

**Sophia Gray (1814-1871): an architectural  
apprenticeship for home, church and empire**

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## Abstract

Sophia Gray, born in the North Riding of Yorkshire in 1814, died in Cape Town in 1871 leaving a legacy of some 50 Gothic Revival style churches across the British colony of South Africa. Gray's husband Robert was the first Bishop of Cape Town, and on his appointment in 1847 he was formally tasked with establishing, and fully consolidating, the Anglican Church in the Cape of Good Hope colony, and ultimately across South Africa. Sophia Gray successfully took up the mantle of "architect to the diocese", making a significant contribution to the empire and Anglican church achieving their intentions in that territory. Gray's achievements are acknowledged and recognised in South Africa, but to date there has been little consideration of how she was able to deftly undertake a role for which she had no apparent formal preparation.

This dissertation determines the complex role which Sophia Gray undertook as going beyond that of "architect"; in seeking to fulfil her obligations to family, England, and church Gray employed the intersecting skills of artist, administrator, and architect. By examining the wider social and historical context within which Sophia Gray lived, prior to departing for South Africa in 1847, in combination with pertinent detail of her family, education and upbringing in the north of England, a richer portrait emerges than that presented to date. Gray's unquestionable faculty for drawing and watercolour, as well as her capacity for household and estate management were founded on a base of feminine accomplishment, accomplishment deemed essential to a wife, a mother and homemaker in mid-nineteenth century Yorkshire. Her marriage to Robert Gray offered unfettered access to the prevalent Anglican ecclesiastical and ecclesiological thinking and teachings of the day, and the practical support to pragmatically apply her considerable knowledge and skill in a sphere far beyond the domestic.

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I hadn't fully appreciated quite how much patience and support I would need to get me to the point of completing my MA by research. Family and friends, in the UK and in South Africa, have feigned enthusiasm at crucial moments, and convinced me to stay with it when it all seemed too hard. I am truly grateful. The Luanshya and Marymount College friends' networks remain formidable, and wonderful. My experiences of both have informed my research in unexpected ways and are what led me to Sophia Gray in the first place.

Working with the unsung heroes of the researcher's world, archive and libraries staff, has been a privilege and a pleasure. This MA has only been possible as a direct result of the enthusiasm and vast knowledge of staff at the Borthwick Institute, York, the Leeds Library, and Prince's Green Library, Durham. The team at the Historical Papers archive at Wits' William Cullen Library in Johannesburg, in particular Zofia Sulej, helped ensure my first overseas research trip was fruitful, enjoyable and self-affirming! In Cape Town, Clive Kirkwood of the Jagger Library at UCT, and Melanie Guestyn at the National Library directed me towards materials that I hadn't considered, but which proved invaluable. Meeting Sophia Gray champion and fellow enthusiast Paul Kotze, helped me better understand Gray's enduring influence across South Africa. His practical help in driving me to Rosebank station at the end of a very long day was a delightful bonus!

Special thanks go to my supervisor Anthony Geraghty, whose reassurances and feedback throughout the past year have been invaluable. I started out with a vague notion of why I wanted to shine a spotlight on Sophia Gray. Anthony helped me clarify what I needed to do and appreciated that the topic held strong personal connotations for me. He's also encouraged me in considering further research possibilities, and I am ever grateful for his support.

## **Declaration**

I declare that this thesis is a presentation of original work and I am the sole author. This work has not previously been presented for an award at this, or any other, University. All sources are acknowledged as References.

## **Abbreviations**

ACSA      Anglican Church of South Africa

SPG      Society for the Propagation of the Gospel into Foreign Parts

## **Glossary**

Dorp      small town

Stoep      porch



## List of illustrations

Author's own photographs reproduced with the kind permission of the referenced library or archive.

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Sophia Gray, aka Sophy Gray. National Portrait Gallery, NPG Ax9615. Photograph by William Henry Southwell, dated 1860s.

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## Introduction

The contribution of Sophia Gray (1814-1871) to the physical establishment of the Anglican Church in South Africa between 1848 and 1871 is both accepted and acknowledged [Fig.1.1], albeit not much beyond South Africa.<sup>1</sup> To date focus has been mainly restricted to her contribution, or the extent of this, to the building of 40 churches across the diocese of Cape Town, the diocese to which her husband Robert ministered as the first Bishop of Cape Town, 1847-1872.<sup>2</sup>

Martin identifies 50 churches built across a 30-year period, 1849 to 1880, and attributes 40 of these to Sophia Gray. He attributes 25 of these solely to Gray, 11 in conjunction with another architect or designer, and four having no clear evidence either way. Two of the churches, St Matthew's Willowmore and St Peter's Plettenburg Bay, are attributed to Gray even though both were completed and consecrated some ten years after her death.<sup>3</sup> Of the 50 churches cited, five state architect or designer as 'Unknown'. These churches are, in the main, Gothic Revival in style, notably Early English style.

### **Sophia Gray: a parish architect**

At her burial in April 1871, Sophia Gray's husband Bishop Robert Gray wrote to their son Charles, "We buried your dear mother yesterday in Claremont Cemetery, under the shadow of our unfinished parish church, of which she was the architect, and in which she took so deep an interest".<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The Sophia Gray Memorial Lecture is held annually by the University of Free State, Bloemfontein, South Africa Department of Architecture. <https://www.ufs.ac.za/natagri/departments-and-divisions/architecture-home/general/sophia-gray-memorial-lecture>

<sup>2</sup> Desmond Keith Martin, "The churches of Bishop Robert Gray and Mrs Sophia Gray: an historical and architectural review", (PhD Thesis, University of Cape Town, 2002).

<sup>3</sup> Martin, "The churches of Bishop Robert Gray and Mrs Sophia Gray: an historical and architectural review", 282-283

<sup>4</sup> Charles Norris Gray, *Life of Robert Gray, Bishop of Cape Town*. (London: Rivingtons, Vols 1 & 2, 1883), 435.

The establishment of St Saviour's parish church in Claremont, now a busy Cape Town suburb, is a prime example of her architectural achievement, and one which epitomises her role as an architect of parish churches in the South Africa of empire.<sup>5</sup> Today St Saviour's is located at the confluence of five main roads in Claremont, and serves the social and religious needs of a vibrant and lively congregation; a far-cry from its original setting. The flat scrubland on which St Saviour's was built was a gift to the parish by the landowner Mr Rice J Jones, and was seen as an isolated and somewhat inaccessible location.<sup>6</sup> St Saviour's was the Gray family parish church, originally established by the Grays to serve the needs of not only their own young family, but those of a rapidly increasing settler-farmer population spreading across a vast geographical area lying to the south east of Table Mountain and the mountainous terrain flanking the Cape Town and Table Bay.<sup>7</sup>

The architectural design of St Saviour's is attributed to William Butterfield, and may have been part of the portfolio of drawings and reference materials that the Grays are said to have carried with them on their ecclesiastical mission to South Africa in 1848.<sup>8</sup> [Fig.1.2] In *A Few Words to Church Builders* the Cambridge Camden Society asserts that when determining a ground plan "only two parts (are) essential to a church: chancel and nave"; Sophia Gray began with the construction of the chancel in 1850, allowing for the planned addition of a nave that could be extended to meet the needs of an expanding congregation.<sup>9</sup>

Gray's own sketch of St Saviour's, circa 1857, offers a view of the south-east elevation of the church, where a two-bay nave with aisles has been added to the original three bay chancel. [Fig. I.3 a)] This sketch shows a small church, Early

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<sup>5</sup> St Saviour's church website. [stsaviours/weebly.com/history.html](http://stsaviours.weebly.com/history.html).

<sup>6</sup> Chronicle of the Diocese of Cape Town, AB1159f, 1849-1850 B2-01, ACSA Archive, William Cullen Library, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

<sup>7</sup> Martin, "The churches of Bishop Robert Gray and Mrs Sophia Gray: an historical and architectural review", 96-99.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 43, 96.

<sup>9</sup> John M. Neale and John F. Russell, *A Few Hints on the Practical Study of Ecclesiastical Antiquities for the use of the Cambridge Camden Society*, (Cambridge: 1840), 4; Chronicle of the Diocese of Cape Town, AB1159f, 1849-1850, ACSA Archive, William Cullen Library, University of Witwatersrand.

English in design. Early English features include: a pointed east window in the chancel with its triple quatrefoil header above three narrow trefoil headed windows, and a trefoil pierced in the east-facing rise of the nave wall in conjunction with the visible trefoil headed windows and pointed doorways on chancel and nave. Records indicate that the two-bay nave was built in 1857 or 1858, with a further two bays added to the nave in 1865; the congregational capacity was cited as 270 on completion of the bays.<sup>10</sup>

Gray's sketch shows this church flanked by indeterminate types of trees, and at first glance it could be an illustration of any English parish church; only the looming flat-topped Table Mountain ridge to the north west, the defining feature of the landscape in this region of South Africa, and South Africa itself, serves to locate it far beyond English shores.

Built from Table Mountain sandstone the rough-faced stone on the original construction, and evident inside the church, offers a pleasing contrast to the smooth finish of the later additions, and complies in the main with the exhortation "let every material employed be real".<sup>11</sup> The indigenous sandstone proved unworkable in rendering essential Gothic Revival decorative features leading to the commission of "the stonework for arches and windows, to the value of near £300", from William Butterfield back in England.<sup>12</sup> This was a costly endeavour. In light of correspondence demonstrating Gray's close management of all financial matters in her church building, this expenditure indicates the importance attached to preserving the visual integrity of the English parish church as erected in empire.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Martin, "The churches of Bishop Robert Gray and Mrs Sophia Gray: an historical and architectural review", 98.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., 4. The Grays regularly declared their preference for stone in church construction, resorting to plaster application when brick was the only construction medium available, various references across their correspondence and journals.

<sup>12</sup> Martin, "The churches of Bishop Robert Gray and Mrs Sophia Gray: an historical and architectural review", 98.

<sup>13</sup> Sophia Gray's correspondence with St James's parish at Worcester, AB1569, ACSA archive, William Cullen Library, University of Witwatersrand.



A rare photograph, dated by Gutsche as 1863, provides a depiction of St Saviour's at a point when this parish church is primarily the result of Gray's own intentions and interventions, [Fig. 1.3 b)] prior to those late 1870s memorial modifications commissioned by her husband from William Butterfield himself.<sup>14</sup> [Fig. 1.3 c)] Outwith the two anomalies thrown up by comparing Gray's sketch and the photograph, each illustration serves up the distinct visual impact of the English parish church. The first anomaly is that the windows in each are markedly different; those in Gray's sketch show an Early English style church, while the windows in the photograph are in the Decorated style. Records indicate that the two additional bays in the nave were not completed until 1865, but the photograph dated 1863 shows a four-bay nave.<sup>15</sup> The visual motif for a Gothic English parish church is carried through those churches for which Gray was responsible.

This dissertation will seek to illustrate that by redirecting her considerable artistic and administrative skills into the role of architect Sophia Gray was pragmatically extending the expected responsibilities of the wife of an Anglican church minister, and allied to her own sensibilities as an English settler seeking a place redolent with the certainties of home.

### **Building an English parish in empire**

Two factors underpinning Gray's approach were a need to take "local building conditions" into account, including the availability of skilled craftsmen, and an economic imperative that determined a simplicity of design that could be uncomplicatedly replicated across the diocese.<sup>16</sup> Her familiarity with the terrain,

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<sup>14</sup> Robert Gray correspondence AB1161, ACSA Archive, William Cullen Library, University of Witwatersrand; Martin, "The churches of Bishop Robert Gray and Mrs Sophia Gray: an historical and architectural review", 98-99. Following Sophia Gray's death in 1871 her husband's correspondence states how he has approached William Butterfield for designs to extend the nave and for a spire that would serve as "a fitting memorial to Mrs Gray". These designs were implemented in 1880, and include the distinctive three-bell tower still in place today.

<sup>15</sup> Martin, "The churches of Bishop Robert Gray and Mrs Sophia Gray: an historical and architectural review", 99.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 345.

developed through accompanying her husband on visits across the diocese, is without question [Fig. I.4], while issues of economy remain at the fore throughout their ecclesiastical lives in South Africa.<sup>17</sup>

This dissertation will not look to extend previous scholarship into determining to what degree Gray modified and adapted architectural drawings by the likes of William Butterfield and Henry Underwood.<sup>18</sup> The work undertaken by Martin, and by Bremner, addresses this to a significant extent.<sup>19</sup> Chapter Three will, however, examine those influences to which Sophia Gray was subject, prior to and during years of married life while still in England, considering how a Gothic sensibility was readily translated into her architectural work in the Cape diocese. The distinct features of the education and upbringing as experienced by the daughter of a middle-class landowner, in relation to Sophia Gray, will be examined to establish what correlation, if any, there was between these features and her later architectural achievements.

The vastness of the geographical scope of the Grays' diocesan-building endeavour was something of which they were aware from the outset, as indicated in one of Bishop Robert Gray's first calls for the resources necessary to address the task: "The colony of the Cape of Good Hope, which has been in the possession of Great Britain since 1806, comprises the southern extremity of the continent of Africa, from latitude 29° 30' south, and between longitude 17° and 27° 30' east. Its length from

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<sup>17</sup> Sophia Gray's sketchbook 1855-1867, AB2137, ACSA Archive, William Cullen Library, University of Witwatersrand. Gill Hunter, *William White: pioneer Victorian architect*, (Reading: Spire Books, 2010), 50-51. Examples of bishopric and diocesan funding issues: H.P. Thompson, *Into all lands: the history of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts 1701-1950*, London: SPCK, 197-199, 287-288.

<sup>18</sup> Martin, "The churches of Bishop Robert Gray and Mrs Sophia Gray: an historical and architectural review", 345.

<sup>19</sup> G.A. Bremner, *Imperial gothic: religious architecture and high Anglican culture in the British empire, c. 1840-70*, Published for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art by Yale University Press, 2013, 213.

east to west is about 650 miles; its average breadth from north to south is 240 miles; being somewhat larger than Great Britain”.<sup>20</sup>

The Grays carried with them a strong awareness of the physical difficulties and dangers presented by the terrain, localised conflict with native populations, and the distances involved in ministering to this vast diocese.<sup>21</sup> In Chapter Two the practicalities and challenges of administering a diocese of this scale, primarily Sophia Gray’s responsibility from the point of her husband’s appointment as Bishop of Cape Town in 1847 until circa 1867, will be considered in relation to her upbringing and education as the daughter of a middle-class landowner in the north of England.

### **Addressing the biographical gap**

This dissertation’s primary objective is to seek to address the lack of any rigorous interrogation of the possible means by which Gray might have acquired the skill and capability essential to her role as “architect to the diocese”.<sup>22</sup> When Sophia Wharton Myddleton was born on 5 January 1814, at the family home of Grinkle Park in the parish of Easington in the North Riding of Yorkshire, there would have been no obvious indication that the path she would follow might in any way differ from that laid down for her sisters, and mother before her; in many respects it did not. She was the sixth of seven children, six of whom were girls, with one boy, Richard, born some 19 years earlier in 1795. To date there has been very little consideration of how Gray’s position and role as the daughter of a member of the northern landed gentry may have directly impacted her unquestionable abilities in the service of the church and empire. An absence of any considered contextual study of Gray’s

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<sup>20</sup> Bishop Robert Gray’s *Provision for Additional Clergy*, MS427, National Library of South Africa, Cape Town.

<sup>21</sup> Bremner, *Imperial gothic: religious architecture and high Anglican culture in the British empire, c. 1840-70*, 41. Colonial reports from the Cape of Good Hope in *The Illustrated London News* throughout 1847 when the Grays are likely to have been scrutinising the news from their future home, are rife with reports, many relating the dangers of life in the colony: stories of “assassinations” of military personnel and civilians and raids on homesteaders, (20 April and 2 October 1847).

<sup>22</sup> Gray, *Life of Robert Gray, Bishop of Cape Town*, 382.

formative years hampered wider scholarly understanding and recognition of the significance and breadth of her contribution to a contemporaneous vision of empire and the Anglican Church's place within it.

The 1970 biographical account of Gray's early years might lack depth, but a biographical approach for examining Gray's formative years is valid. Lois Banner refutes the notion of biography as a lesser form of history, declaring that a 21<sup>st</sup> century biographical practice, affected as it has been by feminist theory from the 1970s onward, "emphasizes the power of culture in shaping the self, in accord with the belief that culture, not nature, is the primary force molding (sic) individual personality".<sup>23</sup>

This dissertation will seek to address this absence by undertaking a more rigorous examination of a precise segment of Sophia Gray's "life story", adopting an approach to biography where the "individual (serves) as the 'text' and the surrounding culture (serves) as the 'context'".<sup>24</sup> This biographical study will comprise those familial, social, educational and ecclesiastical influences to which Sophia Gray was subject, indirectly in the period before her birth in 1814, through her youth and prior to her marriage in 1836, in her role as a rector's wife in northern England, and in the months immediately before the couple's departure for South Africa in 1847. By adopting a biographical approach, it is anticipated that a stronger portrait of this fascinating individual will emerge. At the same time, an attempt will be made to remove sections of the biographical veneer (addressed in the next section) applied during the 1970s which, in the words of Larsen, "reflect the cultural world at the time the biography was written".<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Lois W. Banner, "Biography as History", *The American Historical Review* 114, issue 3, (2009), 581.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 582.

