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# ‘BELOW ENVY, BUT ABOVE CONTEMPT’: THE DEANERY HOUSE AT ST PAUL’S CATHEDRAL, LONDON

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*The Old Deanery of St Paul’s Cathedral (or Deanery House, as originally known) lies off Dean’s Court, once Dean’s Street, a short road running roughly north-south between the Cathedral and Carter Lane.<sup>1</sup> The seven-bay, red brick house, was designed by October 1669 and built in 1672–73. Still set back in its own courtyard, it is among the small handful of*

*surviving secular buildings erected in the aftermath of the Great Fire of 1666 close to St Paul’s. This article provides a fresh reassessment of the building following a recording project undertaken by the author in 2013–14, and highlights new evidence, including unpublished letters and a survey of 1677.*



Fig. 1. The Deanery House (now Old Deanery), St Paul’s, London, entrance front in 2016. (© Will Pryce)

Despite its prominence and obvious importance, little has been published on the architecture of the Deanery House since 1936, when it was usually attributed to Sir Christopher Wren himself.<sup>2</sup> The thirteenth volume of the Wren Society, published in that year, included the estimate for building the house, a contract for the coach house and a wood house, and the statement of accounts for the

‘convenient house of Residence’, transcribed from the Tanner manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. These were illustrated by a mid-1930s survey plan, section and elevation of the house, but with no explanation of intervening changes. Since then an elevation and plan made in 1677 by the printer and surveyor William Leybourn has come to light, and was published by Dorian



Fig. 2. The Deanery House (now Old Deanery), St Paul's, London, garden front in 2016, note the changing ground level. (© Will Pryce)

Gerhold in 2016, omitting, however, a second plan of the raised ground floor (labelled ‘first Floor’).<sup>3</sup> These two plans are considered here along with previously unpublished letters to and from Dean William Sancroft. They include an unpublished letter relating to the approval of the accounts in 1673.<sup>4</sup> This article also includes new material on the immediate surroundings of the house, allowing us further to clarify its original form (only altered in certain aspects) and its original purpose, namely the official residence of a significant London cleric and cathedral office holder intended as a centre for his administration and hospitality – with an equal status to leading City merchants’ houses.

#### THE ARCHITECTURAL CONTEXT

The Deanery House belongs to an interesting and little-studied aspect of later seventeenth-century domestic architecture: that associated with cathedral clergy who were, after 1660, much involved in the repair or new building of residentiary accommodation after the depredations of the Interregnum, when cathedral clerical posts were abolished. Some Deanery houses were assigned to Parliament-appointed ‘preachers’; others were leased, sold or demolished and the sites redeveloped.<sup>5</sup> Following the Restoration of the monarchy in 1660, members of the Anglican hierarchy pressed for the full restoration of the role and rights of the episcopacy starting with a political battle for supremacy with the Presbyterians which, through the Act of Uniformity in 1662, the bishops had won.<sup>6</sup> The recovery of Deanery houses, and other cathedral clerical residences, was also required for the practical processes of Church administration.<sup>7</sup> At Winchester, nine of the original thirteen residences were either demolished or in such poor condition, five new ones had to be built ‘at the Common coste’,<sup>8</sup> completed by 1662. But it took time to recover and rebuild, in 1664, for

instance, the Priest Vicars of Lincoln Cathedral were petitioning Dean Michael Honywood for the restitution of residences, ‘by the sons of violence in the late times of devastation reduced to confusion and heaps of rubbish so that now they are destitute of dwellings’.<sup>9</sup> Already in September 1661 John Cosin, the newly-reinstated Bishop of Durham, had written to Sancroft: ‘Busy I am about the reparations of my ruined houses, the very covering whereof with lead and slate (not yet half done) hath cost me more than £500’.<sup>10</sup> Cosin was a key figure in Sancroft’s career and a notably active architectural patron of numerous restorations of churches, residences and other buildings in Durham and at Auckland Castle, County Durham.<sup>11</sup> The rebuilding of bishop’s palaces and other cathedral residences resulted in distinct architectural groupings. Daniel Defoe noted, for instance, the ‘great many very well-built houses’ of the Cathedral Close of Lichfield, where the Bishop’s Palace had been entirely destroyed during the Civil War and had to be replaced anew’.<sup>12</sup>

St Paul’s was no exception to this process of renewal. The exact form of the pre-Civil War Deanery House at St Paul’s is uncertain.<sup>13</sup> Described by John Stow in 1598 as a ‘fair old house’ and dating originally from c.1145, it was later extended and updated.<sup>14</sup> An inventory of 1522 mentioned a hall, parlour, six chambers and two garrets a chapel and ten feather beds.<sup>15</sup> On 23 January 1643, Parliament decreed its temporary use as a prison,<sup>16</sup> but in 1645 it was repaired and given over to the ‘Sunday lecturer’ at St Paul’s, Cornelius Burges, who also acquired the former Deanery House at Wells.<sup>17</sup> It was surveyed by Parliament in 1649 (still in the hands of Burges), but appears to have been finally demolished during the 1650s. The Dean’s property was returned at the Restoration but, as the preamble for the 1669 Act ‘for the building of a Mansion-house for the Dean of St Paul’s Church London’ pointed out: ‘the Mansion-house formerly belonging to the Dean of St Paul’s Church in London was during the time of the late troubles pulled down and destroyed’ and

diverse small Tenem[en]ts, and shops were built upon the ground where the said Mansion house stood’.<sup>18</sup> These buildings were destroyed in the Great Fire, and it was on their site that the new Deanery House was built.

The two immediate post-Restoration deans of St Paul’s had little time (or energy) to build a new house: Matthew Nicholas died in August 1661, just a year after his appointment, and John Barwick was in office for barely three years, and for most of this time he was ill.<sup>19</sup> His brother wrote: ‘It is well known to every one, that if Dr. Barwick had regarded his private interest and advantage, he would not have accepted this new deanery, where there was neither house nor furniture, but what was either hir’d or bought, in exchange for that other, where nothing was wanting’.<sup>20</sup> The absence of a proper residence, commensurate with one of the most historic offices of the Church of England in London, was a therefore practical as well as a political and ecclesiastical issue.

#### WILLIAM SANCROFT

William Sancroft, who commissioned the post-fire Deanery House, was an able Cambridge-educated priest and deft clerical administrator, who became Dean of St Paul’s late in 1664, when he began to restore the Cathedral’s finances.<sup>21</sup> His interest in architecture went beyond the merely pragmatic. In 1650, when still in Cambridge, he sent home for his copy of Sir Henry Wotton’s *The Elements of Architecture*, first published in 1624.<sup>22</sup> A protégé of John Cosin, he went into voluntary exile during the Civil War and visited Amsterdam, Utrecht, Geneva, Rome, Venice and Padua in 1659–60, acquiring more books on art and architecture on his travels.<sup>23</sup> Towards the end of his life, Sancroft gave much of his own library to his old college, Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and among these, there are a number of publications suggestive of his serious architectural interest,<sup>24</sup> these include *Le due regole*



Fig. 3. Portrait of William Sancroft (1617–93), 1650, Bernard Lens. (*The Master and Fellows of Emmanuel College, Cambridge*)

*della prospettiva pratica di M. Iacomo Barozzi da Vignola* (Rome, 1642), Roland Freart, *Parallele de l’architecture antique et de la modern* (Paris, 1650) and Pierre Le Muet, *Maniere de bien bastir pour toutes sortes de personnes* (Paris, 1647), with its useful array of plans and elevations. However, it is not known for certain when these volumes were acquired and therefore whether they were in his hands in the 1660s (the Le Muet, for instance, is bound and stamped with the arms of the archbishop of Canterbury, which he became in 1677).

