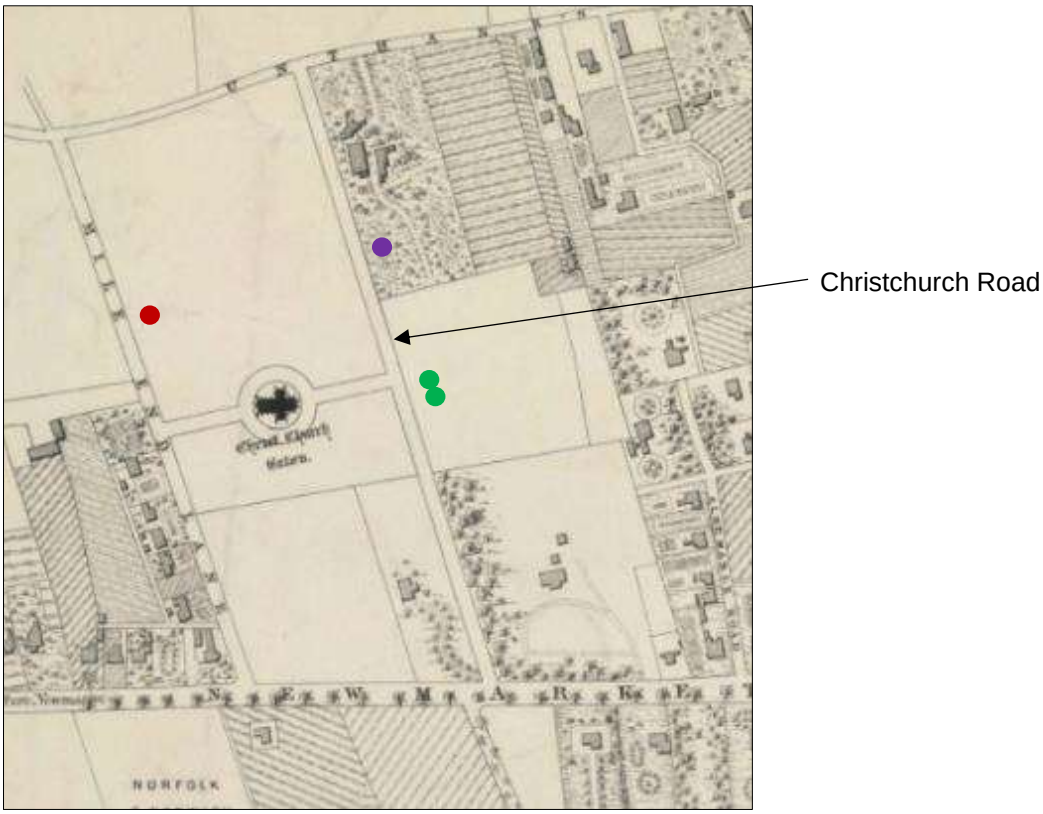

Figure 12: Mile End Lane (Morant's 1873 map)
© 2012 Norfolk County Council. All rights reserved.
The dots are the future site of Melrose (red), Christchurch Lodge (purple)
and The Gables and Rothley (green).

Mile End Road

The land between Mile End Road and Eaton Grove Road (later Christchurch Road) belonged to the Eaton Grove estate, owned by Horatio Bolingbroke, and was sold off as building plots in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.[254] The land still largely comprised open fields in 1873, although the initial laying out and building for residential use had started. Christ Church was opened in 1874,[255] anticipating villa development in both Mile End Road and Christchurch Road and encouraging new residents. (See Figure 12.[256])

Further development was relatively slow. William Hazeldine Thorold built his house, Melrose,[257] in about 1876, but much open space around his house is still evident in 1880-82, including the nurseries which characterised Eaton into the early twentieth century.[258] (See Figure 13.[259])

Figure 13: Location of Melrose (OS map 1880-82), reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland.

[254] Clive Lloyd, *Colonel Unthank and the Golden Triangle: The Expansion of Victorian Norwich* (Norwich: the author, 2017), p. 51.
[255] Ayers, p. 114.
[256] Morant's 1873 map.
[257] *Hamilton Norfolk 1879*, p. 30; *White Norfolk 1883*, p. 614.
[258] *Hamilton Norfolk 1879*, p. 138; NML, Rye, Walter, *Monographs of Norwich Hamlets*, 5 vols (Norwich: Roberts, 1917), I: *History of the Parish of Eaton* (1917), p. 21.
[259] OS 1:2500, 63.14, 1880-82.

Christchurch Road

Christchurch Road was a focus for villa development from the 1870s onwards.[260] The original landowner, Horatio Bolingbroke, may perhaps have been a relation[261] of Horace Charles Bolingbroke who in 1890 built The Gables and Rothley,[262] a pair of attached dwellings on the corner of Christchurch Road and Church Avenue. William Banks built Christchurch Lodge in the same year.[263] (See Figure 12 and Figure 14.[264])

The Gables became Horace Bolingbroke's own residence, but Rothley was intended for rental.[265] Christchurch Lodge enjoys a particularly large plot on the north-east side of Christchurch Road, north of Church Avenue.

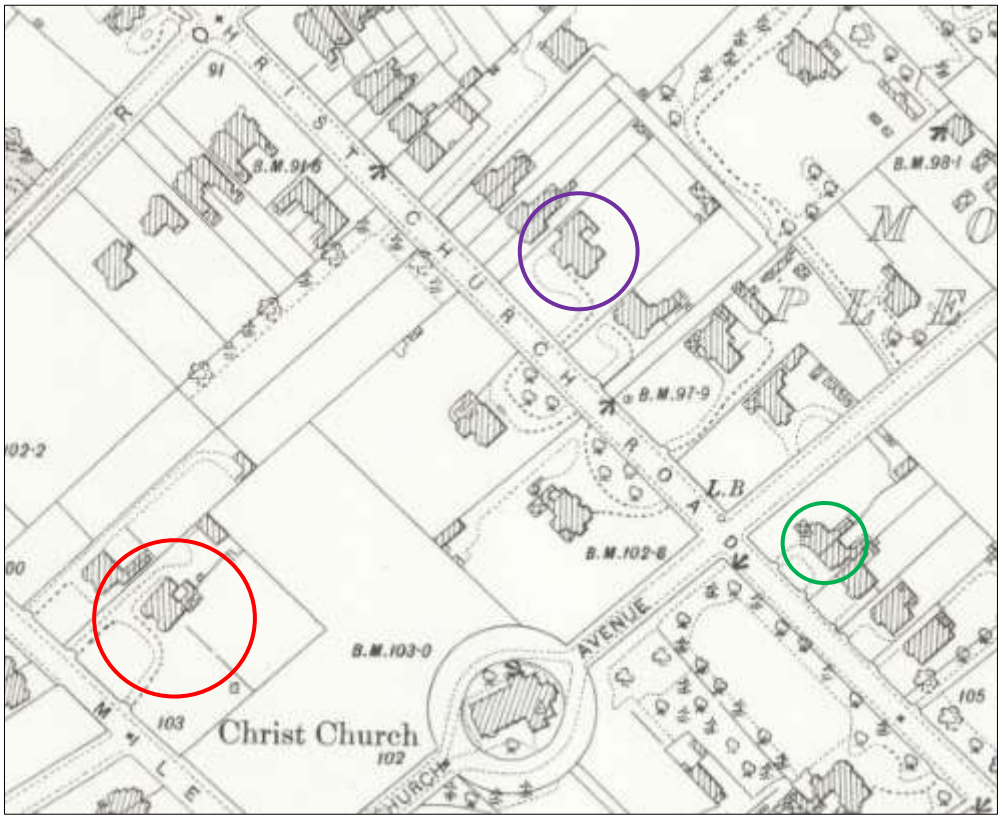

Figure 14: Christchurch Road (OS map 1905),
reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland.
Christchurch Lodge (highlighted in purple) and Numbers 8 and 10 (green).
For reference, Melrose is shown in red.

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[260] Muthesius, in *Norwich*, ed. by Barringer, pp. 94-117 (p. 110).
[261] Census returns did not readily reveal any family relationship. Horace's relatively modest domestic circumstances suggest that any such connection was not close.
[262] Census 1891; *Jarrold Norwich 1905*, p. 131.
[263] *Kelly Norfolk 1892*, p. 521; *Jarrold Norwich 1905*, p. 131.
[264] OS 1:2500, 63.14, 1905.
[265] See Footnote 184.

Judges Walk

Judges Walk was another area of later villa development,[266] south-west of Mile End Road. It was known as Green Lane in 1884, with open fields either side, just at the boundary of Eaton parish and ripe for development in the next wave.[267] Charles Tarrant Coller's house, Hartswood, was built in 1897 at the junction of Judges Walk and Newmarket Road,[268] on land previously held by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for England.[269] (See Figure 15.[270])

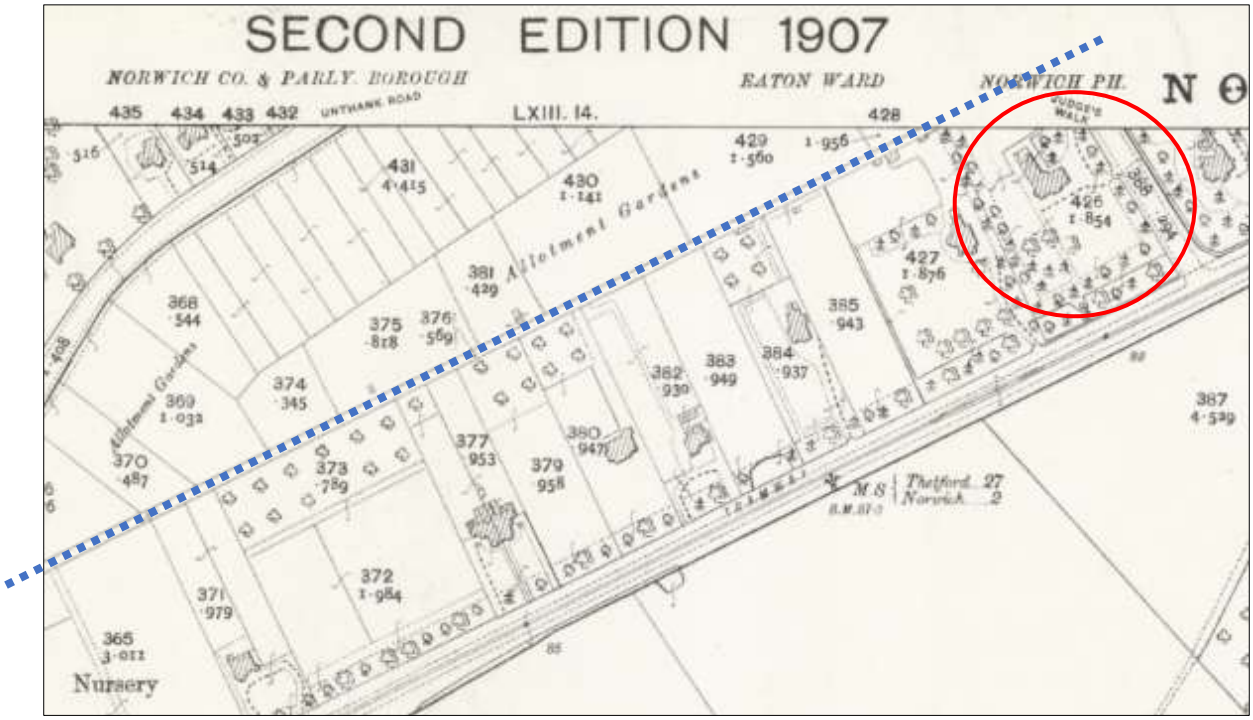

Figure 15: Location of Hartswood (OS map 1905), reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland. The dotted blue line shows the lane running behind the house.

Those who sought plots on these new roads running between the Newmarket and Unthank Roads would have appreciated the social cachet of an address in this area. Edward Boardman had a house on Newmarket Road (see Gazetteer). In 1903, five of the deacons at the Boardman's congregational church in Princes Street had houses in or near Unthank Road.[271] Walter Rye, writing in 1917, noted the local concentration of 'the homes of the Norwich mercantile plutocracy' and listed eight former mayors of Norwich living in the area of the Newmarket and Unthank Roads, many of them long term

[266] Muthesius, in *Norwich*, ed. by Barringer, pp. 94-117 (p. 110).
[267] Ordnance Survey 1: 10560 map, Norfolk 63.SW, surveyed 1880 - 84, published 1885.
[268] *Kelly's Directory of Norfolk* (London: Kelly, 1900), p. 325.
[269] Indenture dated 4 March 1897 between John Boyce and Charles Tarrant Coller (in the possession of the owners of Tanglewood, built in the grounds of Hartswood).
[270] Ordnance Survey 1:2500 map, Norfolk 75.2, surveyed 1880, revised 1905, published 1907.
[271] Doyle, p. 320.

residents, including E. T. Boardman and C. R. Gilman, a client of the Boardman practice in 1887.[272] The reasons why this south-western area became preferred are 'hard to pinpoint'.[273]

Heigham

Dyos has described the general pattern of re-development of early suburban and peri-urban villas from the 1840s onwards, although the timing varied in different cities.[274] The earlier Boardman plans for alterations reflect this process in Norwich, including those for Miss Blakely's house and Fernhill at the northern end of Unthank Road in the older suburb of Heigham.

As older suburbs were re-developed, new empty lots arose. Charles Frazer built his house, Stevenston, in about 1875 on land that had previously been part of the grounds of the now disused city gaol at the north end of Unthank Road,[275] alongside the Baptist church built in 1874-75.[276] (See Figure 16,[277] Figure 17.[278])

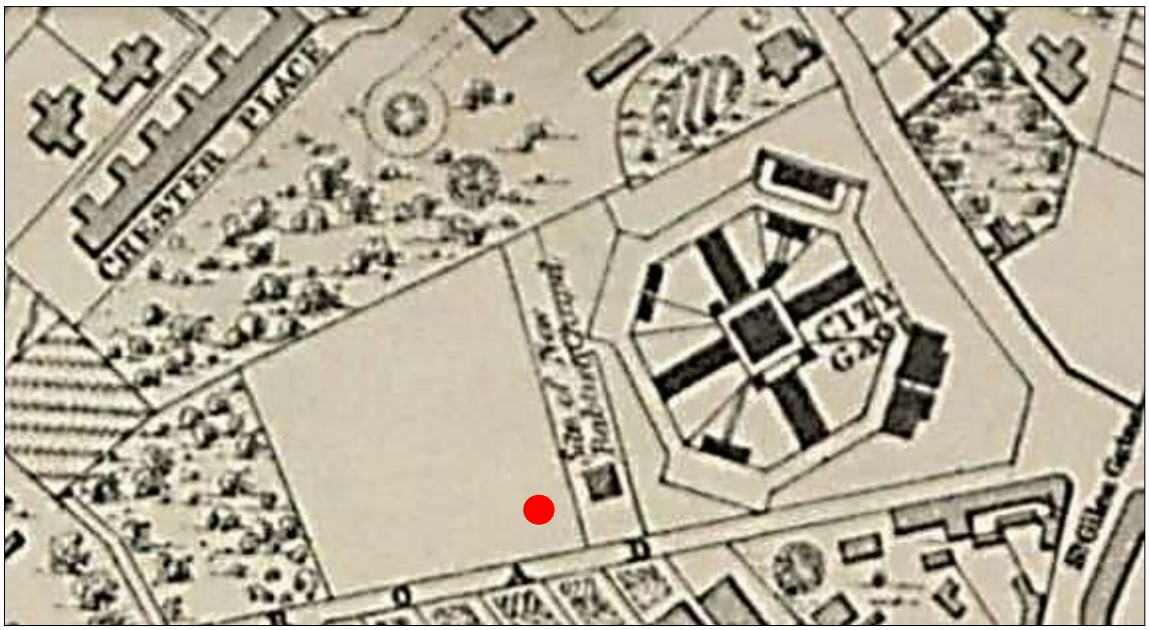

Figure 16: Site of new Baptist Church (Morant's 1873 map)

The red dot shows the site of Stevenston.

[272] NML, Walter Rye, *History of the Parish of Eaton*, Monographs of Norwich Hamlets, 1 (Norwich: Roberts, 1917), p. 19, p. 38.
[273] Muthesius, in *Norwich*, ed. by Barringer, pp. 94-117 (p. 95).
[274] Dyos, p. 105-107.
[275] W. S. Millard. and J. Manning, *Plan of the City of Norwich*, 1 inch: 3 chains, ([Norwich]: Corporation of Norwich, 1830).
[276] *Harrods Norfolk 1877*, p. 357; *Hamilton Norfolk 1879*, p. 23; Census 1881.
[277] Morant's 1873 map.
[278] NML, Ordnance Survey 1:500 map, Norfolk 63.15.1, surveyed 1883, published 1884; image sourced from <https://digimap.edina.ac.uk/ roam/map/historic> [accessed 6 April 2020].

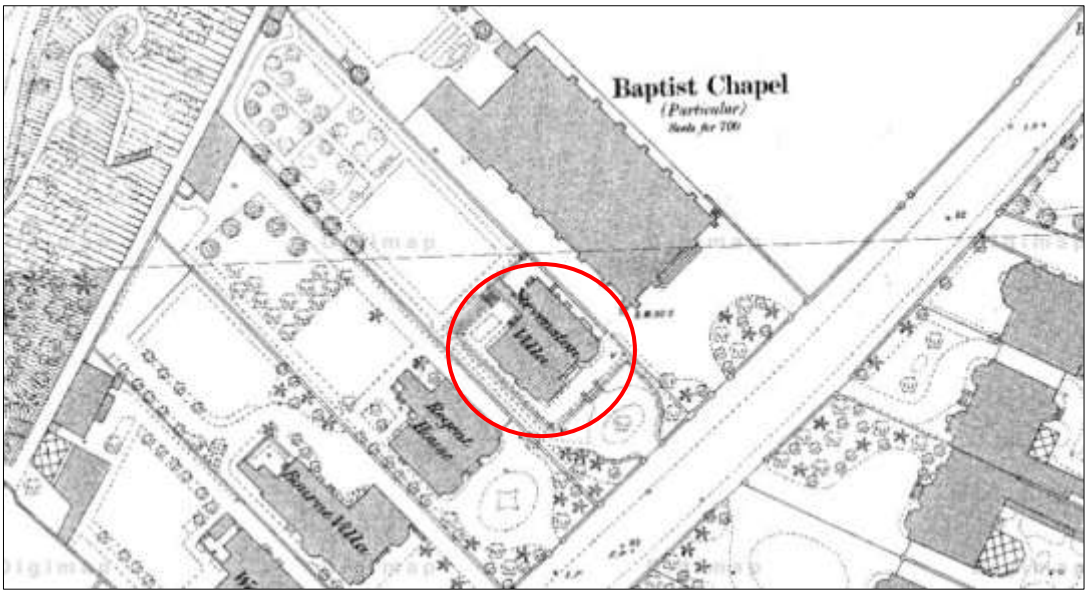

Figure 17: Location of Stevenston (OS map 1883)

Chapelfield North

Chapelfield is a park, just inside the line of the old city wall. Chapelfield Road marks the city boundary to the south, with Chapelfield North running along the other side of the gardens. Despite the works premises and factories built around it, Chapelfield was saved as an open space and became a public park in 1852,[279] actively managed by the city council.

John Timothy Todd had the opportunity to build his house at 12 Chapelfield North in about 1891,[280] redeveloping a site adjacent to Watts' Court.[281] (See Figure 18,[282] Figure 19.[283])

Chapelfield North would have become more desirable after 1880 when *The Builder* referred to a 'transformation of the Chapel Field, now in progress, - adding grace and flower-beds to the grass and well-grown trees',[284] and ensuring a pleasant outlook for the houses on Chapelfield North.

[279] Green and Young, p. 31.
[280] *Jarrold Norwich 1896,* p. 134: *Jarrold Norwich 1905*, p. 126.
[281] BR 35/2/44/14/1, 'Tracing from Plan on deed dated 16th October 1837', represents the building formerly occupying the site of 12 Chapelfield North.
[282] OS 1:2500, 63.15, 1880-83.
[283] Ordnance Survey 1:2500 map, Norfolk 63.15, surveyed 1880-83, revised 1905, published 1907.
[284] Unknown author, 'In and About Norwich, with the Architectural Association', *The Builder*, 39 (no. 1963, 18 September 1880), 344-346 (p. 344); N/TC 6/7, p. 139, 2 September 1879.

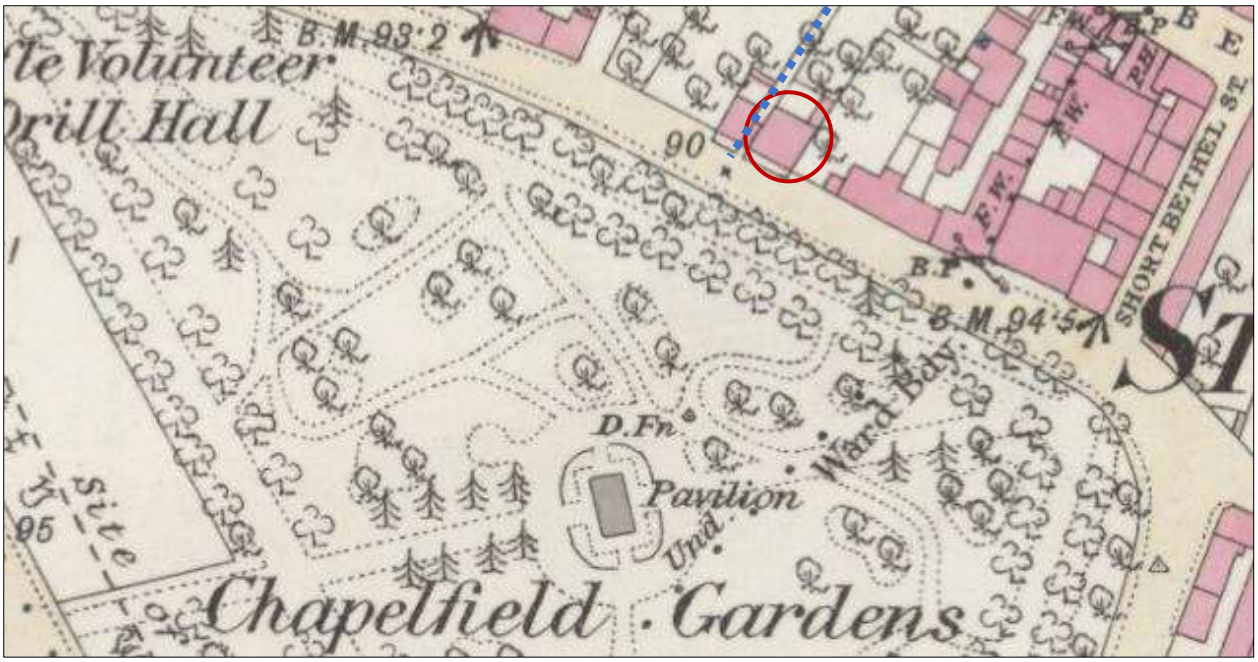

Figure 18: 12 Chapelfield North before redevelopment (OS map 1880-83), reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland. The dotted blue line shows the alley to Watts' Court.

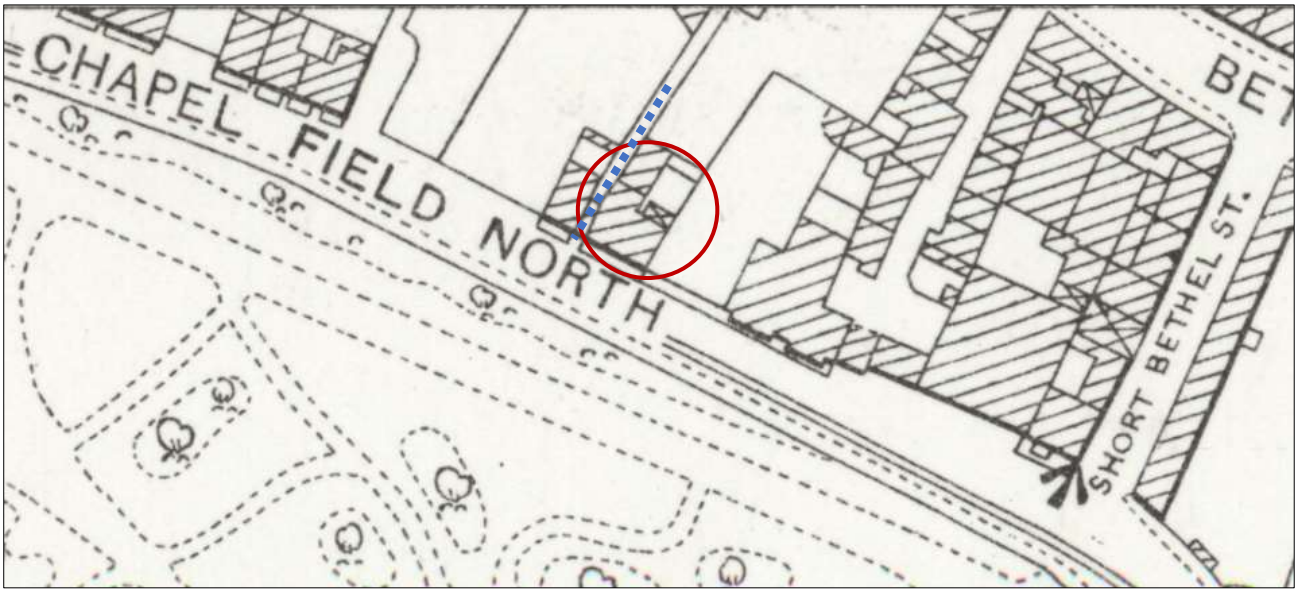

Figure 19: 12 Chapelfield North (OS map 1905), reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland. The dotted blue line shows the alley to Watts' Court.