<sup>25</sup> Ruth Larsen, "Dynastic Domesticity: The role of elite women in the Yorkshire country house, 1685-1858" (PhD Thesis, University of York, 2003), 16.

## Redressing the partisan portrait of Sophia Gray

For a woman who had ventured into a purely masculine occupation, who never had training of any sort, who apparently never asked or received any assistance from the male architects of South Africa, hers is a truly astonishing achievement.

- R.R. Langham-Carter, *writing of Sophia Gray in "South Africa's First Woman Architect", March 1967.*

The 1960s and 1970s saw a flurry of South African publications on the history of the Cape and Cape Town, with a spotlight on Cape Town at the heart of South African British empire, from the mid-1830s until the late nineteenth century.<sup>26</sup> These publications in conjunction with numerous non-academic writings of prolific South African church and architectural historian R.R. Langham-Carter and the only dedicated Sophia Gray biography, have tended to serve as the sole secondary source material for more recent scholarship on Gray as a diocesan architect.<sup>27</sup> The nature of the biographical material as it exists for Sophia Gray equates to Banner's description of an outdated form of biography: biography as "an ethical endeavour focused on surveying the heroic lives of eminent men in order to uplift and inspire its readers".<sup>28</sup> Sophia Gray serves solely as a performative feature in her husband's biography. Her achievements are couched within the boundaries of her marriage, never permitted to move beyond the sphere of her husband's responsibilities and commitment to the Anglican Church, and by extension to empire.<sup>29</sup> Sophia Gray as an individual with her own interesting and relevant backstory fails to surface. This is not to say that Gray did not personally adhere to the tenets of the church, but without any tracking back through her earlier life, charting those influences and the

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<sup>26</sup> Publishing houses C. Struik Ltd (1947-2008) and Howard Timmins (1936-1993) of Cape Town were the foremost publishers of works with a focus on local interest subjects and history, while A. Balkema's Cape division specialised in reprints of works originally published in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>27</sup> Thelma Gutsche *The Bishop's Lady*, (Cape Town: H. Timmins, 1970); R.R. Langham-Carter's 1967 article "South Africa's First Woman Architect", in *Architect and Builder*, March 1967 14-18 is one example of mid-20<sup>th</sup> century South African spotlight on Sophia Gray.

<sup>28</sup> Banner, "Biography as History", 582.

<sup>29</sup> Larsen, "Dynastic Domesticity: The role of elite women in the Yorkshire country house, 1685-1858", 41.

myriad strands impacting the context within which she grew up, the portrait we are offered is a narrow one.<sup>30</sup>

It might also be argued that these South African writers concerned were writing at a time and in a place where issues of gender arose only within the narrowly prescribed confines of a marriage. By describing Sophia Wharton Myddleton as a young woman who “tended toward being a naturmensch”, even a “hoysden of the moors” we are presented a young woman for whom marriage is desirable as the acceptable means of bringing a modicum of control to her capricious behaviour.<sup>31</sup> Marriage to a sober young rector, a man who in time was to become the first Bishop of Cape Town no less, provides a masculine layer of sought-after authority to her later achievements. In packaging Gray’s story to a serve to a populist readership, the tone in many of these publications is more suited to romantic fiction than to serious biography.

This desire to legitimise and highlight the marriage as rationale for Gray’s achievements is replicated throughout the early section of the biography. At the point when Robert Gray comes onto the scene we are presented with Sophia Wharton Myddleton living a life that “was comfortable and purposeless”, a young woman of “unsuspected qualities in her character”.<sup>32</sup> This subtly packaged criticism corresponds with a desire on the author’s part to situate the Wharton Myddleton family within the aristocracy of northern England, describing the young woman as “a county aristocrat”, one who is “ignorant of life beyond the county set”.<sup>33</sup> Marriage is presented as deliverance into a life of purpose, rescued from a life of frivolity and leisure; but deliverance for a young woman already imbued with the lustrous

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<sup>30</sup> Sophia Gray’s commonplace book, AB2070, ACSA archive, William Cullen Library, University of Witwatersrand.

<sup>31</sup> Gutsche, *The Bishop’s Lady*, 15, 23.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 22, 23.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 22. Thomas Heron Myddleton’s will, vol 145, f255, 1052, Borthwick Institute, University of York: in 1801 Robert Wharton Myddleton, Sophia Gray’s father inherited “manor, land, hereditaments &c of Offerton, Boulby and Easington” from his cousin Sir Thomas Heron Myddleton who died without a male heir, and with whom the baronetcy ended; John Burke, *A Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Extinct and Dormant Baronetcies of England* (London: Scott, Webster & Geary, 1841), 259.

qualities deemed inherent in the English aristocracy; an example of “performative domesticity”.<sup>34</sup>

This framing mechanism lends the significance of heredity to the couple’s authoritative position and work in developing the strategically important colony of South Africa, endowing this with the added glamour of ancestral privilege and entitlement. Creating a portrait of Sophia Gray that subverts or ignores the realities of her upbringing, replacing these with close to fictitious and limited representations, offers up a woman who engendered the desirable qualities of the white pioneering spirit, and, what’s more, in an English-speaking woman. The arbiters of a divisive political system successfully created an idealised role model for the time.<sup>35</sup>

Recent scholarship, that produced in the last 15 years, has relied on partisan biographical and descriptive works on Sophia Gray unwittingly replicating the prevailing patriarchal attitudes in apartheid South Africa in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s. These attitudes effectively adhere to those “imperialist and patriarchal discourses” which Coleman states as ascribing, indeed emphasising, the performative and reliant roles played by women “within the imperial endeavour”.<sup>36</sup>

### **A revised consideration of Sophia Gray’s accomplishments**

The development since the 1970s of feminist and gender theories has widened the lens through which more recent historical scholarship has viewed women. A perpetuation of the unfounded and patriarchal attitudes to women’s achievements in the nineteenth century is evidenced in Martin’s declaration that Gray’s role in imperial church building was deliberately suppressed: “(it) would have been imprudent for the Bishop considering the non-acceptance by Victorian society of

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<sup>34</sup> Larsen, “Dynastic Domesticity: The role of elite women in the Yorkshire country house, 1685-1858”, 70.

<sup>35</sup> Funso S. Afolayan, *Culture and customs of South Africa*, (Westport, Conn., London: Greenwood, 2004), 19.

<sup>36</sup> Jenny Coleman, “The ‘inferior sex in the dominant race: feminist subversions or imperial apologies?”, *Feminist Review* No 102 (2012), 62.

women in professions, least of all those monopolized by men”.<sup>37</sup> By utilising more recent scholarship and re-evaluating the primary sources this dissertation seeks to redress this limited perspective.

Much energy was expended from the late eighteenth century and well into the Victorian era, in attempting to clarify, and by extension differentiate, male and female roles within every stratum of middle class society, through the aristocracy and to the very throne itself. One aspect of this complex wide-ranging debate was to seek to determine what constituted valid realms of activity for men and women, the spaces in which it was deemed appropriate for them to function, and to what end. An extension of this attempt at differentiation sought to define the paradigmatic features of ‘womanhood’.<sup>38</sup> Education of young women from the late eighteenth and into the nineteenth century sought to foster such notions of womanhood by encouraging, through formal and informal means, the acquisition of desirable feminine accomplishments and competent involvement in acceptable leisure activities. These feminine accomplishments could be taught and perfected within the space designated most suitable for young women: the home, more particularly the drawing room.<sup>39</sup> Sophia Gray’s metaphorical, and indeed geographical, removal from this domestic terrain has been dealt with in a cursory and dismissive manner, and mostly by way of the tropes of romantic fiction.<sup>40</sup>

Webster refers to “a peculiar separation by historians of British domestic history from the nation’s imperial past”.<sup>41</sup> The result of this in Gray’s case is two-fold: firstly, the dislocation of Gray from her own domestic history, an implicit dismissal of the gendered context of educational and social factors, devalues this history. The result

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<sup>37</sup> Martin, “The churches of Bishop Robert Gray and Mrs Sophia Gray: an historical and architectural review”, 46.

<sup>38</sup> Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family fortunes: men and women of the English middle class, 1780-1850*, (Rev. ed. London: Routledge, 2002), 155.

<sup>39</sup> Anne Higonnet “Secluded Vision: Images of Feminine Experience in 19<sup>th</sup> Century Europe” in *The Expanding Discourse, Feminism and Art History*, ed. Norma Broude and Mary D. Garrard (New York: Icon Editions, 1992), 173.

<sup>40</sup> Gutsche, *The Bishop’s Lady*, 15.

<sup>41</sup> Anthony Webster, *The Debate on the Rise of the British Empire*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), 1.



is her near-total placement within the purview of her husband's history, an ecclesiastical history, and a masculine-oriented history at that. Secondly, Gray's role in Britain's imperial past, however we might care to define this past, has been rendered little more than a quirky footnote in a stronghold of empire: South Africa's "first woman architect" is rarely presented in fully rounded terms.<sup>42</sup>

A more thorough examination of the available detail and context of Sophia Gray's earlier life is a means of re-evaluating the importance of her position within that group of recognised and dedicated churchmen, novelists, church architects and artists whose lives and work have provided the basis of much of our understanding of the Anglican Church and empire in that period. These individuals had an important role throughout the nineteenth century in presenting a packaged vision of empire and the Anglican church; a vision to reassure and inform.<sup>43</sup> Jonathan Crary describes how the nineteenth century saw "a new set of relations between the body on one hand and forms of institutional and discursive power on the other", relations which "redefined the status of an observing subject".<sup>44</sup> Sophia Gray offers an intriguing example of someone who played a not-inconsiderable part in what Jonathan Crary refers to as "a history of vision".<sup>45</sup>

Sophia Gray, through her architectural and artistic activity in South Africa, was well-placed to provide a series of visual images of church and vistas of empire that served to consolidate and validate interwoven ecclesiastical and colonial intentions. Crary asserts that during this period the observer was dealing with "a massive reorganisation of knowledge and social practices" that effectively altered the strictures, "rules, codes, regulations, and practices" which that observer brought to

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<sup>42</sup> R.R. Langham-Carter, "South Africa's First Woman Architect", 14-18.

<sup>43</sup> Ian Baucom, *Out of Place: Englishness, empire and the locations of identity*, (Princeton, N.J., Chichester: Princeton University Press, 1999), 77-83.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

<sup>45</sup> Jonathan Crary, *Techniques of the observer: on vision and modernity in the nineteenth century*, (Cambridge, Mass., London: MIT Press, 1996), 5.

bear on what they were viewing.<sup>46</sup> Gray herself was both subject to, and an active participant in, this nineteenth century “massive reorganisation”. In Crary’s terms Gray was an example of the “dominant model of what an observer was in the 19<sup>th</sup> century”, created by way of very particular “conditions and forces”; Banner’s “context”.<sup>47</sup>

This dissertation will consider how Gray’s practical application of those feminine accomplishments deemed essential by the social “conditions and forces” in play in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century actively informed and augmented the imperial vision. This dissertation will question the extent to which Sophia Gray may have been empowered by the demands of the British empire and the Anglican Church to bring to bear the fruits of her conventional feminine upbringing and the inherent practicalities of marriage to a parish rector in the North of England.

The accolade afforded Sophia Gray by her husband, “architect to the diocese”, has remained at the core of any degree of interest in Gray. The rarity value of a woman architect in the nineteenth century, one performing an essential part in the extension of empire in conjunction with the consolidation of the Anglican Church across this empire, has resulted in a near exclusive focus on her church building.<sup>48</sup> Crinson, in describing the formation of the Royal Institute of British Architects in 1834, deems its foundation as “a springboard for modernisation: specifically demarcating the role of the architect within the specialised ranks of the building industry”.<sup>49</sup> This dissertation is based on the assertion of the role of architect encompassing all aspects of the vast Cape diocesan demand for churches and their construction. In Sophia Gray’s case these aspects ranged from design or adaptation of design,

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<sup>46</sup> Ibid., 6.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., 7; Banner, “Biography as History”, 582.

<sup>48</sup> C. Pama, *Bowler’s Cape Town: life at the Cape in early Victorian times 1834-1868*, (Cape Town: Tafelberg, 1977), 54-55. Pama references Sophia Gray’s watercolour and drawing pursuits, querying assertions that she had been taught by Cape artist Thomas Bowler; Pama declares her “a skilful and charming artist”.

<sup>49</sup> Mark Crinson, *Architecture-art or profession?: three hundred years of architectural education in Britain*, (Manchester, UK, New York, New York: Manchester University Press, 1994), 38.

through management of the build, to consecration by her husband Bishop Robert Gray. The successful pragmatic approach that the Grays adopted was driven by an economic imperative, and made possible because of the ready availability of the essential skills and knowledge in the person of Sophia Gray. Any demarcation of administrative, architectural and building functions was rendered an unnecessary extravagance.

For the purposes of this dissertation Sophia Gray's complex role in the Cape Diocese is separated into three distinct but interconnected functions, each combining into the overarching role of architect, but more particularly an architect for the British empire in the mid-nineteenth century. These functions are: artist, administrator, and diocesan architect.

Chapter One will investigate Gray's artistic endeavours, her watercolours and sketches, and will consider how certain works may have served a purpose beyond illustration and decoration. The illustrations that Gray produced for her husband's published account of his pastoral visitation in the Cape diocese in 1855 will provide the key source, supported by further examples of watercolours and sketches, including others of Gray's creation in both South Africa and Britain.<sup>50</sup> To establish the art historical context, this chapter will examine the development of amateur watercolour and drawing pursuits from the late eighteenth and into the nineteenth centuries, and the means by which these pursuits came to epitomise an essential component of feminine accomplishment. The dovetailing of those social, familial and topographical influences in Gray's life in northern England and her lifelong zeal for producing watercolours and sketches in the southern hemisphere will also be scrutinized.

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<sup>50</sup> Robert Gray, Bishop of Cape Town, *Three months' visitation in the Autumn of 1855; with an Account of his Voyage to the Island of Tristan d'Acunha, in March 1856*, (London, Bell and Daldy, 1856).

The responsibility for diocesan administration was held by Sophia Gray from 1847, when the Grays arrived in the Cape, until the mid-1860s when the diocese was eventually, as recommended by Robert Gray, divided into several diocesan regions, each with its own bishop. Chapter Two, using Sophia Gray's own records and correspondence for the period in question as key sources, will offer a comprehensive study of Gray's role as diocesan administrator and all that this entailed in ecclesiastical, administrative and church building terms.<sup>51</sup> In conjunction with this study the chapter will work to establish the extent to which the education and preparation of young middle class and aristocratic women for the roles of wife, mother and homemaker, served as cornerstone to Gray's ability to function beyond the established parameters of ecclesiastical helpmeet and wife.<sup>52</sup> Attempts will be made to draw parallels between Gray's methods of working and those within evolving architectural practices in England in the mid-Victorian period.

Chapter Three will examine Sophia Gray's exposure to the Gothic in a variety of forms well before her marriage in 1836 and subsequent realisation of the Gothic Revival architectural style in Gray-attributed South African churches. The rise in an ecclesiastical preference for the Gothic Revival in church building will be mapped together with evidence of the Grays' own practical and ecclesiological interest in architecture.<sup>53</sup> . A key source in this chapter will be one of Sophia Gray's own sketchbooks, one containing church architectural and decorative examples, and purportedly produced between 1836 and 1847. This sketchbook has been cited as evidence of her architectural ability.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> Chronicles of the Diocese of Cape Town 1847-1865, AB1159f, ACSA Archive, William Cullen Library, University of Witwatersrand.

<sup>52</sup> Gray, *Life of Robert Gray*, 53. On the day of his marriage to Sophia, Robert Gray notes in his journal a prayer to bless the marriage, "Grant that we may prove helpmeets to each other, not only in this life, but in our passage to another and better".

<sup>53</sup> Robert Gray journals and common place books, AB1161, ACSA archive, William Cullen Library, University of Witwatersrand.

<sup>54</sup> Bremner, *Imperial gothic: religious architecture and high Anglican culture in the British empire, c. 1840-70*, 61.

By using this and examples of architectural notes and plans created by Gray and others this chapter will seek to establish a cognitive desire on Gray's part to undertake the role of architect. The Grays travelled to South Africa in December of 1847. In the eight-month period immediately before their departure Sophia Gray accompanied her husband on a demanding and intense series of journeys across England. This dissertation will seek to establish what architectural knowledge, if any, Sophia Gray may have absorbed or sought during this period.

This structure is broadly chronological in that it sequentially describes those formative familial, social, education and matrimonial factors affecting Sophia Gray's life prior to embarking upon life in the Cape. Each chapter examines these factors, individual and contextual, establishing their relevance to the complex role that she undertook so successfully from 1848, until her death in 1871.

## Chapter One

### Sophia Wharton Myddleton: an artistic foundation for ‘the architect to the Diocese’.

I deeply regret that this country so suited to the English emigrant is not filled with a larger population.