His first post-Restoration appointment was as domestic chaplain to Cosin, once more Bishop of Durham, who also presented him with the living of Houghton-le-Spring and a prebendal stall. Early in

1662 he was appointed Master of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, where he commissioned Christopher Wren to design a new classical, east-orientated Chapel flanked by a cloister. Built in 1668–73, it transformed the character of the college (fitting out continued to 1677).<sup>25</sup> In January 1664 Sancroft was also appointed Dean of York, and carried out major alterations to the Deanery, writing on 5 December 1664: ‘I was almost settled at York, having furnished my house in great part, and spent £100 in the repairs of it, and might have justly hoped by Midsummer, with the expense of as much money more, to have made such a dwelling of it, as I am never like to be owner of again’.<sup>26</sup>

But by then he had moved to be Dean of St Paul’s (appointed November 1664), where he had the opportunity to build a new ‘mansion’ from scratch. As he told his brother: ‘here [at St Paul’s] being a house to be bought, built and furnished . . . Only one comfort is, I that now shall sit down, and may justly be confident that my next remove will be to the grave’.<sup>27</sup> His close alliance and friendship Wren during the designing of the post-fire St Paul’s Cathedral is well attested.<sup>28</sup> Sancroft became Archbishop of Canterbury in 1677, and added a range to Lambeth Palace, known as the ‘New Building’ but demolished in the 1820s.<sup>29</sup> His delight in architecture remained sharp even after his ejection from office as a non-juror in 1690. Having retired to his family’s Ufford Hall estate in Suffolk,<sup>30</sup> he built – and possibly designed himself – a small lodge in the grounds (since demolished without record), noting in a letter of 11 November 1691: ‘we have a winter’s work still to do within doors, in paving and planchering [i.e. flooring], and daubing and ceiling, and plastering, and glazing, and wainscotting, making doors, laying hearths &c., so that we find it a very troublesome thing to bring a new (as well as an old) house over our heads’.<sup>31</sup> Completed in 1692, Sancroft moved in but (feeling his age) wrote ‘Tis not the first time that I have built, and left others to dwell there’.<sup>32</sup> no doubt thinking of his work at York and St Paul’s Deanery.

## BUILDING THE DEANERY

In 1666, Sancroft evidently saw the post-Fire recovery of residentiary accommodation as essential to the good administration of Cathedral government. This was an attitude shared with certain other leading clergy as illustrated by a letter to Sancroft from Thomas Turner, Dean of Canterbury. He wrote from Canterbury in that year, just after the Fire, offering money to help build new accommodation:

‘I know the maine Scope of our Reverend Diocesan & of y[our]rself likewise will bee this – To restore if possible, the Church (at least some part of it) to its Religious Use, if not its ancient Glory. To w[hi]ch end I wish some Habitations may bee provided for those (whether Canons or Petit-Canons) whose Residence is required there (Habitations I mean, Infra Invidiam, supra Contemptum). Towards w[hi]ch work, if that small stock w[hi]ch we have in hand (w[ha]t it is, & where it is, you know better than I) with the addition of some Rents & Fines, w[hi]ch may come in, shall be employed; I shall more rejoyce therein, than to see the Money in mine own purse.’<sup>33</sup>

The phrase ‘Infra Invidiam, supra Contemptum’ – below envy, but above contempt – perhaps best captures the prevailing attitude to residential architecture for cathedral clergy within the restored Anglican hierarchy.

The Act of Parliament of March 1669 allowed Sancroft to create new rental properties on part of the Deanery House site, to help defray costs of the new house, provided he spent £2,500 before 30 September 1673 on the new residence.<sup>34</sup> This released him and his successors from any future liability for future dilapidations.<sup>35</sup> The Act noted that he had ‘already designed, [measured?], staked and set out a propor[t]ion of the s[ai]d site of the said Old Mansion-house, and of the outhouses, Gardens, & Orchards and grounds . . . consisting of an Area, or por[t]ion of ground intended for site of the said new Mansion-house together w[ith] a Courtyard before it, and a kitchen-yard behind it.’<sup>36</sup> The 1669 estimate for building a new house, published by the Wren Society, was accompanied by

an agreement for a coach house and a ‘Woodhouse with Gallery & another story over the same’; a related statement of accounts was presented on 20 August 1673, following completion.<sup>37</sup> The estimate and agreement were signed off by two surveyors, the carpenter Edward Woodroofe and the glazier John Oliver;<sup>38</sup> the work was carried out by Israel Knowles, carpenter, and Thomas Warren, bricklayer, with other tradesmen including Joshua Marshall, the mason, Jonathan Winckles, paviour, George Drew, smith, and John Jay, who provided the slates.<sup>39</sup> This was an impressive team of experienced and influential group of London tradesmen.

The 1669 estimate was addressed to the Dean personally, although technically it must have been Cathedral business. Wren, by now appointed Surveyor to St Paul’s, was busy with proposals for the Cathedral, as well as the new City churches, and although a close friend of Sancroft, he presumably delegated the work to Woodroofe and Oliver, who had originally estimated both ‘the value of the Ground rent of the Site of certain Messuages & Tenements parcel of the Site of the old Mansion House belonging to said Deanery’, and quoted for ‘the Expense & Charge of building, & erecting a new Mansion-House for the said Dean & his



Fig. 4. Frontispiece of William Leybourn, ‘The Ichnography or Ground Plott with the Upright of the Deanery House’, 1677, (on deposit: London Metropolitan Archive CLC/313/L/F/019/MS12193, f.11). (© *The Chapter of St Paul’s Cathedral*)

Successors upon the Remainder of the said old Site according to a Draught, or Designe herew[i]th to be presented’.<sup>40</sup> That they worked closely together on the Deanery House is confirmed by an undated letter in the Tanner papers relating to the approval of the accounts in August 1673:

‘Yours w[i]th the enclosed came safe to my hands & sooner than I am ready (though I have endeavour’d it) to return you an answer according to your expectation & my own wishes: for Mr Oliver’s return happens to be Mr Woodroof’s absence, & yet I hope to procure a meeting both of the Surveyors and workmen either on Wednesday or Thursday next, and then if the workmen have perform’d all according to their

contract & approbation of your Surveyors; their full payment shall be forthwith paid & your full & final discharg[e] taken from the workmen, and your commands observed in waiting upon my L[or]d of London . . .’<sup>41</sup>

The work included panelling and ‘turning and carving’ staircases. Separate sums were quoted for a ‘Coach-House & Stables with the Lodgings above’, ‘2 lodges in the Corners of the Forecourt’ – though it seems that only one was built – ‘The Walling about the Court and Gardens’, as well as ‘Foregate & two Peers’.<sup>42</sup> An additional revised agreement was made on 26 February 1672, for sundry items including the