Thorpe

Norwich's Thorpe Station was built in 1844 east of the city on open meadow land. From 1860, Prince of Wales Road provided a better route eastwards from the city centre. The area near the station became built up with houses for railway workers, hotels and factories, and business and professional men built grander houses to the east along Thorpe Road.[285]

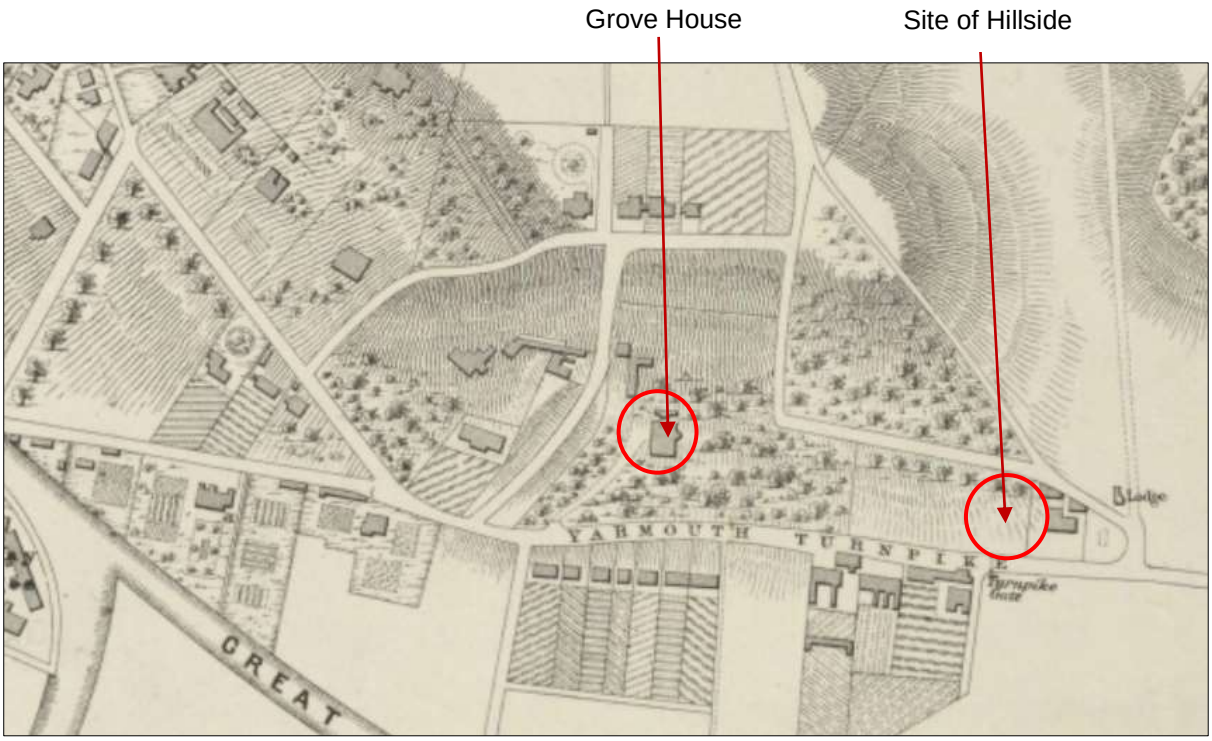

Figure 20: Thorpe Road, the Yarmouth turnpike (Morant's 1873 map)

Thorpe Hamlet in the 1870s was still largely rural. Houses on the rising land north of the turnpike (now Thorpe Road) commanded impressive views over the river valley to the south. Elam Skoyles's house, Hillside, built in 1876,[286] occupied land that had been part of the Thorpe Grove estate around Grove House (The Grove) until an auction in 1858 when the estate was sold for building.[287] (See Figure 20 and Figure 21.[288]) Along with the sale of the Stracey House estate in the same decade, this was the beginning of the division of the large estates of Thorpe Hamlet.[289] By the 1870s there was industrial development, with factories, brickworks and a brewery.[290]

[285] Green, Barbara and Rachel M. R. Young, *Norwich: The Growth of a City* (Hunstanton: Norfolk Museums Service, 1981), p. 30.
[286] *Harrods Norfolk 1877*, p. 418; *White Norfolk 1883*, p. 610; Census 1881.
[287] 'Thorpe Ridge Conservation Area Appraisal' (Unpublished: Norwich City Council, 2007), p. 7.
[288] OS 1:10560, 63.SE, 1880-83.
[289] NML, Geoffrey Goreham, 'A History of the Residential Development of Thorpe Hamlet in the City of Norwich' (Unpublished, 1964), pp. 112-113.
[290] Goreham, p. 132.

Figure 21: Location of Hillside (OS map 1880-83),
reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland.

Hillside's plot was one of four of similar size fronting Thorpe Road and backing onto Heathside Road (now Ranson Road). All that survives of Hillside is its nearly illegible name on the gate piers, now part of a revetment wall, but the house can be identified on the 1912 Ordnance Survey map and matches the footprint of the Boardman drawing. (See Figure 22.[291])

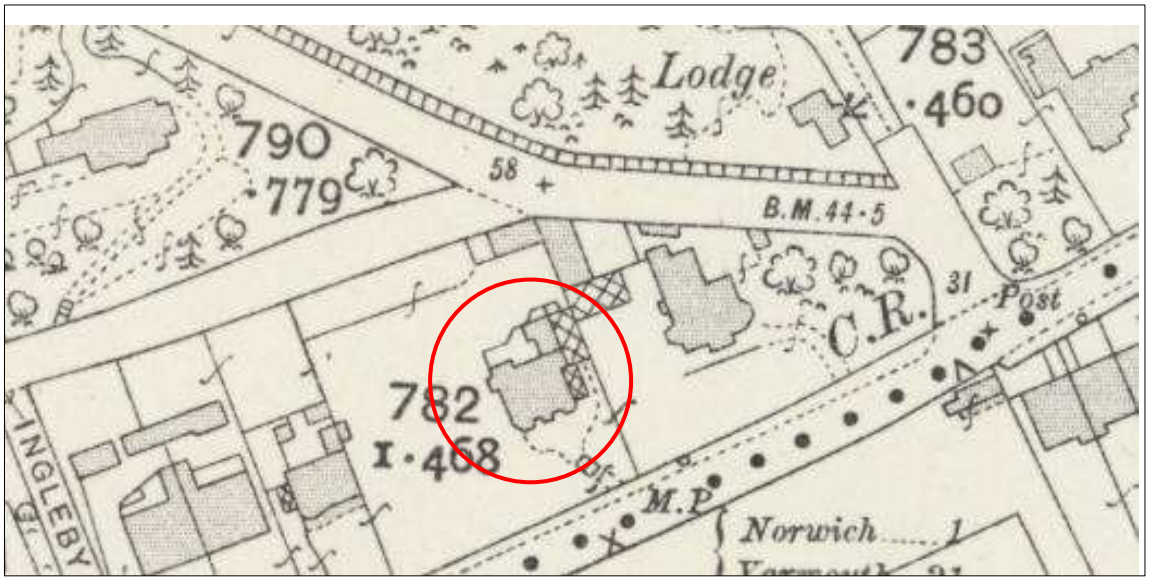

Figure 22: Location of Hillside (OS map 1912),
reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland.

[291] Ordnance Survey 1:2500 map, Norfolk 63.16, surveyed 1880-83, revised 1912, published 1914.

Cringleford

On the other side of Norwich, some clients retreated to the west along the Newmarket Road turnpike, to the village life of Cringleford. The ancient road and street pattern of Norwich led traffic in this direction to join the turnpike routes to London. By 1835, Newmarket Road was macadamised as far as Cringleford and it continued to be well-maintained by the council.[292]

In 1851 Cringleford was a small village, largely populated by farm labourers, but was becoming a rural retreat for Norwich businessmen.[293] In 1874 Frederic William Harmer commissioned Oaklands in Colney Lane (formerly Newfound Lane).[294] Benjamin Edgington Fletcher also contemplated building a house on a neighbouring plot in 1876.

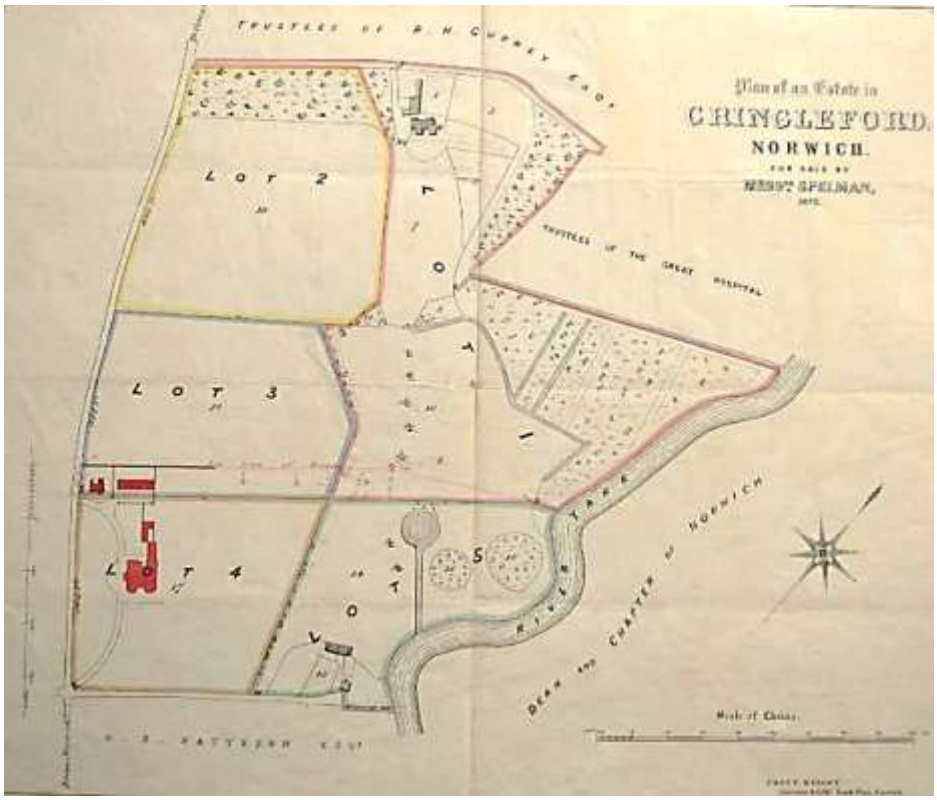

Figure 23: Proposed location of Fletcher's house

Harmer and Fletcher appear to have purchased their plots along Colney Lane in the same auction held by Messrs Spelman in 1873. (See Figure 23.[295]) The men would have known each other as fellow members of Princes Road Congregational Church.[296] Harmer's house, Oaklands (House), was built within the area of Lot 2. Fletcher's house is marked out on Lot 4. Harmer apparently acquired Fletchers' plot to extend his own estate south to Harts Lane, and Fletcher's house was never built.

[292] Edwards, in *Norwich*, ed. by Barringer, pp. 118-135 (p. 131); Muthesius, in *Norwich*, ed. by Barringer, pp. 94-117 (p. 95).
[293] 'Cringleford Families', p. 7, p.13.
[294] *Harrods Norfolk 1877*, p. 110.
[295] BR 35/2/23/8/3, 'Plan of estate in Cringleford, Norwich, for sale by Messrs Spelman, 1873'.
[296] See page 12.

Figure 24: Locations of Oakland House and Cringleford Lodge (OS map 1912), reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland. The red dot shows the proposed location of Fletcher's house.

Twenty years later J. W. Gilbert acquired land for Cringleford Lodge,[297] apparently from the Patteson family who had owned the land in 1873. (See Figure 23 and Figure 24.[298]) By the 1890s a number of professional men had substantial houses in the village.[299]

The Cringleford clients had some discretion as to the orientation of the houses on their large plots and, like Hillside in Thorpe, could take advantage of views over the river valley. For those building smaller houses on tighter plots, the location maps indicate a preference for a southern or western aspect, affording bright and sunny rooms at the front. Boardman clients acquired conventional suburban plots on newly laid out roads, but also redevelopment sites and larger lots in rural land auctions.

[297] *Kelly Norfolk 1892*, p. 355; *Jarrold Norwich 1896*, p.687.
[298] Ordnance Survey 1:2500 map, Norfolk 75.1, surveyed 1880, revised 1912, published 1913.
[299] Jill Ramsay, 'Growth and Change in Cringleford', in 'Cringleford Families 1850-1950' (Unpublished, Cringleford Historical Society, 2006), pp. 7-8.

4: Style, plan forms and plots

Having decided on a plot, client and architect would need to choose the form and scale for the house, suited to its location and perhaps the social aspirations of the client. The position of the house would exploit the site's natural advantages and recognise its constraints.

Architectural style

Until the 1880s in Norwich, villa design was dominated by 'the time-honoured formula of a central doorway flanked by windows or a bay window',[300] evident in the early Boardman houses. The strong local brick tradition undermined the prevailing fashion for stucco. Cool light elevations were achieved instead with Grey or Suffolk White bricks, stipulated in building covenants in the Town Close in the 1840s.[301] Grey bricks were used at The Croft, perhaps complying with a similar Town Close covenant, and at Stevenston. Other Boardman houses, including Oaklands, were already using red brick in the 1870s and illustrate the firm's growing use of local moulded brick, Cosseyware.[302]

Oaklands and Fletcher's house still favoured the symmetrical arrangements of doors and windows in the 1870s. Gothic style, otherwise prevalent in the nineteenth century, is only dominant in Fletcher's house, with its two-centred arches and spandrels in the upper lights of the ground-floor windows, beneath Tudor labels.[303] The asymmetry of Gothic design as a 'compelling aesthetic imperative'[304] influences the front elevations of Stevenston and Melrose.

By the 1880s red brick dominated and Cosseyware increasingly featured in larger houses, along with Vernacular Revival influences.[305] The later Boardman houses tend to be larger and more freely designed, partly responding to changing fashion, but also reflecting a more prosperous clientele as the practice developed. Hartswood and 12 Chapelfield North show differences of decorative detail between design and construction (see Gazetteer); it may be that client preferences influenced the introduction of additional Queen Anne embellishment at these houses, but evidence for the evolution of their respective styles is absent.

The plan forms of the houses are related to their dates and represent seven types, with a general shift in style in the 1880s.

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[300] Muthesius, in *Norwich*, ed. by Barringer, pp. 94-117 (p. 115).
[301] Muthesius, in *Norwich*, ed. by Barringer, pp. 94-117 (p. 111). The Boardman archive includes only one covenant related to the Norwich villas, apparently applicable to Fairmile in 1885; it stipulates only the quality of construction and materials, rather than brick colour, style or architectural design (NRO, BR 35/2/87/3/4, blank pro forma building covenant filed with auction lot plans for Fairmile).
[302] Bussey and Martin, p. 4, mentions Boardman's use of Cosseyware.
[303] Franklin, pp. 9-10 describes Tudor Gothic style.
[304] Franklin, p. 11.
[305] Muthesius, in *Norwich*, ed. by Barringer, pp. 94-117 (p. 113); Estimate, July 1885, pp. 4-5, bound in BR 35/1/162, refers to Cosseyware for Fairmile.

Classical plan – four rooms

The Croft, Melrose, Hillside, Stevenston and Reeve's house (1881) are smaller houses with a broadly classical in plan, as defined by Jill Franklin. For their basic plan, they 'take a square or rectangular main block, subdivide it into a pattern of symmetrically arranged compartments and put the traffic routes on the main axes'.[306] Classical plans were surprisingly common in the Victorian period and 'familiar schemes lie unexpectedly behind many strange exteriors'.[307] They might also be adapted to create asymmetrical and non-axial layouts.[308]

Figure 25: Melrose – ground and first floor plans, 1876
(north to top left)

The Boardman villas of simple classical plan typically have four rooms on each of two floors, arranged as two rooms either side of a central hall or landing. (See Figure 25.) The Croft and Hillside and one of the sketched designs for Reeve's house appear symmetrical with matching canted bay windows to either side of the front elevation. The alternative plans for Reeve's house (Figure 37) show a side entrance plan with an asymmetrical treatment of the front elevation. The asymmetry of Stevenston's front elevation does little to disguise the classical plan within, although Melrose, with its gable above

[306] Franklin, p. 129.
[307] Franklin, p. 130.
[308] Franklin, p. 130.

the single-storey bay window of the dining room, is slightly more deceptive. (See Figure G 6 and Figure G 11.)

Classical plan – 1880s and 90s

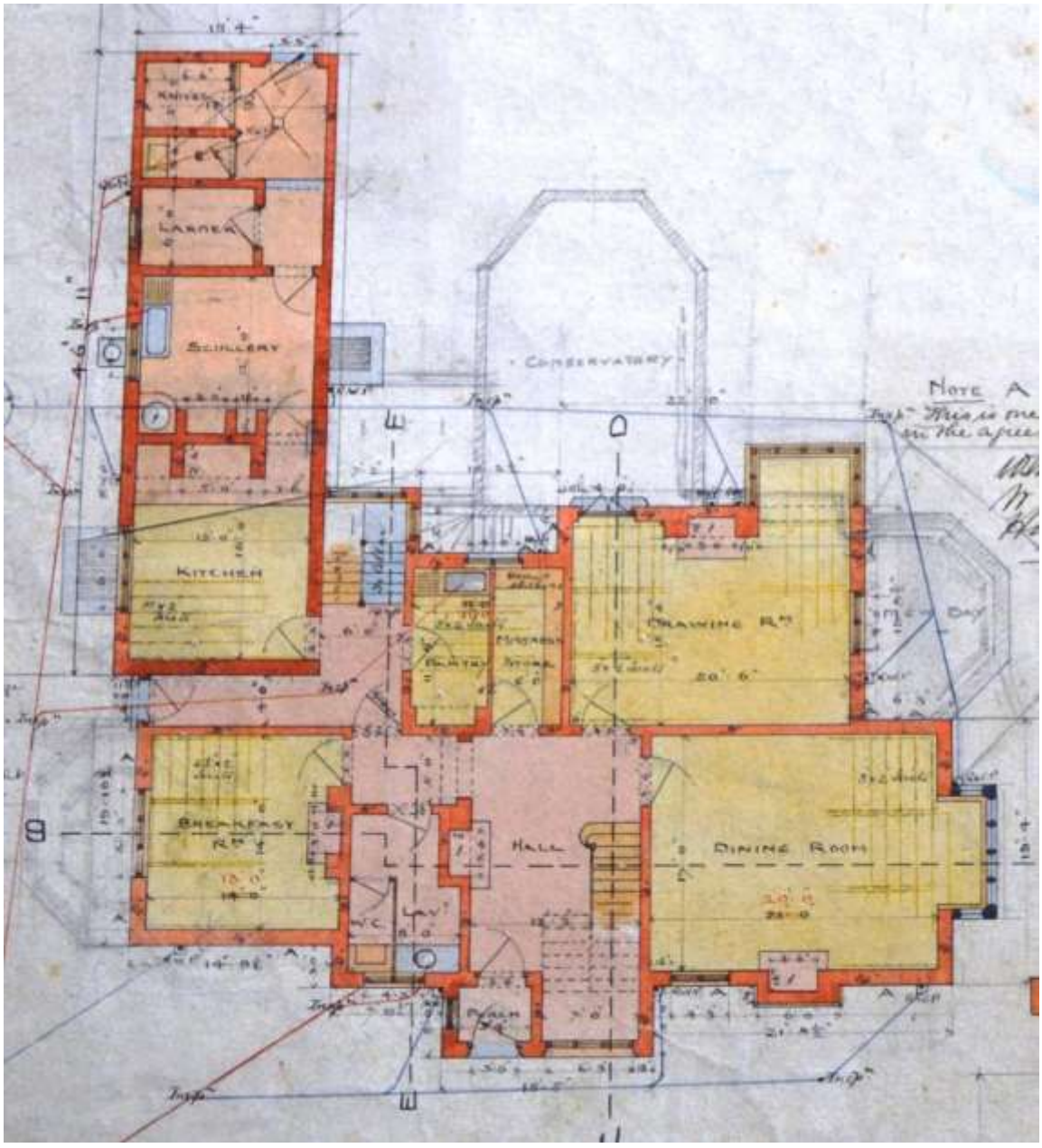

Figure 26: Fairmile – ground floor plan, 1885
(north to bottom left)

The classical plans of Fairmile (Figure 26) and Christchurch Lodge (Figure 27) are more heavily disguised behind Old English style, with an irregularity of footprint and front elevation. Fairmile makes little attempt at symmetry of fenestration around the front door and presents the dining room chimney

to the front elevation. (See Figure G 15.) In this later period, both houses now emphasize verticality, but it is rather more pronounced in Fairmile.

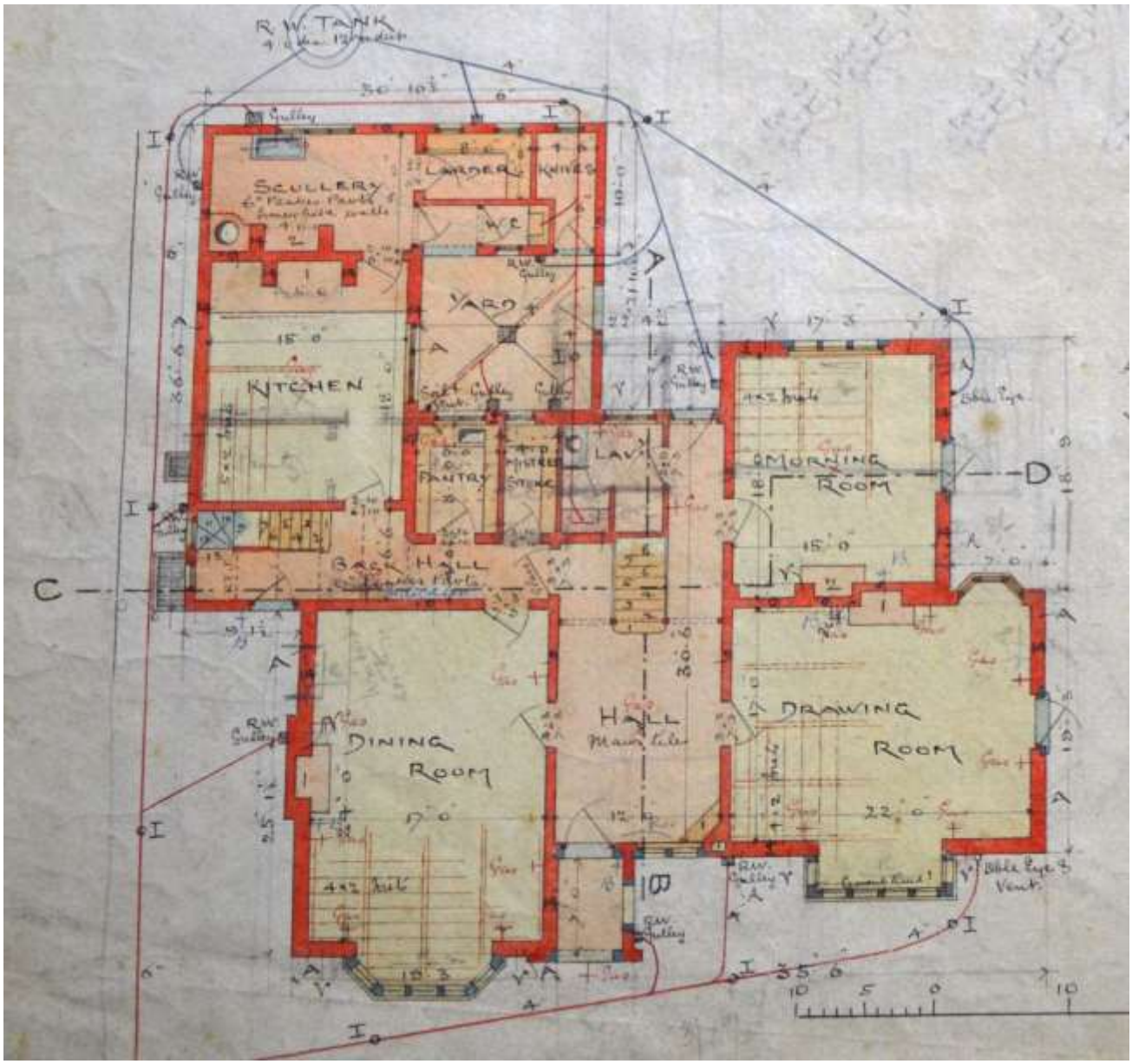

Figure 27: Christchurch Lodge – ground floor plan, 1890
(north to top left)

Town house

12 Chapelfield North (Figure 28), is a single pile variation on the broadly classical plan, driven by the constraints of its small re-used plot in a more densely built-up area. The study and dining room are to either side of the front door, with the drawing room above the dining room.

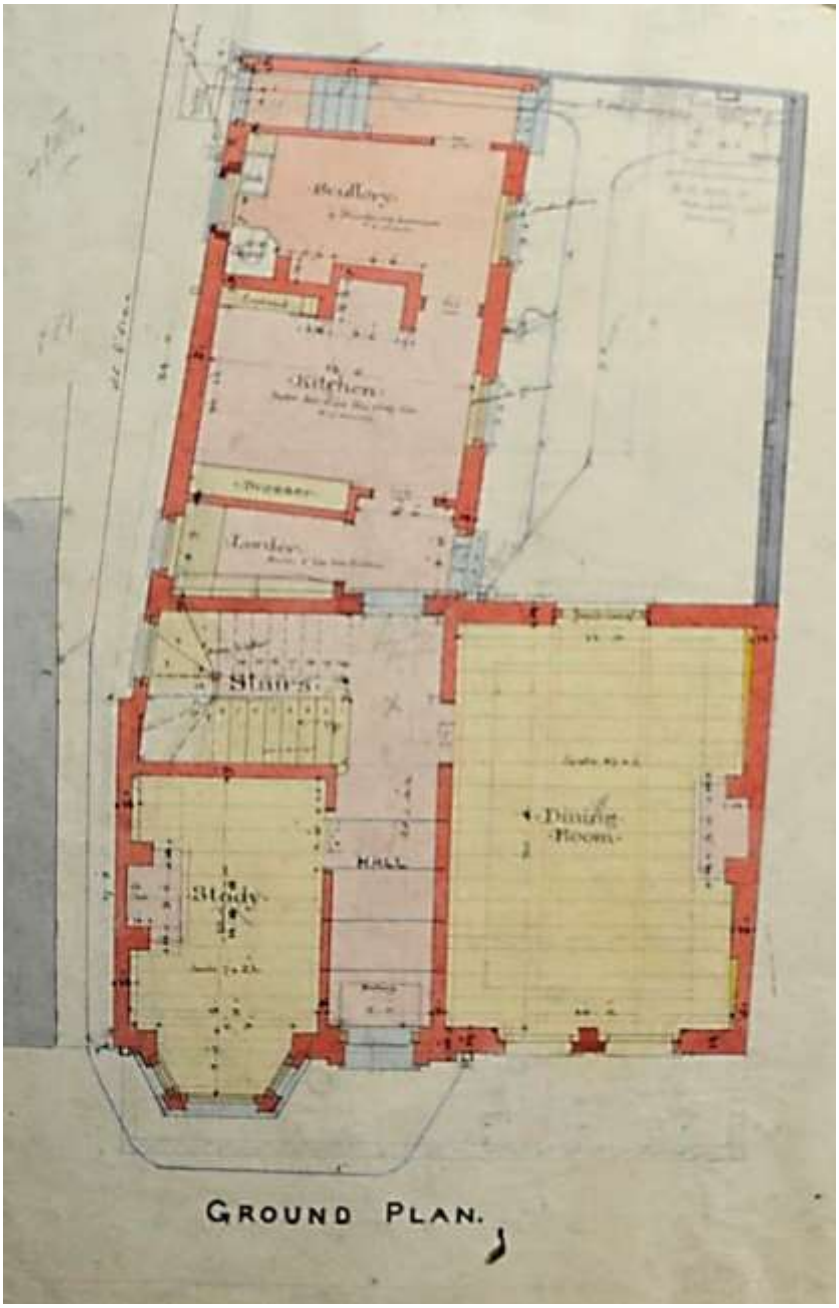

Figure 28: 12 Chapelfield North – ground floor plan, 1891 (north to top left)

Classical plan - six rooms

Fletcher's house (Figure 29) and Oaklands (Figure 30) follow the larger classical plan. Fletcher's house would have had a drawing room, library and dining room to the right of a central thoroughfare comprising entrance corridor, large central hall and staircase hall at the rear of the house. To the left would have been a morning room, fernery and large pantry (with further service rooms in an additional wing). Oaklands had the same general arrangement to the right of the central corridor hall. On the left was the 'boy's room' (schoolroom), followed by the staircase hall and part of the servants' department, the back stairs and large pantry, which continued into an adjoining wing.