- *Bishop Robert Gray, Three Months' Visitation in the Autumn of 1855.*

The essential tasks, undertaken by Sophia Gray when accompanying her husband Bishop Robert Gray on the western Cape leg of his 1855 diocesan visitation have not, to date, been fully considered in terms of the impact of these on an English and in-colony audience of existing and potential benefactors, members of the Church of England and settlers. Gray's ability to produce and present a series of picturesque illustrations that offered an affirming vision of church and empire is lodged firmly within a precise range of factors in her upbringing and education in the north of England. [Fig. 1.1]. Bishop Robert Gray's introduction in the illustrated publication declares *Three months' visitation in the Autumn of 1855; with an Account of his Voyage to the Island of Tristan d'Acunha, in March 1856*, a response to repeated requests for more information on the Cape diocese; "to make an appeal to her (the Church's) zeal, and love, and conscience, to enter upon it, and engage heartily in it".<sup>55</sup> Sophia Gray's illustrations were an integral part of this appeal.

Bishop Robert Gray's visitation journal is written engagingly as a detailed travelogue, comprising details of the more treacherous but adventurous aspects of the journey across this corner of empire coupled with delightful anecdotes of settler families and others that he and his wife encountered along the way.<sup>56</sup> Sophia Gray's seven illustrations do more than serve up a series of Cape landscapes, seascapes,

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<sup>55</sup> Robert Gray, Bishop of Cape Town, *Three months' visitation in the Autumn of 1855; with an Account of his Voyage to the Island of Tristan d'Acunha, in March 1856*, Introduction.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 31, 32. Robert Gray writes about a Mr Sheard, recently ordained in the Cape, and whose wife he had trained as a teacher back in England in his Stockton-on-Tees parish.

and buildings. [Fig. 1.2 a)-g)]. By utilising a picturesque mode of artistic representation Gray exploits not only her own skill but the visual expectations of a complicit audience, primed to engage with illustrations of this nature.<sup>57</sup> The unfamiliar vista is depicted in a familiar artistic and visual language, and Sophia Gray's role as visual arbiter is established beyond her architectural achievements, and within ten years of the Grays' arrival in South Africa.

### **A feminine accomplishment**

An ability to draw is argued as "creating new social alliances and tensions"; in the case of the daughters of the landed gentry and the aristocracy, artistic pursuits provided a platform upon which social alliances could be fruitfully established.<sup>58</sup> Developing one's skills as an amateur artist was considered fundamental to one's moral and social standing: drawing as a feminine accomplishment that closely allies the messages widely disseminated to women through the plethora of conduct and improving literature, a further means of cultivating the desired "mild and retiring virtues" of young women in the same period.<sup>59</sup>

Drawing, playing music, embroidery were the accomplishments of the enclosed drawing room, a feature of female performance is argued to be overtly linked to the changing marriage market, a market by the late nineteenth century based on a strong element of personal display.<sup>60</sup> Bermingham refers to "the private aesthetic of drawing", where the private is a narrowly defined and confining area of female activity suggesting a claustrophobic series of artistic horizons.<sup>61</sup> Higonnet does likewise, going further in seeking to demonstrate that the subject matter preferred by female amateur artists is literally drawn from the same narrowly defined area,

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<sup>57</sup> Jonathan Crary, *Techniques of the observer: on vision and modernity in the nineteenth century*, 5.

<sup>58</sup> Ann Bermingham, *Learning to Draw: Studies in the Cultural History of a Polite and Useful Art* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), xi.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, 190.

<sup>60</sup> Higonnet, "Secluded Vision: Images of Feminine Experience in 19<sup>th</sup> Century Europe", 173.

<sup>61</sup> Bermingham, *Learning to Draw: Studies in the Cultural History of a Polite and Useful Art*, 188.

illustrations of women performing a designated role: that of the accomplished woman.<sup>62</sup>

## Capturing the picturesque

Numerous portfolios are filled every summer with topographical studies made by amateurs as well as artists during these excursions.

- *W.H. Pyne, Somerset House Gazette, 1824*

Birmingham and Higonnet's notions of imposed artistic horizons of necessity encompass the period's predilection for capturing the 'picturesque' landscape, espoused by Uvedale Price and William Gilpin in the late eighteenth century. Michael Clarke cites the technological advances in watercolour and sketching tools and materials facilitating a proliferation of amateur artists, including artist-travellers, at the end of the eighteenth and well into the nineteenth century.<sup>63</sup> These artist-travellers were inspired by the writings of Gilpin and others, and were drawn from that middle-class with perhaps little discernible economic interest in the landscapes in which they travelled, and upon which they gazed. Gilpin and his compatriots sought to provide these men the morally-improving wherewithal to supplement their written and verbal accounts with competent illustrations of their own making.<sup>64</sup>

Gilpin's "picturesque traveller" served as the basis for a genre of travel writing, one which encouraged the would-be artist to work within the "security of rules", establishing their standing as men of taste, adept in artistically demonstrating their appreciation of the beauties of nature.<sup>65</sup> This was hardly a new premise, having its roots in the writings of many philosophers from the late seventeenth and into the eighteenth century, where the gentleman was exhorted to seek out all means of

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<sup>62</sup> Higonnet, "Secluded Vision: Images of Feminine Experience in 19<sup>th</sup> Century Europe", 174.

<sup>63</sup> Michael Clarke, *The Tempting Prospect: A Social History of English Watercolours*, (London: British Museum Publications, 1981), 100.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 33.

<sup>65</sup> John Steegman, *The Rule of Taste: from George I to George IV*, (London: Macmillan for the National Trust, 1969), 52.



arousing his natural morality, which must involve both a close observation and direct experience of nature.<sup>66</sup>

The artist must, by Gilpin's decree, intercede through the imposition of harmony, where such harmony was so patently absent in nature; "Nature is always great in design... but she is seldom so correct in composition as to produce an harmonious whole".<sup>67</sup> A degree of re-ordering was essential, proportions and perspective manipulated to counteract what nature had gotten so badly wrong. This manipulation ensured that the intensity of landscape's ineffable ability to improve the moral wellbeing was further enhanced. Only the development of artistic skill, and the application of such by someone with the desirable moral temperament could attempt to produce works of picturesque perfect; works that affect both artist and viewer to the extent that they were better able to undertake the primary duties of a gentleman, or lady, of their designated place in society.

Sophia Gray's illustrations can certainly be termed the work of the picturesque artist-traveller, producing works that offered moral-improvement by way of both their subject matter and their purpose: the consolidation of a physical and spiritual base for the Church of England in empire. Her husband's reading journals record the travel literature in his personal collections with more detailed notations than those offered for the architectural books that the Grays took receipt of.<sup>68</sup> This was apparently a genre that the couple enjoyed reading together, a reading habit that continued throughout their marriage, and Sophia Gray will have fostered an understanding of the morally-affecting power of illustration in travel writing. The

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<sup>66</sup> Bermingham, *Learning to Draw: Studies in the Cultural History of a Polite and Useful Art*, 93.

<sup>67</sup> Thomas Dudley Fosbrooke & William Gilpin, [https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=KXcHAAAAQAAJ&pg=PA6&lpg=PA6&dq=gilpin+a+tree+is+ill+placed&source=bl&ots=namnTIGiZw&sig=\\_Yow\\_ITvc8FN8qC4eiMIDtYbMq8&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUK EwjUqO6uovvQAhUFWxQKHW78AZAQ6AEIHDA#v=onepage&q=gilpin%20a%20tree%20is%20ill%20placed&f=false](https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=KXcHAAAAQAAJ&pg=PA6&lpg=PA6&dq=gilpin+a+tree+is+ill+placed&source=bl&ots=namnTIGiZw&sig=_Yow_ITvc8FN8qC4eiMIDtYbMq8&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjUqO6uovvQAhUFWxQKHW78AZAQ6AEIHDA#v=onepage&q=gilpin%20a%20tree%20is%20ill%20placed&f=false), 6.

<sup>68</sup> Robert Gray's journals, AB1161/A7, ACSA archive, William Cullen Library, University of Witwatersrand. In March 1841 he records finding Paget's Hungary and Transylvania "a well-written and interesting book".

roots of this understanding were certainly lodged in her education in the feminine accomplishments of watercolour and drawing.

Copley sees Gilpin's writings as offering a socially desirable opportunity for "the pursuit of aesthetic pleasures", where those pleasures were derived from Gilpin's didactic definition of picturesque, including the landscapes and objects thereof that complied with his definition.<sup>69</sup> Allying the notion of this pursuit with one of "educative utility" Copley provides a compelling reason for Gray continuing to pursue her watercolour and drawing activities throughout her life, together with and beyond her architectural drawing, as evidenced in her visitation illustrations, and in the extant examples of her sketching and watercolour.<sup>70</sup> Capturing the vistas of each stage of her life, and seeking to do so more effectively as she matured, for her own pleasure and in the service of the colonial bishopric, goes beyond Bermingham's claim that these accomplishments offered woman higher standing on the marital market ladder.<sup>71</sup> Sloan, however, in describing factors affecting the growth of amateur artistic pursuits at the end of the eighteenth century, emphasises the wider social significance of "developments in philosophy, education, politics, attitudes to natural sciences, gardening, leisure, consumption, travel, patronage and collecting".<sup>72</sup>

### **Acquiring artistic ability**

It is the cultivation of the study of drawing in watercolours by the enlightened ladies of our time that the best artists have owed their encouragement.

- *David Cox 1812*

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<sup>69</sup> Stephen Copley, "Gilpin on the Wye: Tourists, Tintern Abbey and the Picturesque" in *Prospects for the Nation: Recent Essays in British Landscape 1750-1880* ed. Stephen Copley (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 134.

<sup>70</sup> Sophia Gray's watercolours and sketchbooks, AB1237 B1-B16, ACSA archive, William Cullen Library, University of Witwatersrand.

<sup>71</sup> Bermingham, *Learning to Draw: Studies in the Cultural History of a Polite and Useful Art*, 185.

<sup>72</sup> Kim Sloan, *A Noble Art: Amateur Artists and Drawing Masters, C. 1600-1800*, (London: British Museum Press, 2000), 8.

The rules applied to the rendering of works that complied to a definition of the picturesque, as laid down somewhat inconsistently by the likes of Gilpin and Price, were readily taken up as the basis of drawing master lessons across the country.

This era saw an unparalleled rise in the publication of drawing manuals; Birmingham lists more than 220 drawing manuals published from the late eighteenth century and well into the nineteenth.<sup>73</sup> Advertisements in Yorkshire gazettes, and newspapers of the period show local artists plying their trade as drawing masters, while the stated curriculum of a Nottingham academy for young ladies promotes “the genteel nature of drawing as a leisure activity”.<sup>74</sup>

Improved printing techniques enabled the production of realistic illustrations for the travel and antiquarian books so popular at the time, and offered a lucrative opportunity for dealers in artworks and artist materials to circulate prints of works by the artists of the time. Circulation schemes offering limited access to examples of artists’ drawings became popular amongst drawing masters keen to validate their teachings by way of harnessing the reputation of the professional.<sup>75</sup> This perfect storm of technology, the availability of professional expertise, and an ever-increasing demand by keen amateur gentlefolk opened the way for many esteemed artists to attach their name to the available and varied approaches to teaching. David Cox, John Sell Cottman, John Crome and Samuel Prout are just some of the artists of the period who spent time as drawing masters to the wives and daughters of the aristocracy and the gentry. Their reach into an ever-expanding amateur market may have been limited before the advent of improved printing methods, but many were quick to grasp the lucrative opportunity offered by the publication of drawing manuals. Here was a practical teaching tool that could be used independently of a drawing master, supplementing any formal lessons, or even supplanting the drawing master where geographic location or financial obstacles

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<sup>73</sup> Sloan, *A Noble Art: Amateur Artists and Drawing Masters, C. 1600-1800*, 268-293.

<sup>74</sup> Clarke, *The Tempting Prospect: A Social History of English Watercolours*, 96.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, 102.

occurred: “the original intent of the series of Progressive Lessons was that it might be found of utility in the absence of a good Drawing Master.”<sup>76</sup>

The artistic ability of the individual was the prime means by which she could engage fruitfully with the landscape, employing her well-practised ability to physically capture this “perceptual experience”, in what Bermingham terms the “landscape of sensation”.<sup>77</sup> Joshua Bryant, in his *Progressive Lessons on the Art of Drawing Landscapes*, declares the existence of “the grammar of art”, a lexicon of phrasing and motifs that if mastered would enable the amateur artist to combine close observation and skill to evoke “visual interest, narrative and mood”, to the moral benefit of viewer and artist alike.<sup>78</sup>

The lack of such artistic ability, apparently only due to a lack of diligence in attention to her drawing education by the young lady in question, and a failure to practise this carefully prescribed artistic grammar, could be argued to impact negatively in several ways. In real terms, the opportunity for fruitful engagement with the landscape was thwarted, diminishing the “perceptual experience” of all parties. This could also be considered a failure by the same young lady to fulfil those social and familial duties incumbent on a middle-class daughter of the period. The importance of the drawings produced by young women amateurs needs to be considered in relation to the part these played in the social lives of the families concerned. While this will be addressed in more detail later in the chapter there is evidence illustrating how the display and viewing of art work produced by young women formed the basis of much social interaction between the families, especially wives and daughters, while visiting neighbouring country homes and estates.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> David Cox, *A Series of Progressive Lessons intended to elucidate the Art of Landscape Painting in watercolours*, (London: T. Clay, 1828), Advertisement.

<sup>77</sup> Bermingham, *Learning to Draw: Studies in the Cultural History of a Polite and Useful Art*, 116.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, 116.

<sup>79</sup> Anthony Fletcher, *Growing up in England: The Experience of Childhood 1600-1914*, (New Haven, Conn; London: Yale University Press, 2008), 235.

Concerns about the prescriptive and restrictive employment of drawing manuals in teaching were not new, with creators of such manuals stating how they looked to take pupils beyond this much-criticised approach to drawing. Samuel Prout states in his *Progressive Fragments* of 1817 that “many are able to copy the works of others and draw with freedom but are incapable of proceeding in drawing from nature”, suggesting an encouragement to remove to the outdoors.<sup>80</sup> However even this manual offers no more than a series of drawings to copy, without any advice on how the pupil might proceed to draw from nature. This suggests that indeed this, and other, drawing manuals were produced with the drawing room-closeted female in mind, even when the title did not directly state the intended readership.<sup>81</sup>

Birmingham’s claim that the explanatory content in drawing manuals rarely addresses the practical aspects of “drawing from nature” supports this supposition; drawing manuals offered the means of acquiring this feminine accomplishment without the need for engaging directly with nature, and all the dangers nature might posit.<sup>82</sup> If, as Davidoff claims, novel reading, ostensibly a leisure activity, was an effective means of inculcating young women with an understanding of middle-class womanhood, offering the means for a safe examination of sexual differences and roles, then a more formal education in drawing and watercolour could be argued to serve to reinforce these messages.<sup>83</sup>

Drawing manuals were designed in such a way that they could be readily used as self-teaching aids for young female pupils, offering an economically stringent way of providing an essential drawing and watercolour education to daughters in either the absence of a drawing master or the financial wherewithal to pay for one. Another positive feature of education by drawing manual was that there was little if any

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<sup>80</sup> Samuel Prout, *Progressive Fragments*, (London: for R. Ackermann by L. Harrison, 1817), 11.

<sup>81</sup> William Daniel, *A Familiar Treatise on Perspective, designed for ladies ... whereby, in a few days, sufficient of this useful science may be learned, to enable any person, accustomed to the use of the pencil, to draw landscapes, etc.* (London: Darton & Harvey, 1807).

<sup>82</sup> Birmingham, *Learning to Draw: Studies in the Cultural History of a Polite and Useful Art*, 124.

<sup>83</sup> Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850*, 149.

danger of the social, political and moral sensibilities of the master of the household being circumvented by those held by a potentially influential male drawing master.

The breadth of drawing manual content was not solely confined to landscape subjects, with many produced from the 1840s onward offering architectural subjects and features to copy.<sup>84</sup> This shift in emphasis equates with the rise of what Brook refers to as “the dogmatic theology of the Oxford Movement and the equally dogmatic architectural theory of Pugin to the design of Anglican churches”, and arguably indicates a shift in target audience away from women and directly towards middle-class gentleman with inclinations toward adding amateur architect to his amateur artist status.<sup>85</sup>

## A personal topography

The lover of drawing, in particular... (will find) scenery as romantic as any in North Wales; water-falls of the very first character; religious houses, which preservation and extent are unrivalled; and castles, highly picturesque.

- *Edward Dayes, An Excursion Through the Principal Parts of Derbyshire & Yorkshire*

The picturesque tourist who, armed with sketchbook and the guides of Gilpin and Dayes, and other essential artist tools, sought the basis of their own “reconstructed wildness” had a predilection for the “uncivilised, untamed, unaffected landscape”, as described by Helsinger.<sup>86</sup> Wildness was an essential feature of the picturesque, moving beyond the manicured and landowner-managed estates, beyond the man-managed urban and industrial, offering a “natural topography”, and features that

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<sup>84</sup> Henry F Worsley, *Worsley's little drawing book: very easy studies in houses, landscapes, shipping &c*, (London; Liverpool, George Philip and Son, 1860); Thomas Fairland, *A new progressive drawing book of landscapes selected and adapted from the best originals*, (London: J.McCormick, printed Lefevre & Kohler, c. 1840).

<sup>85</sup> Christopher Brooks, “Introduction”, in *The Victorian Church: architecture and society* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), 7.