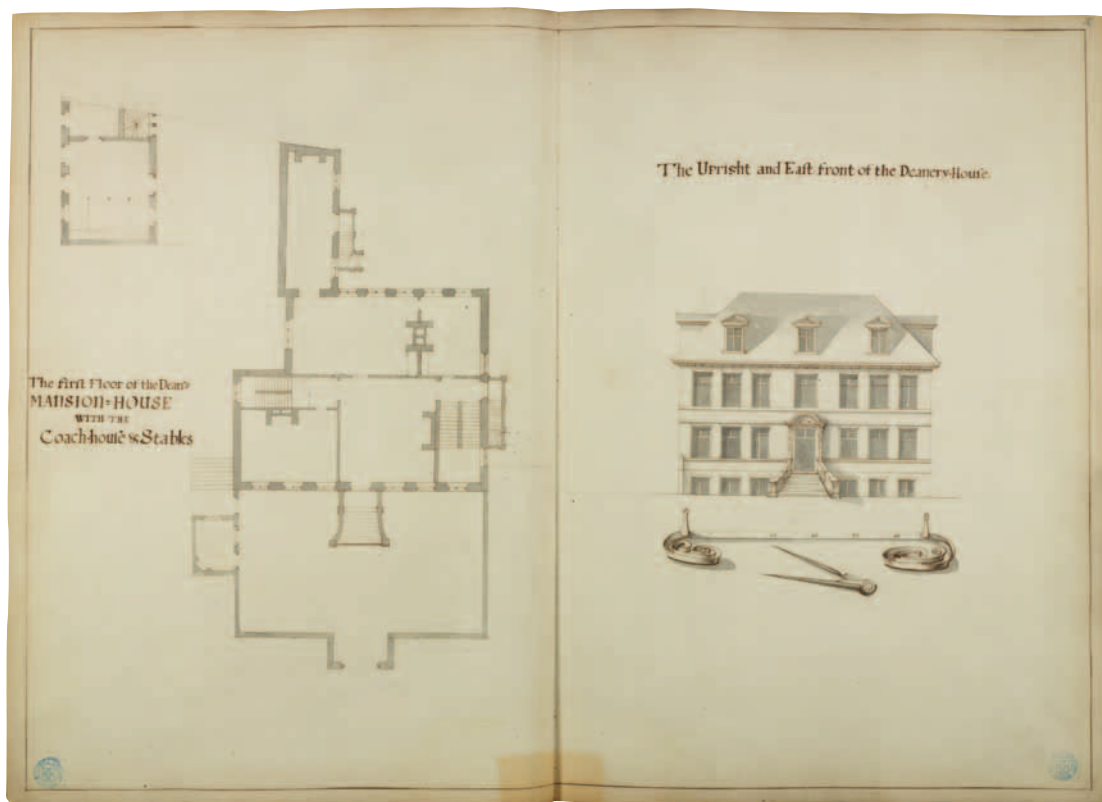


Fig. 5. William Leybourn, ‘First Floor’ and ‘Upright’ of the ‘Deanery-House’, (on deposit: London Metropolitan Archive CLC/313/L/F/019/MS12193, f.15).  
(© The Chapter of St Paul’s Cathedral)



‘Wood house’, with a Gallery and another storey over it, may account for the narrow wing that runs (roughly west) to the rear; this may have been intended to increase the service accommodation as well as extend the accommodation of the house. The statement of accounts made on 20 August 1673 totalled £2792 1s 2d.<sup>43</sup>

### THE DESIGN

The Deanery House was probably designed by Edward Woodroffe, although there is no direct documentary evidence.<sup>44</sup> He may have prepared a design under Wren’s direction or guidance;<sup>45</sup> the

two men worked closely on the designs for St Paul’s Cathedral in these years, and in 1671 Woodroffe produced designs for the Charterhouse under Wren’s direction.<sup>46</sup> Woodroffe was, from 1662, Surveyor to the Dean and Chapter of Westminster Abbey, and one of the three surveyors responsible for rebuilding the City churches. A highly experienced carpenter-architect, he owned an extensive architectural library.<sup>47</sup> Sancroft knew him well, since he had attempted the first repair to the fire-damaged Cathedral before its demolition, and then worked on the new Cathedral alongside Wren, who regarded him as his best draughtsman.<sup>48</sup>

Under the 1667 Rebuilding Act for the City, the Deanery House was in ‘category 4’, the premier

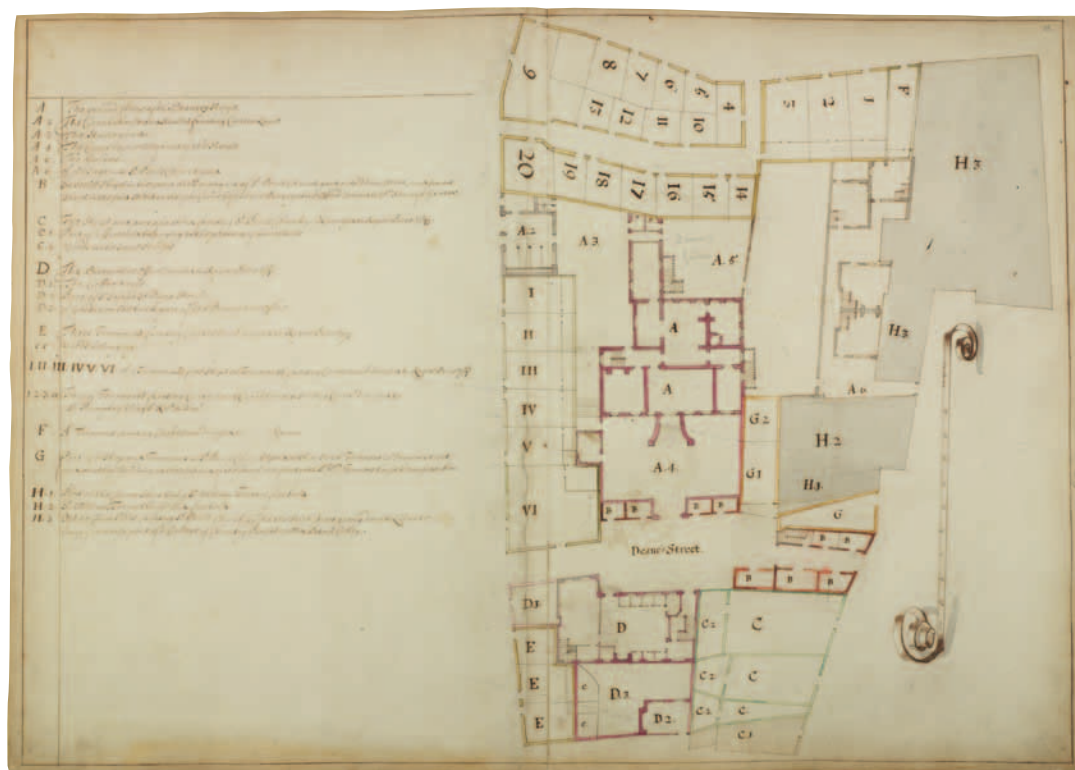


Fig. 6. William Leybourn, survey of ‘ground floor’ or basement level of the Deanery House and surrounding properties and tenements in 1677, (on deposit: London Metropolitan Archive: CLC/313/L/F/019/MS12193, f.13). (© *The Chapter of St Paul’s Cathedral*)



Fig. 7. Detail of Ogilby & Morgan, *A Large and Accurate Map of the City of London*, 1676, from Sheet 17 of the L.A.M.A.S facsimile edition, 1894. (© London Metropolitan Archives)

division of the four classes of houses permitted to be built, and defined as ‘Mansion houses and of the greatest Bigness, not fronting upon any of the streets or Lanes’, all of which had to be built of brick and stone as a precaution against fire.<sup>49</sup> But stylistically Sancroft’s new Deanery House did not depart radically from the domestic architecture of the City in the 1650s and 1660s, especially that of prosperous merchants’ houses, most of which were later swept away in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century redevelopments or destroyed in the Blitz.<sup>50</sup> The Deanery House is an austere, dignified seven-bay, two-storey (with attic) red-brick house over a raised basement, and its symmetrical elevational treatment can be compared with the work of mid-century designers such as the City Surveyor, Peter Mills (d.1670), whose Thorpe Hall near Peterborough and Wisbech Castle in Cambridgeshire (demolished) – both of the 1650s and both built for leading figures of Cromwell’s administration – provide (in the absence of comparable surviving City merchants’ houses today) useful evidence of the contemporary prevailing fashions in domestic architecture with strong City associations.<sup>51</sup> Such houses echo much grander residences, such as mid-century Coleshill,

by Sir Roger Pratt, or the newly completed Eltham Lodge by Hugh May. But an interesting parallel might be drawn with Cobthorne at Oundle (Northamptonshire), of 1658, which has a simple five-bay elevation of two storeys, with attic, over a raised basement, originally cross-mullioned windows, dormers, and a pedimented doorcase, following the model established by Inigo Jones in the 1630s and influenced by the publication of designs by Philips Vingboons.<sup>52</sup>

Several immediate post-Fire mansions were built in the City as bids for status and public office by a number of leading City merchants, notably on the path to being Lord Mayors (for example, Sir Robert Clayton and Sir Robert Vyner).<sup>53</sup> The wealthier classes had already begun to favour the more salubrious West End for their residences, but City merchants remained resident in the City itself longer than the aristocracy, and the Deanery House was intended to be the equal of their dignified residences.<sup>54</sup> A sense of tacit competition between the Dean and the merchants is revealed in a furious letter of 17 June 1672 from the normally even-tempered Sancroft to Sir William Turner (wool draper, alderman and former Lord Mayor), whose house faced the

west end of St Paul’s, relating to a ‘party wall’ dispute over an access route from the enclosed garden of the Deanery House to St Paul’s churchyard, which ran along the side of Sir William’s house:

‘But how many weeks that Debate hath cost me (to the loss of a 2<sup>nd</sup> year in my Business) you know well: And it may, for aught I know, cost me as much longer (were I at leisure to attend it) to contest the enlarging of a passage (too wide already) to a Back Door, w[hi]ch you yourself told me, when ever you should put off your Alderman’s Gown, you would not give 2d to preserve or to that effect. And indeed this whole Trouble (besides the expence of 400£, if we go on) is occasion’d me by a former Window the [importance?] whereoff is it seems considerable enough to hinder me from building at all, or at least to spoil my House, and yet, I dare affirm, is not valuable to you at 3d’.<sup>55</sup>

The 1673 statement of accounts for the Deanery House covered some modifications made during the building programme – and a ‘party wall’ payment to Sir William of £16 gs.<sup>56</sup> While no original drawings survive, the best evidence of the original design is Leybourn’s survey of 1677. It includes ‘the Upright’, a very full and clear depiction of the newly completed mansion’s principal (east) elevation, and plans of the basement and outbuildings (labelled ‘ground floore’), and the raised ground-floor (labelled ‘first Floor’); these are published here together for the first time.<sup>57</sup> The survey was presumably part of a review of the value of the properties belonging to the Dean following the completion of his new mansion,<sup>58</sup> and the fitting up of other properties whose rents were part of the income of his office. Such plan book surveys were also considered ‘prestige’ items, as suggested by the elaborate frontispiece.<sup>59</sup> The outline of the two plans in the survey can be usefully compared with that in Ogilby and Morgan’s *A Large and Accurate Map of the City of London* (1676) – although what appears to be an addition to the north must refer to the external stair rather than a roofed structure.<sup>60</sup> Most importantly, the 1677 survey shows that the Deanery House itself retains a little-changed profile and a – relatively – little altered plan, with



Fig. 9. The Deanery House (now Old Deanery): the principal staircase in 2016.  
(© Will Pryce)

the principal staircase at the north end of the house, rising through only one floor, and a secondary staircase at the south end, from basement to garret (and both original staircases survive).

The house was built with tall cross-mullioned windows, which are depicted clearly in the 1677 ‘Upright’, presumably then containing leaded

casements – the surveyor’s shorthand omits some of the mullions, but these can be read in the plans. Stout timber mullions survive on the basement (former kitchen) level, although the glazing is later and again would have been small squares set in lead. Sash windows were inserted in all of these windows during the eighteenth and early nineteenth century – the smaller-paned sashes on the raised ground floor of the west front would appear to be earlier than those of the entrance front and first floor. Although in some respects plain, the principal elevation has some notable decorative touches, including a finely carved timber modillion cornice with scrolled brackets. The main doorcase is also still framed by richly carved timber scrolled brackets with decorative drops of carved fruit and foliage hanging from carved lions’ heads. The 1677 ‘Upright’ shows that this door originally had a shell-shaped hood porch, and a break in the simple brick platband above the door would seem to

confirm this.<sup>61</sup> Such porches were a new fashion, as seen in Sir Robert Clayton’s house of around 1670, where the porch was huge in scale.<sup>62</sup> There was a single-flight external stair with gently curved balustrades,<sup>63</sup> leading up to the entrance door; it was replaced in the later eighteenth century by two short flights joining at the front door level. The attic dormers were shown as tall in the 1677 survey and were surmounted by triangular pediments (later removed).<sup>64</sup> The placing of the windows on the elevation on the survey, suggesting a closer grouping in the centre of the elevation must be an accident in draughtsmanship, as the survey plan itself shows the window openings to be equally spaced.

In plan, the Deanery was essentially two rooms deep. The basement (‘ground’) floor contained the kitchen, scullery and servants’ rooms – a bread oven is visible in the corner of the north-west room. Above, on the raised ground floor (‘first Floor’), were the entrance hall, staircases and three other rooms, with

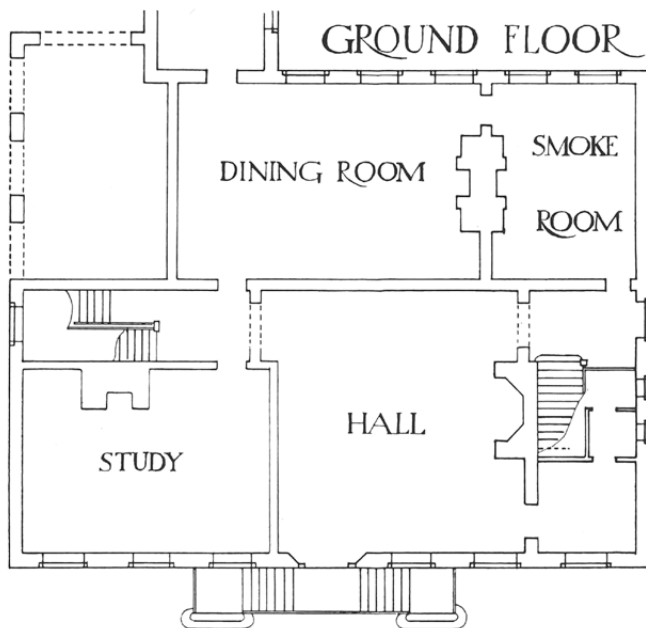


Fig. 8. Plan of Ground floor of The Deanery House, c.1936, first published in Wren Society, vol XIII.  
(© *The Chapter of St Paul’s Cathedral*)

the entrance hall linking the two staircases; although the seven-bay entrance elevation is symmetrical, the central door opens into the south end of the main hall. There was a passage running the breadth of the house but the secondary service-orientated staircase to the south was probably separated from the hall by a door. The principal staircase was not positioned behind the entrance hall, as in some contemporary houses such as No. 32 Botolph Lane,<sup>65</sup> but was open to the main hall (in the sense of not divided off by a door), but unusually tucked behind the principal fireplace as in a terraced house.<sup>66</sup> This must have been dictated by the nature of the site, which slopes away to the south towards the river. It also helped leave sufficient space for two larger-sized rooms on the ground floor facing the garden (one bigger than the other). The curious stepping back of the plan may also have been intended to create more space on the south-west corner of the house for what would have otherwise been an awkwardly shaped service court. Constricted City sites often required some flexibility in planning.

The room to the west of the entrance hall could be accessed from the stable yard by way of the secondary staircase from the semi-basement level. This may have been a room of business, where accounts could be collated and estate revenues collected – perhaps offering an interesting parallel with grand merchants’ houses which often contained counting offices,<sup>67</sup> although they might be no bigger than closet and study.<sup>68</sup> The larger room behind the entrance hall, originally entered through a door directly opposite the entrance, was presumably a room for receiving visitors; a large window in this room, facing south, is shown in plan as tripartite and may possibly have been a *Serliana*,<sup>69</sup> later lost when this area was turned into additional accommodation in the early nineteenth century, resulting in the rectangular plan form illustrated in the 1936 Wren Society volume.<sup>70</sup> There was probably provision for a substantial library, perhaps in the raised ground floor of the west wing, referenced as a ‘Gallery’ in the revised contract.<sup>71</sup> This appears on the 1677

survey as a long room with a blank wall to the south and a large hearth at the western end,<sup>72</sup> and have perhaps looked like the mid-1670s library at Ham House, Petersham, with open floor-to-ceiling shelving, and a built-in writing desk.<sup>73</sup> The other alternative candidate might be the squarer room to the north of the main block, also facing the garden (and labelled ‘smoke room’ – smoking room – in the mid-1930s plan). The main room on the first floor, approached by the principal staircase, was possibly the ‘great parlour’ or dining room; the remaining rooms on this floor were probably bedchambers. It seems that there were originally five rooms leading off the central corridor on the first floor, and there is evidence of two of them becoming one in the later eighteenth century.<sup>74</sup> The garret or attic level above supplied ample accommodation for servants.