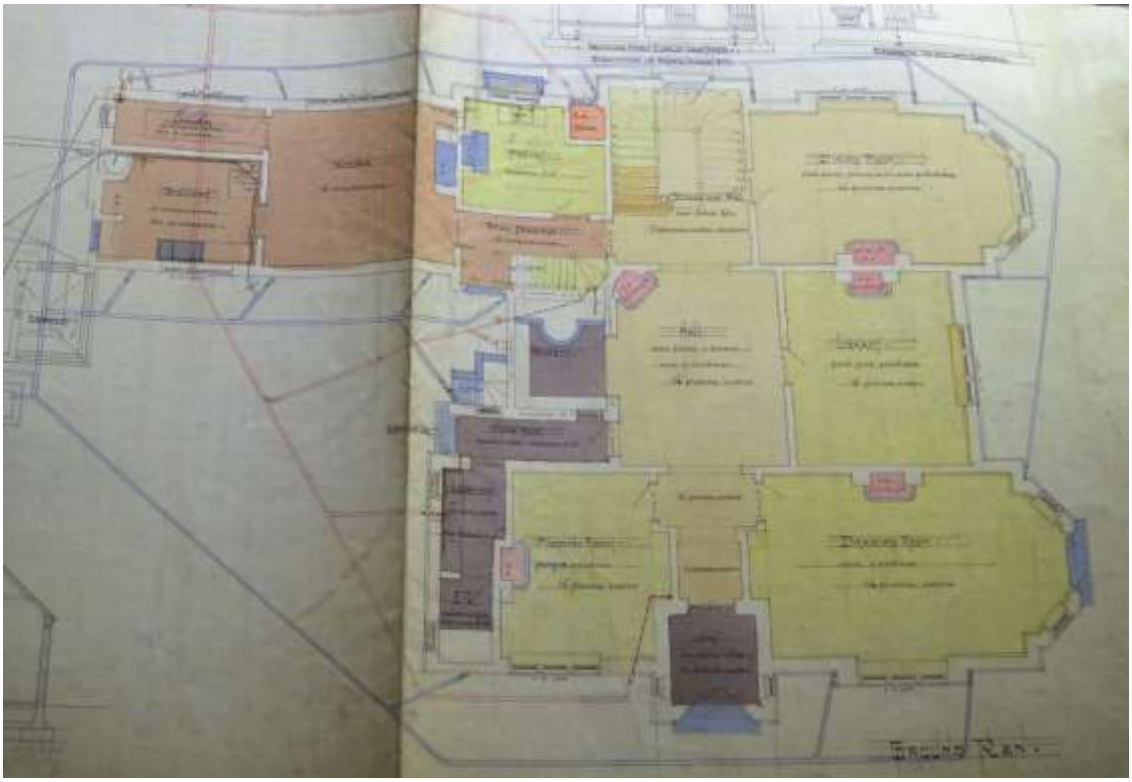

Figure 29: Fletcher's house – ground floor plan, 1876
(north to top left)

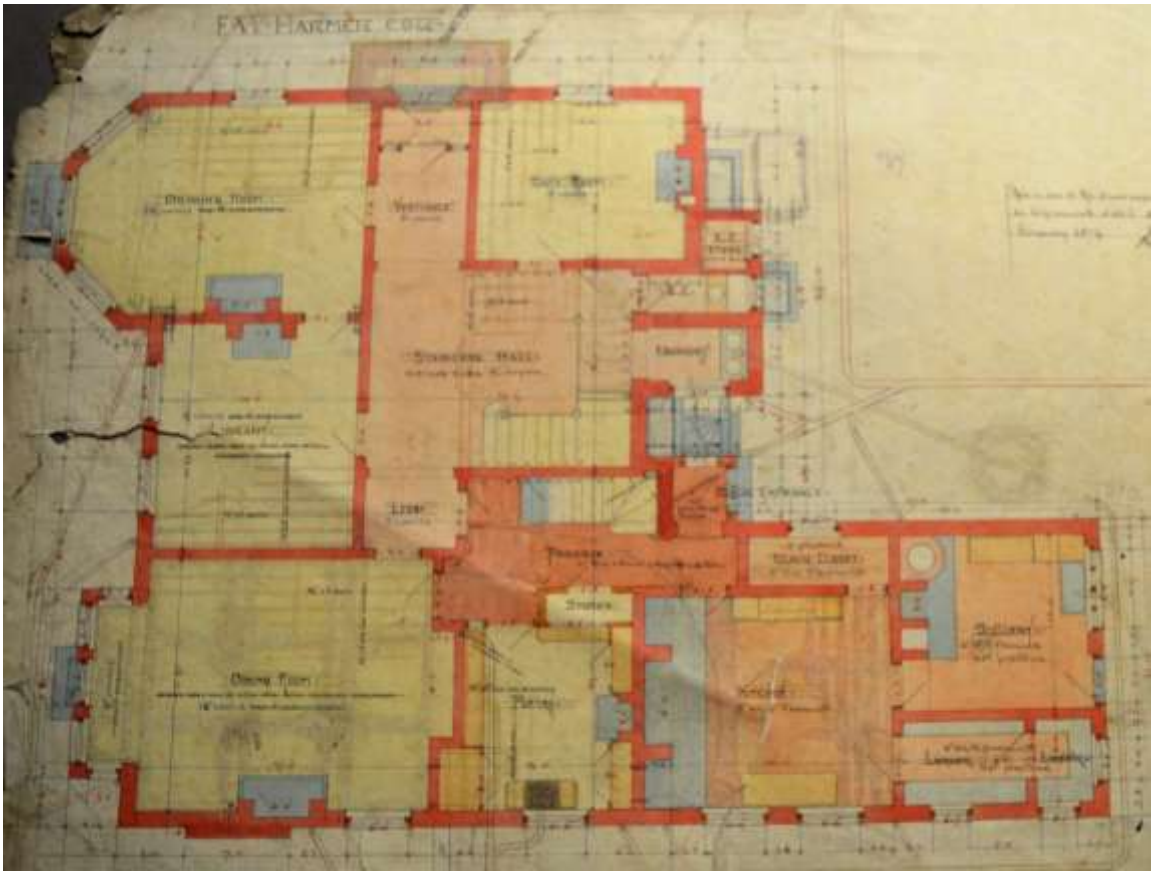

Figure 30: Oaklands – ground floor plan, 1874
(north to bottom right; front door at top)

Side corridor plan

At The Gables and Rothley (Figure 31) the principal ground floor rooms are to one side of a hall corridor. They resume a more classical plan for the first floor (Figure 32), presumably to make better use of space.

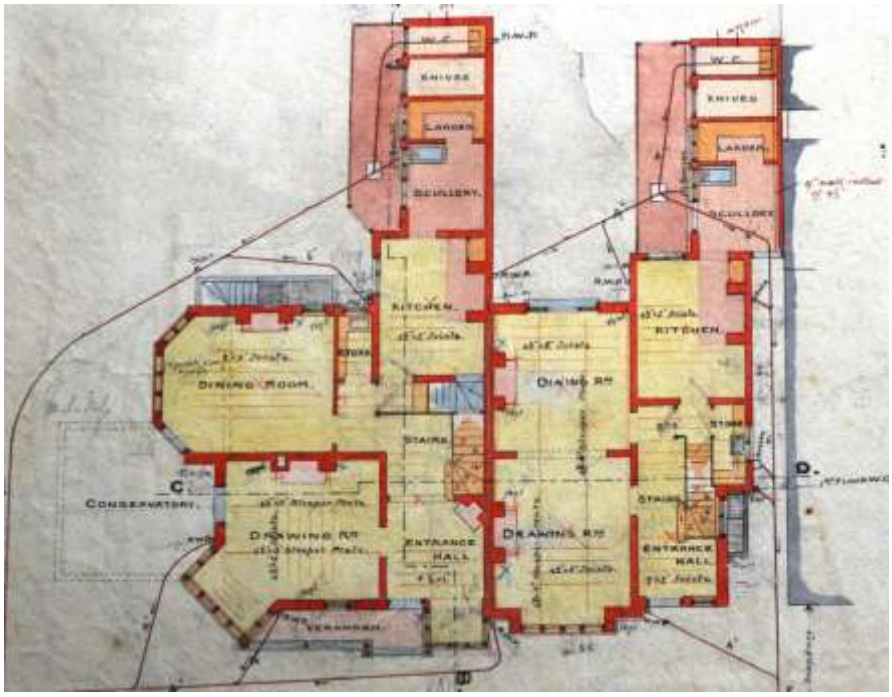

Figure 31: The Gables and Rothley – ground floor plans, 1890 (north to top left)

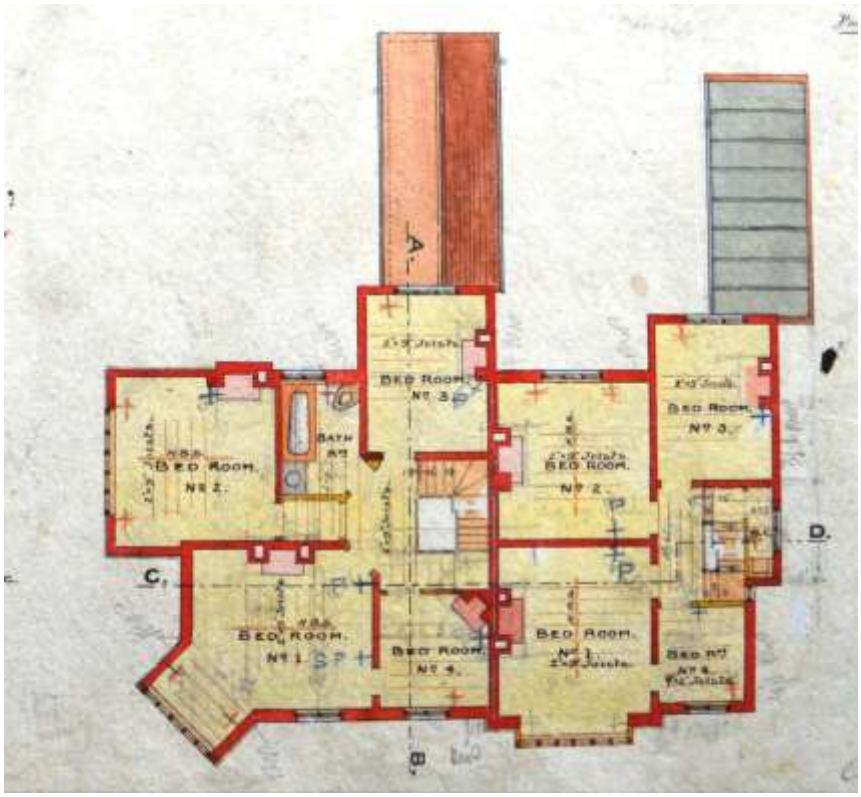

Figure 32: The Gables and Rothley – first floor plans, 1890

The front elevation is designed to suggest a certain symmetry around the front door of The Gables (the larger house) with bay windows to either side, albeit of different design. The Gables effectively appropriates Rothley's bay window as its own. On the far side of the right-hand bay window, the understated doorway of Rothley is tucked back as if it were a secondary entrance. The overall impression is of a single large house. (See Figure G 20.) Privacy dictated that, ideally, a house should be detached, but if semi-detached it should be built to resemble a single dwelling.[309]

Side entrance plan

Hartswood (Figure 33) has a side entrance, with the principal rooms to one side of a hall corridor and a similar arrangement upstairs. The service wing is at right angles to the principal block. The side corridor plan allows all the principal rooms to share the best view, in this case over the garden.[310]

Figure 33: Hartswood – ground floor plan, 1897
(north to top right)

[309] Burnett, p. 110-11.
[310] M. H. Baillie Scott, *Houses and Gardens: Arts and Crafts Interiors* (London: George Newnes, 1906; repr., Woodbridge: Antique Collectors' Club, 1995), p. 234, p. 256, p. 272: Baillie Scott exploited this advantage of a corridor plan at Blackwell and other houses.

Free plan

Cringleford Lodge (Figure 34) resembles the six-room classical plan, but its focus around the large central living hall shows the influence of free-planning. This development is also evident in the emphasis on the large hall at Fairmile. With free planning, the strict classical model embraced a concept made familiar by eighteenth-century Picturesque design. Having established a focal point, usually the hall, the other rooms would be arranged around it, the size, shape and position of each being individually determined and freely designed, rather than prescribed by classical rules.[311]

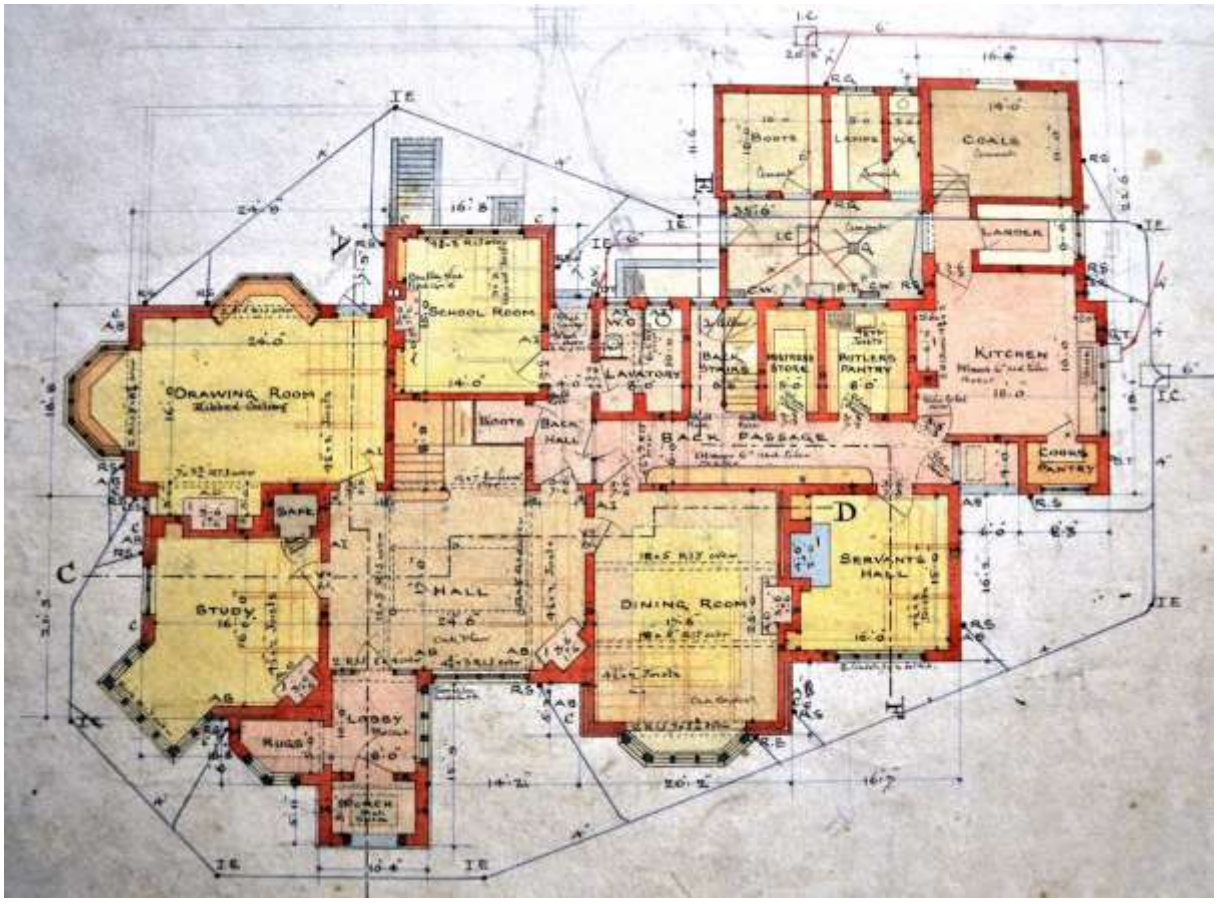

Figure 34: Cringleford Lodge – ground floor plan, 1892
(north to bottom right)

The ground-floor plan of Cringleford Lodge, built for John Wilson Gilbert, bears a certain resemblance to the plan of Easneye (Figure 35)[312], built in Ware, Hertfordshire, by Alfred Waterhouse in 1867-69 for Thomas Fowell Buxton.[313] The similarity may not be entirely coincidental. Thomas's son, Geoffrey Fowell Buxton, who had himself been a Boardman client for house alterations in 1887,

[311] Franklin, p. 130.
[312] Franklin, p. 162.
[313] Franklin, pp. 161-62, p. 260.

was married to Mary Harbord who came from Norfolk[314] and was related through his mother to the Gurneys, a prominent Norfolk family.[315] He became mayor of Norwich in 1905.[316] John Wilson Gilbert served in a number of civic capacities himself.[317] He may even have been distantly related to Buxton; the father-in-law of Geoffrey Buxton's sister also had Wilson as a middle name.[318] It is certainly plausible that the two might have known each other and that Gilbert could have visited the Buxton family seat at Easneye.

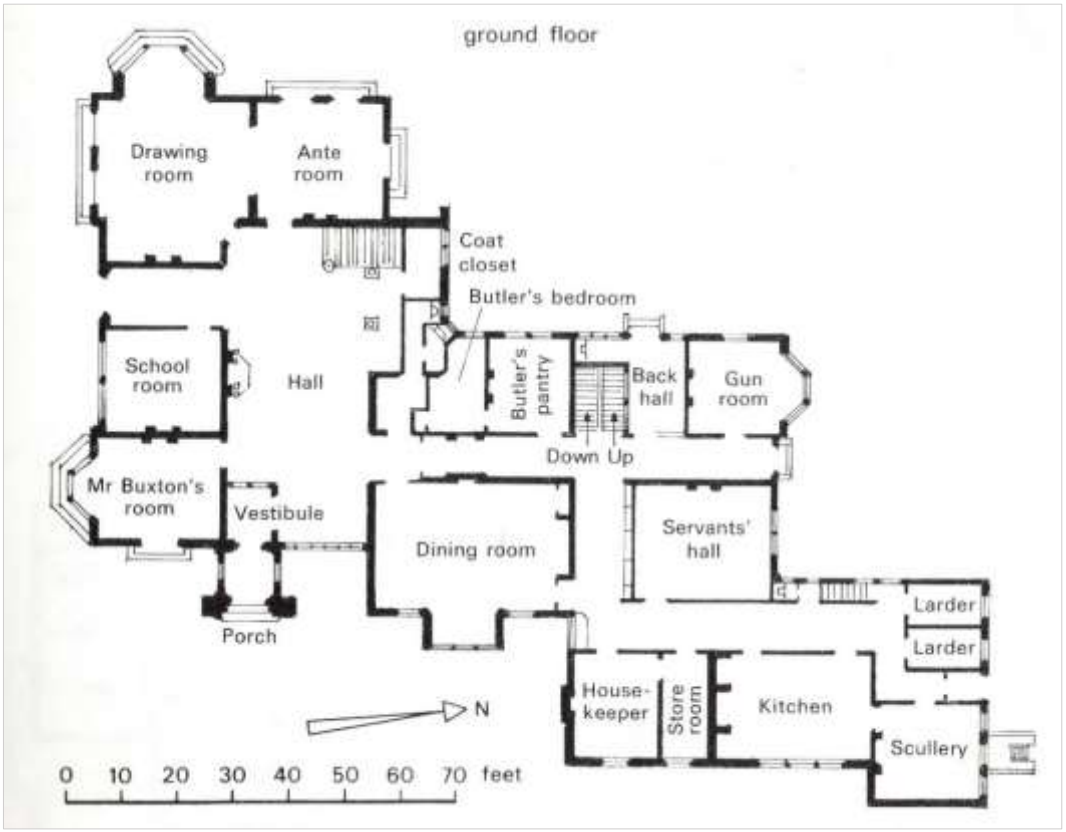

Figure 35: Easneye – ground floor plan (© Jill Franklin)

Edward Boardman had an indirect connection with the Hertfordshire Buxtons, but any evidence that he was familiar with Easneye itself remains elusive. He was a deacon of Princes Road Congregational Church from 1859, under the ministry of The Rev John Alexander until 1866, and Alexander 'came into specially close touch' with Thomas Fowell Buxton's father, Sir Thomas, through his anti-slavery campaign.[319]

[314] R. E. Davies, 'The Buxtons of Easneye: An Evangelical Victorian Family and their Successors' (Unpublished, 2006, rev. 2007), p. 7, p. 23.
[315] Davies, p. 25.
[316] *Jarrold Norwich 1905*, p. 13.
[317] For example, Gilbert was a Norwich City Councillor: *Post Office Norwich District Directory* (London: Eyre, 1883), p. 21; and a Norfolk Commissioner for Sewers: *Kelly Norfolk 1892*, p. 258.
[318] Davies, p. 25.
[319] Colman, p. 32-33

Positioning on the plot

Many of the Boardman villas are positioned to one side of their plots. This is true even of the large Cringleford houses in extensive grounds.

Although there was a long drive from the gatehouse of Oaklands, it ran broadly parallel to Colney Lane. Oaklands is somewhat close to the lane, and the service elevation backs onto it. (See Figure 24.) The drive was an opportunity to show off the gardens to guests as they approached. Positioning the house near the road maximised the unbroken sweep of the grounds.

Fletcher's house would have been set back from Colney Lane with the drive curving in front between two entrances, one with a gate house. (See Figure 36.) The house was tucked into the north-west corner of the plot with the service wing and kitchen garden placed close to the boundary. (See Figure 23.) This skewed position was necessary because any excess garden near the service wing would be wasted; the family could not make use of it if they and their servants were not to intrude on each other's privacy.[320]

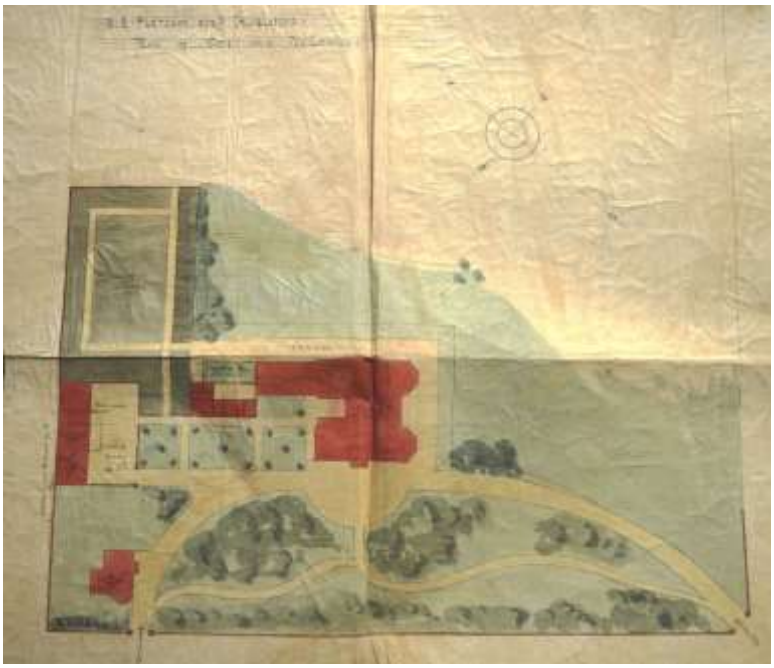

Figure 36: Fletcher's house – partial site plan, 1876

Cringleford Lodge was built on the corner of Colney Lane and Harts Lane. (See Figure 24.) As at Oaklands, the drive seems to have been designed to be as long as possible, running from the south-east corner of the plot up to the house in the north-west corner. This location for the house permitted a back entrance from Harts Lane and took advantage of the natural framing provided by a small area of established trees. The setting may have been somewhat bleak initially (see Figure G 26), certainly

[320] Kerr, p. 68; Stevenson, p. 80.

compared to the wooded grounds of Cringleford Grove next door and Oaklands across the road, although the former gardens of Cringleford Lodge today display a number of specimen trees that Gilbert must have planted promptly on taking up residence.

This position of the house may also have been constrained by the arrangement of drainage and the need for adequate falls. As annotated on the drawings, the drains were connected to an 'old cesspool in wood', perhaps originally belonging to the neighbouring house, Cringleford Grove, which was beyond an area of trees.

The Boardman villas of simple four-room classical plan are typically positioned to one side of the plot, with the dining room and drawing room at the front, the kitchen usually behind the dining room and a third reception room (study, breakfast room or morning room) behind the drawing room. The dining room, kitchen and service rooms are close to the plot boundary and the drawing room looks out onto garden on two sides. As at Fletcher's house, the arrangement minimises wasted space. The variations to this pattern are worth discussing.

The Croft is set to the north side of its plot (see Figure 10), and the drawings suggest that the initial intention was indeed for the drawing room to be on the south side of the house, presumably to take advantage of garden views. Pencilled alterations to the room names show the dining and drawing rooms swapping places, leaving the kitchen remaining in its original position, now behind the drawing room. This change did not necessarily take place, but it may have been contemplated because of the side road planned for construction immediately to the south of The Croft; the privacy of the drawing room might have been compromised if it had been placed at the junction of two roads and exposed to view across an immature garden.

Hillside also had a drawing room in front of the kitchen, in this case close to the eastern boundary of the plot, leaving the dining room to enjoy garden views on the western side. Neither the house nor its plot survives,[321] but there seems to have been a parcel of land between Hillside and its neighbour to the east which, although later clearly part of the neighbour's property, might have been previously owned by Skoyles or at least exploited as a borrowed view. (See Figure 21.) This may explain why the drawing room has French doors to the east side of the house, perhaps leading to a conservatory (Figure 22), as well as a bay window to the front.