<sup>86</sup> Elizabeth K. Helsinger, “Land and National Representation in Britain” in *Prospects for the Nation: Recent Essays in British Landscape 1750-1880* ed. Stephen Copley et al (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 16.

could be artist-managed to their own picturesque end.<sup>87</sup> Readers of Bishop Robert Gray's 1855 visitation journal will have anticipated being thrilled by encounters with the wildness of the Cape colony, but at the same time expecting reassurance that a degree of imperial taming was not only possible and already taking place. Sophia Gray's part in this published appeal was to supply the visual evidence of the capacity of the church to engender the certainties of England in the challenging and uncertain landscapes of the Cape.

A young Sophia Wharton Myddleton would not have needed to venture much beyond her front door in search of appropriate picturesque subjects. The varied topography of her own family land holdings was one of extremes: collapsed ruins serving as historic reminders of the region's rich history, cultivated swathes of land providing a source of the family's wealth, the vast moors and the rugged watercourses, and the sea itself serving up an abundance of wildness. Gray's often mentioned habit of sketching the South African landscapes while accompanying her husband on his diocesan travels strongly suggests this was a habit well-established before leaving her home.

Larsen describes how, evidencing this by examples of women's correspondence, women felt real warmth towards their "local environment".<sup>88</sup> Proclaiming this warmth, building an associative aspect by way of philanthropic activity and producing watercolours and drawings of this 'local environment' were features of a local landowning and aristocratic society always eager to consolidate and proclaim its validity, within and beyond its own political and social spheres of influence.<sup>89</sup>

While evidence of Wharton Myddleton's philanthropic endeavours does not appear until her husband-to-be's journal extracts from the months before their marriage in 1836, an example of the practical and philanthropic value of drawing can be found

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<sup>87</sup> Helsinger, "Land and National Representation in Britain", 16.

<sup>88</sup> Ruth Larsen, "Dynastic Domesticity: The role of elite women in the Yorkshire country house, 1685-1858", 69.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, 69

in a letter of 1826 to William Lloyd Wharton, from his sister.<sup>90</sup> Referring to a church bazaar to be held in Aberford near Leeds she exclaims that “Mrs Thompson of Kirby a neighbour and friend of Lady Grantham’s told us that drawings were such desirable things to sell”, asking that if William’s wife has “some leisure time immediately to spare” she might like to send some of her work.<sup>91</sup>

Contemporary descriptions of the area cite its beauty, and its ruggedness. In his 1817 *History of Whitby* the Rev. Young states “The woods at Grinkel (sic), Kilton, Skelton &c contribute much to the beauty of Cleveland”, while a letter addressed to William Lloyd Wharton at Grinkle Park decries “the unfavourable effect of a N.E. wind upon Grinkle and its beauties”.<sup>92</sup> The 1838 tithe map of Wharton Myddleton’s home parish of Easington, provides a simplified, but practical depiction, of the landscape diversity of the area.<sup>93</sup> Gray’s own watercolour depiction of her home, Grinkle Park Hall situated in its lawned gardens, to the woods and the north-west border of the estate being an exposed clifftop overlooking the North Sea, suggests her own empathy with these surroundings. [Fig.1.3] Nathaniel Whittock declares “pictures will always be more pleasing if in addition to their inherent beauty, they are associated with historical recollection, or local tradition”, and Gray’s 1855 visitation illustrations resonate in this manner, for herself and its readership.<sup>94</sup>

### **An emerging “landscape of sense”**

In Peacham’s 1634 *The Compleat Gentleman* an expertise in pen, ink and watercolour is “the practice of princes” and so an invaluable component in a

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<sup>90</sup> Gray, *Life of Robert Gray*, 50.

<sup>91</sup> Wharton papers, WHA.764, Durham University Library: Archive & Special Collections.

<sup>92</sup> Rev George Young, *History of Whitby* (Whitby: Clark and Medd, 1817), 804; Wharton papers, WHA.762., Durham University Library: Archives & Special Collections.

<sup>93</sup> Tithe Map, Easington, Cleveland, North Yorkshire, Borthwick Archive, University of York.

<sup>94</sup> Nathaniel Whittock, *The Oxford drawing book, or the art of drawing, and the theory and practice of perspective, in a series of letters containing progressive information on sketching, drawing, and colouring landscape scenery, animals, and the human figure: with a new method of practical perspective: detailed in a novel, easy, and perspicuous style, for the use of teachers, or for self-instruction. Embellished with upwards of one hundred and fifty lithographic drawings, from real views, taken expressly for this work*, (Oxford: Bartlett and Hinton, 1825), iv.



gentleman's education.<sup>95</sup> This component continued to be deemed as such, developing its perceived utility alongside the advances in materials. The military had long understood how important topographical recording was for reconnaissance purposes, and how important precision was to the design and construction of defensive structures; the recent Napoleonic Wars would have ensured this remained of prime importance. A post-war Britain continued to demand skills which facilitated professional and accurate ordnance surveying, essential for scoping and accurately recording the terrain for road, and later rail, building, and defining and recording landholdings.

Bermingham refers to this form of landscape reproduction as a "landscape of sense", one of precision and detail, providing an accuracy of perspective for others to use to a specified end.<sup>96</sup> "It is by a knowledge of this art that many of our military men have first gained the distinction and notice which have led to their future fame and fortune" asserts Thomas Smith in the introduction to his 1826 drawing manual *The Young Artist's Assistant*; and a young Sophia Wharton Myddleton will have had direct exposure to this knowledge and its practice.<sup>97</sup> Her half-brother Richard, some 19 years her senior, was one of the military men Smith extols. Retired at the rank of Lieutenant in the 12<sup>th</sup> (East Suffolk) Regiment of Foot, Richard served as an ensign at Waterloo, was both schooled and practised in the arts of watercolour and drawing, as evidenced by his design of fortifications at Birr Castle, and the modifications to his family home in 1836.<sup>98</sup> The fortifications at Birr Castle were a part of a famine relief programme instigated by Mary, Countess of Rosse, Sophia and Richard Wharton Myddleton's niece, daughter of their sister Ann Field.<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> Clarke, *The Tempting Prospect: A Social History of English Watercolours*, 10.

<sup>96</sup> Bermingham, *Learning to draw: Studies in the Cultural History of a Polite and Useful Art*, 81.

<sup>97</sup> Thomas Smith, *The Young Artist's Assistant in the Art of Drawing in Water Colours*, (London: Sherwood, Gilbert & Piper, 1827?), vii.

<sup>98</sup> Janet Bromley, *Wellington's Men Remembered Vol 2: A Register of Memorials to Soldiers who fought in the Peninsula War and at Waterloo, M-Z* (Barnsley: The Praetorian Press, 2015), 112; Birr Castle archive, J7 1-26, County Offaly; <http://www.britishlistedbuildings.co.uk/en-437636-leasingham-hall-leasingham-lincolnshire#.WDg9LYXXLD>

<sup>99</sup> <http://birrcastle.com/photography/>

Sophia Gray's undoubted skill as a draughtsperson is likely rooted in the influence of her brother's own watercolour and drawing education, fomented by access to materials from Richard's military education. A mode of drawing that focused on precision was unarguably of value to her later architectural pursuits, and it was at home learning to draw that she realised an ability fitted for a "landscape of sense". Chapter Three will consider how the sketches in Gray's own architectural sketchbook served to enhance her skill in this area.

Despite being the heir to his father's estates Captain Richard Wharton Myddleton and his wife Frances lived in Lincolnshire, and he remained an absentee landowner until the estate, which had been sold off in parts from the point of Robert's death, was completely dissolved in the mid-nineteenth century.<sup>100</sup> That Sophia and Robert Gray visited the area on their honeymoon in 1836 is testament to the affection in which she held, and continued to hold, the landscapes of her youth.

### **Mobility, society and visual culture**

There was much more variety in the country than I expected and I sketched a great deal. There were not above half-a-dozen days without some fine views: most of the road is so very near to the fine range of mountains to the north, that there is a constant succession with a varying outline and beautiful light and shade, but there is a great want of trees and water.

- *Sophia Gray, letter dated 3<sup>rd</sup> October 1849, at the start of a two-month Visitation tour with her husband Bishop Robert Gray.*

The daughters of the landed gentry could range more widely than their urban-based contemporaries, even if this meant simply riding out on the family land.<sup>101</sup> Estates could cover large geographical areas, with diverse terrain, which was the case across the Wharton Myddleton estates of Easington and Boulby. Gerard stresses

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<sup>100</sup> Rev. John Atkinson, *The History of Cleveland ancient and modern, Vols 1 & 2* (Barrow in Furness: J. Richardson, 1872); <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/yorks/north/vol2/pp340-343>.

<sup>101</sup> Jessica Gerard, *Country House Life: Family and Servants, 1815-1914*, (Oxford, England; Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1994), 117.

that women could “safely go anywhere with propriety on their families’ estate”.<sup>102</sup> Horse-riding was an essential accomplishment for middle-class and aristocratic women, and certainly Sophia Gray’s accomplishment as a horsewoman is widely acknowledged, memorialised in a stained-glass window in the north transept of St George’s Cathedral in Cape town. [Fig.1.4].<sup>103</sup> This enduring image of Gray can be tracked back to Reverend Eedes’ description, “Mrs Gray wore a dark-green plaid dress, with a large grey veldt hat of very broad brim, and surmounted by a white ostrich feather. When she put on her hands large leathern (sic) gloves and took hold of her small riding whip, she stood ready for any adventure”.<sup>104</sup>

Larsen claims horse-riding as a prized informal educational activity, one that “ensured good health”, while enabling young women to “take part in the (country house social life) events, maintain links and form networks”.<sup>105</sup> Riding trips to visit neighbours and undertaking excursions to places of historical and antiquarian interest, certainly covering many miles to do so were a set feature in the informal education of young women like Wharton Myddleton and her sisters.<sup>106</sup> Wharton Myddleton had to travel no more than 10 miles on horseback, across familiar terrain, to socialise, for example, with family and other women at Castle Mulgrave and Skelton Castle. Wharton Myddleton would have honed her formidable riding ability travelling across the North Riding and beyond, fulfilling her role as daughter to an influential member of local society.

Extant examples of Wharton Myddleton’s work captured in commonplace books, journals and sketchbooks indicate that she reaped the benefit of technological

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<sup>102</sup> Ibid., 118.

<sup>103</sup> Amanda Vickery, *The Gentleman’s Daughter: Women’s lives in Georgian England* (London: Folio Society 2006), 273.

<sup>104</sup> A.E.M. Anderson-Morshead, *A Pioneer and Founder: reminiscences of some who knew Robert Gray DD, first Bishop of Cape Town and Metropolitan of South Africa*, (London: Skeffington & Son, 1905),183.

<sup>105</sup> Larsen, “Dynastic Domesticity: The role of elite women in the Yorkshire country house, 1685-1858”, 109.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid.,111.

advances in artistic tools and resources.<sup>107</sup> Carrying these drawing tools with her she traversed the countryside on horseback, and while she was unlikely to have been a “hoyden of the moors”, with its overly romanticised Bronte-esque connotations, she was no stranger to the rigours of the Yorkshire landscapes and weather.<sup>108</sup> Her skilled horsemanship stood her in good stead as she accompanied her husband Robert across his vast Cape diocese, facing the initially unfamiliar hazards, but all the while capturing the landscape at every opportunity. The trip described in the quote was the precursor to the 1855 visitation, and so was the basis of planning for future churches in the likes of Swellendam and Knysna.

Bermingham asserts that there was “something indigenous about British visual culture”, and Copley reflects on the employment by Gilpin and his ilk of all “the tropes of sentimental narrative of the period”.<sup>109</sup> In considering these assertions the resounding impression is of a feminine society that is encouraged to perpetuate this “indigenous” visual culture by way of carefully produced watercolours and sketches that conform to a rigorously defined “grammar of art”. This carefully defined grammar could be further consolidated through the written word, on the pages of the popular literature, poetry and epistolary enthusiasms of the time. Wildness may have been sought as the ideal subject matter, but it was wildness to be tamed and controlled and re-presented by paint, pencil and the written word.<sup>110</sup> Sharing and discussing the results of this mastery formed an essential part of female social interaction of the time.

In referencing Archibald Alison’s view that having “acquired” a literary education middle-class gentlemen will also “have acquired a new sense as it were, with which

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<sup>107</sup> Sophia Gray’s watercolours, AB1237, ACSA Archive, William Cullen Library, University of Witwatersrand.

<sup>108</sup> Gutsche, *The Bishop’s Lady*, 23.

<sup>109</sup> Bermingham, *Learning to draw: Studies in the Cultural History of a Polite and Useful Art*, 98; Stephen Copley, “Gilpin on the Wye: Tourists, Tintern Abbey and the Picturesque”, *Prospects for the Nation: Recent essays in British Landscape, 1750-1880: Studies in British Art*, (Newhaven: Published for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, Yale University Press, 1997),151.

<sup>110</sup> Helsing, “Land and National Representation in Britain”, 16.

they can behold the face of nature”, Andrew emphasises the importance of such an education for those middle-class gentleman pursuing picturesque tourism, and so overtly indicating his status as a “man of taste”.<sup>111</sup> Middle-class and elite young women developed, in parallel to learning “the grammar of art”, a vernacular that formed the basis of their social interaction. In describing a visit to Castle Eden Dene in a letter of 1805, Mrs Theresa Cholmeley used what can only be termed picturesque language, a vernacular of the visual, which on close reading fails to describe the particularities of the location, instead describing any one of an array of picturesque locations in the country:

The valley is full of the most interesting changes and inequalities of the ground...Immense rocks rise of either side...Fine ash, oak and elm flourish... The road seems always conducted with the purest simple taste, often overhung by embowering trees that cross it in wildest fantastic shapes, and remind me of the low garden walk at Rokeby by the side of the Greta.<sup>112</sup>

The Wharton Myddleton family moved in the same social circles as the Cholmeley family of Brandsby near York, deemed by Hemingway as being a prime influencing factor on Cotman’s Greta Bridge drawings; as well as employing him as tutor to the young women of the family.<sup>113</sup> By way of considerable family, business and social connections with the most artistically influential Yorkshire families of the period the young Wharton Myddleton daughters, were subject to amateur artistic fashion of the day.<sup>114</sup> Sophia will have encountered the work of Cotman, and the work of his pupils and proteges, while socialising with the Cholmeleys and Duncombes at their

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<sup>111</sup> Andrew, *The Search for the picturesque: landscape, aesthetics and tourism in Britain, 1760-1800*, 3.

<sup>112</sup> Hemingway, “The Constituents of Romantic Genius” in *Prospects for the Nation: Recent Essays in British Landscape 1750-1880* ed. Stephen Copley et al (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 183.

<sup>113</sup> Wharton papers, WHA.794., Durham University Library: Archive & Special Collections; Hemingway, “The Constituents of Romantic Genius”, 183-199.

<sup>114</sup> Clarke, *The Tempting Prospect: A Social History of English Watercolours*, 97.

Yorkshire family homes; and associations with the Lascelles family may have enabled her to view work by Thomas Girtin.<sup>115</sup>

Sharing one's own sketches and watercolours from commonplace and sketch books, discussing drawing masters and displaying works by artists patronized by the family would have been the basis of many social visits across the North Riding, and further into the North East to other parts of the family estate. "Critiquing" drawings and artworks was a fundamental part of a young woman's social life, and was an integral part of her drawing education, however this was acquired.<sup>116</sup> This practice continued into marriage, with one instance captured in a letter of Charlotte Yonge's, referring to the Grays' visit to England in 1853: "We had a nice sight of the Bishop and Mrs. Gray in the Vicarage after service, and Mrs. Gray brought down some beautiful drawings of the Table Mountain ...."<sup>117</sup>

There is no record as to the location of these drawings and it is not unlikely that these were left as a gift to women who were keen supporters of the SPG and the Grays' work in the Cape. Gifting and exchanging the fruits of one's amateur artistic labour was common practice amongst men, and very likely to have occurred amongst women too.<sup>118</sup>

## **Art, church and empire**

Of Nature's various scenes the painter culls  
That for his favourite theme, where the fair whole  
Is broken into ample parts, and bold;  
Where to the eye three well-mark'd distances  
Spread their peculiar colouring. Vivid green,

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<sup>115</sup> Sophia Gray's niece Delia Field was married to Arthur Duncombe of Duncombe Park <http://genealogy.links.org/links-cgi/readged?/home/ben/camilla-genealogy/current+c-field15138+2-2-0-1-0;Wharton Papers, WHA.766>.

<sup>116</sup> Fletcher, *Growing up in England: The Experience of Childhood 1600-1914*, 59.

<sup>117</sup> Charlotte Yonge letters, 82 & 83, <http://discovery.ucl.ac.uk/13734/3/Yongesecondbatchto1859.pdf>, 112-113.

<sup>118</sup> Sloan, *A Noble Art: Amateur Artists and Drawing Masters, C. 1600-1800*, 10.

Warm brown, and black opaque, the foreground bears  
Conspicuous; sober olive coldly marks  
The second distance; thence the third declines  
In softer blue, or, lessening still, is lost  
In faintest purple. When thy taste is call'd  
To adorn a scene where Nature's self presents  
All these distinct gradations, then rejoice  
As does the painter, and like him apply  
Thy colours; plant thou on each separate part  
Its proper foliage.