The 1677 survey extends to the outlying structures: ‘The Court before the front of the House’ (A.4) which shows a small porter’s lodge with an angled corner fireplace and ‘The Coach-house and Stables fronting Carter Lane’, with stalls for four horses and accommodation above (A.2 and A.3). As with many important City merchant’s houses of the time,<sup>75</sup> the front court was set back between a series of small shops, and was entered through a central pair of gates, with piers of rubbed and gauged brickwork – the shops were as narrow as market stalls, but with a useful revenue value.<sup>76</sup> When complete, the house stood in its own ample gardens to the west; an external staircase to the north led down to a private passage that led between houses towards St Paul’s Cathedral (alongside Sir William Turner’s house). The main entrance, from the east, was through ‘a way, or passage, to be called Dean’s Street, formerly Angel Court to be open[e]d between the Houses . . . for the more commodious access of passengers, Coaches and other carriages to the said intended Mansion-house’ through ‘an Arch of stone, and Bricks . . . [with] a passage w[i]th buildings over it’.<sup>77</sup> The arch leading to Dean’s Court from St Paul’s Churchyard survived until 1894.<sup>78</sup>



Fig. 10. The Deanery House (now Old Deanery): the entrance hall in 2016. (© Will Pryce)

The Dean and Chapter also took a keen interest in housing the three residentiary canons (as encouraged by Dr Turner). A Chapter Act of 1670 referred to both the ‘Statutes of this Cathedral’ and ‘the ancient laudable custom of the same’ requiring ‘that as the Dean has allwaies his own Mansion, so the other three Residentiaries should have also houses of Residence assigned and appropriated to them nigh the s[ai]d Cathedral’.<sup>79</sup> This was ‘so they may the better attend the solemn daily Service of God and the affairs of the said Church,’ furthering the post-Restoration Anglican revival of cathedral liturgy, the original houses having been ‘burnt down & so consum’d’ in the ‘late dreadfull fire in London’. So the Dean and Chapter acquired land a little

north-west of the Cathedral from the old ‘Faculty of Physick’ (later known as the College of Physicians, which then moved to new premises built on Warwick Lane to designs by Robert Hooke).<sup>80</sup> This land was ‘sufficient for the building and erecting thereon three convenient dwelling houses’ which were ‘to be shut up within one com[m]on great Gate, from the rest of the said street, & City in as great a recess and privacy as in a place so populous could be justly hoped for’,<sup>81</sup> so that they might live ‘(as most suitable to their Original Institution and foundation) collegiately; as free, and remote as the nature of place will p[er]mitt from the noise, and disturbance of so busy a part of the Town’.<sup>82</sup>

In 1670 Woodrooffe was paid for his ‘paines in

contriving & drawing a designe’ for this surviving terrace, known as Amen Court (‘houses on Amen Corner’),<sup>83</sup> the accounts for which were published by the Wren Society in 1936.<sup>84</sup> The craftsmen included the carpenter John Longland, bricklayer, Thomas Warren, while ironwork was by George Drew and plasterwork by John Groves.<sup>85</sup> John Tillison (clerk of works at St Paul’s) wrote to Sancroft on 22 September 1673, about the near completion of the canons’ houses, and also mentioned the completed Deanery House: ‘I have put a very carefull fellow to ly in your new house & all things are well . . . I hear that Dr Layfeild [sic] & Dr Stillingfleet are making all the hast[e] they can to com[e] into their new houses. Dr Holbech . . . is now in town & settled with his little family in his new house.’<sup>86</sup>

#### LATER ALTERATIONS

The Deanery House (today Old Deanery) is a rare survival, but there were some later changes. Thomas Newton, Dean from 1768 to 1782, and Bishop of Bristol from 1761, made certain alterations,<sup>87</sup> reformed the front courtyard with a new wall with paired gates on either side of a central doorway, in place of the single entrance of the 1670s. He also removed the small shops visible on the 1677 survey, one fire damaged and empty, ‘the other a register office for servants, one of the worst of neighbours’,<sup>88</sup> and replaced the single staircase to the front door with two separate flights which met at the level of the door – more convenient for carriages.<sup>89</sup> The west-facing first floor drawing room was created, by putting two rooms together.<sup>90</sup> Some new sash windows were also inserted at this time.<sup>91</sup> No architect has yet been identified for these works.<sup>92</sup> Newton suffered frequent illnesses, which were blamed on his life at St Paul’s in the winter (in the summer he was resident in his diocese). He was a wealthy man, and a considerable collector of art.<sup>93</sup> He created new sewerage arrangements, and had

tenement houses in neighbouring Scollop Court pulled down, ‘to lay the ground into the Dean’s garden, and to build a handsome garden wall of brick coped with stone’. He also gave up a ‘sugar-house’ (a tenanted commercial property) ‘by all which means a large opening was obtained, and the house rendered much more lightsome and airy, and bettered secured from thieves and fire’.<sup>94</sup> *Baynards Castle Ward and Farringdon Ward Without*, of 1755 and Horwood’s *Plan of London Westminster and Southwark* of 1792 show that the house’s setting was much more open than it became in the nineteenth century.<sup>95</sup>

William Van Mildert, Dean from 1819 to 1826 (and Bishop of Llandaff), also carried out improvements to the house before he moved in early in 1823, using the London builders Wigg & Mansfield.<sup>96</sup> Payments between 1820 and 1822 are recorded to Wigg and Mansfield’s own bricklayers and carpenters, and the mason William Bellenie, and the painter and glazier William Thorne and Cood & Adams for decoration.<sup>97</sup> Portland stone sills were supplied for ‘all the Windows of [the] House’, as well as new marble slabs to the chimneypieces.<sup>98</sup> Payments to the mason also included ‘repairing the Portland stone steps to the house’.<sup>99</sup> The bricklayers were paid for ‘cutting and making good brickwork to window sills’.<sup>100</sup> William Thorne was paid for new glazing and painting (including ‘Graining & varnishing the Hall & Principal staircase’).<sup>101</sup> It was possibly in association with these works that larger-paned sash windows of the entrance front were first inserted, and subsequent to these various repairs and alterations, that this elevation was then rendered and painted to resemble stone according to neo-classical fashion – as shown in the 1881 watercolour by John Crowther and various early twentieth century photographs – which remained until the late 1940s.<sup>102</sup>

The census for 1871 gives a picture of the household of Dean Henry Mansell and his wife Charlotte, with a number of servants accommodated both in the house and the attached stables and coach house.<sup>103</sup> In 1874–75, the original 1670s stables and

coach house were replaced by the new choir school that faced Carter Lane, designed by F.C. Penrose.<sup>104</sup> A new coach house, stables and menservants’ accommodation for the Deanery House were also provided as part of that building (the new building required the demolition of the 1670s originals).<sup>105</sup> Robert Gregory, Dean from 1891 to 1911, was the first Dean of St Paul’s to reside here permanently throughout the year.<sup>106</sup>

When Dean Inge and his wife moved in, in 1911, they considered the interiors very dark and repainted them to present a much lighter appearance.<sup>107</sup> Thanks to the ‘Queen Anne revival’, and the

rise of the cult of Wren (whom they believed was the designer), the Deanery House was by now a potentially fashionable house for the first time since it was built. The early nineteenth-century render lasted until just after the Second World War, after which it was stripped off. Following bomb damage, the Deanery House was restored by W. Godfrey Allen, then Surveyor of St Paul’s – who also believed it was designed by Wren. The process of returning the house to its late-seventeenth-century appearance required a considerable degree of repair to brickwork and windows, work that was completed by July 1950.<sup>108</sup>



Fig. 11. Portrait of Thomas Newton (1704–1782), Benjamin West, n.d.  
*(The Master and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge)*





Fig. 12. 1881 view of the Deanery, watercolour by John Crowther;  
LMA Collage 18037. (© London Metropolitan Archives)

The War Damage Commission awarded £2,235 3s 8d for repairs to the roof in December 1946, and it was noted in September 1949 that: ‘The whole face of the building was stuccoed in Roman cement probably in the early nineteenth century. . . and

this has already been removed and it is intended to reinstate the moulded gauged brickwork of the whole elevation to its original design by Wren’.<sup>109</sup> It seems unlikely he had access to a lost original design, although Allen’s own drawn proposal for

the restoration survives.<sup>110</sup> The restored moulded surrounds to the windows are testimony to the quality of work being carried out on the post-war restoration of City churches – and the complexity of the restoration issues.<sup>111</sup> But it is difficult to know the evidence on which the rubbed brick detailing was based, as a close study of pre-restoration photographs gives little suggestion of any having survived the rendering. The windows as depicted on east front on the 1677 ‘Upright’ appear much the

same as those on the west, garden front (although narrower and with sashes inserted) without rubbed brick detail.