The pair of attached houses, The Gables and Rothley, are on a corner plot. In order that The Gables could be well set back from both roads, Rothley necessarily closely abuts the boundary with its other neighbour, Number 6. (See Figure 14.) Both houses have a service wing projecting to the rear (east), positioned on the south side of each house. (See Figure 31.) This leaves Rothley, the more modest house, somewhat hemmed in by service wings either side of a narrow garden. Meanwhile, the larger house, The Gables, can enjoy garden views to three sides.

[321] The site is now occupied by a block of flats, Worster Court.

Fairmile and Hartswood are rather smarter houses that demanded a certain dignity of setting. Their positions on their respective plots were influenced by the need to accommodate a service wing while allowing the family uninterrupted enjoyment of the largest possible grounds to the south. Each house was on the corner of a side road (Judges Walk and Lime Tree Road respectively) leading off the busy Newmarket Road. As might be expected, Hartswood is set well back from the north side of Newmarket Road. (See Figure 15.) This both takes advantage of the lane at the rear to provide separate access to the stables and service wing and maximises the south-facing garden at the front.

More surprisingly, Fairmile was built five feet closer to the south side of Newmarket Road than the building line originally prescribed.[322] This takes the house to be closer to the road junction but facilitates a larger south-facing garden to the rear. (See Figure 11.) This position also allows the service wing to run along Lime Tree Road, which is the only available location for the tradesmen's gate.

Fairmile is in a rather exposed position and the front elevation on Newmarket Road is somewhat harsh, deflecting the curiosity of passers-by and belying the charm of the rear elevation, which would only have been enjoyed by invited guests. The detailed garden plan reinforces this focus on the rear of the house. (See Figure 46.) It appears that in the summer guests might have been swept straight through the house; the door into the drawing room from the hall is immediately opposite that leading from the drawing room into the garden, providing a notional corridor to one side of the room (Figure 26).

Although Hartswood presents its attractive garden elevation to Newmarket Road, it is well set back. The main entrance is on a somewhat subdued side elevation which faces Judges Walk, as does the recessed side elevation of the servants' wing. Fairmile's service wing runs close along Lime Tree Road. Hinchcliffe has noted a similar phenomenon in Oxford in 1869, where houses in Norham Gardens 'turn their backs' to the road so that the servants' wing runs along the street and the family rooms at the back overlook the sunny garden, the street elevation of one such house being 'rather flat and business-like'.[323] The entrance elevations of Hartswood and Fairmile have some architectural interest but are relatively lacking in domestic welcome. Tosh had noted that 'the home came to be treated not only as a refuge but a fortress'.[324]

The privacy of Stevenston was compromised by its proximity to the new Baptist church to the east (see Figure 17), necessitating a long boundary wall, shown on the plans with the annotation: '30' 6" included in contract'. Parallel to the side of the house, the wall runs back to the slightly projecting service yard at the rear, effectively forming an open passage, with a gate through to the service yard. This wall divided the house from the church next door, a public building likely to attract a considerable crowd. It may be, too, the church did not want to have a view of the domestic offices of its neighbour.

[322] John Brockbank, City Architect and Surveyor, to Edward Boardman, 7 August 1885, bound in BR 35/1/162.
[323] Hinchcliffe, pp. 99-101.
[324] Tosh, pp. 23-24.

Surviving gates piers (outliving the houses themselves at Christchurch Lodge and Hillside) together with the Boardman designs for a number of gateways, for example at Melrose and Fernhill, reinforce the importance of establishing the privacy of the plot, as well as heralding the dignity of the house beyond. A house needed to be separated and isolated from its neighbours. Large gardens, walls, gates, shrubbery and a carriage drive all served to isolate and protect the house: a tangible reinforcement of social separation.[325]

Side entrances

The designs for Reeve's house entertained the possibility of a side entrance and reveal the difficulties of adapting a standard classical plan to accommodate it. One drawing shows a ground-floor classical plan with a front entrance, but an alternative arrangement (for which the sketch plans survive for both floors) shows the principal entrance at the side, and there are signs of compromises to facilitate this orientation which would need to have been resolved if the design had proceeded. The positioning of the doorways to the kitchen, larder and wash house do not allow for a green baize door to screen off the servants' realm; on descending the stairs, the family would have had a line of sight into the kitchen, which would unfortunately have had its window to one side of the front door. (See Figure 37.) On the first floor, in order to provide access to the bedrooms at the front, a triangular lobby is formed from a corner of the bedroom above the drawing room, and the doorway to this room is on the diagonal (See Figure 38).

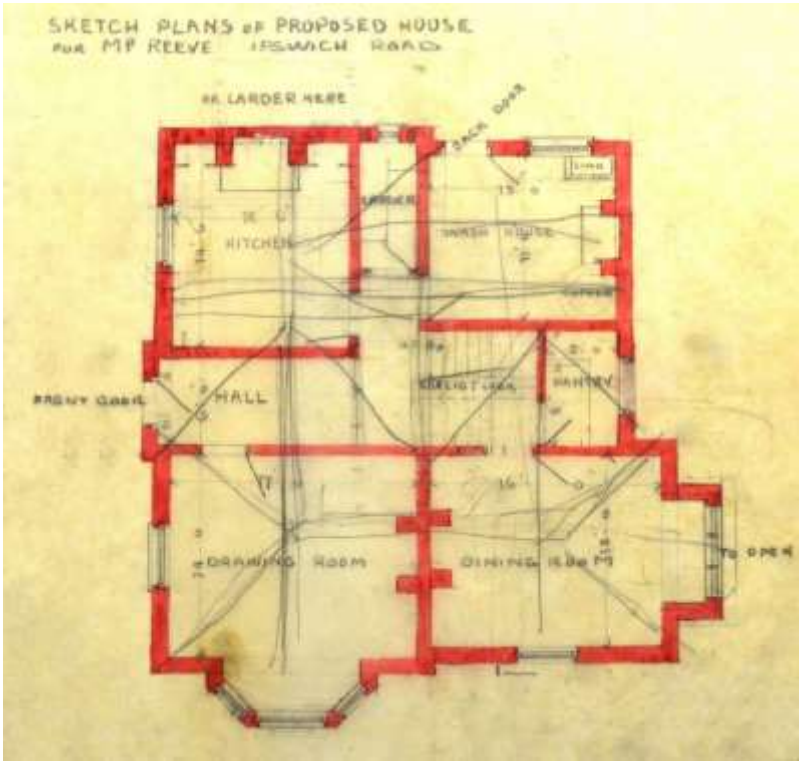

Figure 37: Reeve's house – side entrance plan, ground floor, 1881

[325] Burnett, p. 105.

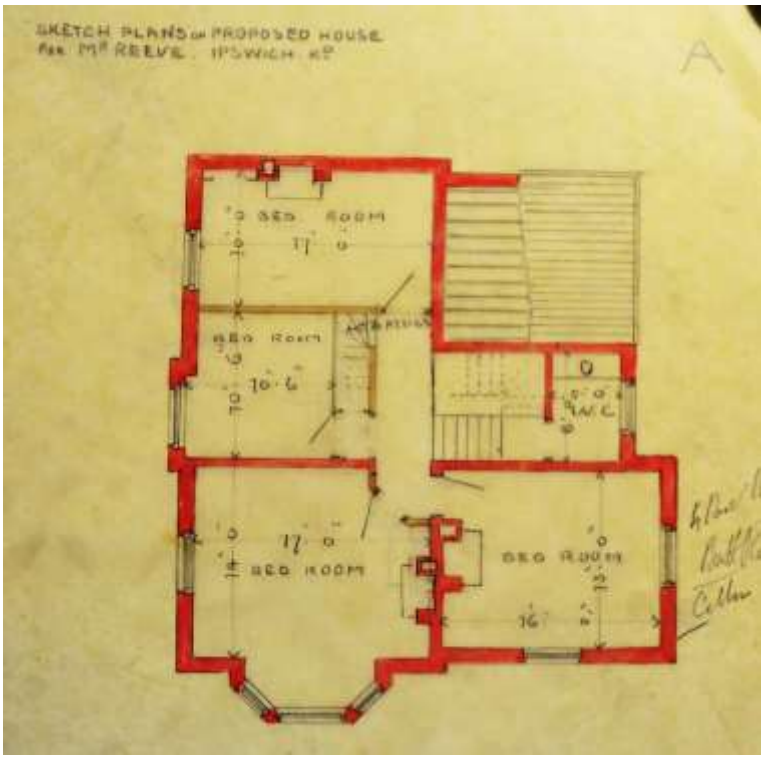

Figure 38: Reeve's house - side entrance plan, first floor, 1881

Nevertheless, commissions to introduce side entrances to older houses were not uncommon. They effectively changed the relationship of a house to its plot. In 1867 Edward Boardman modified the classical plan of 107 Newmarket Road. (See Figure 39.) The alterations move the central front entrance to the left-hand elevation and re-orientate the stairs to rise away from the new front door. The small room to the rear left becomes the new entrance hall, with a new room opening off it to the rear of the original house (see Figure 40). This new room is identified as the dining room in another drawing. The existing room on the left of the original front elevation becomes the breakfast room. An extension to the right creates a further reception room and new service rooms.

The remodelled house follows a broadly classical plan internally with rooms disposed around a central top-lit stair. The classical emphasis continues externally with a triangular pediment above the central two-storey bay window, but the new front elevation is only loosely symmetrical. (See Figure 41.) Before construction, the design was modified to introduce a second first-floor window to the right-hand extension, echoing the two windows to the left of the bay window and improving the symmetry.

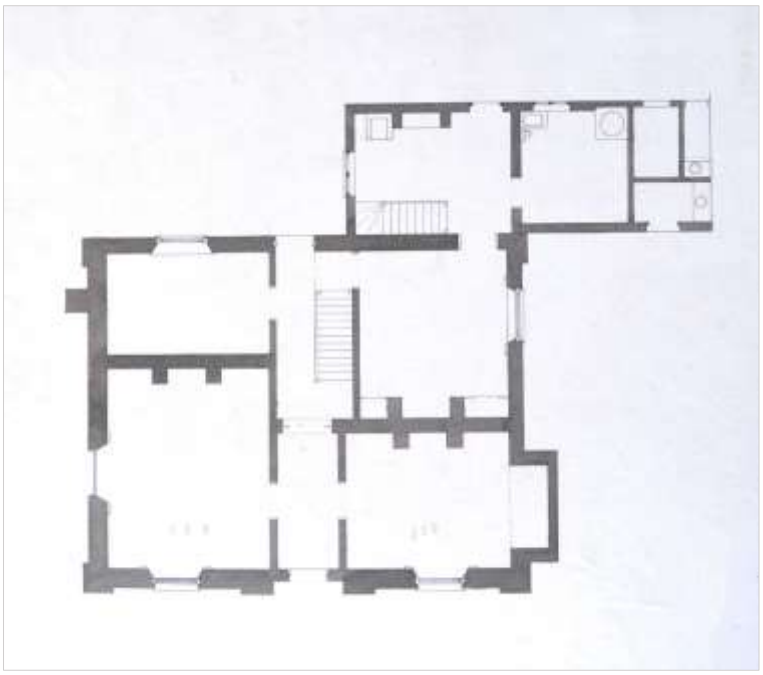

Figure 39: 107 Newmarket Road – original ground floor plan, 1867 (north to top right)

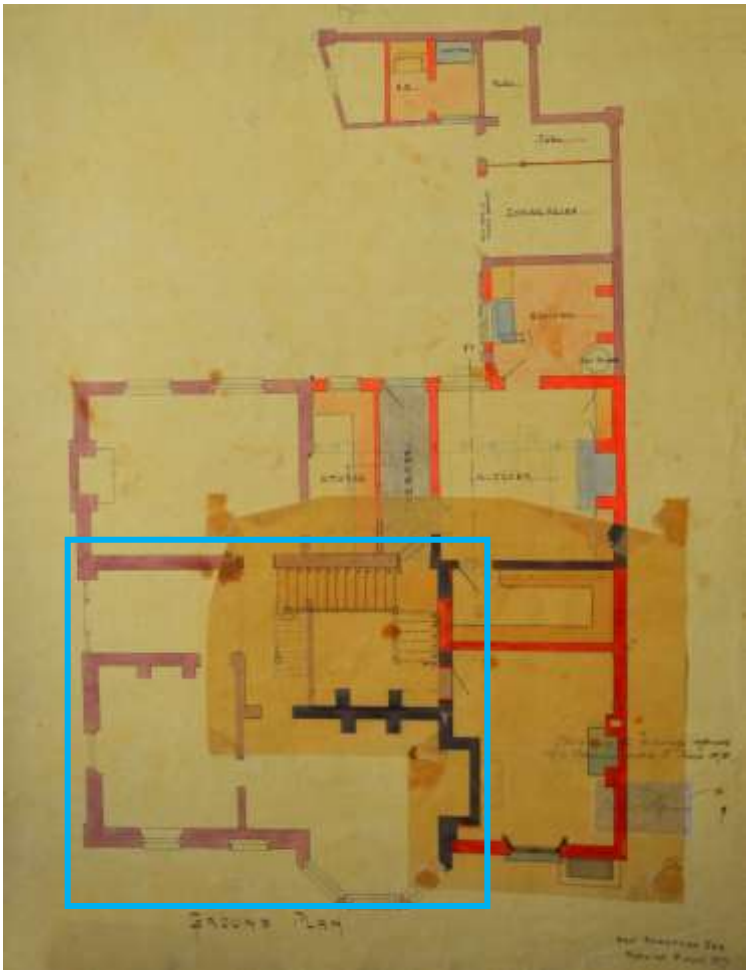

Figure 40: 107 Newmarket Road – altered ground floor plan with side entrance, 1867. The blue box identifies the principal rooms of the original plan.

Figure 41: 107 Newmarket Road – altered front elevation, 1867

Two years later Boardman drew up plans for modifications to Fernhill (1869, now demolished) on Unthank Road, just north of the future location of Christchurch Road. Fernhill lay among neighbouring villas, all with generous gardens.[326] The house was enlarged and re-orientated on its plot, perhaps also exploiting the potential of borrowed views over neighbouring gardens to give an impression of a more substantial estate.

Again, the original layout of the house followed a classical plan of four rooms on each of two floors. (See Figure 42.) The house was well set back, with a side elevation facing north to Unthank Road. The re-modelling effectively turns the house to face the road by moving the main entrance from the east to the north elevation. (See Figure 43.) The drawing room becomes an ample stair hall and the dining room is now the drawing room, taking advantage of the original conservatory facing the back garden. A new dining room is added to the north of the house in the angle between the square stair hall and the new entrance hall, and the scullery is rebuilt as a sitting room, looking north over the front garden.

[326] OS 1:2500, 63.14, 1880-82.

In contrast to the symmetry desired at 107 Newmarket Road, Fernhill became asymmetrical, with an entrance slightly off-centre and the walls of the new dining room projecting from two elevations. The re-orientation of the house made it more imposing but the display was not for the eyes of casual passers-by, only for those guests who were admitted through the new full-height solid gates, set into a tall roadside wall at the end of the drive.

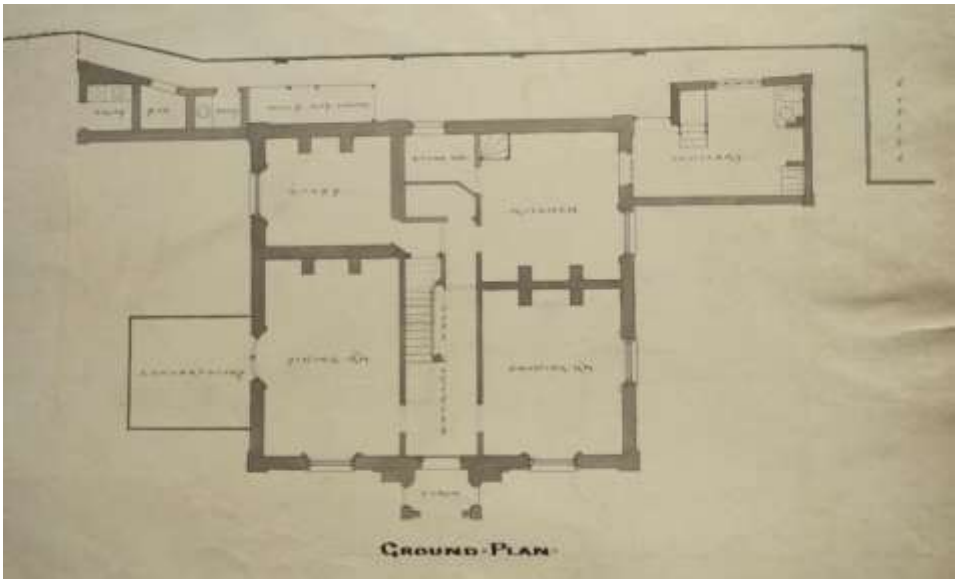

Figure 42: Fernhill – original ground floor plan, 1869
(north to bottom right)

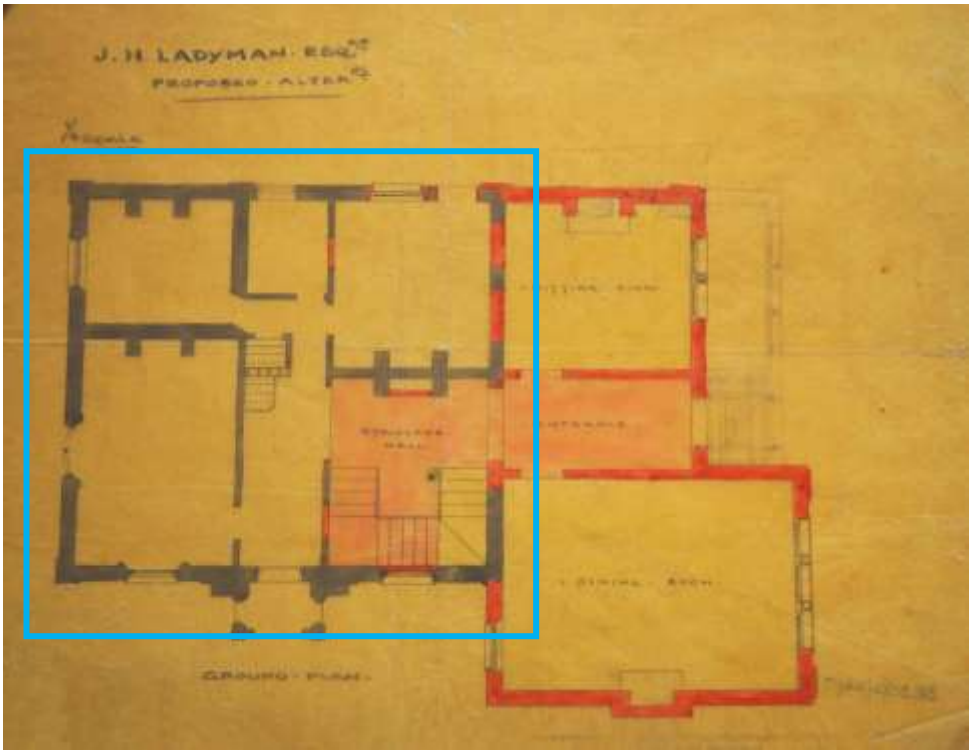

Figure 43: Fernhill – altered ground floor plan, 1869
(north to bottom right; new front entrance to right).
The blue box identifies the principal rooms of the original plan.

St Leonard's Priory (now demolished) off Gas Hill in Thorpe was a classical plan house. Drawings for alterations in 1880 show a new main entrance to the side (south), introduced to facilitate a large stair hall and additional rooms. (See Figure 44.) The former front doorway becomes the garden entrance (west) with a trellis porch around the door, and a first-floor ironwork balcony was contemplated at an unknown date (appearing as a pencilled annotation). The new garden front took advantage of the open view of Norwich Cathedral in the valley below.

Figure 44: St Leonard's Priory – altered ground-floor plan, 1880
(north to left; new front entrance to right).
The blue box identifies the principal rooms of the original plan.

These were all remodellings with pretensions to some grandeur and it does not seem that alteration was necessarily the poor man's second choice. Edward Boardman himself altered Oak House on the corner of Newmarket Road and Albermarle Road to be his own home in 1882.

Gardens

For some clients the potential of the garden and grounds themselves were clearly important. The alterations to Fernhill seem to have prompted the owner to lavish some extravagance on his grounds when he considered commissioning a decorative apple store (Figure 45).

Figure 45: Fernhill – tool shed and apple store, 1869

An outline sketch of Fairmile's garden (Figure 46) is drawn in some detail. It shows dense shrubbery around the entire plot, thinning out only along the southern boundary, perhaps the gardeners' working area next to the stables, which is as far away from the house as possible.

There are the indications of a kitchen garden on the servants' side of the house along Lime Tree Road between the house and the stable block. The family's garden is shielded from the stables and kitchen garden by shrubbery, and short paths run through it to provide access for the gardeners. Segregation of the 'two departments' is to be maintained out of doors as well as in.

A serpentine path maximises the apparent extent of the grounds and offers a pleasant perambulation through the shrubbery around the perimeter of the family garden to front and rear, with specimen trees at intervals. The rear garden is centred around a tennis court, and the small building of

octagonal plan is perhaps a decorative gazebo for spectators. Small parterre beds provide attractive prospects for the dining and drawing rooms.[327]

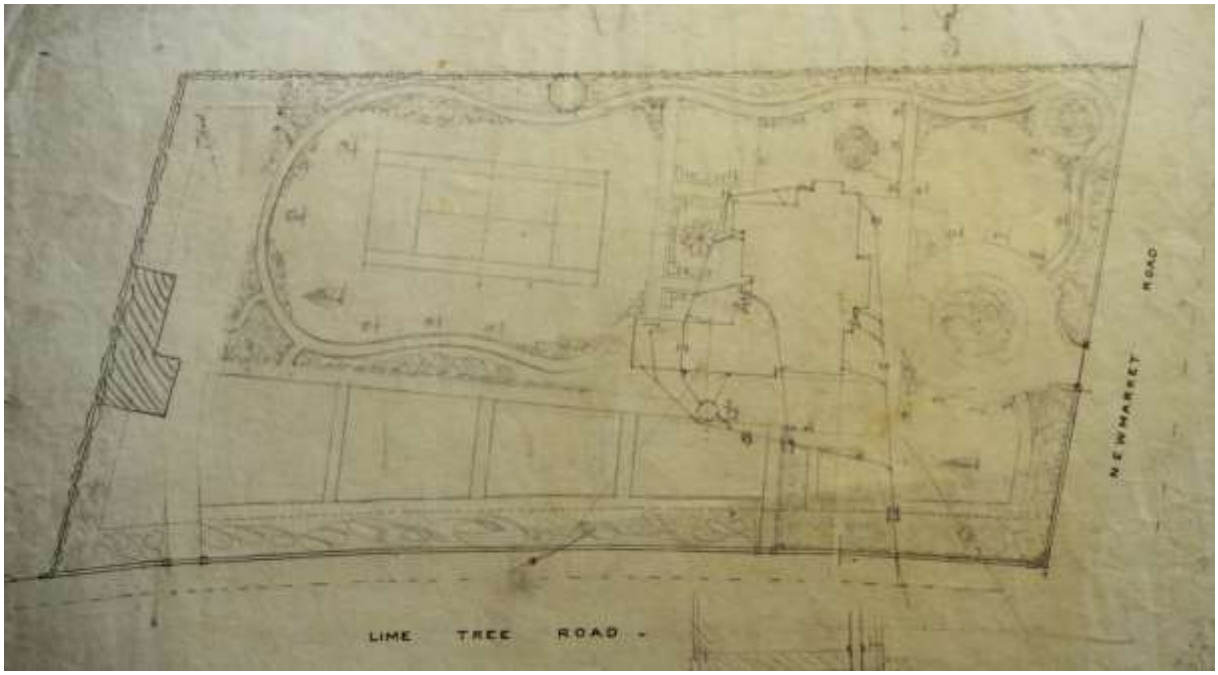

Figure 46: Fairmile – garden plan, 1885
North to bottom right

The reported reminiscences of Harmer's grandson give a flavour of the 'park' at Oaklands in the early twentieth century, with an avenue of oaks, a variety of specialist gardens, and cucumber and peach houses, along with a small farm of six Jersey cows and other animals, as well as two boathouses on the river.[328] Outdoor life for the Gilberts at Cringleford Lodge seems to have been similar.[329]

The structured garden at Fairmile and the rural pastiche at Oaklands reflected their different settings, the one truly suburban, the other at a distance from the city, and each was a characteristic example of its type.[330]

The Boardman houses were positioned on their plots so as to establish the privacy and importance of the houses and their owners, but also for convenience, to exploit natural features and views, and to enjoy a planned garden and grounds, to be shared with visitors and guests.

[327] Stevenson p. 58, Kerr, p. 333.
[328] Hobbs in 'Cringleford Families', pp. 24-31 (pp. 26-27).
[329] Jenkins, Bellinger and Bellinger, in 'Cringleford Families', pp. 32-35, p. 33.
[330] Anthea Taigel and Tom Williamson, *Know the Landscape: Parks and Gardens* (London: Batsford, 1993) pp. 88-89.

5: Inside the house

The site plans of the Boardman villas respect the segregation of family and servants and are mindful of the need for a suitable reception for visitors. Contemporary social preoccupations were similarly important to the detailed design of the house itself and its interior arrangement.

Main entrance

The main entrances of many of the early small 'classical plan' Boardman villas are of restrained design. An exception is Stevenston which emphasizes the front door with a truncated marble column to either side, and simplified Corinthian capitals.

Later, 12 Chapelfield North uses elaborate moulded brick, although it is a relatively small house on a re-used plot. Todd considered a pilastered doorway with segmental arch and triangular pediment above, before deciding on a rectangular fanlight and swan-necked pediment.

Fletcher's proposed grand house at Cringleford was to have had an elaborate three-storey entrance porch tower, and a ribbed-glass canopy over the doorway. This tower serves little purpose other than as a route from the servants' attic to the owner's dressing room. It is not required to facilitate effective plumbing as the water tank is located elsewhere in the attic, but typically towers were 'not in fact very useful'.[331]

Fletcher's house is set back and, with the drive passing in front of it, the entrance invites inspection, but at Oaklands the entrance front is close to the road and rather plain. The drive comes first to the more decorative, but still restrained, garden front, which would have been the visitor's first impression of Oaklands. (See Figure 24.) A presentation drawing (Figure 56) shows that shaped gables and other decorative embellishments had been considered and rejected in favour of the much plainer final design.

The porch to The Gables is large enough to incorporate a veranda.[332] It provides a very effective distraction from the unassuming front door of Rothley, completing the illusion of a single large residence. The porch is a focus for embellishment also at Christchurch Lodge where it is topped with a shaped gable between two finials, set above a swan-necked pediment. Cringleford Lodge has a projecting Elizabethan-style porch with a family crest and finials arranged to resemble crenellation.