Extract: *The English Garden*, Book 1, Rev. William Mason.<sup>119</sup>

With little more than a cursory glance at many of her watercolours Gray's skilled use of the picturesque approach described in Mason's poem is obvious. In her depiction of the Bishop's residence, Protea (later to become known as Bishops court) Gray employs the "peculiar colouring" in "three well-mark'd distances", where the "softer blue" serves to render the potentially threatening mountainous backdrop a visually comforting mantle circlet of protection. [Fig.1.5 a)].<sup>120</sup> "Vivid green, (W)arm brown, and black opaque" offer colour punctuations to a foreground and framing of autumnal foliage, while the focal point of the work, set into a smattering of "sober olive" cypress trees and indistinct foliage, is presented in tones of grey and, blending with the mountainous backdrop, and white. The use of white clearly establishes the man-made aspect of this depiction, an element repeated in Gray's watercolours where the presence of church and settlement is emphasised as being a familiar, but constructed intervention in an otherwise alien landscape. Illustrations for the

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<sup>119</sup> <https://allpoetry.com/The-English-Garden.--Book-I>. There is a close family connection with the poet the Rev. William Mason, who was a mutual friend of the poet Thomas Gray and Sophia Gray's grandfather, Thomas Wharton; Norton Nicholls (ed.), *The Works of Thomas Gray*, Vol IV (London: William Pickering, 1836).

<sup>120</sup> Andrew, *The Search for the picturesque: landscape, aesthetics and tourism in Britain, 1760-1800*, 29.

visitation journal of 1855 employ the same use of white, where the churches illuminate each scene, leaving the viewer in no doubt as to the physical, and by extension, spiritual achievements of the church in empire. [Fig.1.2 a)-d)].

Another picturesque feature employed by Gray in her work, and immediately recognisable by any contemporaneous viewer, is the insertion of a tall, often arced feature, such as a tree or a tree bough. A means of enhancing the visual perception of the viewer, Gray uses this to good effect in the case of her depiction of Somerset West, where the gently arced, solitary tree slices through the settlement at the centre of the work.<sup>121</sup> The settlement flanks the isolated natural feature and seems to be spreading across the landscape. [Fig. 1.5 b)]. The picturesque use of colour, again in relation to the mountainous backdrop, remains constant.

Sloan asserts that the female practice of watercolour and drawing was an indicator of a woman's "virtue and morality" while at the same providing the means for ensuring that she was, "occupying (her) time innocently and industriously".<sup>122</sup> The woman as amateur artist was perceived as performative, fulfilling an aspect of her "duty" while at the same time demonstrating her "taste".<sup>123</sup> By the time Sophia Gray produced the illustrations for her husband's 1855 visitation journal she will have developed a keen understanding of her duty in relation to the Anglican church in the Cape. Her artistic abilities, which she continued to hone throughout her lifetime, offered her the means to fulfil this duty, that of raising awareness and financial support for the church's South African mission.

Gray "appropriation of the landscape" in artistic terms was nothing less than an artistic rendition and packaging of the church's own appropriation of the same.<sup>124</sup> Situated at the heart of a triumvirate of the landowner, or in this case church as

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<sup>121</sup> Andrew, *The Search for the picturesque: landscape, aesthetics and tourism in Britain, 1760-1800*, 29.

<sup>122</sup> Sloan, *A Noble Art: Amateur Artists and Drawing Masters, C. 1600-1800*, 46.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*, 46.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, 107.



empire, the artist and the viewer Gray brought to her artwork her own visual and lived experience of the Anglican church in the Cape.<sup>125</sup> Gray's artistic renditions are redolent of her own visual experiences of the built church, back home in England.

A tantalising illustration of this experience can be found in the postcard of a black and white pencil drawing of Easington church. An amateur depiction of the church offers depiction of the landscape in which Sophia Gray grew up. [Fig. 1.6] All Saints, Easington was the Wharton Myddleton family parish church, and Robert Wharton Myddleton was buried there on his death in 1834; which is the handwritten date on the card. The artist is unknown.<sup>126</sup>

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<sup>125</sup> Helsinger, "Land and National Representation in Britain", 16.

<sup>126</sup> East Cleveland archive, <http://www.image-archive.org.uk/?cat=62>.

## Chapter Two

### Home, church and empire: an administrative model

Chapter One examined the place of watercolour and drawing in a young woman's education, setting it in the broader context of feminine accomplishment while establishing its relevance to Sophia Gray's work and achievements. Chapter Two sets out to examine how a solid grounding in the practices and requirements of home-making, deemed an essential component of feminine accomplishment, served to facilitate Gray's diocesan expertise, and support her architectural endeavours. Any implications of external influences, in terms of the society within which she was brought up, expectations of Gray as one of several daughters of a middle-class landowner, Robert Wharton Myddleton, have been for the most part cursorily couched in dated terms. That previous works relating to Gray are in the main without recourse to recent scholarship, the skilled and practical nature of a woman's role as wife, mother and homemaker remains unconsidered.

#### A Yorkshire family of note

Growing up in the North Riding Sophia Wharton Myddleton, through immediate family and social connections across Cleveland and Durham, will have been all too aware of her family history. This well-established family had relevance to the locale in myriad ways, and a young Wharton Myddleton will have understood how she herself had a part to play in maintaining this relevance and status, into the future. Larsen declares "(D)ynasty meant continuity of ideas, and images were essential in order to maintain status", going on to add, "a child learnt how to be a...; which in Sophia's case meant learning how to be a Wharton Myddleton."<sup>127</sup> The Wharton arm of the family had wide ranging political influence across the north east of England, and the Myddleton name reflected a strong connection to the land, agricultural and

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<sup>127</sup> Ruth Larsen, *"Dynastic Domesticity: The role of elite women in the Yorkshire country house, 1685-1858"*, 87.

mining, of the north of England.<sup>128</sup> As a young woman Sophia Wharton Myddleton would have imbibed a strong sense of what was expected of her as a daughter of a family of means, but more importantly a family of influence and considerable reputation amongst the leading families of the region.

In 1801 Robert Wharton inherited “manor, land, hereditaments &c of Offerton, Boulby and Easington” from his cousin Sir Thomas Heron Myddleton who died without a male heir.<sup>129</sup> The Wharton Myddleton family home Grinkle Park, the house and the gardens, are not mentioned specifically, with the inference that this is part of the Easington estate, but Burke has it that Sir Thomas’ daughter Mary Baron sold the Grinkle Park estate to Robert Wharton (who took the Myddleton name on this inheritance), which could suggest it was not.<sup>130</sup> Robert had already inherited Old Park, in the county of Durham on the death of his father some six years earlier, but as a widower with four young children Grinkle Park will have offered an enticing alternative and ready access to the estates which were to provide the basis of the bulk of his income. This move as importantly provided the opportunity to further consolidate his position as worthy member of the northern wealthy landed gentry.<sup>131</sup>

The tithe maps for Easington and the surrounding parishes, dated 1838 and four years after Robert Wharton Myddleton’s death, indicate that the family estates were substantial, placing the family in the realm of the wealthiest landowners in Cleveland.<sup>132</sup> Thompson describes the gentry as the “backbone of the resident magistracy which managed the country”, wherein the country aristocracy and other wealthy landowners were instrumental in all appointments to magisterial office.<sup>133</sup>

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<sup>128</sup> *Alumni Cantabrigienses: a biographical list of all known students, graduates and holders of office at the university of Cambridge, from the earliest times to 1900* (Cambridge:University of Cambridge, 1922), 420.

<sup>129</sup> Prerogative and Exchequer Courts of York Probate Index, vol. 145 F255 1052, Borthwick Institute of Archives, University of York.

<sup>130</sup> John Burke, *A Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Extinct and Dormant Baronetcies of England*, 259.

<sup>131</sup> Durham Probate Records pre-1858 DRPI/1/1795/W9.

<sup>132</sup> Tithe Map, Easington, Cleveland, North Yorkshire, Borthwick Archive, University of York.

<sup>133</sup> F.M.L. Thompson, *English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century. Studies in Social History*, (London, Etc.: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963), 109.

Robert Wharton Myddleton's neighbours included the wealthy Dundas and Mulgrave families, the heads of which will have played some part in his appointment, just six years after arriving at Grinkle Park, to the post of Justice of the Peace in 1807.<sup>134</sup> The relatively short time period between arrival and appointment to the post suggest that the Wharton and Myddleton names, with their Conyers and Heron connections, already carried some weight, and that being proffered a place in Thompson's 'backbone' situated him comfortably within the ruling elite of North Riding, and Yorkshire.<sup>135</sup>

The Wharton family could claim a solid and laudable family history, with records dating back to the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries; including mention of Dr Thomas Wharton's noteworthy attention to plague victims in London in 1666.<sup>136</sup> While Sophia Wharton Myddleton's grandfather Thomas was also a doctor the other men in the family followed the law and the church, and were to a greater and lesser extent involved in local and national politics and the Anglican Church's ecclesiastical hierarchy.<sup>137</sup> One need only consider those named as trustees in Robert Wharton Myddleton's will to see the extent of the family's significance and political influence in the region. Trustees included his brother Richard Wharton, MP for Durham city 1802-1820, renowned in political circles, but dead some 6 years by Robert's death in 1834; and his cousin William Lloyd Wharton who was a barrister and High Sheriff of Durham in the mid-1830s.<sup>138</sup> Later records and correspondence show that William Lloyd Wharton took on the primary trustee role at the North Riding estates and at Old Park.<sup>139</sup> His management of the Old Park estate included the 10 year period, 1836 to 1846, when Sophia and Robert Gray were living at Old Park and

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<sup>134</sup> North Yorkshire County Record Office QSB 1807 3/2/10.

<sup>135</sup> Parishes: Easington in A History of the County of York North Riding vol 2, [www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/yorks/north/vol2/pp340-343](http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/yorks/north/vol2/pp340-343).

<sup>136</sup> British History Online, [www.british-history.ac.uk/antiquities-durham/vol3/pp291-302#h3-0013](http://www.british-history.ac.uk/antiquities-durham/vol3/pp291-302#h3-0013).

<sup>137</sup> *Alumni Cantabrigienses: a biographical list of all known students, graduates and holders of office at the university of Cambridge, from the earliest times to 1900*, (Cambridge: University of Cambridge, 1922,) 420.

<sup>138</sup> History of Parliament online, <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1790-1820/member/wharton-richard-1764-1828>.

<sup>139</sup> Old Park township, Whitworth parish, dated 13 March 1844, DDR/EA/TTH/1/184, Durham Diocesan Records, Special Collections, Princes Green Library, Durham University.

while Robert held the “perpetual curacy” of Whitworth parish.<sup>140</sup> The heir to the Wharton Myddleton estate, Richard Wharton Myddleton, remained an absentee landlord of both the Grinkle Park and Old Park estates, relying on the familial authority and good offices of William Lloyd Wharton to ensure continuity of the estates’ not inconsiderable tenancy and mining yields.<sup>141</sup>

On the death of the head of the family, as in the case of Robert Wharton Myddleton in 1834, and in the absence of a male heir for whatever reason, the needs of the widow and her daughters were a priority consideration for appointed trustees. Those “rules, practices and priorities” affecting the deceased’s relationships with the female members of his family during his lifetime took front and centre stage immediately following his death.<sup>142</sup> The affectionate language and tone used in the wills of both Sir Thomas Heron Myddleton and Robert Wharton Myddleton when referring to their wives, daughters and other female family members, considered in conjunction with the detail of considerable financial and other bequests, leaves no doubt as to the significance of these women in their lives, and the affection in which they were held.<sup>143</sup> Robert Wharton Myddleton also names John Belgrave Pococke, father to his wife Elizabeth Sophia, as trustee to ensure her interests beyond his death. This practice was a well-established means of securing and extending the financial and business interests of a wife’s family, securing valuable support for future generations.<sup>144</sup>

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<sup>140</sup> Old Park township, Whitworth parish, dated 13 March 1844, DDR/EA/TTH/1/184, Durham Diocesan Records, Special Collections, Princes Green Library, Durham University. As perpetual curate Robert Gray received “the annual sum of 5/- by way of Rent Charge, instead of tithes”.

<sup>141</sup> Wharton papers, 827, Special Collections, Princes Green Library, Durham University. William Lloyd Wharton found his estate management role a huge demand on his time, and considered relinquishing this position in 1839; it is not clear why he was still fulfilling this role in 1844.

<sup>142</sup> Ruth Larsen, “Dynastic Domesticity: the Role of Elite Women in the Yorkshire Country House, 1685-1858”, 87.

<sup>143</sup> Sir Thomas Heron Myddleton will, Prerogative and Exchequer Courts of York Probate Index, vol. 145, F255, 1052, Robert Myddleton (sic) will, Prerogative and Exchequer Courts of York Probate Index, vol. 190, f156, 1089, Borthwick Institute of Archives, University of York; Larsen, “Dynastic Domesticity: The role of elite women in the Yorkshire country house, 1685-1858”, 87, 188.

<sup>144</sup> Davidoff and Hall, *Family fortunes: men and women of the English middle class, 1780-1850*, 221.

## Educating the dutiful woman

They were encouraged to perceive themselves as 'relative creatures' whose path in life was to nurture the family and to provide unstinting support for the head of the household.

- Kathryn Gleadle, *British Women in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century*

The legalised framework instituted around the fulfilment of estate needs was one aspect of a wider network of familial social support. Women within the extended Wharton family demonstrated a keen understanding of the workings of family as an economic concern, acknowledging the often cumbersome and difficult demands on the individual, for example in performing the duties of trusteeship.<sup>145</sup>

Davidoff lays emphasis on the important and favourable effects of the Napoleonic war on the landowning class into which Sophia Wharton Myddleton was born; an important period of history for her generation of women.<sup>146</sup> This landowning middle-class favoured "a dignity and a set of duties... which are peculiar to itself", where carefully formulated approaches to female education sought to foster "dignity" in order to ensure close attendance to these "duties".<sup>147</sup> Whereas much of the expanding middle-class in the post-Napoleonic war era was to be found within the mercantile arena, where in many cases the wives and daughters made a vital and direct economic contribution to family business enterprises, the case for women in Wharton Myddleton circles needs to be viewed in a different light.<sup>148</sup>

Those roles that women were expected to fulfil were rigorously laid down within a set of parameters established to meet the changing demands of a landowning gentry, which increasingly socialised and married into county aristocracy. A set of carefully defined educative methodologies could be employed to equip women from

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<sup>145</sup> Letters from Margaret Wharton, Sophia Wharton Myddleton (widow to Robert Wharton Myddleton, mother to Sophia), Anne Wharton, to William Lloyd Wharton, WHA.762, 822 & 823, 827, Wharton papers, Durham University Library, Archives and Special Collections.

<sup>146</sup> Davidoff and Hall, *Family fortunes: men and women of the English middle class, 1780-1850*, 19.

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid.*, 24, quoting Marshall from *Landed Property of England* (1804) 335 in J Powis' *Artisocracy*, 24.

<sup>148</sup> *Ibid.*, 32.

the gentry with those accomplishments seen as essential to fulfilling the familial duties beholden on daughters, wives and mothers. A divergence in the approaches to education for middle-class sons and daughters, where male education was geared to enabling economic prosperity, consolidated the notion of fundamental differences in the “emotional and intellectual make up” of men and women.<sup>149</sup>

Private reading was an essential feature of a woman’s education, supporting an already embedded belief that reading had immeasurable value in fortifying spiritual and religious values.<sup>150</sup> Evidence from her husband’s reading journals and Gray’s own commonplace book illustrates the continuing importance of reading to her own spiritual journey, up to the point of her death.<sup>151</sup> Reading and reflecting upon what one has read was a common practice, not solely associated with didactic and religious reading matter, extending as it did into all manner of Victorian fiction. Certainly, Sophia and Robert Gray’s friendship with influential members of the Oxford Movement placed them right at the heart of this educative facility, where their own experiences were likely noted and absorbed.<sup>152</sup>

In examining the role of women in nineteenth century political culture, and the expansion of the Anglican church must be deemed political, Gleadle asserts that every family, and its individual members, are “subject to the play of personalities, changing fortunes, individual development, and shifts in circumstance”.<sup>153</sup> As the wife of one of the most important servants of the Anglican Church Sophia Gray’s understanding and exercising of her duty in this regard was lodged in her education and upbringing as the dutiful daughter of the Wharton Myddleton family, one of the most influential in the north of England.

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<sup>149</sup> Birmingham, *Learning to Draw: Studies in the Cultural History of a Polite and Useful Art*, 190.

<sup>150</sup> Davidoff and Hall, *Family fortunes: men and women of the English middle class, 1780-1850*, 155.

<sup>151</sup> Sophia Gray’s commonplace book, AB2070, Robert Gray’s reading journal, AB1161/A7, ACSA Archive, William Cullen Library, University of Witwatersrand.

<sup>152</sup> Charlotte Yonge letters 82 and 83,

<http://discovery.ucl.ac.uk/13734/3/Yongesecondbatchto1859.pdf>, 112-113.

<sup>153</sup> Kathryn Gleadle, *Borderline citizens: women, gender and political culture in Britain, 1815-1867*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 2006), 93.