Even the most radical post-war proposals for rebuilding the bomb-damaged area around the Cathedral specified that the Deanery House was to be retained, although the full realisation of William Holford’s 1956 masterplan for the area would have sacrificed most of its garden and its western wing for a road.<sup>112</sup> During the 1960s and 70s there was

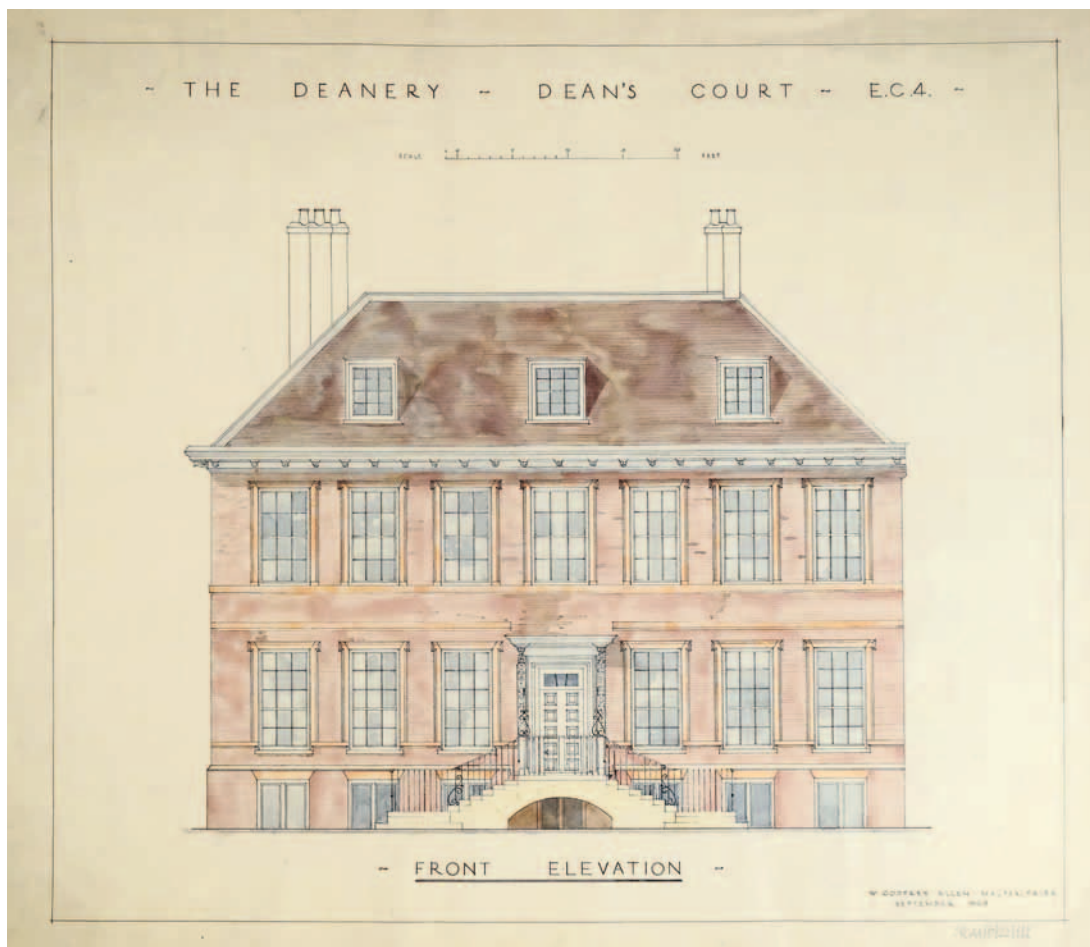


Fig. 13. Walter Godfrey Allen, proposal for restoration of the Front Elevation of the Deanery, 1949, SPCAA/D2212. (© *The Chapter of St Paul's Cathedral*)

much debate about the building’s future, and in 1977 it was decided that it could not continue in use as the Dean’s residence.<sup>113</sup> From 1981 to 1992 it was leased and restored and refurbished to form a bank headquarters.<sup>114</sup> The main floors were little altered but the basement floor reworked for greater structural stability. The roof was raised to create an open-plan area in the attic storey. An addition was made to the rear, in a sympathetic neo-Wren style, at right angles to the west wing, replacing an early-nineteenth-century greenhouse. A bank – Fennoscandia – took the lease.<sup>115</sup> However, when the bank left in 1992, no commercial or private tenant could be found and the lease was taken over by the Church Commissioners, who have recently acquired the freehold. In 1996 a flat was created in the attic for the then new Bishop of London, Richard Chartres, and his family, overseen by architect Tom Hornsby.<sup>116</sup> The first floor rooms became reception and meeting rooms, and the ground floor (and basement) rooms became offices for the bishop, his staff and other diocesan officials. A new diocesan theological library is housed in the modern wing. Thus one of the finest surviving City of London residences of the 1670s, probably designed by Edward Woodroffe (perhaps with some oversight from Wren) is still an important centre of hospitality and scholarship of the Church of England. The form, character and context of this house can also now be better understood, thanks to the publication and analysis of the 1677 survey and the account of later interventions given above.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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#### ENDNOTES

- 1 A.T.Bolton and H.Duncan Hendry (eds.), ‘Designs and Drawings by Sir Christopher Wren for St. Paul’s Cathedral, the Residentiaries houses, and the Deanery’, *Wren Society*, XIII, 1936, pp. 51–55. It is usefully discussed in the wider survey of the precinct by John Schofield, *St Paul’s Cathedral before Wren* (Swindon, 2011), pp. 344–345. Some of the wider social history is also found in references in Derek Keene, Arthur Burns and Andrew Saint, *St Paul’s: The Cathedral Church of London 604–2004* (New Haven and London 2004), pp. 167–168, 183–189, 191–206.