Fairmile and Hartswood have entrance elevations that strive instead to be relatively inconspicuous and deflect the curiosity of passers-by. Fairmile's front doorway is plain and unadorned although the recessed porch of Hartswood's front door is picked out with Ionic columns and a segmental arch in moulded brick. Set along the busy Newmarket Road, these houses emphasize their privacy and do not readily reveal the domestic haven; the private garden front is the principal elevation in both cases.

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[331] Franklin, p. 84.
[332] Helen C. Long, *The Edwardian House: The Middle-Class Home in Britain 1880-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993), pp. 83-84, notes the fashion for elaborate wooden porches.

A number of clients commissioned alterations to enhance the front entrance to the house. The 1865 alterations proposed for The Limes, Miss Blakely's small classical plan house, extend the left-hand reception room to the side, and the right-hand reception room to the front, with the line carried across the elevation to create a partial veranda. The whole creates a fashionable asymmetrical appearance. (See Figure 47.) It seems that the project was never completed because Miss Blakely died,[333] and a central porch was added at an unknown date, leaving the house barely recognisable as Edward Boardman's vision, apart from the high-transomed windows on the ground floor. (See Figure 48.)

Figure 47: The Limes – proposed front elevation, 1865

Figure 48: The Limes, March 2020

In 1870 two semi-detached villas were remodelled to create The Fernery on Thorpe Road, with a curved glass vestibule in the centre to unite them.[334] Shrublands gained a crenelated entrance porch

[333] England and Wales National Probate Calendar, Index of Wills and Administrations 1871, Mary Blakely, Unthanks Road, died 10 October 1871.
[334] OS 1:2500, 63.16, 1912.

in 1876 and drawings show an intention to top it with a turret in 1882. At Southwell Lodge (now demolished) a projecting porch tower was planned, but apparently not built,[335] to renovate the building in the French style (Figure 49). This was perhaps in 1881 when other works were proposed.

Figure 49: Southwell Lodge – design for entrance porch (undated, probably unexecuted)

Robert Kerr, focused on the practicalities of the porch but noted 'the size may be amplified according to taste'.[336] He was generally dismissive of 'excrescences of effect otherwise needless – turrets, projecting bays, balconies, ornamental chimneys, stupendous roofs and so on'.[337] Yet the main entrance was apparently an important element of the house for some Boardman clients, worthy of extravagant treatment.

[335] Norfolk Library Service, 30129034687948, 'Norwich, Ipswich Road, Demolition at Southwell Lodge', photograph © George Swain, 1962.
[336] Kerr, p. 157.
[337] Kerr, p. 344.

Hall

The hall was the room that saw the most change during the nineteenth century, transformed from a reception and waiting area for ceremony and display to a 'favourite family living room'.[338]

In the first half of the century, visitors would wait in the hall while the servant enquired whether the mistress was 'at home'. It therefore needed to announce the status of the household, but not be too comfortable.[339] The conventional corridor hall with separate stair hall beyond is typical of the small classical plan Boardman houses.[340] The corridor hall at The Croft is barely wider than the thirty-nine inch front doorway, but at Stevenston and Melrose it was more spacious and would have permitted a display of furnishings.[341]

The 1870s Cringleford houses also have a corridor with a staircase hall. The staircase is set at the end of the corridor in Fletcher's house, but more centrally in Oaklands. (See Figure 29 and Figure 30.) These hallways are further subdivided, with a hierarchy of approach to increasingly exclusive parts of the house. This is particularly evident in Fletcher's house. The hall there comprises five spaces: the tiled lobby, a further floorboarded area, another lobby with opposing entrances to the drawing and morning rooms, a central hall leading to the library, and a stair hall beyond with access to the dining room. Opposite the library, the view into the fernery is framed by a pair of doors, each a single sheet of plate glass with three glazed Gothic arch panels above.

Decorative detail could be lavished on the hall. Tiled floor designs survive for the hall alterations at The Limes, Fernhill and 107 Newmarket Road. Large stair windows are a feature on half landings, with the window at Oaklands 'tinted in lead' and that at Fletcher's house comprising nine panes of diamond cames. Melrose has a Chinese fret design in blue and yellow.

At Hartswood stained glass is used not only on the half landing but in the living hall, the entrance porch and on the corridor landing,[342] adding Arts and Crafts style to the house. It also protects privacy.[343] All the stained-glass windows at Hartswood are either on the front elevation or overlook the service wing. The long low stained-glass window on the corridor landing is set at head height for further privacy.

Fletcher's central hall is welcoming, with a fireplace in the far corner, but is not well-designed as a living room. Later, at Fairmile, Christchurch Lodge, Hartswood and Cringleford Lodge, the stairs are positioned to allow fireside seating. The stair itself, hidden away in a separate hall in the earlier houses, is a more assertive feature in some later houses, symmetrical placement making it a focal point at Christchurch Lodge and Cringleford Lodge.[344] (See Figure 27 and Figure 34.)

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[338] Burnet, p. 198; Franklin, p. 66.
[339] Burnett, p. 198; Kerr, p. 162.
[340] Franklin, p. 74.
[341] Burnett, p. 198.
[342] Evident on visiting the building but not shown in the drawings.
[343] Long, p. 128.
[344] Franklin, p. 74; Smith and Young, in *Our Homes*, ed. by Murphy, pp. 33-308 (p. 80).

While The Gables has a fireplace, it is only a token of superiority over its more modest neighbour, as the hall is too small to be a living space. The initial stair winders, necessary in the tight planning of the small spaces in both houses, further signify lack of pretension; they were declared intolerable by some contemporaries.[345] Although The Gables conceals the stair behind the fireplace, efficient planning of Rothley's small hall necessarily exposes the stair to view from the front door.[346] (See Figure 31.) As might be expected the designs for the somewhat grander house, Hartswood, show no initial winders (see Figure 33), but the elegant straight flight originally designed was in fact constructed with a quarter landing just a few steps from the bottom, presumably to limit the intrusion of the stair into the living space of the hall.

Figure 50: Cringleford Lodge – living hall [1892?]

The living hall at Cringleford Lodge is the largest, at seventeen feet by twenty-four feet. The corner fireplace forms the focus of a notional 'room within a room'; allowing people to pass through without crossing the seating area. (See Figure 34 and Figure 50.[347])

[345] Smith and Young, in *Our Homes*, ed. by Murphy, pp. 33-308 (p. 81); Franklin p. 74.
[346] Smith and Young, in *Our Homes*, ed. by Murphy, pp. 33-308 (p. 79)
[347] BR 35/4/1, 'Cringleford, J. W. Gilbert Esq.'s house interior views', unknown photographer.

Drawing room

The drawing room was considered to be the room for the ladies of the house.[348] In country houses earlier in the century it was seen as paired with the library, which could be the more important of the two;[349] the library became 'a sort of Morning Room for Gentlemen'.[350] Harmer's alterations to Oaklands offer insight into the evolution of the drawing room and the changing relationship with the library.

Initially, Oaklands had a drawing room and interconnecting library (see Figure 30), which would have facilitated use of the two rooms by both men and women in the evening.[351] The Harmers seem to have found the drawing room to be too small, and had plans prepared (but not executed) in 1884 to project it into the garden (Figure 51).

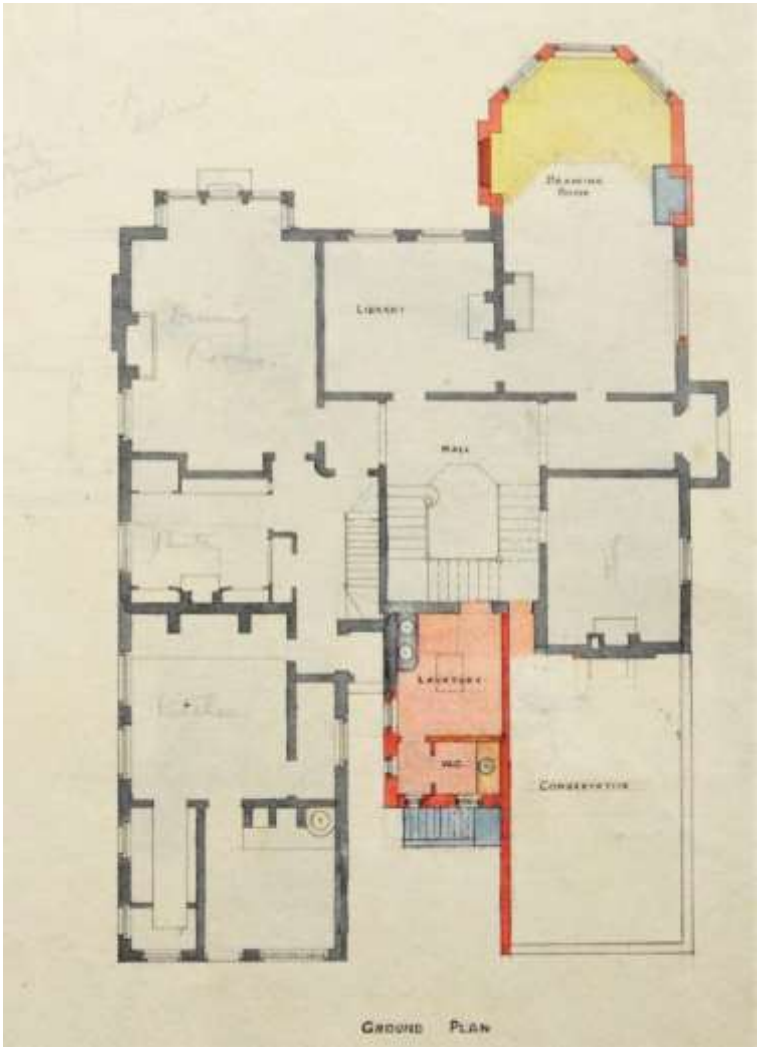

Figure 51: Oaklands – suggested alterations No. 2, 1884
(north to bottom left; front door to right)

[348] Kerr, p. 107; Stevenson, p. 57.
[349] Franklin, p. 43.
[350] Kerr, p. 116; Franklin, p. 46.
[351] Franklin, p. 46.

Alternative plans of the same date combine the two rooms as an L-shaped drawing room, with the transition between the two spaces marked by columns framing the opening (Figure 52). This reflected the mid-Victorian change in the shape of the drawing room which was perhaps intended to accommodate separate conversation groups.[352]

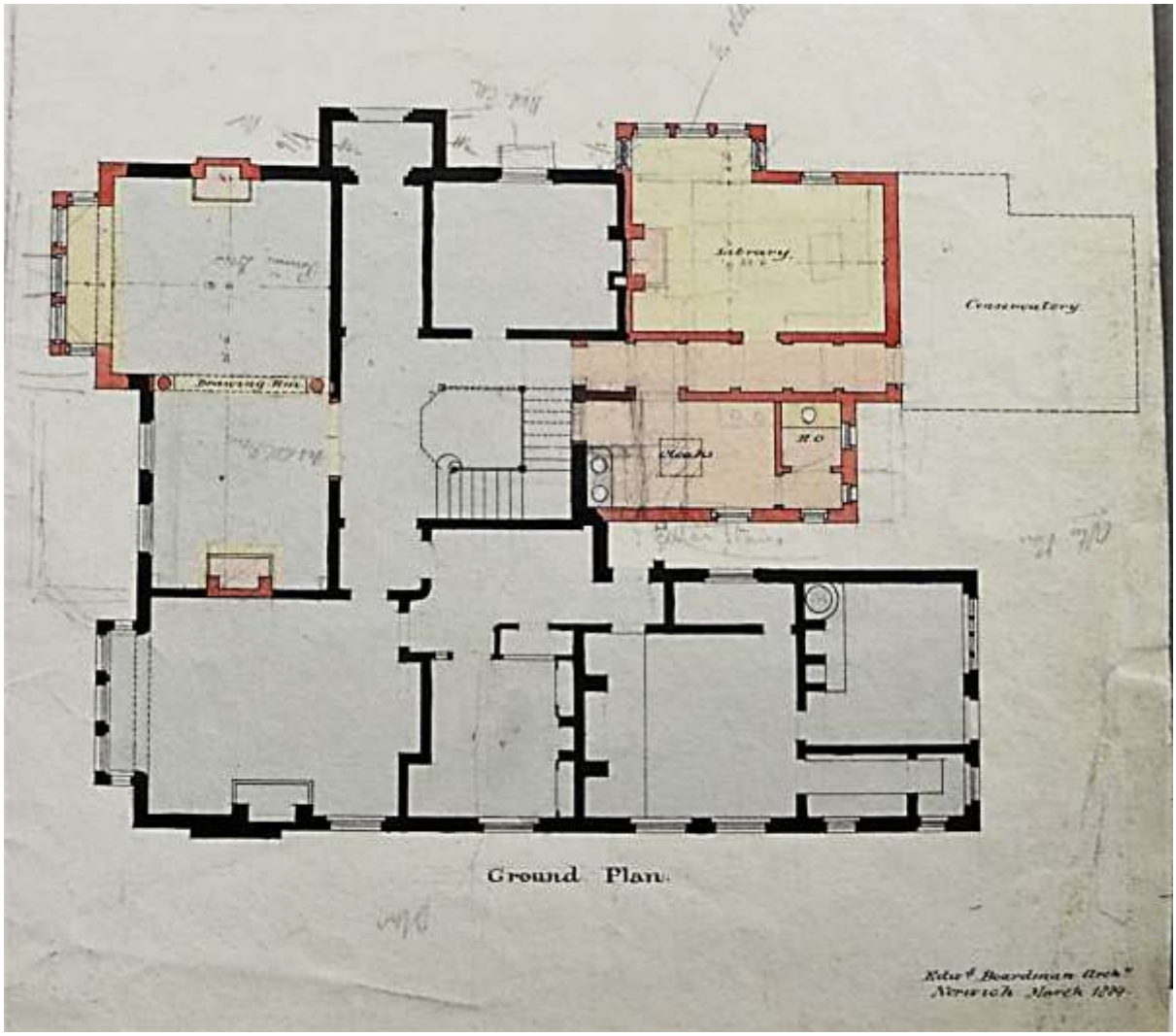

Figure 52: Oaklands – suggested alterations No. 1, 1884
(north to bottom right; front door at top)

[352] Franklin, p 44; Stevenson, pp. 57-58.

It appears that this alteration was not executed in 1884 but became part of wider works carried out in 1899. (See Figure 53.) The two rooms apparently become one when a new study and billiard room are added; the original drawing room doorway is blocked and the dividing wall is removed.[353] Perhaps the 'masculine' role of the library would now be served by the study.[354]

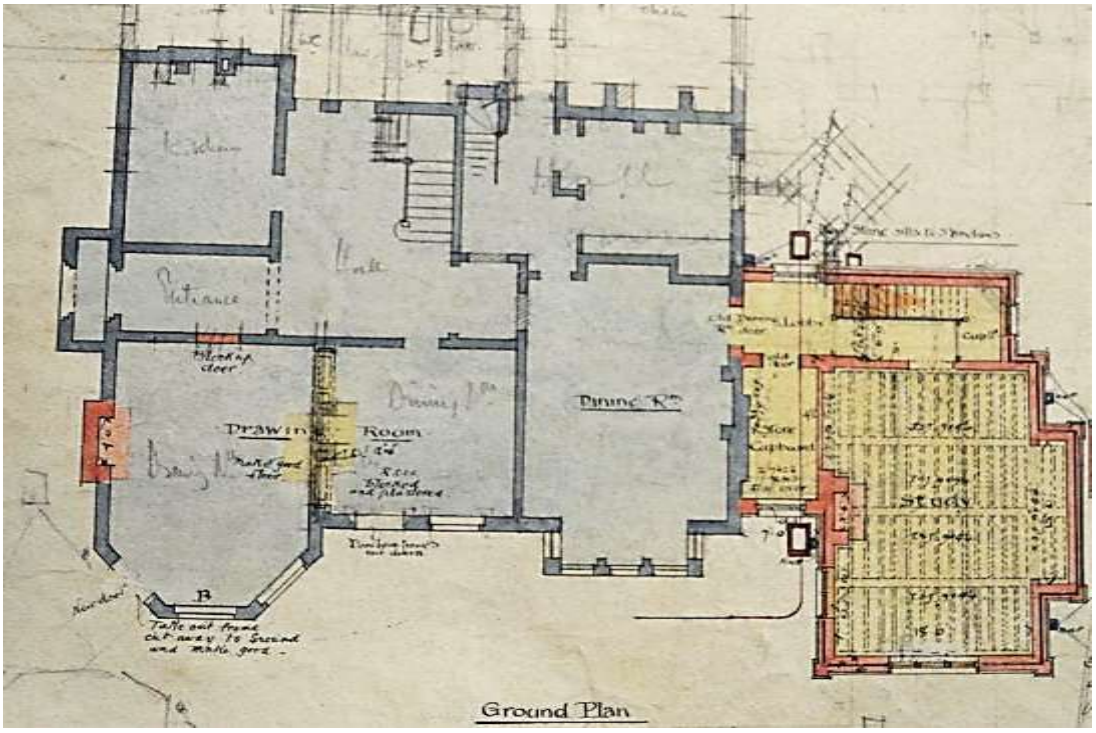

Figure 53: Oaklands – alterations, 1899
(north to top right; front door to left)

Later fashions are evident at Cringleford Lodge where a contemporary photograph illustrates the drawing room inglenook, typical of an architect-designed Arts and Crafts house.[355] (See Figure 34 and Figure 54.[356])

At Rothley there is a large opening in the wall between the drawing and dining rooms, reflecting the trend for a 'more open, fluid organization of space',[357] and making this small house less claustrophobic; it may well have been fitted with screens or folding doors.[358] (See Figure 31.)

[353] Twentieth-century drawings show the wall reinstated when the house was divided into two dwellings.
[354] Franklin pp. 46-48; Kerr, p. 116.
[355] Long, p. 170.
[356] BR 35/4/1, 'Cringleford, J. W. Gilbert Esq.'s house interior views', unknown photographer.
[357] Burnett, p. 209.
[358] Long, p. 165; Burnet, p. 209.

Figure 54: Cringleford Lodge – drawing room [1892?]

Library

Designs for Oaklands illustrate the changing significance of the library. Indispensable in larger houses earlier in the century the library rivalled the drawing room in size. Gradually becoming less essential, it was typically the smaller room by 1870, this new convention being reflected in the finished design for Oaklands (Figure 30).[359]

The debate over the relative size of the two rooms may have been particularly important at Oaklands because Harmer was an amateur scientist with more than a mere social need for masculine space.[360] The 1884 proposals to combine the drawing room and library also included a large new library beyond the 'boys' room' (Figure 52), perhaps seeking to balance the competing priorities of the 'male' library and 'female' drawing room. Kerr acknowledged that a similar choice of emphasis between the masculine dining room and the drawing room should be determined by the householder.[361]

Generally, however, the library was in decline over the century as other rooms replaced its function as a male space.[362] The room Harmer eventually built for himself in 1899 was not a library, but a study.

[359] Franklin, p. 43, pp. 46-48.
[360] Burgess, p. 117.
[361] Kerr, p. 73.
[362] Franklin, p. 48.

Dining room

The front elevations of the smaller Boardman villas face south or west, favouring the aspect desirable for the drawing room, despite the risk of an unfashionably warm dining room.[363] Perhaps these villas had 'parlour dining rooms' for general family use, which was a common middle-class practice; they would benefit from a more southerly aspect.[364] The 1870s Cringleford houses also place both drawing and dining rooms to face south. Later, the dining rooms of Fairmile and Cringleford Lodge face north and east, despite a change in fashion in the smartest houses favouring warmer, sunnier dining rooms.[365]

Dining rooms tended to be rectangular, encouraged by the shape of the table and emphasized by rectangular bay windows, which were useful for occasions when the table needed to be lengthened.[366] Only the dining rooms in The Gables and Rothley are close to square.

Many of the Boardman houses are too small to consider the 'dinner route' for stately progression from drawing to dining rooms,[367] but Oaklands and Fletcher's house provide an elegant stretch of hallway between the two rooms; the procession at Fletcher's house would have passed through the impressive central hall with its view of the fernery. Later, the route in Cringleford Lodge took guests across the fashionable living hall. In the very best houses, the dinner procession continued to be conventional until 1914.[368]

In Fairmile, the doors to the dining and drawing rooms are both in one corner of the hall, perhaps a deliberate informality by 1885.[369] Hartswood submits to the ignominy of a serving hatch from the hall to the dining room, a feature earlier derided by Kerr,[370] but which the contemporary writer, Mrs Peel, recommended 'to save the labour of the parlourmaid',[371] as was necessary in order to manage with fewer servants.[372] The hatch could be concealed by an opening in the back of the sideboard,[373] but a section drawing shows it panelled and undisguised at Hartswood. The dining room door is as far as possible from the drawing room, and it may be that some of the dignity of the dinner route was preserved. At Oaklands the 1884 plans to combine library and drawing room and block the drawing room doorway also introduce new double doors opposite the stairs (Figure 52). Perhaps the former library doorway was unsuitable because of its undignified proximity to the dining room.[374] By 1899, when the works were carried out, a new doorway was considered unnecessary. The dining room also

[363] Franklin, p. 45; Kerr, pp. 91-92 and pp. 107-108; Stevenson, pp. 50-51.
[364] Kerr, p. 100-01; Burnet, p. 208.
[365] Franklin, p. 49.
[366] Franklin, p. 49-50; Stevenson, p. 56; Smith and Young, in *Our Homes*, ed. by Murphy, pp. 33-308 (p. 81).
[367] Kerr, p. 96.
[368] Kerr, p. 96, p. 98; Franklin, p. 50.
[369] Franklin, p. 51.
[370] Kerr, p. 97.
[371] Mrs C. S. Peel, *The New Home* (Westminster: Archibald Constable, 1898), pp.18-19.
[372] Stevenson, pp. 48-49.
[373] Smith and Young, in *Our Homes*, ed. by Murphy, pp. 33-308 (p. 83).
[374] Kerr, p. 98.

now served as a thoroughfare to the study, an arrangement that would not have earned Kerr's approval.[375] The Harmers seem to have eschewed dinner ceremonial somewhat at this date.

The plans for house alterations suggest that clients were more likely to judge the dining room to be inadequate, rather than the drawing room. At The Limes both rooms were extended outwards in 1865, an economical alteration suggested by Kerr for smaller houses.[376] Large dining rooms were added to 107 Newmarket Road (1867), Fernhill (1869), Shrublands (1876) and Rosary House (1896), and the dining room at 117 Newmarket Road was substantially extended in 1898. In general, the dining room was still large in houses of the 1880s, bigger than the drawing room if it was also used as a family sitting room. Later, the dining room was increasingly only used for meals and the drawing room became the larger room of the two by about 1900,[377] but this trend is not yet evident in the later Boardman houses. A number of the alterations to add rooms were facilitated by the introduction of asymmetry to the elevations, another device suggested by Kerr.[378]

Breakfast room and morning room

If there was a third small reception room near the kitchen in a Boardman house, it was invariably called the breakfast room, being an informal alternative to the dining room. If instead it was located near the drawing room, it was called the morning room and used as an alternative to the drawing room.[379] Bensly broke the rules in 1877, creating an interconnecting door between his new breakfast room and drawing room at 107 Newmarket Road.[380]

Study

Other households used the third room as a study, a distinctly male space and 'the owner's private retreat, never to be entered without his permission'.[381] At Hartswood the unnamed room next to the front door is probably a study.[382] This location distanced the study from more domestic space.

Thorold and Todd may have entertained business visitors, as both were secretaries of savings companies. Todd listed his profession at his home address in Chapelfield;[383] his study was the first door off the hall. Thorold had a businessman's 'office' next to a side entrance at Melrose.

The door to Gilbert's study at Cringleford Lodge is hung conventionally to protect the privacy of the occupants by obstructing the view of the room as the door opens; there was apparently no concern that the open door would reveal instead the built-in safe. (See Figure 34.) Concern for privacy did not necessarily imply secrecy or mistrust of servants. With the fireplace and bay window diagonally set in two corners, and the door in another, the problem of room arrangement identified by Kerr was

[375] Kerr, p. 97.
[376] Kerr, p. 293.
[377] Burnett, pp. 208.
[378] Kerr, p. 287.
[379] Kerr, p. 106.
[380] Kerr, p. 112.
[381] Franklin, p. 51.
[382] Hinchcliffe, pp. 98-99; Kerr, p. 124.
[383] *Hamilton Norfolk, 1879*, p. 36, p. 138 (Thorold); *Jarrold Norwich 1896*, p. 134 (Todd).

resolved; Gilbert did not have to make the 'perplexing choice of placing his back to the fire, to the door or to the window itself'.[384]

The large study added to Oaklands in 1899 has an adjoining store, perhaps for Harmer's scientific equipment.[385] With a billiard room above, this 'male suite' might have been somewhat old-fashioned in a country house.[386] Harmer was probably unusual in requiring a room for scholarly use in his retirement, entertaining fellow scientists in the study and billiard room above.[387] See Figure 55.[388]

Although the billiard room remained popular, the study began to decline and the smoking room was taking its place, the 'purpose and atmosphere' of the two rooms being more or less the same for many hosts and their male guests.[389] Designs for alterations show that the owners of The Old House at Eaton in 1897, and Cringleford Grove in 1899, required a smoking room but no study.

Figure 55: Oaklands – garden front (south-east), after 1899.
(Study and billiard room to right)

Billiard room

The billiard room at Oaklands had seating in the bay window and a separate recess for a card table. Billiard rooms were also added to Stafford House in 1887 and to 96 Newmarket Road in 1896. These had a separate external entrance, which was not an uncommon feature.[390] Both probably had provision for spectator seating, in a large bay window and a fireplace bay respectively.

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[384] Kerr, pp. 123-24.
[385] Unknown author, *Citizens of No Mean City* (London: Jarrold Norwich, [1910]), p. 77, details Harmer's scientific achievements.
[386] Franklin, p. 62.
[387] Census 1911 records Alfred Bell as a visiting scientist.
[388] Hobbs in 'Cringleford Families', pp. 24-31 (p. 25).
[389] Franklin, pp. 53 -54, p. 62.
[390] Franklin, p. 56.

Conservatory

A conservatory was popular in the later and larger houses, whether part of the original vision (but not necessarily a Boardman design) or a later addition. At Fairmile, a conservatory was added, opening off the drawing room at the rear of the house, perhaps at the same time as other alterations in 1895. The new drawing room extension at Stafford House in 1887 opens into the existing conservatory, which also has a door to the dining room. The Gables was built with a similar dual access arrangement to the conservatory. The site plan of Cringleford Lodge suggests that a large conservatory opening from the drawing room was planned at the start.