## Conduct: a practical education

A woman's Christian duty was to make a home, fulfilling the functions of wife and mother with close to military and professional precision; the home became the realm of "industrial principles of efficiency, rationalization and order", a realm managed by way of "strict schedules, carefully kept accounts, and inventories".<sup>154</sup> Nowhere is this evidenced more clearly than in Gray's detailed record of diocesan activity, serving to present and illustrate a personal interpretation and conduct of duty as wife to the first bishop of the Cape of Good Hope. [Fig. 2.1 a)-c)]

Jessica Gerard sees the explosion in the publication of conduct literature and household manuals from the early nineteenth century as a significant driver in defining what constituted "home-making".<sup>155</sup> The middle-class woman as home-maker required that she strive to carry out household management responsibilities efficiently, in order to effect a "considerable contribution to the economic and domestic well-being of both their families and their communities".<sup>156</sup> Beyond the functional aspects of household management the available advice literature sought to emphasise how essential women were to the home, where 'home' was the natural habitat from which they provided incomparable support and served as the moral exemplar for, and on behalf of, all members of the household; but particularly the male head of the household, and by extension, their children.<sup>157</sup>

This "construction of femininity" has been described by Fletcher as "the ideology of subordination" determined from a masculine, patriarchal perspective.<sup>158</sup> Sophia Gray would have recognised and unquestioningly accepted this construct as it applied to her marriage to Robert Gray, wherein Robert was able to successfully fulfil his role as parish rector, with Sophia Gray his accomplished, dutiful wife. Their

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<sup>154</sup> Gerard, *Country House Life: Family and Servants, 1815-1914*, 131.

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid.*, 131.

<sup>156</sup> Kathryn Gleadle, *British Women in the Nineteenth Century*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), 51.

<sup>157</sup> Pam Morris, *Conduct Literature for Women 1770-1830, Vol 6* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2005), 2.

<sup>158</sup> Anthony Fletcher, *Growing up in England: the experience of childhood, 1600-1914*, 23.



marriage complied with the patriarchal expectations of the period, one that can be argued to have been pragmatically forged, utilising Sophia Gray's inestimable skills, so that Bishop Robert Gray might successfully fulfil those monumental tasks set by the Anglican church, for the empire. Not least of these tasks was the establishment of a recognisable and functional "home" abroad, which Sophia Gray will have recognised and understood as a natural, extended function of her role as dutiful wife.

The biblical references and extrapolations into the performance of wifely and motherly duty run throughout the most popular conduct and advice literature of the first half of the nineteenth century.<sup>159</sup> This additional layer of authority, that of the church and its teachings, bound marriage to the tenets of Protestantism while "supporting the ethics of economic individualism".<sup>160</sup> A conscious enmeshing of the religious with the practical validated the functional aspects of a woman's role in the home. For the wife of a cleric in the Anglican church these functional aspects took on a deeper significance, with wider responsibilities for addressing parishioner needs in tandem with those of her immediate family.

### **Philanthropy and a woman's mission**

How often in the midst of the machinery of our work, of the officiating, taking duty, reading prayers, working a parish and such like might some of the most ignorant of our people tell us that our lifeless fossilized routine was utterly valueless because it was utterly prayerless we thought – given so much labour, so much sound doctrine, so much visiting there must come such an end. It does not come. There was nothing but the desire of praise at the root.

- *Sophia Gray's contemplations in her commonplace book (her own underlining)*

Philanthropy was a fundamental responsibility of the women in the landowning household, a responsibility incumbent upon the landowner's wife and daughters in

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<sup>159</sup> Morris, *Conduct Literature for Women 1770-1830* Vol 6, 269.

<sup>160</sup> *Ibid.*, 270.

relation to the moral and practical aspects of the home, the estate and parish life. This responsibility applied to estate workers, tenant farmers and their families, or members of the local parish church congregation where the rector would expect landed gentry and aristocracy wives and daughters to fulfil certain charitable works, in accord with their familial duties, and supporting the rector's own spiritual and moral responsibilities to his parishioners. Examples of aristocratic country and urban wives' practical demonstrations of their philanthropic endeavours are recorded throughout the mid-19th century. In combination with estate-related projects, including schools for tenant children, domestic servants in some cases, and the ubiquitous clothing clubs, female philanthropy served as a public declaration of their dutiful familial and social nature; the significance of which could be considerable in local and national terms.<sup>161</sup> One distinctive example of female philanthropy, one which had direct impact upon the Grays, was the contribution of £17,500 by Angela Burdett Coutts to enable the establishment of a Colonial Bishopric in the Cape.<sup>162</sup>

[Fig. 2.1 b)]

A suggestion therefore that Gray only displayed philanthropic tendencies on falling under the influence of the young rector Robert Gray, that "Sophy took up his gage", is a flawed suggestion that she was unusual of her gender and class.<sup>163</sup> Sophia Gray reflects on her personal concern that the work of the immense diocese of the Cape of Good Hope could be held as being conducted at the cost of the religious and spiritual practices of the bishopric.<sup>164</sup> She does not shy away from referring to what they, her husband and herself, are doing as 'work'. Larsen states that women of the Yorkshire elite, the society within which Gray grew up, did not conceive of

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<sup>161</sup> Gerard, *Country House Life: Family and Servants, 1815-1914*, 123;

<http://www.salford.ac.uk/library/archives-and-special-collections/worsley/Ellesmere>-an example of philanthropy and architecture combined can be seen in Lady Ellesmere's involvement in establishing the Domestic Servants School in Worsley, in 1845. The Grays stayed with the Ellesmere's at Worsley in 1847 and are likely to have been shown plans for the school as well as St Marks: Table 1.

<sup>162</sup> H.P. Thompson, *Into all lands: the history of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts 1701-1950*, 197.

<sup>163</sup> Gutsche, *The Bishop's Lady*, 23.

<sup>164</sup> Sophia Gray's commonplace book, AB2070, ACSA Archive, William Cullen Library, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

“duties of their philanthropy, their familial and domestic duties, or political activities” as work.<sup>165</sup> Gray’s own musings suggest a recognition that performance of those duties deemed essentially feminine in the confined context of an English parish and home, have of necessity culminated in real work; work as required in the greater context of the Anglican church in empire.

Philanthropy could offer a young married woman a degree of liberation from standard societal strictures, letting them move freely outside of the home so that they might carry out the good works expected of them. More importantly in Gray’s case, as the wife of a clergyman, philanthropic activity afforded unprecedented opportunity for widening personal and spiritual horizons.<sup>166</sup> The essential importance of Gray’s religious and spiritual conviction is evidenced throughout her own writings, and in the physical results of her architectural work across the Cape diocese, an extension of her philanthropic duty. Prevost argues that such conviction “could empower the lives and imaginations of women” when indirectly, or in Gray’s case directly, employed in the service of the British empire.<sup>167</sup>

Scholarship and writing pertaining to Gray have not always taken her deep religious beliefs into account. Jane Haggis sees this near-universal omission from women’s history as unfortunate and deliberate, and one which can undermine how we might understand the foundations of many women’s political and social contributions throughout the nineteenth century.<sup>168</sup> In Gray’s own words: “The effect of what we do, abides: its effect on our own eternal souls throughout eternity abides”.<sup>169</sup>

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<sup>165</sup> Larsen, “Dynastic Domesticity: The role of elite women in the Yorkshire country house, 1685-1858”, 39.

<sup>166</sup> Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England*, 277.

<sup>167</sup> Elizabeth Prevost, “Married to the Mission Field: Gender, Christianity, and Professionalization in Britain and Colonial Africa, 1865-1914”, *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 47, No. 4 (Oct. 2008), 798.

<sup>168</sup> Jane Haggis, “‘A heart that has felt the love of god and longs for others to know it’: conventions of gender, tensions of self and constructions of difference in offering to be a lady missionary.” *Women's History Review*, 7:2 (1998), 180.

<sup>169</sup> Sophia Gray’s commonplace book, AB2070, ACSA Archive, William Cullen Library, University of Witwatersrand.

## Marriage as administrative proving ground

Do Thou grant her Thy Blessing. Grant that she may grow in grace daily, and in the knowledge of the Lord, that she may become more and more a confirmed Christian, a true, humble, sincere disciple of the Lord Jesus Christ.

- *Robert Gray's prayer on the day of his marriage to Sophia Gray, 6 September 1836.*

An emphasis on every wife's happiness being dependent upon adopting a passive and obedient role, "swayed by the opinions of the husband" is omitted from Mrs William Parkes' third edition of *Domestic Duties; or Instructions to Young Married Ladies on the Management of their Households and the Regulation of their Conduction in the Various Relations and Duties of Married Life*.<sup>170</sup> Instead a new chapter is included in this 1828 version of the very popular publication entitled, *Preliminary Sketch of the Obligations of Married Life*, which serves to address the needs of a middle-class readership, recognising the "social pragmatism" of marriage within this class, and a woman's increasingly active part therein.<sup>171</sup> The Grays' marriage is a prime example, going beyond mere "social pragmatism", moving as it did into the realms of religious and imperial diktat.

The environment within which Sophia Wharton Myddleton grew up, in conjunction with the exemplar provided by her mother, cannot have failed but to influence her later practical administrative and architectural facility. Her father, recently widowed, married Elizabeth Sophia Pococke (also known as Sophia) in 1810, when the eldest of his children, Ann and Richard, were no more than 15 years of age.<sup>172</sup> The newly-wed Sophia had to immediately step into the role of homemaker, wife and mother to his four children, while becoming a skilled manager of the already-established home

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<sup>170</sup> Morris, Pam. *Conduct Literature for Women, 1770-1830*, 266.

<sup>171</sup> *Ibid.*, 266.

<sup>172</sup> Marriage details, Great Thurlow parish register, <http://search.findmypast.co.uk/record?id=gbrprs%2fsuffolk%2ffhs%2fmar%2f006469%2f2>.

at Grinkle Park; that she would have sought advice from all available quarters on how to do so is a certainty.<sup>173</sup> By the time her own daughters were born, within the first few years of her marriage, she had successfully overseen the marriage of at least one of Robert's children, and while her own children were still very young, accomplished the same for the remaining three.<sup>174</sup>

Wharton Myddleton's mother was unlikely to have questioned the carefully delineated responsibilities of "mother, manager of household and servants, hostess and philanthropist".<sup>175</sup> Certainly as a widow Elizabeth Sophia Wharton Myddleton may have relinquished the breadth of these roles, but in real terms several of these responsibilities remained.<sup>176</sup> The instigation of projects on the estate by the women of the household were not uncommon practice, extending into actual management of the estate to some degree or on lesser projects such as 'the girl's plantation' at Old Park, referred to in a letter to her husband's appointed trustee, William Lloyd Wharton.<sup>177</sup> Involvement in the practical aspects of running an estate meant that women had to learn about the complexity of what was involved; from farming, different crops and requirements of such crops, livestock requirements, through equine management and breeding to "building, coal-mining and forestry".<sup>178</sup> Given that Elizabeth Sophia Wharton Myddleton was married for 24 years, and from the depth of understanding demonstrated in her letters to William Lloyd Wharton, it is unlikely that this estates management knowledge only emerged on her becoming a widow.

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<sup>173</sup> Margaret Ponsonby "Ideals, Reality and Meaning: Homemaking in England in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century." *Journal of Design History* 16, no 3 (2003), 201.

<sup>174</sup> Ann Wharton Myddleton married John Wilmer Field of Bradford in 1812. Their second daughter Mary became Countess of Rosse of Birr Castle, Co Offaly on her marriage to the Earl of Rosse. <https://sites.google.com/site/stpaulsshipleyhistory/home/a-guide-to-the-church/9-monuments>.

<sup>175</sup> Larsen, "Dynastic Domesticity: The role of elite women in the Yorkshire country house, 1685-1858", 117.

<sup>176</sup> Wharton papers, Durham University Library: Archive & Special Collections, WHA.824. Robert Wharton Myddleton died in 1834.

<sup>177</sup> Letter from Sophia Wharton Myddleton (mother) to William Lloyd Wharton, WHA.824, Wharton papers, Palace Green Library, University of Durham.

<sup>178</sup> Gerard, *Country House Life: Family and Servants, 1815-1914*, 121.

The conduct and advice literature to which a young Sophia Gray and her mother were almost certainly exposed are declared by Amanda Capern as providing an exemplary estate-management education, where “(A)ccounting skills were part of the package of female education that in some ways fitted them to land management more than men”.<sup>179</sup> Gray’s masterly extrapolation of key features from a feminine education, maternal and familial influences and her experiences as a rector’s wife in an unremarkable northern English parish this type of education, served to ensure the efficient functioning of the Cape diocese.<sup>180</sup>

### **Administering home, parish and diocese**

On Tuesday, Sept. 6<sup>th</sup>, 1836 Sophy and I were married by Charles in Whitworth Church.

- *Robert Gray in his diary on the day of his marriage*

Upon their marriage, and on return from their honeymoon, a 400-mile horseback journey across the north east of England, the Grays took up residency in Old Park, the Wharton Myddleton home in the county of Durham.<sup>181</sup> The tithe map and tithe apportionment for the Old Park estate record that the “annual sum of 5/- by way of Rent Charge subject to the provisions of the said Act shall be paid to the said Incmbent for the time being of the Perpetual Curacy of the Parish of Whitworth”, which from 1836 onward was in fact Robert himself.<sup>182</sup>

It might be expected that Sophia, given her later proficiency in all matters administrative, immediately took on parish administrative duties. Evidence for this is not available and it may be that in the early years Gray took up the reins of household management from her mother, who moved from Old Park soon after the

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<sup>179</sup> Amanda Capern “Women, Land & Family in Early-Modern North Yorkshire”

<http://www2.hull.ac.uk/fass/pdf/Amanda%20Capern%20-%20Women,%20Land%20and%20Family%20in%20Early-Modern%20North%20Yorkshire.pdf>

<sup>180</sup> Chronicle of Diocese of Cape Town, 1847-1865, AB1159f, Historical Collections, William Cullen Library, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

<sup>181</sup> Robert Gray’s personal journal, AB1161, ACSA Archive, William Cullen Library, University of Witwatersrand.

<sup>182</sup> Tithe map & tithe apportionment, Old Park Township (Whitworth Parish), 13 March 1844, Durham Diocesan Records, DDR/EA.TTH/1/184.

marriage, but left parish matters, beyond philanthropic expectation, to her husband. The extent to which her philanthropic duties drew her into undertaking administrative work in support of Robert Gray's involvement in the Church Missionary Society, and later as secretary to the SPG is difficult to gauge.<sup>183</sup>

The first confirmed indication that we have of Sophia Gray's direct involvement in parish activity is in a letter written by her husband from Stockton, the parish to which they had recently moved. Robert declares that "Sophy is writing letters to the leading people. She comes out more and more, and is a first-rate deaconess, and will, I hope, be of much more use with the ladies."<sup>184</sup> This letter suggests that prior to their move to the larger parish of Stockton Sophia Gray had not taken any significant part in parish work, but her husband only expresses her value and contribution at this point in specifically feminine terms. It is also the first suggestion of the letter-writing role that she fulfilled for Robert until a time shortly before her death in 1871.

While the deaconess movement was only formally established in the 1850s references to the writings of St Paul and St John Chrysostom are the basis for the movement's work which was to support church teachings and to care for those in need; a formalised extension no less of the philanthropic work that women in the period were expected to undertake.<sup>185</sup> This declaration by Robert of his wife's shift into a quasi-formal religious position at his side may be an unconscious acknowledgement on his part, but it heralds his subsequent unwavering and vocal belief in her concrete importance to the efficacy, and ultimate success, of the Anglican church in South Africa.

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<sup>183</sup> Gray, *The life of Robert Gray*, 74-75.

<sup>184</sup> *Ibid.*, 90.

<sup>185</sup> Henrietta Blackmore, *The beginning of women's ministry: the revival of the deaconess in the nineteenth century Church of England*, (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2007); Sophia Gray's commonplace book and Robert Gray's reading journal and commonplace books reference these writings, AB2070, AB1160/A7 & A8, ACSA Archive, William Cullen Library, University of Witwatersrand.

One of the first and excellent examples of Sophia Gray undertaking the fundamental job of writing her husband's official letters can be found in a letter from Madeira, dated January 1848. Madeira was the first official port of call of the new Bishop of Cape Town while on route to take up his post. The letter is addressed to Hawkins, the person responsible, on behalf of the SPG, for Robert Gray's appointment, "I cannot leave this country without expressing to you and your colleagues in office, my sincere thanks for the kind assistance which you have rendered me since my appointment to that Holy Office, the more especial duties of which I am now going forth to discharge". The letter is in Sophia Gray's handwriting and is one of the first of many in the twenty- three years to follow.<sup>186</sup> On 3<sup>rd</sup> October 1870 Robert Gray confirms her work in this capacity for the Bishopric, lamenting, "The dear hand that had for three and twenty years copied my official letters through many volumes here from increasing weakness ceased its labours."<sup>187</sup>

## **The Great Book: Sophia Gray's Chronicles of the Diocese of Cape Town**

Kitty does the copying into the Great Book now that I am useless. You must cultivate a round hand for that.

- *Sophia Gray writing to her son-in-law Edward Glover to inform him that he must now take on her diocesan administrative duties, November 1870.*

The Great Book, Chronicles of the Diocese of Cape Town, provides a quasi-historical, although not necessarily objective account of Robert Gray's accession to the Colonial Bishopric of the Cape, together with a comprehensive demonstration of

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<sup>186</sup> MS439-443, copies of SPG Robert Gray correspondence with Ernest Hawkins, National Library of South Africa, Cape Town.