- 2 *Wren Society*, XIII (1936), pp. 51–5. See also the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England)’s *Inventory of the Historical Monuments in London: The City*, (London, 1929): ‘the house is of interest as a complete and largely unaltered example of the work of Sir Christopher Wren’.
- 3 Dorian Gerhold, *London Plotted: Plans of London Buildings c.1450–1720*, No 178, (London Topographical Society, 2016), pp. 216–7, includes the first publication of part of the Leybourn survey (the elevation and ‘ground floor’ plan) part of the St Paul’s Cathedral Collections, and on deposit in the London Metropolitan Archive, CLC/313/L/F/019/MS12193, ff. 11–15. The plan illustrated is, in fact, the service or semi-basement level, with kitchens, pantries and servants hall, and so is described misleadingly – this is, for instance, why the main staircase is not depicted at this level, which Gerhold suggests might have been omitted by Leybourn by error.
- 4 Bodleian Library, Oxford, Tanner MS 145, f.178 r
- 5 For St Paul’s, see Keene *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 63, and see below
- 6 The Act of Uniformity, 1662, required a strict adherence to the revised Prayer Book rites and an oath of uniformity, which resulted in the ejection of many Presbyterian-or Presbyterian-leaning clergy (who opposed the power of bishops and by association cathedral clergy) from office. The struggle to re-assert the episcopal administration in the early 1660s is described in John Spurr, *The Restoration Church of England, 1646–1689* (New Haven and London, 1991) pp. 29–42; also see I.M.Green, *The re-establishment of the Church of England, 1660–1663* (Oxford 1978), pp. 61–79
- 7 Robert Bosher, *The Making of the Restoration Settlement* (London 1951), pp. 159–162, discusses the complex process of the re-establishment of bishops, deans and chapters from 1660.
- 8 Green, *op. cit.*, p. 76 and p. 109
- 9 J.H.Srawley, *Michael Honywood, Dean of Lincoln (1660–81): a story of the English Church in critical times* (Lincoln, 1981), p. 15
- 10 Bosher, *op. cit.*, p. 234
- 11 Richard Pears, ‘Battle of the Styles? Classical and Gothic Architecture in Seventeenth-Century North-East England’, *Architectural History*, 55 (2012), pp. 79–110, especially 88–91, where Cosin’s mixing of Gothic and Classical styles is especially noted, and his work with mason John Langstaffe.
- 12 Quoted in M.W.Greenslade (ed.), *Victoria County History of Staffordshire*, XIV (London, 1990), pp. 57–8
- 13 Schofield, *op. cit.*, pp. 344–5, site 73, ‘Medieval deanery (site), churchyard’. I am most grateful to Dr Schofield for his valuable guidance and extensive knowledge of the longer history of St Pauls’ Cathedral and its precinct.
- 14 *Ibid.*, p. 344; also see Gerhold, *op. cit.*, pp. 221–223, for survey of the medieval Deanery at Westminster Abbey, surveyed William Dickinson, 1715, and occupied by Jon Bradshaw, President of the Council of State, 1649–1652.
- 15 Schofield, *op. cit.*, p. 345. See also Schofield’s forthcoming article in the *London Journal*, on the Deanery House in the era of John Donne, which includes a putative reconstruction of the plan in 1649 and discussion of Donne’s art collection.
- 16 Keene *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 62
- 17 *Ibid*, pp. 62–3
- 18 Bodleian Library, Tanner MS 145, ‘An Act for the building of a Mansion-house for the Dean of St Paul’s Church’, 1699, f.65 r. This is a transcript of the Act (ff.65 r to 67 v) presumably made for Sancroft’s own records.
- 19 Peter Barwick, *The Life of Dr. John Barwick, Dean of St Paul, written in Latin by his Brother... and translated into English by Hilkiah Bedford*. (London, 1903), p. 165
- 20 *Ibid*
- 21 R. Beddard, ‘Sancroft, William (1617–1693)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn, Jan 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy2.londonlibrary.co.uk/view/article/24610, accessed 23 July 2016]
- 22 Sarah Bendall, Christopher Brooke, and Patrick Collinson, *A History of Emmanuel College* (Woodbridge, 1999), p. 266
- 23 D’Oyly, *Life of Archbishop Sancroft* (London, 1821), I, p. 141; Beddard, *ODNB*, cited above, mentions his acquisition of books on architecture when in Italy; Helen Carron, ‘William Sancroft (1617–93): a Seventeenth Century Collector and his Library’, *Library*, 1, Issue 3, pp. 295–6 discusses references in his correspondence to books he was buying including the suggestion from Thomas Page, that he might acquire a book on Trajan’s column, and that the *Historia utriusque Dacici a Traiano Caesare gesti ex simulachris quae in columna eiusdem Romanae*

- visuntur collecti*, Rome 1576, in Sancroft’s library now at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, was presumably the one he acquired then.
- 24 Thanks to Helen Carron, College Librarian of Emmanuel College, Cambridge for advice on the Sancroft library, for which a catalogue is in progress; *Le due regole della prospettiva pratica di M. Iacomo Barozzi da Vignola* (Rome, 1642), Emmanuel College Library: S16.1.19 (2); Roland Freart’s *Parallele de l’architecture antique et de la modern* (Paris, 1650) Emmanuel College Library, S16.1.19(1) and Pierre Le Muet, *Maniere de bien bastir pour toutes sortes de personnes* (Paris, 1647), Emmanuel College Library: S16.1.2.
- 25 Bendall *et al. op. cit.*, pp. 273–4
- 26 D’Oyly, *op. cit.*, I, p. 141. The York Deanery House was a partly medieval, crennellated, stone house to the south-east of the Minster. Occupied by Sir William Allanson during the Interregnum, it was restored to the Dean after 1660, and demolished in 1831; P.M. Tillot, ed., *Victoria County History of Yorkshire: the City of York* (London, 1961), pp. 337–343
- 27 D’Oyly, *op. cit.*, I, p. 135
- 28 Patrick Collinson, *From Cranmer to Sancroft*, London, 2006, pp. 184–185
- 29 Tim Tatton-Brown, *Lambeth Palace: A History of the Archbishops of Canterbury and their Houses* (London, 2000), pp. 79–80
- 30 Bendall *et al.* 1999, *op. cit.*, p. 266
- 31 D’Oyly, *op. cit.*, II, p.16. Sadly there is no trace of the lodge: *Proceedings of Suffolk Institute of Archaeology & History*, 38 (1993), p. 111; thanks to James Bettley and Michael Lea for advice.
- 32 Collinson, *op.cit.*, p. 197
- 33 Bodleian Library, Tanner MS 145, f.121 r
- 34 *Ibid.*, and see reference in D’Oyly, *op. cit.*, I, p. 141
- 35 D’Oyly, *op. cit.*, pp. 146–147
- 36 Bodleian Library, Tanner MS 145, f.66 r
- 37 *Wren Society*, XIII, pp. 52–3; Bodleian Library, Tanner MS 145, f.166 r
- 38 *Wren Society*, XIII, 52; Bodleian Library, Tanner MS 145, f.166 r
- 39 Bodleian Library, Tanner MS 145, f.166 r., and *Wren Society*, XIII, p. 54
- 40 *Wren Society*, XIII, p. 53; Bodleian Library, Tanner MS 145, f.166 r
- 41 Bodleian Library, Tanner MS 145 f.178 r. The signature of this letter is cut off, and, while it is tempting to think it might be by Wren being asked to approve the accounts by Sancroft, the handwriting is not sufficiently close to autograph Wren letters, such as the famous one to his wife Faith Coghill, c.1668 (see Geoffrey Beard, *The Work of Christopher Wren*, London, 1982, plate 197) or others in the Wren Society volumes. The Tanner MS letter also mentions a ‘commission’ being signed by the King, and lodged at the Court of the Signet, the church at St Paul’s Shadwell, ‘subscriptions’, and an exchange of livings.
- 42 *Wren Society*, XIII, p. 53; Bodleian Library, Tanner MS 145, f.166 r
- 43 *Wren Society*, XIII, p. 54; Bodleian Library, Tanner MS 145 f.179 r & v
- 44 Howard Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600–1840*, (New Haven and London, 2008), pp. 1145–6, Anthony Geraghty, ‘Edward Woodroffe: Sir Christopher Wren’s first draughtsman’, *Burlington Magazine*, 143 (2001), p. 474
- 45 Simon Bradley and Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: London I: The City of London* (London, 1997), p. 597
- 46 Colvin, *op. cit.*, p. 1146
- 47 Geraghty, *op. cit.*, p. 478
- 48 *Ibid.*, p. 474
- 49 Mireille Galinou, ‘Merchants’ Houses’, in Mireille Galinou (ed.), *City Merchants and the Arts 1670–1720* (London, 2004), p. 29; Simon Thurley, *The Building of England* (London, 2013), pp. 270–271
- 50 Galinou, *op. cit.*, p. 34
- 51 Tim Mowl and Brian Earnshaw, *Architecture without Kings: the rise of Puritan Classicism under Cromwell* (Manchester, 1995), pp. 111, 114–7
- 52 *Ibid.*, pp. 78–9, 120–122
- 53 Christine Stevenson, *The City and the King: Architecture and Politics in Restoration London* (New Haven and London, 2013), p. 143
- 54 Galinou, *op. cit.*, p. 34, makes this point and also notes that this is ‘the only house of this [courtyard] type to survive in the City’.
- 55 Bodleian Library, Tanner MS 145, f.174 r
- 56 *Wren Society*, XIII, p. 54; it is interesting to note that Sir William Turner wool draper, alderman, sheriff, 1662–3, Lord Mayor, 1668–9, was in this period associated with the non-conformist party; he had a country estate at Kirkleatham, Yorkshire, where he endowed the almshouses,