A conservatory was not part of the finished design drawings for Oaklands (Figure 30), but seems to have been contemplated from the beginning; a presentation drawing of uncertain date shows a conservatory beside the dining room (Figure 56).[391] The original design of the garden front was later annotated with a pencil sketch of a conservatory, this time alongside the drawing room and with a triangular gabled roof. In 1884, a conservatory was suggested as an addition to the ground floor plan (Figure 52).

Figure 56: Oaklands – presentation drawing (garden elevation), unknown date

The 1899 drawings (Figure 53) show a new doorway created in the drawing room bay window to accommodate a large conservatory built by the self-styled 'horticultural builders', Boulton and Paul,[392] at a diagonal to the house, facing due south, and attached by a corridor to the bay window. (See photograph at Figure 55.)

[391] The shaped gables indicate the drawing was certainly made before construction of the house.
[392] NRO, BR 35/2/58/7/21, Boulton and Paul's drawing of the conservatory's heating circuit.

Perhaps the corridor was for health reasons[393] 'to avoid damp and the smell of earth in the house',[394] but it was also a practical solution to connect the conservatory to the bay window.

The conservatory was not an essential room. Only about a quarter of country houses had one and it was rarely mentioned by architectural writers.[395] As evidenced by the options considered at Oaklands, conservatories came in a variety of shapes, materials and forms and their placing could be 'extremely haphazard, as though they had been fixed at random to the nearest blank wall'.[396]

Heating

Four houses had at least partial ground-floor heating, associated with the conservatory or fernery. The cellars of Oaklands, Fletcher's house, Cringleford Lodge have a 'heating chamber' and at The Gables it is a 'furnace room'. Each has a separate entrance from outside the house that would have allowed the gardener to take charge of the system.[397]

Fletcher's heating was to include five coils and perforated gratings at a cost of ninety-five pounds.[398] The system heated air by passing it over hot water pipes and channelling it through vents into the house.[399] The water pipe in the furnace was coiled to maximise the surface area to be heated.[400] Although expensive, such systems were durable and required little maintenance.[401]

Bedrooms

Additional bedrooms feature in many alteration plans, no doubt to accommodate growing families, but perhaps sometimes they were a necessary corollary to a ground floor transformation, to ensure the two-storey elevations that distinguished principal rooms from service elevations.[402] At 117 Newmarket Road in 1898, Tomkins presumably increased the size of a bedroom only because he wanted a larger dining room below. Two bedrooms were added to Rosary House in 1886 above the new dining room at the rear, leaving a 'spare room' on the front elevation.

At 12 Chapelfield North, there is also a 'spare room', alongside the drawing room on the first floor, presumably not needed as an additional reception room, but somewhat marooned from the other principal bedrooms on the second floor. In any case, Todd was a bachelor and perhaps simply found it hard to avoid having more rooms than he really needed.

Meanwhile Banks at Christchurch Lodge (1890) struggled to fit in enough bedrooms. With three reception rooms in a broadly classical plan, the house naturally lends itself to three principal bedrooms and a dressing room. Instead five bedrooms have been squeezed in, by sub-dividing the

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[393] Franklin, p.63.
[394] Stevenson, p. 58.
[395] Franklin, p. 63.
[396] Franklin, p. 63.
[397] Franklin, p. 110.
[398] BR 35/2/23/8.
[399] Stevenson, p. 222.
[400] Douglas Galton. 'Heating by Hot Water and Steam – General Observations on the retention of Heat in Houses', in *Our Homes*, ed. by Murphy, pp. 583-92 (p. 585).
[401] Galton, p. 584.
[402] Franklin, p. 86.

larger spaces above the dining and drawing rooms. (See Figure 57.) It may be that Banks had to adapt the house plan to solve the not uncommon problem of accommodating his unmarried adult children,[403] all three of whom were still living with him in his retirement in 1901.[404]

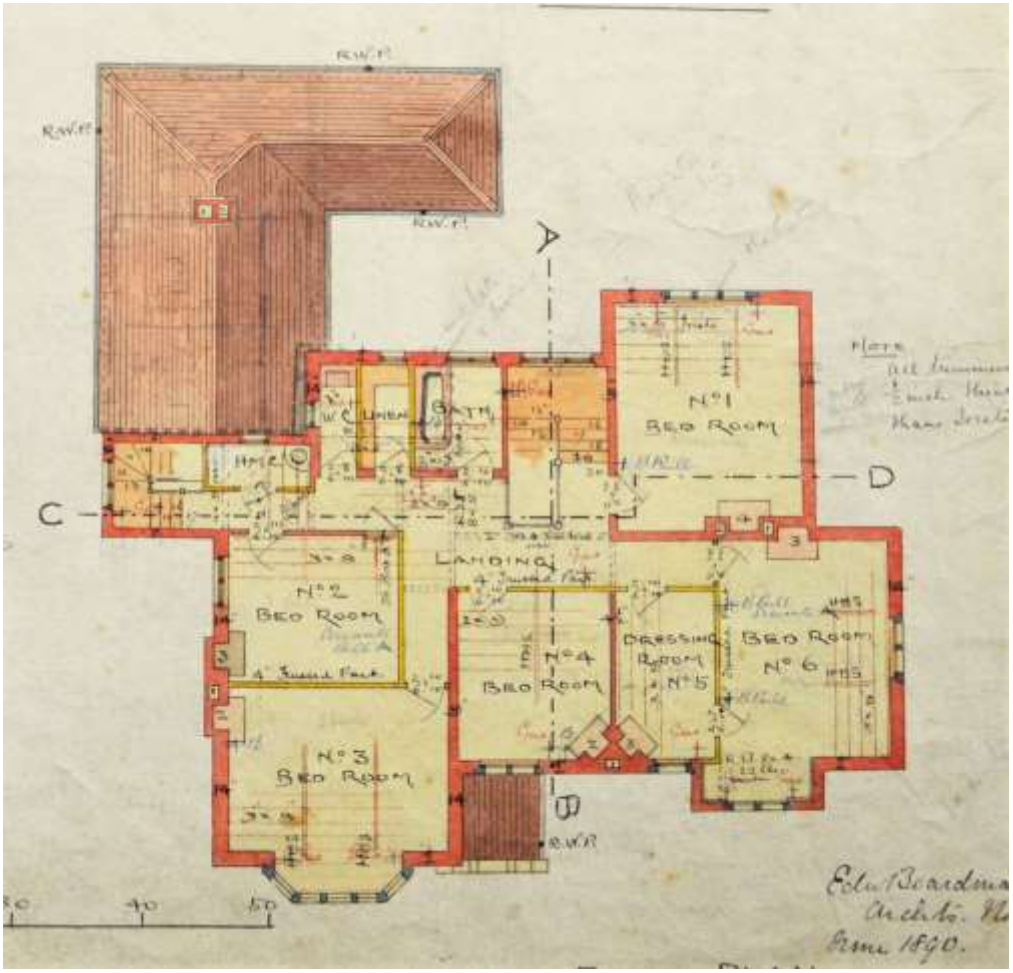

Figure 57: Christchurch Lodge – first-floor plan, 1890
(north to top left)

The addition of a principal bedroom above existing service rooms might be proposed, but probably only if there was no alternative location, as this position was conventionally appropriate for a servant's bedroom. In 1899 Evershed contemplated a new dressing room and bedroom at Cringleford Grove, above the kitchen and coal store (on the street front elevation), but the alteration was never executed. In 1880 a bedroom was planned above a re-configured larder in Albermarle House; it was next to the nursery and, with doors opening onto both the principal and servants' landings, it was probably for the nurse.

[403] Tosh, p. 21.
[404] Census 1891; Census 1901.

Sometimes the bedrooms of younger children can be identified with reasonable confidence. At Fairmile (1885) two small rooms over the drawing room at the rear of the house are likely to be children's bedrooms, each with a corner fireplace; a small lobby intrudes into a corner of the owner's room, extending the central corridor to provide access to the second of the small bedrooms.

Dressing room and bathroom

The owner's bedroom would usually be attached to a dressing room 'even in the smaller class of semi-detached villas'.[405] In most of the modest early Boardman houses of classical plan the small room over the hall is called a dressing room, although at Melrose it is a bedroom, and The Croft has a bathroom in this position. At Hillside the room is called 'dressing room and bathroom', suggesting that the distinction between the two was disappearing. Nevertheless, Percival Gordon Smith insisted in 1880 that the dressing room 'should not … contain the only bath in the house'.[406]

The early Cringleford houses both have dressing rooms; Fletcher's house also has a bathroom and Oaklands has a lavatory (washing facilities) upstairs. In the later houses, although Fairmile has a plumbed in bath[407] but no dressing room, Hartswood and Christchurch Lodge each squeeze in a dressing room as well as a bathroom. In both these houses one corner of the dressing room intrudes across the bay window of the bedroom itself. (See Figure 57.) Cringleford Lodge has two dressing rooms, as well as a bathroom. The dressing room is also evidently a mark of social status in The Gables and Rothley. The Gables has a bathroom, but also a small bedroom with a fireplace, apparently a dressing room with a side door to the adjacent large bedroom; Rothley has only a WC upstairs, no bathroom, and the small bedroom adjoining the larger one is unheated and rather smaller than at The Gables. (See Figure 32.)

At Stafford House, 96 Newmarket Road and The Old House a bedroom and dressing room suite conveniently filled the large space dictated by the footprint of the ground-floor addition below. An alternative was two independent bedrooms, as at Rosary House, which apparently resulted in excessive accommodation (the 'spare' room) and entailed the 'inconvenience' of the long corridor, an irritation to both Kerr and Stevenson.[408]

Some people preferred to bathe in the dressing room in front of a fire,[409] but this is not a complete explanation for the persistence of dressing rooms alongside the new bathrooms. Only Christchurch Lodge and Cringleford Lodge have a fireplace in the dressing room and, in any case, the latter also has a fireplace in the bathroom. It was not usual to heat the bathroom.[410] Fletcher's bathroom would have had a fireplace in 1876, a luxury commensurate with the extravagance of the house itself, but the only other heated bathroom is at 12 Chapelfield North, probably because it is at

[405] Smith and Young, in *Our Homes*, ed. by Murphy, pp. 33-308 (p. 86).
[406] Smith and Young, in *Our Homes*, ed. by Murphy, pp. 33-308 (p. 87).
[407] Specification, July 1885, pp. 16-17 (bound in BR 35/1/162).
[408] Kerr, p. 75; Stevenson p. 48.
[409] Franklin, p. 112.
[410] Kerr, p. 150.

the far end of the service wing above the scullery and a cold passage, and could hardly have benefitted from the ambient warmth of the rest of the house.

WC and earth closets

The upstairs WC was normally separate from the bathroom, but in The Gables it is included in the bathroom, this arrangement being necessary in a smaller house.[411] Of the earlier small houses, only Stevenston has a WC upstairs. The two early Cringleford mansions each have an earth closet and lavatory both upstairs and down, Cringleford being beyond the reach of the Norwich city sewers. Perhaps William Bidwell also struggled to connect to the sewer system, requiring The Croft to be designed with an earth closet. Responsibility for the cost of the sewer was periodically in dispute over some years, perhaps delaying its construction.[412] Hillside in Thorpe also had an earth closet downstairs, but the other small early houses apparently had no fixed indoor facility. The plans for both Oaklands and Fletcher's houses show an 'earth closet store' outside; the earth removed from the closet had to be stored for decomposition, and kept completely dry, whereafter it could be spread as manure, or indeed re-used.[413]

All the house designs from 1881 onwards include a WC upstairs and several also had a WC and lavatory on the ground floor. At Rosary House and Stafford House WCs were added upstairs and down, ancillary to larger alterations, with the ground-floor WC being close to the new dining room and new billiard room respectively, a conventional location in both cases.[414]

The servants' WC became universal in the Boardman houses in the 1880s and 90s, although still usually out of doors as the earth closet had been. Curl at Fairmile was tempted to get by with an earth closet for servants, but he recognised the changing times, although he was apparently mindful of the cost. The initial specification includes 'Ask as to servants' EC to be WC £2.10.0 allowed' and a WC was duly substituted for £3 10s.[415] Stafford House was altered in 1887 to introduce a servants' WC indoors, but no other alterations to houses sought to upgrade the servants' facility.

None of the new Boardman houses has an indoor WC for servants, unless the housekeeper shared Todd's first floor WC at the far end of the service wing at 12 Chapelfield North, where the plans do not indicate any other facility. Cringleford Lodge has a WC and lavatory in the back hall, but it is not for the servants. It was conveniently positioned for guests coming through from the living hall and for children at play in the day nursery; the servants' WC was in the yard outside. In the Edwardian period it would become usual to provide a separate servants' WC either upstairs or near the kitchen.[416]

Upstairs at Cringleford Lodge, the bathroom and WC also trespass on the servants' part of the house, being situated along a wide corridor between the main bedrooms and the separate wing. Although

[411] Smith and Young, in *Our Homes,* ed. by Murphy, pp. 33-308, (p. 90).
[412] For example, N/TC 6/5, p.318, 2 May 1872; N/TC 6/7, p. 109, 3 April 1879.
[413] Shirley Forster Murphy, 'The Dry Earth System: General Conclusions', in *Our Homes,* ed. by Murphy, pp. 55-761 (p. 757).
[414] Franklin, p.111.
[415] Specification, July 1885, p. 10 (bound in BR 35/1/162), allows £2 10s for the servants' closet; 'Extras and Omissions', October 1886, plumber, glazier and painter (bound in BR 35/1/162): cost of WC is £3 10s.
[416] Burnett, p. 209.

presumably for the family's use, as the bathroom is heated, these services share space on the border with the servants' realm; linen presses line the walls opposite, and the back stairs and housemaid's closet are between the bathroom and WC. Alterations at Shrublands and Braemar each planned to add a bathroom and WC by creating a second floor over service rooms, so also blurring the fundamental division of the house between family and servants' departments, and apparently disregarding the earlier importance of a distinctively single-storey appearance to the servants' wing.[417] The introduction of the bathroom, and the need to find a place for it, may have been part of the wider process which recognised that earlier households had been 'carrying the separation a little too far'.[418]

Nursery

The nursery in the larger Boardman houses also occupies the borderland of the family and servants' areas, the preferred location according to Kerr,[419] and follows the common practice in country houses.[420] At Fairmile the nursery is in the attic above the owners' room, accessible only from the back stairs, but Hartswood has two interconnecting rooms, one with a door on the servants' landing and the other with a door on the family landing opposite the principal bedroom. In Fletcher's house, the nursery suite seems to be above the servants' wing, adjacent to the bathroom and WC. The two small bedrooms off the back landing at Melrose may be nurseries. A location near the backstairs would usually find a back door close to hand; children needed access to plenty of fresh air.[421]

Cringleford Lodge has a separate interconnecting suite of two separate night nurseries, for boys and girls, and a day nursery that opens from a landing near the top of the stairs, passing by the large stair window. It is readily accessible from the back stairs during the day, but there are also doors to the children's rooms from the main landing, just opposite their parents' room. This arrangement satisfied contemporary preferences for the children to be close to their parents but also 'effectually shut off from the rest of the house'.[422]

The night nurseries are above the dining room and have pug floors as sound insulation,[423] as does the attic nursery at Fairmile, above the parents' room.[424] This was apparently for mutual protection, that neither children nor adults should be disturbed by the noise of the other.[425]

The day nursery at Cringleford Lodge has an oriel window, a typical architectural device to distinguish it from service rooms on the same elevation,[426] but it is also a practical feature to accommodate the nurse's work-table and leave the main floor free for children's play.[427] Including the school room, there were four children's rooms, not unduly excessive as the Gilberts were blessed with six

[417] Franklin, p. 86.
[418] Stevenson, p. 78.
[419] Kerr, p. 145.
[420] Sheeran, p. 84.
[421] William Squire, 'The Nursery', in *Our Homes*, ed. by Murphy, pp. 841-868 (p. 842).
[422] Smith and Young, in *Our Homes,* ed. by Murphy, pp. 33-308 (p. 87).
[423] Harry Bryant Newbold, *Modern Practical Building*, 4 vols (London: Caxton Publishing Company, [1940(?)]), III, pp. 49-50.
[424] 'Errors and Omissions', 24 February 1886 (bound in BR 35/1/162).
[425] William Squire, in *Our Homes,* ed. by Murphy, pp. 841-868 (p. 843); Smith and Young, in *Our Homes,* ed. by Murphy, pp 33-308 (p. 87).
[426] Sheeran, p. 85.
[427] Smith and Young, in *Our Homes,* ed. by Murphy, pp 33-308 (p. 88).

offspring,[428] and contemporary advice declared that 'children are the better for frequent changes of room . . . No attempt should ever be made to rear children in a single room.'[429]

The drawings do not identify the function of the first-floor rooms at Oaklands, but the night nursery was reportedly above the 'boys' room'.[430] This conclusion is consistent with the arrangement of rooms; a small lobby separates this night nursery from the bedroom over the drawing room, which is identifiable as the principal bedroom by its adjoining dressing room. The 'boys' room' on the ground floor would have been the day nursery or schoolroom for Harmer's four sons.[431] Its doorway is tucked away from the main hall corridor at the bottom of the open well stairs. An earth closet and lavatory are conveniently placed for the children as well as guests and are approached under the stairs.

Plans to add nurseries to two houses indicate efforts to meet contemporary standards, despite the constraints of making changes to an existing house. Willis added a nursery to Southwell Lodge in a good location above the kitchen and scullery, close to the back stairs, while Snowdon introduced a day nursery to St Leonard's Priory, to one side of the new front door, a room nearly as big as the drawing room opposite, perhaps aware that 'the day nursery can scarcely be too large'.[432] Although it is hardly 'cut off' from adults or guests, it would have found favour with Kerr as a good-sized room, worthy of 'some equally important apartment'.[433]

Nurseries inevitably evolved as the family grew up, but if well-designed for 'comfort and completeness' they would be suitable as guest accommodation or adaptable to new uses, perhaps as a study.[434]

Servants' department

Mistress's store

Another room that tended to breach the divide between the servants' and family's sides of the house was the mistress's store on the ground floor, although not all the Boardman houses have one; there is no 'store' at 12 Chapelfield North, the house of the bachelor, J. T. Todd, but nor was there a mistress to supervise it.

The contents of the store were 'pretty much those of a grocer's shop',[435] the original necessity for the room dating from the days before plentiful retail shops. Its position needed to be on the border between the family and service rooms, both close to the kitchen and convenient for the mistress, as she would oversee the dispensing of its contents.[436]

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[428] Jenkins, Bellinger and Bellinger, in 'Cringleford Families', pp. 32-35 (p. 32).
[429] William Squire, in *Our Homes,* ed. by Murphy, pp. 841-868 (p. 844).
[430] Hobbs, in 'Cringleford Families', pp. 24-31 (p. 26), reporting the reminiscences of Richard Douglas Hedley Harmer, Frederic's grandson.
[431] Census 1881.
[432] Stevenson, p. 71.
[433] Kerr, p. 145.
[434] William Squire, in *Our Homes,* ed. by Murphy, pp. 841-868 (p. 843).
[435] Stevenson, p. 105.
[436] Stevenson, pp. 104-105.

In the Boardman drawings, the room is often simply 'the store', and usually finds a place in the principal stair hall, often discreetly behind the stairs. At Oaklands, Christchurch Lodge and Cringleford Lodge, it is in the back hall. Two of the three stores specifically designated as 'mistress's stores' are in the back hall, identifying this island of her space within the servants' domain. The small room by the back stairs in Hartswood may have been a store, large for the purpose and equipped with a fireplace which may indicate its use also as a housekeeping room and china store for the mistress.[437]

Kitchen and offices

The Boardman houses are all modest by country house standards and do not have the myriad small rooms evident in more distinguished houses,[438] only Cringleford Lodge aspiring to some grandeur in the extent of service rooms. The arrangement in most houses is relatively simple, so much so that the service wings of The Gables and Rothley are in fact exactly the same in arrangement and proportions, although the houses themselves have differences of size and status. (See Figure 31.) While architects might devote considerable effort to the convenient arrangement of complex domestic offices,[439] at the other end of the scale there was apparently a more formulaic approach.

In the early classical plan houses kitchen floors may be boarded, as at Hillside, but later they are more likely to be of cement and tiles, more practical and resistant to vermin.[440] In some later houses (Fairmile, Christchurch Lodge, The Gables and Rothley), the kitchen apparently doubled as a servants' living room,[441] partially boarded for comfort,[442] but with tiling where spillages might occur by the range, adjacent to the entrance to the tiled scullery.

The pantry at Oaklands and Fletcher's house may have been multi-purpose, used as work room, serving room, and servants' hall.[443] Hartswood may have had a servants' hall, the larger of two unnamed floor-boarded rooms. Cringleford Lodge appears to be the only house grand enough to have had a servants' hall and a butler's pantry, although apparently no butler.[444]

All the Boardman houses have a scullery as well as a kitchen, apart from Cringleford Lodge where the Gilberts probably sent household linens to a laundry rather than have them washed at home in a scullery.[445] The house has a butler's pantry for other cleaning tasks[446] and rooms off the yard for the dirty jobs of 'boots' and 'lamps'.

The plans for some of the larger houses (Fletcher's house, Fairmile, Christchurch Lodge) show a designated linen store, as do the plans for the rather smaller Hillside. 12 Chapelfield North, a three-

[437] Kerr, p. 226.
[438] Franklin, pp. 88-89, p. 95.
[439] Franklin, p. 86.
[440] Smith and Young, in *Our Homes*, ed. by Murphy, pp. 33-308 (p. 71).
[441] Kerr, p. 206.
[442] Smith and Young, in *Our Homes*, ed. by Murphy, pp. 33-308 (p. 71).
[443] Kerr, p. 210, p. 232.
[444] Census 1901, Marianne Gilbert.
[445] A laundry service was run from a nearby house: Census 1901, Sophia Cooper, Cringleford, Norfolk.
[446] Franklin, p. 95.

storey house, sensibly has two linen stores, one on the ground floor and another on the second floor alongside the principal bedrooms.

Almost all the houses have both a pantry and a larder, making good use of the coolness of outside walls. At The Croft, the larder, which marks the start of the service wing, slightly projects from the main house in order to take advantage of two external walls. The Gables and Rothley (1890) both lack a pantry. Hillside (1876) has no larder, and neither does Stevenston, but it has a slate shelf in the cellar, which is entered from the kitchen. Fletcher's house has two larders, one in the yard, and Oaklands has an additional 'black closet', which was apparently a game larder.[447] This fuller provision of larders perhaps reflects the lifestyle and entertaining in these grander households; they also have wine cellars, as do Cringleford Lodge, Christchurch Lodge and Melrose.

Servants' bedrooms

The identify of a servant's bedroom on the first floor of the smaller houses may often be inferred from its association with the backstairs, as at Stevenston and Hillside. The servants' room at Christchurch Lodge shows a servant's bell. At 12 Chapelfield North, the room in the service wing over the kitchen is presumably for a servant as the principal bedrooms are on the second floor. Similarly at The Croft, The Gables and Rothley, the room over the kitchen is likely to be for a servant.[448]

There are heated bedrooms for servants in the attic at Oaklands (two rooms), Fletcher's house (three), Fairmile (one) and Hartswood (one). Despite Kerr's advice that servants' rooms should have fireplaces, Fairmile and Melrose each have an unheated attic room designated as a bedroom, and there are two at Cringleford Lodge. Unheated rooms are apparently less rare than they would have been in a country house.[449] At Cringleford Lodge the three rooms over the kitchen and coal store include an unheated room, but it presumably derived some warmth from the kitchen below.[450]

Differentiation and separation

Service wing

It was important that the different status and function of rooms should be marked architecturally. To recognise the division of accommodation between servants and family, the servants' wing was typically lower in height than the main house. The early small Boardman houses have the kitchen as part of the main house with a bedroom above, the scullery beyond being single storey. This pattern is later followed by the attached houses, The Gables and Rothley, but Fairmile and Christchurch Lodge also shift the kitchen into the single storey wing. In the earlier period, Oaklands and Fletcher's house each have a two-storey service wing but it is lower than the main house.

Several section drawings show the reduced height of servants' rooms, necessary in these lower wings. At Stevenston, the reception room ceilings are eleven feet high, and those of the bedrooms

[447] Hobbs, in 'Cringleford Families', pp. 24-31 (p. 25), reporting the reminiscences of Harmer's grandson.
[448] Kerr, p. 250.
[449] Kerr, p. 250; Franklin, p. 103.
[450] Franklin, pp. 90-92.

above, ten feet. To allow for three storeys in the servants' wing, the ceiling in the kitchen is nine feet three inches high, in the bedroom above eight feet nine, and in the attic room only eight feet.

Although the servants' wing of Oaklands is appropriately subservient, it has gabled dormers decorated with plan terracotta roundels; it would have been visible from the road, and by this time the service wing had become 'more conspicuous, and proclaimed its identity'.[451] The service wing of Fletcher's house has extensive close-studded timbers to the first floor, this cottage style contrasting with the impression of the main block as an Elizabethan manor house. (See Figure G 8 and Figure G 10.) Later, at Cringleford Lodge, house and service wing have become more integrated, in keeping with changing fashions[452] and the servants' hall is on the front elevation, although differentiated by its single storey. The kitchen elevation remains noticeably plainer than the rest of the house. The impression of a separate single-storey service wing was also becoming muted in earlier houses, through alterations, as it became necessary to add a bathroom or nursery above the service wing.

There were subtler ways to differentiate the status of the domestic offices and servants' rooms. Drawings sometimes specify a bewildering variety and gradation of glass for different areas of the house. At Oaklands, the windowpanes in the service areas are smaller and of lower quality (twenty-one-ounce glass, rather than thirty-two ounce), while the grand stair window is 'tinted in lead'. The drawing and dining rooms are glazed in 'BBPG' or best British (polished) plate glass.[453] Plate glass was thick, strong and translucent, maximising light and minimising heat loss compared to sheet glass.

Fletcher's house specified plate glass for all the principal rooms, ground and first floor, and twenty-one-ounce glass for the servants' attic rooms and the top lights of the kitchen windows. 'Harley's ribbed' glass was for the lower panes of the ground floor servants' rooms, to obscure the view both in and out, lest family and servants be overlooked by each other.[454] Lower quality 'Harleys rough' glass was to be used for the window of the 'heating cellar'. This glass would have been transported from Sunderland, where in 1847 James Harley began manufacturing a rolled plate glass with obscured ribbed finish, often used for the roofs of railway stations.[455] Appropriately, Fletcher also planned to make use of it as the canopy porch over the front door.

The choice of glass can provide clues to the identity of unnamed rooms, such as the apparent nursery suite above the service rooms in Fletcher's house where the windowpanes use the thirty-two-ounce glass appropriate to family rooms.