<sup>187</sup> Gutsche, *The Bishop's Lady*, 212.



the breadth of Sophia Gray's administrative duties.<sup>188</sup> [Fig 2.1, a) - d)]. Most of the Chronicle is in Gray's own hand, with the opening page stating, "the circumstances that immediately led to the election of the See of Cape Town was the gift of £17,500 in the year of our lord 1846-7, by Miss Angela Burdett Coutts."<sup>189</sup> This history continues for some seven pages, and the intention of the Great Book is declared as a serious record of the man, her husband, and his actions on behalf of his church and country.

The indexing works on a straightforward alphabetical system, where subjects are listed alphabetically and given a page number, wherein detail was recorded. [Fig. 2.1 c)]. For example, the consecration of the church at Claremont, St Saviour's, is listed as being on page 139, along with other events in April of 1854. This page outlines the event, as well as providing other diocesan information relating to land at Knysna. Here we see land being offered by the government as a glebe with a note of the relevant stipend deduction of £22, 15 shillings and three pennies. [Fig. 2.1 d)].

Accuracy and reliability of records were essential as they formed the basis for understanding the work being undertaken across the diocese. The Chronicle offered a comprehensive means for the bishop, his clergy, parish councils and the ecclesiastical governing bodies back in England to gauge diocesan activity and achievement, in both qualitative and quantitative terms. The Great Book is the final stage in an administrative process which was reliant on the exchange of information across a vast geographical area, and the development of consistent processes across the parishes as they emerged.

Sophia Gray forged an essential role, beyond that of clergyman's wife, within the diocese of the Cape of Good Hope, a role "constructed within the meshed

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<sup>188</sup> Chronicles of the Diocese of Cape Town, AB1159f, ACSA Archive, William Cullen Library, University of Witwatersrand.

<http://www.historicalpapers.wits.ac.za/?inventory/U/collections&c=AB1159/R/>

<sup>189</sup> First page of the Chronicles of the Diocese of Cape Town, AB1159f, ACSA Archive, William Cullen Library, University of Witwatersrand.

discourses of religion and empire”.<sup>190</sup> Those discourses that concerned Gray’s ingrained notions of “filial or marital dependency”, with herself as both object and subject of this dependence, were constantly in play.<sup>191</sup> Replicating the proven effectiveness of the administrative systems that Gray had established and implemented from the outset was in the interests of the Bishopric as an objective entity, but perhaps more importantly was in the best interests of the man himself, her husband.

In her journal of 1854 Mrs Armstrong, wife to the newly-appointed Bishop of Grahamstown, John Armstrong exclaims “Mrs Gray most kindly gave me some lessons in her clever method of keeping the accounts of the Diocese. She is wonderfully gifted for the particular part she has to fill.”.<sup>192</sup> By passing on her administrative expertise to Mrs Armstrong, wife of John Armstrong, Bishop of Grahamstown and newly arrived in the colony, Gray was offering practical support and ensuring continuity and consistency of approach. This sharing of knowledge with other women was after all an accepted, indeed an expected, practice, one that occurred formally by way of female education, conduct and advice literature, and informally through female social and familial networks.

### **Administering the building of a parish**

In this country building is very expensive; there is but little building stone, (a short time ago none had been found near here); the country bricks are bad ... both masons and carpenters wages are high, especially those of the better sort of workmen. I wish you would consider what style of building is likely to be cheapest in such a state of things.

- *Henry White in a letter to his brother William White, dated 1849 and sent from Bishop’s College in Cape Town.*

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<sup>190</sup> Jane Haggis, “A heart that has felt the love of god and longs for others to know it: conventions of gender, tensions of self and constructions of difference in offering to be a lady missionary”, 180.

<sup>191</sup> *Ibid.*, 180.

<sup>192</sup> Mrs Armstrong’s Journal, AB192, ACSA Archive, William Cullen Library, University of Witwatersrand.

Gray understood from the outset the tenuous financial circumstances in which the bishop and the new diocese were expected to function. Thrift and economy were the watchwords of the wife and home-maker, and this was no less the case in Cape diocesan matters, and from the outset. In a letter offering a personal subscription of £150 towards passage and diocesan costs the Bishop of Durham exclaims, “It appears to me a very great hardship and improper proceeding towards a Colonial Bishop, that he should be called upon, not only to defray the whole of his outfit, but even pay his passage.”<sup>193</sup>

In parallel with Gray’s own church building, evidence illustrates the hands-on role she took in all building matters across the diocese, including in relation to the establishment of the first Cape diocesan college, Bishop’s College.<sup>194</sup> [Fig. 2.2] In a letter to his brother the architect William White, Henry the headmaster of the College complains that “In this country building is very expensive; there is but little building stone, (a short time ago none had been found near here); the country bricks are bad ... both masons and carpenters wages are high, especially those of the better sort of workmen. I wish you would consider what style of building is likely to be cheapest in such a state of things.”<sup>195</sup>

Economy and efficacy of materials were at the fore of Sophia Gray’s management of the bishop’s programme of building; the unsuitability of slate ordered from England for Bishop’s College resulted in her returning this, noting “the South Easter would have stripped them off without fail”.<sup>196</sup>

Gray will have carried an ingrained sense of feminine responsibility for household- and parish- related economy matters to the family’s new life and home. In the absence of any formal preparation for the tasks that lay before her Gray was initially reliant on an administrative grounding established in a less formidable setting, one

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<sup>193</sup> Gray, *The Life of Robert Gray*, 118.

<sup>194</sup> Gill Hunter, *William White: Pioneer Victorian Architect*, (Reading: Spire Books, 2010), 50-51.

<sup>195</sup> *Ibid.*, 50-51.

<sup>196</sup> *Ibid.*, 56.

where the implications of poor management were limited. The church will however have had narrow expectations of Sophia Gray as the newly appointed bishop's wife. The bishopric itself was new and there was no template in place as to how his wife should acquit herself in relation to diocesan practicalities. Searches have failed to reveal anything other than fictional accounts of how the wife of a clergyman was expected to behave or perform.<sup>197</sup> Ecclesiastical preference at the time certainly tended towards married clergy for missionary purposes, where the missionary wife could present a prescribed feminine example to local populations and settlers; Gray's achievements lay in her exemplary performance of tasks well beyond these narrow expectations.<sup>198</sup>

### **Administering the building of a parish**

She was like an architect's handbook; when the Bishop referred to her for information her memory was equal to it; the price of materials, building in stone or brick, plastering, roofing, thatching; she seemed at home in at all. Her ready pencil soon had plans and drawings for the new church or chapel prepared for the workmen.

- *Rev. Eedes, "Recollections of Bishop Gray", Cape Church Monthly 1893*

The pragmatic and opportunistic nature of Sophia Gray's diverse activities in her husband's Cape Diocese needs emphasising. "Surveys, valuations, assessments, quantities, disputed accounts, levelling and surveying" are noted by Saint in his consideration of work undertaken in an architectural practice.<sup>199</sup> And Gray undertook most of these on behalf of the diocese, her husband's ecclesiastical domain, rendering the Cape Diocese an extraordinary architectural practice of sorts.

Robert Gray's remit was to embed the Anglican Church, doctrinally and physically across the Cape. With his sole experience lodged squarely in ministering to small

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<sup>197</sup> The fictional writings of Mrs Margaret Oliphant touch on this subject later in the nineteenth century.

<sup>198</sup> Claire Midgeley, "Can Women Be Missionaries? Envisioning Female Agency in the Early Nineteenth-Century British Empire", (*Journal of British Studies*, Vol 45, No 2, April 2006), 335-358.

<sup>199</sup> Andrew Saint, *The image of the architect*, (Newhaven; London: Yale University Press, 1983), 59.

parishes in the north of England it was to be expected that he would replicate a heretofore successful approach. Brooks proclaims the Church of England's strengths lying within the very nature of its parishes, parishes "amenable to the personal influence and control of the clergyman" where "all tended towards personality" of the incumbent cleric.<sup>200</sup> In Robert Gray we see a clergyman who has come to rely on the dutiful support of his capable wife, together with her lovingly providing a welcome degree of guidance in the day to day travails of running his parish.<sup>201</sup> In 1847, and faced with tackling momentous spiritual and practical challenges at the behest of his church, Sophia's capable support remains and continues to be critical.

The role that equates most favourably with that undertaken by Sophia Gray, encompassing administrative, architectural, and building pursuits, from 1847 until her death in 1871 is that of clerk of works. Hanson, referencing Thomas Hardwick's memoir of 1825, states that the clerk of works was tasked with ensuring "that the architect's designs and specifications were adhered to as closely as possible during construction work".<sup>202</sup> In presenting the example of James Irvine, clerk of works to George Gilbert Scott with a remit for several church restoration projects, Miele asserts the importance of that position in developing prescribed training practices for the architectural profession, as led by Scott's practice.<sup>203</sup> Recognition of the essential cross-functional aspects of the architect's role, in itself encompassing the clerk of works' responsibilities, began to inform the development of that role in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, supporting the parallel ecclesiastical and wider social focus on, and interest in, the Gothic. The formalised pattern for establishing and ensuring professional architectural credentials, for those men not of the Anglican church, was

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<sup>200</sup> Chris Brooks and Andrew Saint, *The Victorian church: architecture and society*, 3.

<sup>201</sup> Gray, *Life of Robert Gray*, 60.

<sup>202</sup> Brian Hanson, *Architects and the building world from Chambers to Ruskin: Constructing authority*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 36.

<sup>203</sup> Chris Miele, "Their interest and habit: professionalism and the restoration of medieval churches, 1837-77" in eds. Chris Brooks and Andrew Saint, *The Victorian church: architecture and society*, (Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 1995), 165.

emerging. Sophia Gray's expertise in this extending architectural arena cannot however be associated with this increasingly structured approach to architect education. Indeed, her expertise owes much more to her upbringing and education back in the north of England.<sup>204</sup>

Without the benefits of any formal architecturally-specific induction in these functions Gray had of necessity to draw upon a personal store of expertise. This expertise built upon a foundation of feminine accomplishment and the fulfilment of the duties of daughter, wife and mother, was certainly enhanced by Gray's indomitable approach to all tasks set before her. Gray undertook clerk of works' functions almost from the point of her husband's acceptance of the Cape bishopric, early in 1847, accompanying him across England to build financial and material support for his mission.<sup>205</sup> Chapter Three examines Gray's architectural role in the diocese, but the swift establishment of her authority came by way of her proficient administration and oversight of the building of new churches, and Bishop's College. The complexities of the knowledge and skill required to do so, involving travel and communications spanning a territory exceeding the size England, should not be underestimated.

Gray's authority in undertaking diocesan work in relation to the building of churches does not seem to have been in question, operating as she did within the purview of the bishop. The Chronicles of the Diocese of Cape Town offer a summary of ecclesiastical, diocesan and parish business, and each notation will have had a comprehensive package of papers, contracts and correspondence at its source. Correspondence relating to the building of St James's church and a house for the rector at Worcester, located some 75 miles north east of Cape Town, offers a significant insight into Gray's approach, her personal preferences, and her keen

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<sup>204</sup> Amanda Capern "Women, Land & Family in Early-Modern North Yorkshire"  
<http://www2.hull.ac.uk/fass/pdf/Amanda%20Capern%20-%>

<sup>205</sup> Gray, *The Life of Robert Gray*, 127-139. Robert Gray's correspondence covering the period 23 June 1847 and 20 December the same year, when the family's departed to South Africa, describes preaching at and attending close to 60 churches.

attention to detail.<sup>206</sup> [Fig. 2.3 a) and b)]. A letter to the parish of St James's dated August 1853, referring in part to correspondence in the previous year, covers disputed building costs, the need for exacting materials and finish specifications and defines the terms of payment affecting the parish's appointment of workmen. This correspondence serves to illuminate Gray's approach and attention to detail, albeit for only one of the many places of parish worship that she brought to completion in the service of the Anglican church in empire.

In explaining the adaptations that she has made to the elevation sketch Gray reminds the parish of arguably its primary concern in building this church: "(I) have slightly altered the arrangements in a way which I think will make it more convenient to a family fresh from England". [Fig. 2.3 b)] Gray is also reconfirming the primary concern of her husband's ministry, in keeping with her role as wife and helpmeet.

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<sup>206</sup> Sophia Gray's correspondence with St James's parish at Worcester, AB1569, ACSA archive, William Cullen Library, University of Witwatersrand.

## Chapter Three

### An architecture for empire: building on an established foundation

This chapter will argue that Sophia Gray's Gothic sensibilities were developed in a personal, familial context and reinforced by literary, architectural and educational influences throughout her young life, and prior to her marriage in 1836. In adopting this approach, the objective is to illustrate yet further that Sophia Gray was in fact a prime example of the culmination of feminine accomplishment as defined in the nineteenth century. Gray consciously employed the various facets of her upbringing and unremarkable feminine education in the service of her church, the British empire and her husband; and in doing so placed herself within that pantheon of imperial founders, but to date without the wider recognition that she deserves.

#### A Gothic sensibility

“Pray tell me, when you are at leisure, all the transactions and improvements of Old Park, that I may rectify and model my ideas accordingly”

- *Thomas Gray to Dr Thomas Wharton, in a letter dated 21 February 1764.*

On his death in 1771 the poet Thomas Gray left a bequest of £500 and “one of his diamond rings” to Dr Thomas Wharton, a close friend whom he had met at Pembroke College, Cambridge, some 30 years earlier.<sup>207</sup> Their extensive correspondence spanned this period and is a vivid illustration of their mutual interests, and those of the time, with a particular emphasis on “architecture and objects”, with the Gothic a permanent feature in their affectionate and detailed letters.<sup>208</sup> Old Park, Dr Wharton's home in the county of Durham, was a source of

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<sup>207</sup> Nicholls (ed), *The Works of Thomas Gray*, Vol IV, (London: William Pickering, 1836), Appendix A, lxxiv.

<sup>208</sup> Barrett Kalter, “DIY Gothic: Thomas Gray and the Medieval Revival.” *ELH*, Vol. 70, No. 4 (Winter, 2003), 1001.



much discussion, with the Wharton family's activities and health being of especial interest, alongside Gray's direct contribution to the Gothicising alterations and additions being made to the house, externally and internally; "I should rejoice to hear your voice from the battlements of Old Park".<sup>209</sup> The Wharton family is firmly woven into the extended fabric of Gray's not inconsiderable influence, evidenced in correspondence between family members, and between Dr Wharton and William Mason and James Brown, biographer, close friends, and co-executors of Gray's estate.<sup>210</sup> Dr Thomas Wharton was Sophia Wharton Myddleton's paternal grandfather.

Some sixty years later in 1834 following the death of her father, Sophia Wharton Myddleton, her mother and two sisters moved into Old Park, having vacated their home at Grinkle Park, which had been passed on to Wharton Myddleton heir, Richard.<sup>211</sup> The house had latterly been a boarding school for boys, and records indicate that the property had been rented out since 1823.<sup>212</sup> Robert Wharton Myddleton and his family had lived at Grinkle Park in Easington from 1801, and it is likely that Old Park had been rented out from this period. The house is no longer standing, and it is not possible to determine if Sophia Wharton Myddleton had set eyes on the property before arriving there in late 1834. Images [Fig. 3.1 a) and b)] are photographic black and white images of undated watercolours. The first of these, 3.1 a), is a distant view of the house, while the closer face-on depiction in b) with its accentuated arched windows and ogee surrounds, punctuated by quatrefoil

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<sup>209</sup> Nicholls (ed), *The Works of Thomas Gray*, Vol IV, 75.

<sup>210</sup> Alexander Huber, "Glossary: Personal Names". *Thomas Gray Archive*, 05 Jun 2017. <http://www.thomasgray.org/resources/glnames.shtml>.

<sup>211</sup> Probate Record Robert Myddleton, died July 1834, microfiche vol 190, f156, p1089, Borthwick Institute, University of York.

<sup>212</sup> Durham County Advertiser, article dated 10 January 1834 announcing the start of term for Mr Gillespie's boarding school for boys; only six months prior to the death of Robert Wharton Myddleton which resulted in the Wharton Myddleton women moving to the property. An advertisement dated Saturday 1 February 1823 with details of the property and asking for enquiries to Mr Andrews, Bookseller, Durham. <http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/search/results/1800-01-01/1849-12-31?basicsearch=old%20park&exactsearch=false&county=durham%2c%20england>.

decoration and armorial insignia lends visual weight to Gray's "the battlements of Old Park".<sup>213</sup>

The young Wharton Myddleton encountering this family home, a home riven with affirming familial connotations and metaphorically underpinned by literary greatness, is likely to have done so with a sense of certainty and visual familiarity.<sup>214</sup> Old Park could be argued to epitomise a visual domestic aesthetic, an aesthetic favoured by Thomas Gray and his close friend Dr Thomas Wharton. This was an aesthetic that employed Gothic architecture as "proof of a peculiarly English national identity and ethnic consciousness".<sup>215</sup> Twynning argues that "national consciousness and national identity cohere over generations and eras, absorbing discontinuities, and weaving a stable sense of disparate threads", and Wharton Myddleton will have unconsciously and easily situated herself at the intersection of these threads.<sup>216</sup>

Those "disparate threads" comprising Wharton Myddleton's aesthetic sensibility would have been imbued with the Gothic. The novels that she read, the antiquarian themes in the drawing manuals and other means by which she learned to paint and draw, the society and the topography within which she grew up will all have combined in a strong, yet comfortingly familiar, Gothic visuality; and this well before she encountered her future husband, Robert Gray.