- built in 1674–76 which still bears his name; Turner d.1693, <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1690-1715/member/turner-sir-william-1615-93>, accessed 19 January 2017.
- 57 London Metropolitan Archives (LMA), GL MS 12193, f. 14
- 58 *Ibid.*, ff. 12–15, the ‘Upright’ appears on f. 15
- 59 Gerhold, *op. cit.*, p. 8; LMA, GL MS 12193, f. 11
- 60 <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/london-map-ogilby-morgan/1676/map> [accessed 22 July 2016].
- 61 LMA, GL MS 12193, f. 15. The porch was presumably replaced c.1780.
- 62 Stevenson, *op. cit.*, p. 69
- 63 A similar staircase is shown in the Houblon mansion plan illustrated in Richard Hewlings ‘Roger Morris and the Bank of England’, *Georgian Group Journal*, 8 (1998), p. 20
- 64 LMA, GL MS 12193, f. 15
- 65 Galinou, *op. cit.*, p. 25. A plan of No. 32 Botolph Lane, taken before demolition in 1906, is illustrated on p. 37
- 66 cf. houses of 1658 on Newington Green: A.F. Kelsall, ‘The London house plan of the later seventeenth century’, *Post-Medieval Archaeology*, 8 (1974), p. 82
- 67 Galinou, *op. cit.*, pp. 34–7
- 68 Gerhold, *op. cit.*, p. 24
- 69 I am grateful to Dr. James Campbell for this observation, made in 2013.
- 70 *Wren Society*, XIII, opposite p. 54
- 71 Bodleian Library, Tanner MS 145, f. 281 v
- 72 David Pearson, ‘The English Private Library in the Seventeenth Century’, *The Library: Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, 13/4, p. 380, notes the increasing scale of clerical libraries in the seventeenth century, and discusses the form of private libraries on pp. 385–6. For a discussion of Sancroft’s library, see Helen Carron, *op. cit.*, pp. 290–307, which includes references to correspondence with Dr Peter Barwick about Sancroft’s personal library surviving the Great Fire, pp. 298–9, and for a time stored at Fulham Palace.
- 73 Christopher Rowell (ed.), *Ham House: 400 Years of Collecting and Patronage*. (New Haven and London, 2013), pp. 68–9, 290–2
- 74 Leonard Twells *et al.*, *Lives of Dr. Edward Pocock, Dr. Zachary Pearce, Dr. Thomas Newton, and the Rev. Philip Skelton*, II, London, 1816, p. 200
- 75 Galinou, *op. cit.*, pp. 30–1; Gerhold, *op. cit.*, pp. 219–221, shows the very narrow entrance to an equally grand City house off Aldermanbury, built in 1671–73 by Thomas Fitch, carpenter and John Fitch, bricklayer, surveyed in 1701.
- 76 LMA, GL MS 12193, f.13. The accounts mention Thomas Warren ‘rubing & gageing’ the piers: *Wren Society*, XIII, p. 54
- 77 Bodleian Library, Tanner MS 145, f.66 v
- 78 See both 1677 survey and Ogilby’s map of 1676, as cited above. For later maps see Keene *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 440; there is a painting dated 1894 by Philip Norman reproduced in *Vanished London*, London 1905, which shows the Dean’s Court arch being demolished.
- 79 Bodleian Library, Tanner MS 145, f.69 v, ‘Acta Capitulum’ [Chapter Act], July 1670
- 80 John Britton, Augustus Pugin and William Leeds, *Illustrations of Public Buildings of London*, London, 1838, II, pp. 96–97 gives a short description of the old pre-fire ‘Faculty’, including a convocation room and a museum; thanks too to Felix Lancashire of the archives of the Royal College of Physicians for confirming the early locations of the College.
- 81 Bodleian Library, Tanner MS 145, f.69 v
- 82 *Ibid.*, f.70 r
- 83 Geraghty, *op. cit.*, p. 475, citing GL, MS 25548 (City Church Office, Salary Account), f. 11; GL MS 25543 (City Church Office, General Account), ff. 15 and 23. The reference to Woodrooffe’s design quoted comes from the accounts published in *Wren Society*, XIII, p. 55. These are still clergy residences today.
- 84 *Wren Society*, XIII, p. 56
- 85 *Ibid.*
- 86 Bodleian Library, Tanner MS 145, f.183 r; *Wren Society*, XIII, p. 51
- 87 *Twells, op. cit.*, II, pp. 198–202; Keene *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 80
- 88 *Twells, op. cit.*, II, p. 198
- 89 Newton used the evidence of the 1669 Act to prove his right of access through the archway into St Paul’s Churchyard.
- 90 *Twells, op. cit.*, II, p. 200
- 91 *Ibid.*
- 92 Robert Taylor, well patronized by senior clergy, might be a candidate; see Colvin, *op. cit.*, pp. 1025–6 for his work on bishop’s palaces.

- 93 ‘A Catalogue of the Superlatively Fine Collection of Pictures, late the property of the Right Reverend Dr Newton, Lord Bishop of Bristol,’ 1788. My thanks to Mike Ashby for drawing this to my attention: see his University of Cambridge PhD thesis, ‘Episcopal Palaces in Georgian England: form, function and meaning’ (2015).
- 94 *Twells, op. cit.*, II, p. 200
- 95 As evidenced by later nineteenth century maps: see Keene et al, *op. cit.*, p. 440.
- 96 See E.A.Varley, *Last of the Prince Bishops*, Cambridge, 1992, p.100, which notes Van Mildert’s improvement to the plumbing of the Deanery and his proposals to have the choir of St Paul’s better heated; for the Deanery House accounts see: Durham University Library, Archives and Special Collections, Van Mildert papers, VMP 156–317, accounts, 1820–1823
- 97 *Ibid.*, VMP 170 f.1
- 98 *Ibid.*, VMP 165 f.1 r & v
- 99 *Ibid.*, VMP 175 f.2 r
- 100 *Ibid.*, VMP 171 f.1v
- 101 *Ibid.*, VMP 188 ff.1–3
- 102 The rendering is not directly evidenced in the surviving Van Mildert accounts, but is likely to belong to this early nineteenth century period and to follow the extensive improvements carried out for Van Mildert; Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, *London: The City*, IV (London, 1929), p.57 described the house as ‘plastered and painted’; Crowther’s 1881 watercolour, London Metropolitan Archive, Collage 18037.
- 103 National Archives Census for Castle Baynard Ward, 1871
- 104 Keene et al., *op. cit.*, pp. 80–82, 404–8
- 105 *Ibid.*, illustrated fig. 336
- 106 *Ibid.*, pp. 93–4
- 107 William Inge, *Diary of a Dean* (London, 1949), with illustrations of the principal rooms, between p. 32 and p. 33; ‘The Home of the Dean of St Paul’s’, *Homes and Gardens*, April 1931, pp. 451–5. Mrs Inge referred in this interview to a letter written by Sancroft to Wren asking his assistance in the design of the Deanery House, but there is no corroborating evidence.
- 108 St Paul’s Cathedral Archives, SPCAA/SP/18/1: Deanery Correspondence file, 1946–1951
- 109 *Ibid.*, ‘Specification of work to be done in repairs to the front elevation of The Deanery’; the estimate of £1,500 was accepted on October 31, 1949.
- 110 St Paul’s Cathedral Archives, SPCAA/D/22/1/2
- 111 Andrew Derrick, ‘The postwar reconstruction of Wren’s City Churches’, *AA Files*, No 26, (1993), pp. 27–25
- 112 William Holford, ‘St Paul’s: Report on the Surroundings of St Paul’s cathedral in the City of London’, *The Town Planning Review*, 27/2 (July 1956) pp. 59–98, Plate vii
- 113 City of London Corporation, Guildhall: Department of the Built Environment, drawings file COL/PLT/DD/RM01/0857; 2183, Debenham Tewson & Chinnocks, Chartered Surveyors, report, 22 June 1978
- 114 *Ibid.*, proposals by Haslemere estates, 1980–81; also Bradley, *op. cit.*, p.597; 1995 hand-written report by architect Tom Hornsby, copy in the Old Deanery files.
- 115 *Ibid.*
- 116 *Ibid.*