Principal rooms

Within the family's part of the house, there was further differentiation of the status of individual rooms, in the choice of fittings and finishings. The fireplaces in each of the ground floor rooms are priced on

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[451] Franklin, p. 86.
[452] Franklin, p. 86.
[453] Smith and Young, in *Our Homes*, ed. by Murphy, pp. 33-308 (p. 126) discuss the superiority of British plate glass; Specification, July 1885, p. 18 (bound in BR 35/1/162), specifies 'best British polished plate' glass for Fairmile.
[454] Kerr, p. 68.
[455] Tweedie, Andrew Ian, 'James Hartley and Co.' in *Grace's Guide*, ed. by Andrew Ian Tweedie <https://gracesguide.co.uk/James_Hartley_and_Co> [accessed 6 April 2020]

the plan for Fletcher's house. The dining room and drawing room fireplaces were to cost £15, the canopied hall fireplace £12, the library fireplace only £7. The plaster cornices similarly vary. The most impressive, at thirty inches deep, is in the lobby in the tower, reducing to twelve inches in the following vestibules and in the stair hall; the large central hall in between has a sixteen-inch cornice, as does the morning room. The drawing and dining rooms have twenty-four-inch cornices and the library's is eighteen inches.

Floors too reflect the status of rooms. In Fletcher's house the suite of hall spaces has oak floors and finishings; oak is also reserved for the dining room and hall at Cringleford Lodge. Fletcher's other principal rooms have pitch pine floors and, apart from deal finishings in the drawing room, all have pitch pine finishings. Encaustic tiles are used in the hall lobby, lavatory, cloakroom and fernery, but Staffordshire tiles in the servants' areas. Similar colour-coding is used on plans for other Boardman houses such that even in the absence of descriptive annotations, reasonable inferences can be made about the flooring materials and about room use, for example at Hartswood, where the plans lack descriptive annotations.

The style of bay window seems to have been something of a marker to differentiate the dining and drawing rooms across the range of Boardman houses. Reflecting the typical location of the drawing room overlooking the garden, a canted bay window would make the most of its better view.[456] In the dining room, a rectangular bay window was perhaps better suited to accommodating an extension to the table on occasion.[457] This window convention is not absolute; Stevenston (1875) has a canted bay window for the dining room and a rectangular bay for the drawing room. Oaklands, The Croft, Hillside and Fletcher's house have canted bay windows in both the dining and drawing rooms.

The later houses continue generally to favour a canted bay window to take in a view. The drawing room at Cringleford Lodge has two. 12 Chapelfield North has a canted oriel window to the first-floor drawing room overlooking Chapelfield Gardens.

The rectangular bay window is more popular in the later period. The Gables has its canted bay window in the dining room at the back, overlooking the large side garden, but the drawing room at the front has a rectangular bay. Set on the diagonal at the corner of the room, it still offers a wide view but with a fashionable variation of style. It also facilitated the neat interlocking of a conservatory between the drawing and dining rooms, with doors to both (Figure 31). Rothley has only a small rectangular bay to the drawing room and no bay at all to the dining room, further evidence of the unassuming status of the house. Fairmile was built with rectangular bays to both dining and drawing rooms and at Christchurch Lodge the dining room has only a shallow canted bay window and the drawing room has a rectangular bay. There is a small canted window in the drawing room next to the fireplace, but with only a limited view of the rear garden; in this position, it may have been used as a 'cosy corner'.[458]

[456] Kerr, p. 108.
[457] Stevenson, p. 56.
[458] Long, pp. 171-172.

Two departments

The boundary between the servants and family rooms continued to be important throughout the period and was achieved through a variety of means.

The essential division on the ground floor was the 'green baize door' to the back hall. In a corridor hall, this door is always to one side in the Boardman houses, except in 12 Chapelfield North. This is a single pile town house, where a service door at the end of the hall, opposite the front door, could hardly be avoided.

In modest Boardman houses with a corridor hall and no formal back hall, the kitchen is usually approached through a lobby, as at The Croft, Melrose and Hillside. At Stevenston the kitchen door is also concealed behind the first flight of stairs.

The early grand houses, Oaklands and Fletcher's house, have back halls, the doors to which are to the side of the principal hall. At Oaklands, the dining room door is close to the door to the back hall in the same corner of the principal hall, requiring an additional service door direct from the back hall to the dining room for ease of communication.[459]

Cringleford Lodge too has a service door for the same reason. In addition, the rectangular living hall makes it impossible to obscure the approach to the green baize door. Instead, symmetry of design draws attention from it. The initial lobby of the back hall projects slightly into the living hall, mirroring the position of the first flight of the principal stairs. 'Fir beams over', as noted on the plan, may have made a feature of the recess, again distracting the eye. (See Figure 34.)

Christchurch Lodge (Figure 27) uses symmetry in a similar way, with arches either side of a central stair that runs up straight ahead. The right-hand arch leads to the morning room and WC-lavatory, the left-hand arch to a small open lobby with a side door into the back hall. At Hartwood the approach to the back hall is also through an arch to a lobby, which has an additional door to the WC-lavatory.

Archways could be fitted with 'grilles' or 'Liberty' arches (named after the shop) and were popular in the 1890s, together with screens, to mark the division of space between master and servant, and to create a modern square hall in an older house. Archways could be hung with curtains to allow ventilation while avoiding draughts and might have fretted detailing but were more likely to have been relatively plain in these Boardman houses with an Arts and Crafts influence.[460]

The segregation is not quite complete at Fairmile. A side lobby at the rear of the rectangular hall, gives access not only to the back hall, pantry and WC-lavatory, but also to the breakfast room. Nevertheless, even the rather smaller houses, The Gables and Rothley, continue to conceal the entrance to the kitchen through a lobby.

[459] Kerr, p. 96.
[460] Long, pp. 164-170.

On the first floor, the smaller houses have no space for a physical division between servants and family, but the servant's room is grouped with the housemaid's closet, the bathroom or the WC. In larger houses, the boundary is evident where two or three steps leading down to the back landing or servant's room, as at Stevenston, Melrose, Chapelfield North, Cringleford Lodge and Hartswood. Where all rooms are on the same level, there is a door to divide off the servants' areas.

Nevertheless, at Oaklands in 1874, the Harmers chose to dispense with planned 'screens', apparently glass-panelled doors, at either end of the landing which would have marked off the family suite at one end and the back landing at the other; the drawings are marked 'screens omitted'. This may have been an aesthetic choice, but perhaps there were budget constraints, or the Harmers may have been rejecting the developing tendency to excessive separation later noted by Stevenson.[461]

The analysis of the Boardman houses indicates that they reflected the trends in middle-class housing and the requirements of a gentleman's residence but, as acknowledged by Kerr,[462] some aspects of their design may be related as much to the preferences and circumstances of individual owners as to contemporary fashions and expectations.

[461] Stevenson, p. 78.
[462] For example, Kerr, p.97, p. 124.

Conclusion

The Boardman sample is small and does not lend itself to consistent and meaningful statistical analysis. Rather, the drawings provide illustrative examples of the characteristics and development of middle-class suburban houses in the period.

While detailed analysis of grander country houses has been carried out by Franklin and Sheeran, the potential of a similar approach to middle-class houses has not previously been exploited. This is perhaps no surprise when, as evident in the Boardman sample, a provincial architect's drawings might be accompanied by only dauntingly vague details of houses and clients. That middle-class houses remain somewhat under-appreciated may also be a consequence of their very design. Fairmile and Hartswood, with their deceptive and aloof street elevations, manifest privacy so enduringly that they continue to deflect the unwanted attention of passers-by and have perhaps thereby successfully evaded the potential interest of the heritage listers.

While this research has confirmed many of the known changes in middle-class housing and in the relationship of master and servant in the later nineteenth century, it has also identified some apparently distinguishing nuances in the design and alteration of middle-class houses. In particular, the kitchen-living room and clients' attention to entrances and porches, dining rooms and dressing rooms have been noted.

The successful identification of both house and client has meant that the relationship between the two could be examined. The inclusion or addition of a nursery certainly relates to family circumstances. Less intuitively, the study and billiard room at Oaklands are better understood as the ambition of an amateur scientist, the design and location of 12 Chapelfield North appear undoubtedly suited to the needs of a middle-aged bachelor, and Christchurch Lodge illustrates the difficulties of accommodating adult children. Even the disordered appearance of the front elevation of The Limes at 20 Unthank has an explanation as the interrupted aspiration of a school mistress who died before the alteration project was completed.

The life story of houses is shared and shaped by their occupants, and subsequent alterations tell a story as interesting as the vision of a complete design. Hitherto, there seems to have been little, if any, systematic analysis by researchers of the alterations made to middle-class houses in the nineteenth century. Yet Kerr devotes some twenty pages to 'Notes of the Alteration of Existing Houses', suggesting it was not an uncommon practice, and to overlook these building changes is to dismiss a significant amount of evidence about Victorian houses.[463]

This research has revealed how alteration designs can add to the understanding of middle-class domestic life and fashion. Some of the early new houses of classical plan use asymmetry as an aesthetic choice, but the alteration drawings highlight its practical benefits to facilitate increased accommodation and the re-orientation of a house. Schemes of alteration show how re-orientation

[463] Kerr, pp. 279-99.

could improve the 'convenience' of houses, both enlarging them and making better use of plots. There may be merit in local research elsewhere to consider the evidence of dateable alterations, as well as complete designs.

The observations in this research are restricted to Norwich and comparison with other parts of the country may identify regional differences. Muthesius has suggested, for example, that Norwich was an 'old-fashioned town' certainly in relation to lower class terraced housing and the long life of the privy, which continued into the 1920s.[464]

If the Boardman sample is typical, files of client documents may not survive well, but where they do, they can provide valuable insights; the client file for Fairmile closely dates Curl's active choice of a WC for the servants rather than an earth closet.

The Boardman designs throw some light on the nature of provincial practice. Edward Boardman's work, like that of other provincial architects, is readily described as 'eclectic',[465] and his style was 'fluid enough for him to copy anything'.[466] Summerson presumes that architects themselves were the instigators of eccentric blends of style in search of 'character'.[467] Changes between design and construction at Hartswood and 12 Chapelfield North, however, suggest that decorative additions may have been at the insistence of the client, rather than being part of the original architectural vision. Not all clients favoured decorative extravagance; the plainness of Oaklands seems to have been Harmer's choice, despite the shaped gables and generally lighter style of the presentation drawing. Certainly, it must have been the clients who insisted that bedrooms or dressing rooms be squeezed in, despite compromising the elegant division of space. Perhaps provincial architects could not afford to be too precious and were required to temper architectural design with a builder's pragmatism. Such an approach no doubt served them particularly well if the volume and value of alteration work was not insignificant. Many architects, including Edward Boardman himself, had started out as builders.

The Boardman firm's commercial buildings have been described as 'practical, up to date and pleasing in appearance', [468] and the same might be said of the domestic commissions. The analysis of the houses by reference to contemporary observations on domestic design indicates that they met the stipulations for a 'gentleman's house'. It is also apparent that those requirements did indeed reflect contemporary sensibilities and the practicalities for the 'convenience' of middle-class life. They underpinned house designs that were of enduring satisfaction to Boardman clients and, for many, proved to be homes for life.

[464] Muthesius, in *Norwich*, ed. by Barringer, pp. 94-117 (p. 107).
[465] For example, in Bussey and Martin, p. 37.
[466] Pevsner and Wilson, p. 158.
[467] 'Suburban Villa', p. 222.
[468] Bussey and Martin, p. 37.

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Note:

For the new Boardman houses, the map, directory and census sources that identify the houses and their occupants are given in Chapters 2 and 3.

For alteration works, the map, directory and census sources are noted in the Gazetteer.

To facilitate understanding and comparison the positions of features may be described as right and left, front and rear, in relation to the front elevation, rather than by reference to cardinal points.

New houses

The Croft, 14 Lime Tree Road, 1874

Figure G 1: The Croft - front elevation (west)

Figure G 2: The Croft – front elevation, March 2020

Style:	Classical influence; hipped slate roof, grey or Suffolk White brick cambered arches, paired two-storey canted bay windows.
Plan:	Double pile classical plan with four main rooms on each of two floors.
Ground floor:	Hall corridor, stair hall with open well stair, dining room, drawing room, breakfast room, earth closet.
Service wing:	Kitchen with pantry and larder, scullery; yard with earth closet, coal and wood stores; cellar.
First floor:	Four bedrooms, bathroom, housemaid's closet, 'clothes closet'.
Drawings:	NRO, BR 35/2/24/10, 'Norwich, Town Close Estate: house for Mr. Bidwell'.
Map:	OS 1:10560 map Norfolk 63.SE, 1880-83.
Listing:	Grade II, list entry number 1291957 <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1291957> [accessed 6 April 2020] (Not identified as a Boardman design.)

Oaklands, Colney Lane, Cringleford 1874

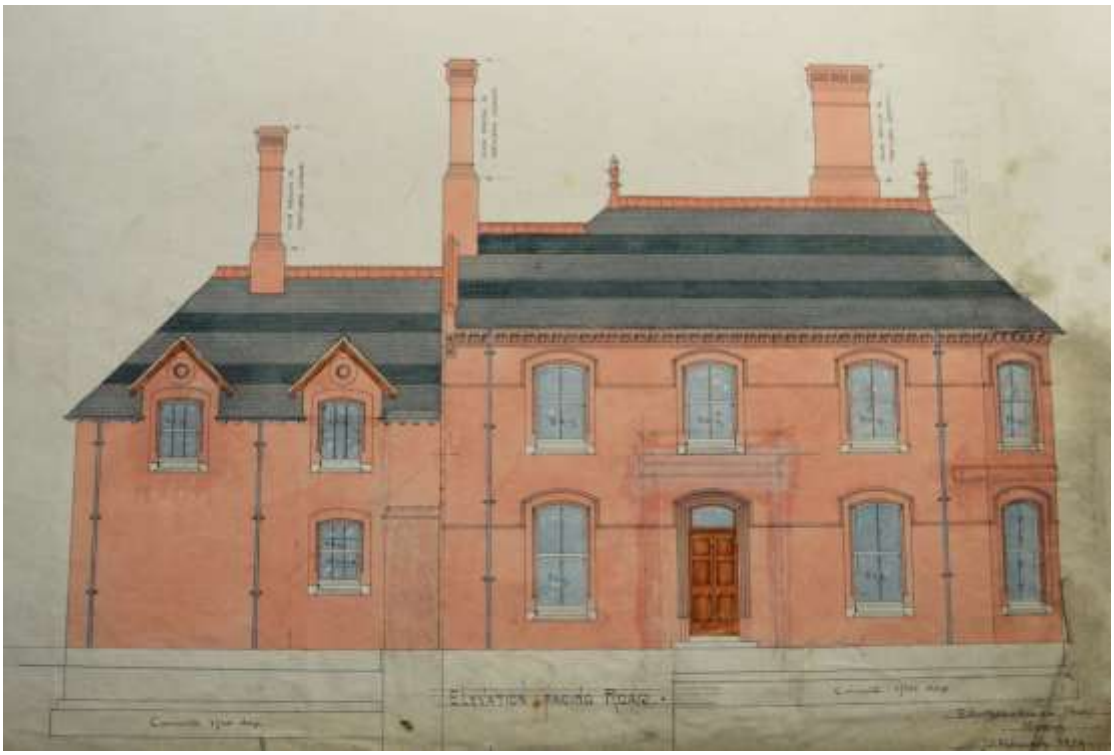

Figure G 3: Oaklands – entrance front (south-west)

Figure G 4: Oaklands – north-west elevation (service wing and stair window)

Figure G 5: Oaklands – north-west elevation, July 2019

Style:	Plain and severe style; hipped slate roof with simple cresting and prominent finials, red brick, cambered arches linked by string course; rectangular bay window, with frieze of moulded brick paterae in Cosseyware, and two-storey canted bay window on garden elevation; cornice of roundels in Cosseyware on three principal elevations; roundels in gables of dormer windows on south-west elevation of the service wing.
Plan:	Double pile classical plan with six main spaces on each of two floors.
Ground floor:	Entrance lobby, ‘vestibule’, corridor hall and rear ‘lobby’, stair hall with open well stair, drawing room, library, dining room, earth closet, lavatory, ‘boys’ room’ (school room).
Service wing:	Servants’ passage, back stairs, pantry, kitchen with larder, stores, ‘black closet’, scullery; cellar comprising wine cellar and heating chamber.
First floor:	Four bedrooms and dressing room off principal landing; three bedrooms and housemaid’s closet off servants’ landing.
Attic:	Tank room, two heated rooms, one unheated room.
Later additions:	Conservatory, study, billiard room.
Drawings:	NRO, BR 35/2/58/7, ‘Cringleford, House for F.W. Harmer’.
	NRO, BR 35/2/58/8, ‘Cringleford, Additions to House for F. W. Harmer’.
Map:	Ordnance Survey 1:2500 map, Norfolk 75.1, surveyed 1880, published 1882.

Stevenston, 3 Unthank Road 1875

Figure G 6: Stevenston – front elevation (south)

Figure G 7: Stevenston – front elevation, March 2020

Style:	Classical influence muted by asymmetry; hipped slate roof, Grey or Suffolk White brick; stone lintels, stone door architrave with truncated marble columns and simplified Corinthian capitals; rectangular bay window with frieze of Cosseyware paterae; two-storey canted bay window, with cambered arches to the ground floor lights and brick patterned infill to the tympana.
Plan:	Double pile classical plan with four main rooms on each of two floors.
Ground floor:	Corridor hall, open well stair; drawing, dining and breakfast rooms; stores, kitchen.
Service wing:	Kitchen with back stairs, scullery, pantry; yard with earth closet and covered shed; two-roomed cellar under kitchen, comprising coal store and room with slate shelf.
First floor:	Three bedrooms off principal landing; one bedroom off back stairs, dressing room, WC.
Attic:	One room.
Drawings:	NRO, BR 35/2/35/3, ‘Norwich, Unthank Rd: house for Mr. Frazer’.
Map:	NML, OS 1:500 map, Norfolk 63.15.1, 1883.

Fletcher's house, Colney Lane, Cringleford,1876 (not built)

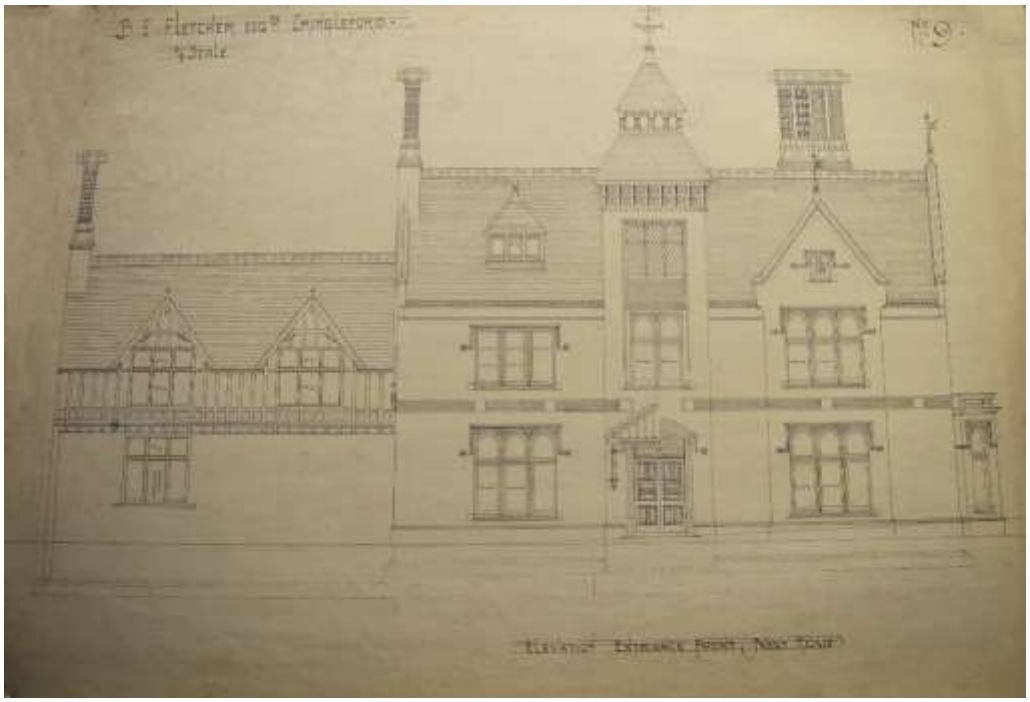

Figure G 8: Fletcher's house – entrance front (south-west)

Figure G 9: Fletcher's house – principal front (garden front, south-east)

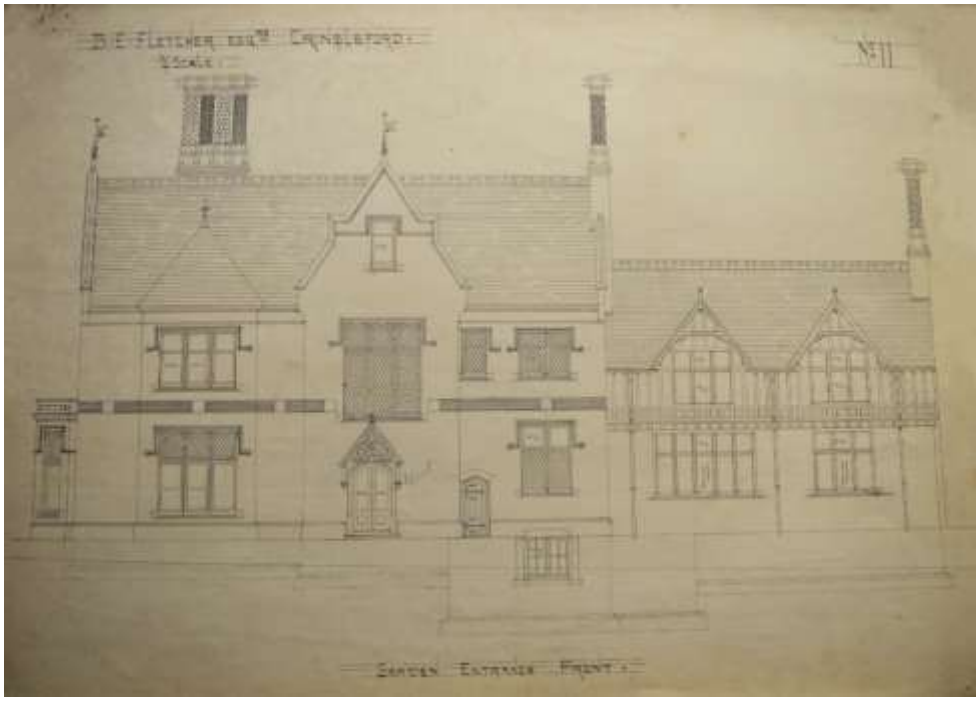

Figure G 10: Fletcher's house – garden entrance front

Style: Flamboyant, Tudor Gothic; three-storey entrance porch with frieze of moulded roundels, moulded brick chimney stacks in multiple designs, angular shaped gables, plat band; diamond-camed windows under hood-moulds, Gothic arches and decorative spandrels to upper lights of windows in principal rooms, y-tracery decoration on porch gable of garden entrance elevation. Service wing: close studding on first floor; battened doors with exaggerated hinges.

Plan: Double pile classical plan with six main spaces on each of two floors.

Ground floor: Entrance porch, lobby, two further lobby areas, rectangular hall, stair hall with open well stair, morning room, drawing room, central hall, library, fernery, dining room, cloakroom, lavatory and earth closet.

Service wing: Servants' passage, back stairs from ground to first floor, kitchen, scullery, larder; yard with well pump, second larder, knife house, coal store and two earth closets; cellar with wine cellar, heating cellar and 'box cellar' with iron door.

First floor: Five bedrooms on principal landing, dressing room in porch tower, linen store; Two bedrooms, bathroom, lavatory and housemaid's closet off back landing. Back stair in porch tower, from first floor to attic.

Attic: Three heated rooms, two unheated rooms, cistern room.

Drawings: NRO, BR 35/2/23/8, 'Cringleford: house for B. E. Fletcher'.

Map: NRO, BR 34/2/23/8/3, Plan of estate in Cringleford, Norwich, for sale by Messrs Spelman, 1873.

Melrose, 25 Mile End Road, Eaton, 1876

Figure G 11: Melrose – front elevation (west)

Figure G 12: Melrose – front elevation, March 2020

Style:	Classical influence muted by asymmetry and red brick; slate pitched roof, geometric Cosseyware frieze above ground-floor bay windows; cambered arches; asymmetrical door architrave; asymmetrical bay windows, with ground floor rectangular bay under pitched roof to left and two-storey canted bay under hipped roof to right; small wheel window in attic.
Plan:	Double pile classical plan with four main spaces on each of two floors (but there are two rooms, rather than one, off the back landing above the kitchen).
Ground floor:	Vestibule and corridor hall, stair hall with open well stair, dining room, drawing room, 'office', mistress's stores.
Service wing:	Kitchen with back stairs, pantry, larder and scullery; yard with coal shed, open shed, ashbin and two earth closets; two-roomed cellar, including wine cellar.
First floor:	Four bedrooms on principal landing; two bedrooms on back landing.
Attic:	Unheated 'servant's room' and 'box room'.
Drawings:	NRO, BR 35/2/19/10, 'Norwich, Eaton, Mile End Rd: house for Mr Thorold'.
Map:	OS 1:2500 map, Norfolk 63.14, 1880-82.

Hillside, 228 Thorpe Road 1876 (demolished)

Figure G 13: Hillside – front elevation (south)

Figure G 14: Hillside – west elevation

Style:	Classical influence, muted by the asymmetry of the ground-floor bay window to the west and the service wing projection to the east; hipped slate roof, red brick, stone lintels, flat-sided arch above front door, no apparent decorative detail apart from on the chimneys.
Plan:	Double pile classical plan with four main spaces on each of two floors.
Ground floor:	Corridor hall, stair hall with open well stair, dining room, drawing room, breakfast room, earth closet.
Service wing:	Kitchen with back stairs, pantry, scullery, coal store; yard with earth closet and wood store; cellar.
First floor:	Three bedrooms, ‘dressing and bath room’, and large shelved closet off principal landing; bedroom accessed from back stairs, with stairs to attic.
Attic:	One unheated room.
Drawings:	NRO, BR 35/2/34/1, ‘Thorpe: house for Mr Skoyles’.
Maps:	OS 1:10560 map, Norfolk 63.SE, 1880-83.
	OS 1:2500 map, Norfolk 63.16, 1912.

Reeve's house, Ipswich Road, 1881 (not built)

No elevation drawings survive. The sketch plans are apparently initial designs for a new house as they are drawn in red.

Style:	No elevation drawings survive.
Plan:	Double pile classical plan with four main spaces on each of two floors. The sketch plans comprise ground- and first-floor side entrance plans, alternative ground-floor front entrance plan, and an attic.
Ground floor:	Corridor hall, drawing room, dining room.
Service wing:	Kitchen, 'wash house', larder and pantry.
First floor:	Four bedrooms, bathroom and WC.
Attic:	Two attic rooms, one heated.
Drawings:	NRO, BR 35/2/27/2, 'Norwich, Ipswich Rd: house for Mr Reeve'.

Fairmile, 98 (formerly 96) Newmarket Road, 1885

Figure G 15: Fairmile – front elevation (north-west)

Figure G 16: Fairmile – front elevation
https://www.zoopla.co.uk/property-history/flat-3/98-newmarket-road/norwich/nr2-2lb/44791630 [accessed 6 April 2020] © 2020 Zoopla Limited.

Figure G 17: Fairmile – garden front (south)

Style: Old English, Tudorbethan; strong vertical emphasis, prominent chimneys, multiple gables on garden elevation, and stone-mullioned two-storey rectangular bay window with ogee-curved lead roof on right-hand-side elevation (south-west); high-transomed windows; red brick, staggered string course, slate roof;[469] Cosseyware mouldings on chimneys.

Plan: Irregular classical plan, with six main spaces on each of two floors.

Ground floor: Internal porch, rectangular hall with wide dog-leg stair, lavatory and WC, dining room, drawing room, breakfast room, mistress's store.

Service wing: Back hall, back stairs, pantry, kitchen, scullery, larder; yard with servants' WC and knives room; two-room cellar, including coal cellar.

First floor: Five bedrooms, bathroom, WC and linen cupboard on principal landing; back landing with housemaid's closet and stairs to attic.

Attic: Nursery, box room, one heated bedroom, one unheated.

Drawings: NRO, BR 35/2/44/17, 'Norwich, Newmarket Road, house for Henley Curl (Fairmile, 98 Newmarket Road)'.

Map: OS 1:2500 map, Norfolk 63.14, surveyed 1905.

[469] Although the drawing suggests a tiled roof, the estimate is for slate: Estimate, July 1885, p. 8 bound in BR 35/1/162).

Christchurch Lodge, 20 Christchurch Road 1890

Figure G 18: Christchurch Lodge – front elevation (south-west)

Figure G 19: Christchurch Lodge, March 2020

Style:	Old English, Jacobethan; red brick, tiled pitched roof, prominent chimneys, stone mullions, string course, high-transomed windows; Queen Anne influences in shaped gables and quoins; canted and rectangular bay windows on either side of front door; diminutive triangular 'Boardman pediment' on ground- floor canted bay window.[470] Initials 'W. B.' in gable of porch.
Plan:	Irregular classical plan with four main spaces on each of two floors.
Ground floor:	Entrance porch, rectangular hall with central straight stair flight, dining room, drawing room, morning room, lavatory.
Service wing:	Back hall with mistress's store, pantry, back stairs, kitchen, scullery, larder and WC; yard with knives room; three-roomed cellar, including coal store and wine cellar.
First floor:	Four bedrooms and dressing room, bathroom, linen store and WC off principal landing; one bedroom and housemaid's closet off back landing, bedroom having access to attic box room (perhaps through a hatch).
Drawings:	NRO, BR 35/2/39/4 'Norwich, Christchurch Rd: house for Mr. Banks 1890 and alterations 1928, 1932'.
Map:	OS 1:2500 map, Norfolk 63.14, surveyed 1905.

[470] Identified as a characteristic feature of Edward Boardman's terraced housing by Chris Bennett, Senior Conservation and Design Officer, South Norfolk Council (personal communication, 30 July 2020).

The Gables and Rothley, 8 and 10 Christchurch Road, 1890

Figure G 20: The Gables and Rothley – front elevation (south-west)

Figure G 21: The Gables, March 2020

Figure G 22: Rothley, March 2020

Style: Old English Tudor style; red brick, tiled pitched roof; close-studded half-timbering; tall stacked chimneys, high-transomed windows, tile-hanging on gable to right (south) of front door.

Plan: Side corridor plan on ground floor. Central landing (akin to 'classical plan') on the first floor.

Drawings: NRO, BR 35/2/39/8, 'Norwich, Christchurch Rd: house for Mr. Bolingbroke'.

Map: OS 1:2500 map, Norfolk 63.14, surveyed 1905.

The Gables

Ground floor: Porch veranda, entrance hall, straight stair with initial winder, drawing room, dining room, conservatory.

Service wing: Kitchen, store, scullery, larder; yard with WC and knives room; cellar with separate furnace room.

First floor: Four bedrooms, bathroom with WC.

Rothley

Ground floor: Entrance hall, straight stair with initial winder, drawing room open to dining room.

Service wing: Kitchen, store, scullery, larder; yard with WC and knives room; cellar with separate coal store.

First floor: Four bedrooms, WC.

12 Chapelfield North 1891

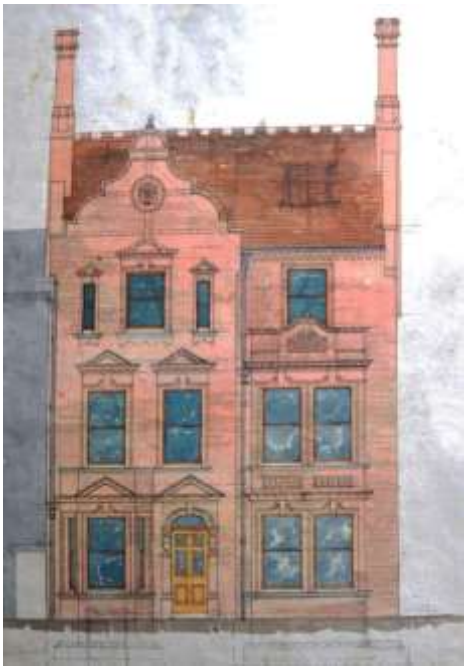

Figure G 23: 12 Chapelfield North – front elevation (east)

Figure G 24: 12 Chapelfield North, March 2020

Style: Tudor Jacobean with Queen Anne influences: shaped gables, pedimented architraves, window aprons; red brick, tiled pitched roof. Fenestration and some stylistic features altered before construction: two-storey bay became flush ground-floor window with oriel above; door pilasters were dispensed with and pediment above became scrolled; moulded brick chimney stacks in multiple designs not evident in original designs. Date 1891 in roundel on front-facing gable.

Plan: Town house, single pile, two principal ground-floor main rooms either side of corridor hall.

Ground floor: Corridor hall, study, dining room, dog-leg stair.

Service wing: Lobby, larder, kitchen, scullery, passage connecting the alley of Watts' Court with the yard; cellar.

First floor: Drawing room, 'spare' room; back corridor with bedroom, bathroom, WC and linen cupboard.

Second floor: Three bedrooms and linen cupboard.

Drawings: NRO, BR 35/2/44/14, 'Tracing from Plan on deed dated 16th October 1837';
NRO, BR 35/2/44/13, 'Norwich, Chapel Field: house for Mr. Todd'.

Map: OS 1:2500 map, Norfolk 63.15, surveyed 1905.

Listed: Grade II, list entry number 1372733 <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1372733> [accessed 6 April 2020] (Not identified as a Boardman design.)

Cringleford Lodge, Colney Lane, 1892 (demolished)

Figure G 25: Cringleford Lodge – front elevation (east)

Figure G 26: Cringleford Lodge – front elevation (east)
(CHS, uncatalogued collection, unknown photographer)

Style:	Old English; multiple gables and bay windows, prominent chimneys, half-timbering, family crest on porch; finials on window bays and porch suggestive of crenellation; red brick, steeply pitched tiled roof, stone mullions.
Plan:	Free plan around hall, resembling six-room classical plan.
Ground floor:	Porch, entrance lobby, ‘rugs’ room, living hall, study with safe, drawing room, dining room.
Service wing:	Back hall, school room, boot room, WC and lavatory, back stairs mistress’ store, butler’s pantry, servants’ hall, kitchen with larder and cook’s pantry, coal store; yard with boot room, lamp room and WC; cellar with heating chamber and wine store.
First floor:	Half landing with nursery and two night-nurseries; principal landing with three bedrooms and two dressing rooms; back landing with WC, bathroom, housemaid’s cupboard, three bedrooms.
Attic:	Two bedrooms, box room and tank room.
Drawings:	BR 35/2/55/19, ‘Cringleford, house for J. W. Gilbert with stables and coachman’s cottage’.
Maps:	OS 1:2500, 75.1, 1912.
Photographs:	BR 35/4/1, ‘Cringleford, J. W. Gilbert Esq.’s house views’; and CHS uncatalogued private photograph collection.

Hartswood, 1 Judges Walk, 1897

Figure G 27: Hartswood – front elevation (east)

Figure G 28: Hartswood - entrance front, March 2020

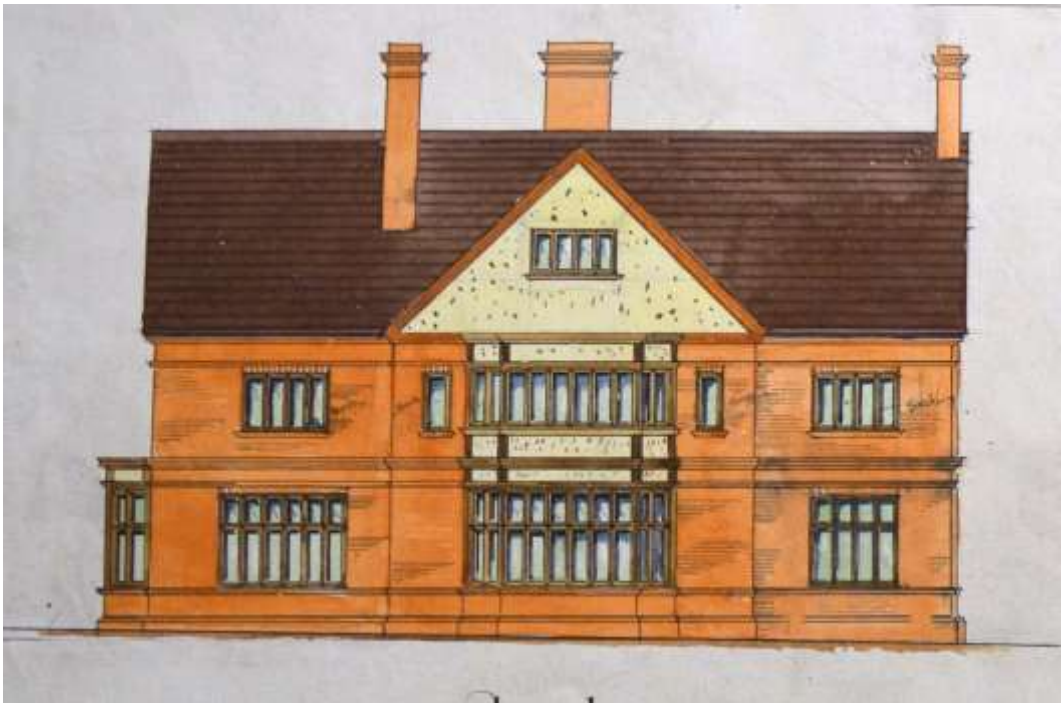

Figure G 29: Hartswood – garden front (south)

Figure G 30: Hartswood – garden front, March 2020

Style:	Old English; horizontal emphasis; red brick, tiled pitched roof; prominent chimneys, roughcast rendered gable over central two-story bay window on garden elevation; broad, high-transomed windows; smaller windows on side (entrance) elevation to east; symmetrical garden elevation but asymmetrical entrance elevation. Queen Anne detailing introduced between design and construction: window aprons to second floor windows; string course is pulvinated where it crosses the bay windows on the west and garden (south) fronts.
Plan:	Side corridor plan.
Ground floor:	Hall with straight stair; rooms are unnamed but are presumed to be study, dining room and drawing room.
Service wing:	Lobby, WC and cloakroom, back stairs, two unnamed rooms, unnamed kitchen, scullery and various service rooms.
First floor:	Principal landing with two inter-connecting rooms (probably nursery suite), two bedrooms, dressing room and bathroom; back landing with housemaid's closet, WC and two bedrooms.
Attic:	One heated room and two box rooms.
Drawings:	NRO, BR 35/2/44/6, 'Judges Walk, house for Mr. Coller 1897 (8 plans) and alterations for Dr Young 1957'.
Map:	OS 1:2500 map, Norfolk 75.2, 1905.

Alterations

The Limes, 20 (formerly 9) Unthank Road - 1865

Client: Miss Mary Blakely, governess.

Drawings: NRO, BR 35/2/18/5, 'Norwich, Unthank Rd: house for Miss Blakely'.

Maps: OS 1:2500, 63.11, 1883-84; OS 1:500, 63.11.21, 1883.

Census Census 1871.

Classical plan villa. Alterations to extend the two front rooms (facing north-west), the north room (left of front door) extended to the side and the south room (right) extended to the front. The line of the front extension is carried across the elevation to create a partial veranda. High-transomed windows replace sash windows on the ground floor. (See Figure 47 in main text.)

41 (formerly 20) Newmarket Road – 1880s and 1893

Drawings: NRO, BR 35/2/87/16, 'Norwich, Newmarket Rd., house for Mrs. Womack n.d. (1 plan); house for S.T. Townshend'.

Client: Mrs Womack, living on rental income.

Date: Uncertain, by 1880-83.

Map: OS 1:2500, 63.15, 1880-83.

Directories: *Post Office Norfolk* 1875, p. 385; *White Norfolk 1883*, p. 539; *White Norfolk 1890*, p. 607.

Census: Census 1871.

Classical plan villa. Alterations to add a porch and two matching bay windows to the front elevation.

Client: Samuel T. Townshend, carver and gilder.

Date: 1893.

Map: OS 1:2500, 63.15, 1905.

Census: Census 1891.

Alterations to add new breakfast room with two bedrooms above.

107 Newmarket Road - 1867

Client: Dr William Thomas Bensly, solicitor, Secretary to the Bishop of Norwich.

Drawings: NRO, BR 35/2/19/4, 'Norwich, Newmarket Rd.: house for Dr Bensley [*sic*]'.

Map: OS 1:2500, 63.14, 1880-82

Census: Census 1871, Census 1881.

Listing: Grade II, list entry number 1372450 <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1372450> [accessed 6 April 2020]
The remodelling is not identified as Boardman's work.

Classical plan villa. Alterations to block the original south front door, move the entrance to the west and extend the house. A new open well stair and dining room are added to the north-west. The former entrance becomes part of the drawing room which acquires a bay window and triangular pediment above. With the addition of a two-storey extension to the east, the street elevation becomes roughly symmetrical about the bay window. There are further additions to the east are of unknown date.

Fern Hill, 174 Unthank Road - 1869 (demolished)

Client: Joseph H. Ladyman, tea merchant.

Drawings: NRO, BR 35/2/24/17, 'Norwich: Unthank Rd, house and stables for J.H. Ladyman'.

Map: OS 1:2500, 63.14, 1880-82.

Census: Census 1871, Census 1881.

Classical plan villa, side-on to the main road. Alterations to block the front door (east) and move the entrance to the north (side elevation), facing the road. There is a new stair hall and new dining room. The scullery is rebuilt as a sitting room on the new front elevation, which becomes asymmetrical; the front entrance is slightly off centre and the dining room walls project from the north and east elevations.

Fern Cottage (The Fernery), 69 Thorpe Road - 1870 (demolished)

Client: Franke Hinde, silk manufacturer.

Drawings: NRO, BR 35/2/23/9, 'Thorpe: house for F. Hinde'.

Maps: OS 1:10560, 63.SE, 1880-83; OS 1:2500, 63.16, 1912; and
Ordnance Survey 1:10560 map, Norwich TG20NW-A, surveyed pre-1930, revised 1930, 1930-45, 1952-55, 1956, published 1957.

Census: Census 1881.

Pair of a semi-detached pair of classical villas. Alterations to combine them into one house and add a large curved glass porch.

Shrublands, Heigham Road - 1876 and 1883 (demolished)

Client: William Bond, tailor.

Drawings: NRO, BR 35/2/34/5, 'Norwich, Heigham Rd: "The Shrublands"'.

Map: OS 1:2500, 63.11, 1883-84.

Directories: *Harrods Norfolk 1877*, p. 396; *Hamilton Norfolk 1879*, p. 81.

Census: Census 1881.

Classical plan villa. Alterations in 1876 to add a dining room at the rear and bedroom above. Alterations in 1883 to rebuild the scullery and add a bedroom, bathroom and WC above.

Albermarle House, 12 Albermarle Road - 1880

Client: Walter Todd, tailor.

Drawings: NRO, BR 35/2/31/6, 'Norwich, Albemarle Rd: alterations for Mr. Todd'.

Map: OS 1:2500, 63.14, 1880-82.

Census: Census 1881.

Alterations to the rear to add a larder and bedroom above.

The building is now part of Norwich High School for Girls.

St Leonard's Priory, Thorpe - 1880 (demolished)

Client: Henry Snowdon, draper.

Drawings: NRO, BR 35/2/84/10, 'Norwich, Mousehold, house for Henry Snowdon'.

Map: OS 1:2500, 63.11, 1883-84.

Census: Census 1881.

Classical plan villa. Alterations to move the entrance from south to east, add a kitchen and scullery to the north west and a ground-floor nursery to the north east, creating a new symmetrical front elevation to the east. There are three bedrooms, a dressing room and WC above.

Southwell Lodge, Ipswich Road - 1881 (demolished)

Client: John Willis, partner in Willis and Southall, leather merchants and manufacturers.

Drawings: NRO, BR 35/2/27/6, 'Norwich, Ipswich Rd.: house for Mr. J. Willis'.

Map: OS 1:2500, 63.15, 1880-83.

Directory: *White Norfolk 1883*, p. 619.

Census: Census 1881.

Alterations to add a nursery and two bedrooms above the (probably rebuilt) service wing. The site is now part of City College Norwich.

Oak House/Albermarle House, 91 Newmarket Road - 1882

Client: Edward Boardman.

Drawings: NRO, BR 35/2/31/10, 'Norwich, Newmarket Rd: villas for Mrs. Boardman'.

Maps: Morant's 1873 map; OS 1:2500, 63.15, 1880-83; OS 1:2500, 63.15, 1905; Ordnance Survey 1:2500 map, Norfolk 63.15, surveyed 1880-83, revised 1926, published: 1928.

Directories: *Hamilton Norfolk 1879*, p. 29; *Jarrold Norwich 1896*, p. 91, p. 235; *Jarrold Norwich 1905*, p. 79, p. 239.

Cost: 'Say £1200', recorded in 'List of Works over £500', part of NRO, BR 35/1/180.

Other: BR 35/9, Boardman family tree, compiled by J. R. Carr-Griffiths (1983, photocopy).

These alterations divided an existing house into two dwellings, one with access from Albermarle Road. In 1905 they were occupied by Edward Boardman (Albermarle Road) and by the de Carle Smiths, his daughter and son-in-law (Newmarket Road).

Rosary House, 106 Thorpe Road - 1886

Client: Jacob Caro, shoe manufacturer (Haldinstein and Co.)

Drawings: NRO, BR 35/2/82/6, 'Norwich, Rosary Rd, Rosary House for J. Caro'.

Maps: OS 1:2500, 63.15, 1880-83 and OS 1:2500, 63.15, 1905.

Directory: *White Norfolk 1890*, p. 649.

Census: Census 1891.

Alterations to add a dining room and WC to the rear, with two bedrooms and WC above.

Stafford House, Newmarket Road - 1887

Client: Charles Rackham Gilman, solicitor and sometime mayor of Norwich.

Drawings: NRO, BR 35/2/84/6, 'Norwich, Newmarket Rd, Stafford House for C.R. Gilman'.

Maps: OS 1:2500, 63.15, 1880-83 and OS 1:2500, 63.15, 1905.

Directories: *Eyre Norwich 1883*, p. 22; *White Norfolk 1890*, p. 665.

Census: Census 1881.

Alterations to extend the house from a 'four-room classical plan' to six rooms by adding a billiard room and drawing room (alongside a conservatory, an earlier addition), with two bedrooms, dressing room and WC above. There is a new kitchen, the former kitchen becoming part of an enlarged staircase hall, and a new W.C., lavatory, mistress's stores, and butler's pantry. Above are two small bedrooms.

The building is now part of Norwich High School for Girls.

The Old House, 49 Church Lane, Eaton - 1892

Client: Edward J. Caley, mineral water manufacturer.

Drawings: NRO, BR 35/2/44/15, 'Eaton, house for E. J. Caley'.

Maps: OS 1:2500, 75.2, 1880 and Ordnance Survey 1:2500 map, 75.2, surveyed 1880, revised 1905 and 1912, published 1914.

Directories: *Kelly Norfolk 1892*, p. 741; *Jarrold Norwich 1896*, p. 237.

Other: Burgess, p. 12. Pevsner and Wilson, p.346.

Late Georgian house. Alterations to add a new bedroom and dressing room above an existing single storey dining room.

96 (formerly 94) Newmarket Road - 1896

Client: George Arthur Coller, coal merchant (brother of Charles Tarrant Coller).

Drawings: NRO, BR 35/2/44/7, 'Norwich, Newmarket Rd., house for Mr. Coller'.

Maps: OS 1:2500, 63.15, 1880-83; and OS 1:2500, 63.15, 1905.

Census: Census 1881; Census 1891; Census 1901.

Rear extension to add billiard room and side entrance, with two bedrooms and dressing room above.

Braemar, 38 Cotman Road, Thorpe - 1897

Client: George Jewson, timber merchant.

Drawings: NRO, BR 35/2/62/5, 'Thorpe, Grove Rd, "Braemar" additions for George Jewson'.

Maps: OS 1:10560, 63.SE, 1880-83 and OS 1:2500, 63.16, 1912.

Census: Census 1891.

Other: 'Thorpe Ridge Conservation Area Appraisal' (Unpublished: Norwich City Council, 2007), p. 10.

Alteration designs to add bathroom and WC above existing scullery (not carried out).

Avenue Lodge, 117 Newmarket Road - 1898 (demolished)

Client: Daniel Tomkins.

Drawings: NRO, BR 35/2/87/25, 'Norwich, Newmarket Rd, Avenue Lodge for Daniel Tomkins'.

Maps: OS 1:2500, 63.14, 1880-82 and OS 1:2500, 63.14, 1905.

Directory: *Kelly Norfolk 1900*, p. 305.

Alterations to extend dining room and likewise bedroom above.

Cringleford Grove, Cringleford - 1899

Client: Percy Evershed, retired brewery director.

Drawings: NRO, BR 35/2/53/21, 'Cringleford, house for P. Evershed'.

Maps: OS 1:2500 map, Norfolk 75.1, 1880; OS 1:2500, 75.1, 1912.

Census: Census 1901.

Alterations to add bedroom and dressing room above single-storey kitchen and coal store, on the front elevation (not carried out).

A note on works at Fern Hill, Cotman Road, Thorpe (demolished)

Client: Isaac Bugg Coaks, JP, partner in Coaks & Co Solicitors of Bank Plain and Secretary to the Norwich Corn Exchange Company and Solicitor to the Norwich and Eastern Counties Freehold Land and Building Society.

Drawings: BR 35/2/19/9, 'Thorpe: house belonging to I. B. Coaks (1877 and 1878)'.

Maps: OS 1:10560, 63.SE, 1880-83 and OS 1:2500, 63.16, 1912.

Directory: *White Norfolk 1883*, p. 574.

Cost: 'List of Works over £500', part of NRO, BR 35/1/180.

The Boardman drawings dated 1877-78 consist only of a site plan and drain plan. Unspecified 'additions' were carried out in 1895 at a cost of £1589 7s. These may relate to the glazed structure, possibly a conservatory, evident in the 1912 map, but there are no related drawings.

There is insufficient evidence to understand the extent of any works carried out by the Boardman firm and the limited plans that survive are not discussed in this research.

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(Text descriptions are taken from the NRO online catalogue, NROCAT)

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BR 35/2/24/10, 'Norwich, Town Close Estate: house for Mr Bidwell'

BR 35/2/27/2, 'Norwich, Ipswich Rd: house for Mr Reeve'

BR 35/2/34/1, 'Thorpe: house for Mr Skoyle'

BR 35/2/35/3, 'Norwich, Unthank Rd: house for Mr Frazer'

BR 35/2/39/4, 'Norwich, Christchurch Rd: house for Mr Banks 1890 and alterations 1928, 1932'

BR 35/2/39/8, 'Norwich, Christchurch Rd: house for Mr Bolingbroke'

BR 35/2/44/6, 'Judges Walk, house for Mr Coller 1897 (8 plans) and alterations for Dr Young 1957'

BR 35/2/44/13, 'Norwich, Chapel Field: house for Mr Todd'

BR 35/2/44/17, 'Norwich, Newmarket Road, house for Henley Curl (Fairmile, 98 Newmarket Road)'

BR 35/2/55/19, 'Cringleford, house for J. W. Gilbert with stables and coachman's cottage'

BR 35/2/58/7, 'Cringleford, House for F.W. Harmer'

BR 35/2/58/8, 'Cringleford, Additions to House for F. W. Harmer'

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BR 35/2/19/4, 'Norwich, Newmarket Rd: house for Dr Bensley [*sic*]'

BR 35/2/19/9, 'Thorpe: house belonging to I. B. Coaks (1877 and 1878)'.

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BR 35/2/44/15, ‘Eaton, house for E. J. Caley’

BR 35/2/53/21, ‘Cringleford, house for P. Evershed’

BR 35/2/62/5, ‘Thorpe, Grove Rd, “Braemar” additions for George Jewson’

BR 35/2/82/6, ‘Norwich, Rosary Rd, Rosary House for J. Caro’

BR 35/2/84/6, ‘Norwich, Newmarket Rd, Stafford House for C.R. Gilman’

BR 35/2/84/10, ‘Norwich, Mousehold, house for Henry Snowdon’

BR 35/2/87/16, ‘Norwich, Newmarket Rd, house for Mrs Womack n.d. (1 plan); house for S.T. Townshend’

BR 35/2/87/25, ‘Norwich, Newmarket Rd, Avenue Lodge for Daniel Tomkins’

Drawings - speculative housing

BR 35/2/19/3, ‘Norwich, Unthank Rd./Grove Rd East: houses for James Youngs’

BR 35/2/29/4, ‘Norwich, Unthank Rd: houses for Mr Tuttle’

Drawings - Town Close plans

BR 35/2/87/3/3, ‘Norwich Town Close Estate: Plan of Building Sites to be Let by Auction 1879’ (January 1879)

BR 35/2/87/3/2, undated and untitled plan showing corner of Newmarket Road and Lime Tree Road

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