In a journal entry of October 1769, part of his correspondence with Dr Thomas Wharton, Thomas Gray recorded "In the evening walked alone down to the Lake, by the side of Crow-Park after sunset, and saw the solemn colouring of light draw on, the last gleam of sunshine fading away on the hilltops, the deep serene of the

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<sup>213</sup> E. McKenzie, *An historical, topographical, and descriptive view of the County Palatine of Durham; comprehending the various subjects of natural, civil, and ecclesiastical geography, agriculture, mines, manufactures, navigation, trade, commerce, buildings, antiquities, curiosities, public institutions, charities, population, customs, biography, local history, &c.*, (Newcastle upon Tyne: McKenzie and Dent, 1834), 314. Published in the same year as Robert Wharton Myddleton's death the description of Old Park reads as "about half a mile from the Wear, shaded by large elms, and fenced on the south by a moat", which correlates well with the depiction in III.3.1 a).

<sup>214</sup> John Twynning, *Forms of English history in literature, landscape, and architecture*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 1.

<sup>215</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

<sup>216</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

waters, and the long shadows of the water thrown across them, till they nearly touched the hithermost shore.”<sup>217</sup> Picturesque language of this sort suffused the romantic fiction and poetic works of Thomas Gray, Horace Walpole, William Wordsworth and Sir Walter Scott, assigning wild, untended landscapes a character of their own, one at odds with that of the harnessed landscape of the burgeoning landowning class.<sup>218</sup> The adept use of picturesque language in correspondence and journals, items of a more personal nature, was a form of feminine accomplishment polished by young women through an avid consumption of the novels of the day.<sup>219</sup>

A comprehensive literary education was essential in relation to the expansion of that picturesque tourism, as espoused by Gilpin, and practised by Thomas Gray.<sup>220</sup> The “morally improving powers of landscape” could be at once harnessed through a literary medium, epistolary and journalistic, by men, but arguably very quickly grasped by a large proportion of gentlewoman of the late eighteenth, early 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>221</sup> On a local level the authors of the proliferation of local history books and gazetteers during this period sought to utilise this language to beneficial effect. One example sees more than a nod offered in acknowledgement of the impact of local gentry and aristocracy on the Cleveland landscape, place of Sophia Wharton Myddleton’s birth and early life, where “high gratification” to “the eye of the philanthropist and the man of taste” will result.<sup>222</sup> This example also demonstrates a keen regard for a subscribing readership of philanthropists and proclaimed men of taste.

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<sup>217</sup> Nicholls, *The Works of Thomas Gray*, Vol IV, 151-152.

<sup>218</sup> Marion Roberts, “Thomas Gray’s contribution to medieval architecture”, *Architectural History*, Vol 36, (1993): 49, 51, 53. Thomas Gray and Horace Walpole regularly corresponded on the subject of architecture. Sir Walter Scott’s poem Rokeby is located near Greta Bridge, an area that Sophia Wharton Myddleton knew well, and the first stopping point of her honeymoon with Robert Gray in September 1836.

<sup>219</sup> A letter of Mrs Theresa Cholmley referenced in Hemingway, “The Constituents of Romantic Genius” in *Prospects for the Nation: Recent Essays in British Landscape 1750-1880* ed. Stephen Copley et al (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 183.

<sup>220</sup> Andrew, *The search for the picturesque: landscape, aesthetics and tourism in Britain, 1760-1800*, 3.

<sup>221</sup> Bermingham, *Learning to Draw: Studies in the Cultural History of a Polite and Useful Art*, 10.

<sup>222</sup> Young, *A History of Whitby*, 651. Robert Wharton Myddleton was not a subscriber to this publication.

While we cannot know with any certainty what Sophia Gray read as a young woman we can assume, given the dismissive manner in which it is referred, women-authored fiction was a significant part of her reading choice.<sup>223</sup> In the later Georgian period the novel served as a credible, and to a degree acceptable, means of examining sexual differences, roles and associated issues of morality.<sup>224</sup> The thematic constant of the woman, dislocated or lost, in every sense of the word, seeking her place and ultimately fulfilling a woman's "mission" by establishing a well-ordered home, would have been all too familiar to the young Sophia Wharton Myddleton. John Angell James declaration that home served as "(T)he Elysium of love, the nursery of virtue, the garden of enjoyment, the temple of concord, the circle of all tender relationships, the playground of childhood, the dwelling of manhood, the retreat of age" was declared from the pulpit and in his writings.<sup>225</sup> He went yet further in referencing the expansion of empire and the part women played here too, "... and even sends its attractions across oceans and continents, drawing to itself the thoughts and wishes of the man that wanders from it to the antipodes: this home, sweet home is the sphere of the wedded women's mission."<sup>226</sup> Sophia Gray was fully established in her expansive role by the time this work was published, and providing an unparalleled example of "the wedded woman's mission" to close circle friends and associates within the Oxford Movement.<sup>227</sup>

Within this sermon the places that are seen to evoke home are in themselves recognisable locations, each with its own associative memories for the reader or

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<sup>223</sup> Gray, *the Life of Robert Gray*, 49, 55. The young Sophia Wharton Myddleton's predilection in this regard is referred to as "mere idle novel-reading" which it is claimed "she gave up" upon meeting Robert Gray "and took to the study of religious and intellectual books" under his guidance. Robert Gray is shown as demonstrating "a great love of general literature...and every variety of subject" which is claimed as the means by which he set "to widen and strengthen his vigorous intellect".

<sup>224</sup> Davidoff and Hall, *Family fortunes: men and women of the English middle class, 1780-1850*, 149.

<sup>225</sup> John Angell James, *Discourses and memoirs, addressed to young women*, (London: Hamilton Adams & Co, 1860), 74.

<sup>226</sup> *Ibid.* 74.

<sup>227</sup> Charlotte Yonge letters, 82 & 83, <http://discovery.ucl.ac.uk/13734/3/Yongesecondbatchto1859.pdf>, 112-113.

listener.<sup>228</sup> Attributing certain qualities to different types of place, dwelling or building, establishing an imaginative alliance of place with the moral certitudes of home, served to supply the young Wharton Myddleton a readily observable physical mass to this theme of belonging. The castle in its vast physicality, dark and unknowable, is a place of danger – albeit tinged with more than a hint of romance. The cottage, set in a pastoral location beyond the dangerous and forbidding heathland and moor, offers a transparent evocation of calm and harmony, providing a haven of safety for the previously lost and dispossessed.<sup>229</sup>

The death of her father in 1834 cast the young Wharton Myddleton sisters adrift from the only home they had ever known at Grinkle Park. With their recently widowed mother they were charged with establishing a new home, and a very feminine one at that.<sup>230</sup> Old Park, which she thereafter held in great affection, served as a Gothic backdrop for the basis of a new family dynamic, one that served as a visual and moral proving ground for her marriage to rector Robert Gray just two years later.<sup>231</sup>

Old Park was not Wharton Myddleton's first experience of Gothic architecture, which was proving a popular option for the wealthy landed classes in the north of England. Skelton Castle, home of a distant cousin John Wharton and Castle Mulgrave, would both have been familiar to the Wharton Myddleton family on a social and local political basis.<sup>232</sup> While Old Park was far from cottage-like, even before the addition of Gothic features, for the young Wharton Myddleton it would become the visual embodiment of belonging, beyond a mere architectural rendering of home, offering a sound basis for architecture as credible moral touchstone. In later years then

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<sup>228</sup> William Stafford, "The gender of the place: building and landscape in women-authored texts in England of the 1790s", *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Vol. 13 (2003): 310.

<sup>229</sup> *Ibid.*, 310.

<sup>230</sup> Letter from Mrs Sophia Myddleton, Wharton Papers, WHA824, Palace Green Library, University of Durham. A letter from Sophia Gray's mother, dated 8 March 1837(?) describing tree planting and "getting the garden in order" by "the young ladies" her daughters with other references to domestic matters.

<sup>231</sup> Gray, *Life of Robert Gray*, 66. Robert Gray describes Sophia's affection for Old Park when weighing up the benefits and disadvantages of moving to another parish. He decided against the move.

<sup>232</sup> Thompson, *English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century*, 90.

architecture would offer a tangible opportunity for Sophia Gray to fulfil a 19<sup>th</sup> century woman's primary mission: that of homemaker.

### **An architecture for empire**

Sophia Gray will have recognised the Gothic as a concentrated cultural depiction of Englishness, articulating it as such in her artistic and architectural achievements.

The ecclesiastical and ecclesiological influences which she was enthusiastically subject to throughout her 35 years of marriage to Robert Gray, a man who played an inestimable role in securing the High Anglican church's influential position in the empire, will have simply reinforced this recognition. Bremner proclaims "the vast and interconnected nature of the British world during the nineteenth century", and Sophia Gray serves to embody barely acknowledged feminine and utilitarian facets of this interconnectedness.<sup>233</sup>

Bradley cites the importance of Rickman's 1817 *Attempts to Discriminate the Styles of English Architecture* for bringing his terms of classification into architectural parlance, where the descriptor 'English' was nationalist shorthand for Gothic.<sup>234</sup>

Robert Gray uses the terms advocated by Rickman in his visitation account of 1855, describing Christ Church at Swellendam as stone-built, "and of the Early English style... a correct and pretty building".<sup>235</sup>

If, as Brooks and Saint argue, the Anglican church of the period was both an ideological and a material construct, then "the empowered minority" responsible for these constructs could not have asked for a finer barely-used canvas than that presented by South Africa from the 1830s onwards.<sup>236</sup> The economic opportunities

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<sup>233</sup> Bremner, *Imperial Gothic: religious architecture and high Anglican culture in the British Empire, ca. 1840-70*, xiv.

<sup>234</sup> Simon Bradley, "The Englishness of Gothic: theories and interpretations from William Gilpin to J.H. Parker", *Architectural History*, Vol 45, (2002), 331.

<sup>235</sup> Robert Gray, *Three months' visitation in autumn of 1855, with an account of his voyage to the island of Tristan d'Acunha in March 1856*, 31. The design of Christ Church in Swellendam is attributed to Sophia Gray and G. Evans: Martin, "The churches of Bishop Robert Gray and Mrs Sophia Gray: an historical and architectural review", 283.

<sup>236</sup> Chris Brooks and Andrew Saint, *The Victorian Church: architecture and society*, 23.

and Christian conversion potential presented by the horn of Africa were impossible for “the empowered minority” to ignore. The Cape of Good Hope, as the Grays’ diocese was originally named, offered near perfect conditions for church and state to cultivate their interwoven economic and spiritual interests. The SPG lagged behind other denominations in establishing any sway in the Cape much before 1819.<sup>237</sup> Given the strategic importance of Cape Town in trade route terms, and its pivotal location in relation to the slave trade, it could be but a matter of time before the shared interests of church and state would collide in this heretofore bypassed region.

Between 1836 and 1846 only seven clergy had been posted to the region, despite Bishop Wilson of Calcutta raising concerns as to the dearth of spiritual advice in the colony as early as 1832.<sup>238</sup> Although the foundation stone for the Anglican church of St George’s in Cape Town was laid in 1830 it was only consecrated some 20 years later by Bishop Robert Gray.<sup>239</sup> Robert Gray’s declamation of the “un-churchlike appearance and garbled internal arrangements” of St George’s, with its classical antecedents, can be understood not only as the Anglican church’s announcement of the end of classicism in church architecture but as a more profound heralding of the introduction in the Cape of an ecclesiological approach to architecture that had its very roots in Englishness and England: the Gothic Revival.<sup>240</sup> The fact that Robert Gray’s exemplary helpmeet Sophia would carry her personal visuality and considerable artistic skill, each underpinned by an abiding Gothic sensibility, into the service of the Church was as yet unrecognised.

Robert Gray’s increasing preoccupation with the nature of church teaching, personal spirituality, practical work as a rector and the importance of the Gospel in doctrinal

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<sup>237</sup> Thompson, *Into All Lands: the history of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel into Foreign Parts 1701-1950*, 198.

<sup>238</sup> *Ibid.*, 198.

<sup>239</sup> *Ibid.*, 197.

<sup>240</sup> Bremner, *Imperial Gothic: religious architecture and high Anglican culture in the British Empire, ca. 1840-70*, 16.

matters can be witnessed in his journal entries from the early 1840s, while he was still rector at Whitworth in Durham. He records “I am more and more convinced that what are called Church Principles are the true Gospel principles”.<sup>241</sup> In 1841 Robert Gray notes his concerns as to the nature of doctrinal influences being transmitted in missionary work across the world: “If England and America are converting the heathen in Africa, the West Indies, and elsewhere, they are at the same time carrying with them the schisms which are the disgrace of our age, and the cankerworm of our religion”.<sup>242</sup> This journal entry appears alongside his thoughts on his recent readings of theses on the Eastern and Catholic churches; he states his hope that “a friendly intercourse” will soon be possible. In this regard Robert Gray appears to indicate that he shared the declared opinion of AWN Pugin, that “the rise of the established religion” was directly responsible for “the fall of architectural art in this country”.<sup>243</sup>

The previous year had seen Robert Gray appointed Secretary to the SPG in the north east of England, while dealings with his local congregations were causing him spiritual and practical consternation. The realities of missionary work, locally and globally, were a subject increasingly close to his heart, predicating his musings on how best to deliver “true Gospel principles” to the Church’s congregations; his own and those in the ever-expanding empire. Plans were mooted for building a school and churches, with the support and partial funding from local landowner and church patron Mr Shafto, that would serve the congregational needs of parishioners from across the parish, including those coal mining villages of Byer’s Green, Hillington and Hunsworth.<sup>244</sup>

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<sup>241</sup> Robert Gray’s journals, AB1161/A7, ACSA Archive, William Cullen Library, University of Witwatersrand.

<sup>242</sup> Gray, *The Life of Robert Gray*, 77-78.

<sup>243</sup> Robert Gray’s journals, AB1161/A7 note that he has taken works by Pugin into his collection. Pugin in Contrasts as referred to by Rosemary Hill, “Reformation to Millennium: Pugin’s Contrasts in the History of English Thought”, (*Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 58, no1, March 1999), 32.

<sup>244</sup> Gray, *The Life of Robert Gray*, 73, 75.



The 1840s witnessed a fruitful for each collision of state and High Anglican church ambitions and desires. The SPG found itself in an exemplary position, able to furnish the empire with preferred ecclesiastical and ecclesiological resources, available in the form of a cohort of like-minded Oxford-educated clergy.<sup>245</sup> Individuals, including Robert Gray, could bring to bear the intellectual and technical capacity of the architect to serve the social needs of empire.<sup>246</sup> Sophia Gray may not have been part of this cohort in clerical terms but she enthusiastically engaged with its intellectual ecclesiastical, spiritual and ecclesiological influences throughout her married life.<sup>247</sup>

### **Architectural practice as feminine accomplishment**

- ... Sophy is quite cheerful and contented.
- *Robert Gray in a letter to Dr Williamson informing of his decision to accept the position of Bishop of Cape Town, March 1847.*

In January 1847 Robert Gray received a letter from Ernest Hawkins, Secretary to the SPG, offering him the position of bishop to one of the empire's colonies. From this point Robert embarked upon extensive and often frantic correspondence with Hawkins, the Bishop of Durham and other senior churchmen, as well as with close family members, as he grappled with acceptance of this momentous position. References to Sophia Gray are common, and all are complimentary of her abilities to rise to the occasion should Robert choose to accept, and Robert himself clearly looks to her for considered support and guidance.<sup>248</sup> Gray's own thoughts on the matter appear to have been positive, with Robert telling his brother-in-law that "Sophy induced me to word my willingness to go in stronger language than I had

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<sup>245</sup> Bremner, *Imperial Gothic: religious architecture and high Anglican culture in the British Empire, ca. 1840-70*, 19.

<sup>246</sup> Brian Hanson, *Architects and the building world from Chambers to Ruskin: Constructing authority*, 1.

<sup>247</sup> Robert Gray's AB1161/A7 and A8 Sophia Gray's commonplace book AB2070. Sophia and Robert Gray read aloud to each other, sharing works as diverse as the writings of Thomas A Kempis, Pusey and their close friend Charlotte Yonge. The journals and notebooks of each illustrate that they also shared a reflective and critical approach to matters spiritual and ecclesiastical.

<sup>248</sup> Gray, *The Life of Robert Gray*, 102, 106, 114.

first intended”.<sup>249</sup> The brief almost throwaway comment that “Sophy is quite cheerful and contented” in Robert Gray’s letter to his brother-in-law written on the day he formally accepted the colonial bishopric for the Cape of Good Hope, Tristan da Cunha and St Helena, suggests she is not overawed by the challenges ahead.<sup>250</sup>

That same year, 1847, found architect R.D. Chantrell bemoaning the lack of English architects able to convincingly design in the Gothic Revival style.<sup>251</sup> Most pupil-trained architects of the time had their training firmly located within the classical schools of architecture. An increasing demand for Gothic church restoration work, alongside an ecclesiastical preference for Gothic Revival new-build churches (Roman Catholic and High Anglican) ensured “a fair element of autodidacticism” on the part of the in-demand architects of the day.<sup>252</sup> The formation and carefully articulated responses of the Cambridge Camden Society and the Oxford Architectural Society served this autodidactic requirement, for architect and clergyman alike.<sup>253</sup>

Crinson cites how Gothic Revival architecture was “often the domain of architectural theologians rather than architectural theorists”, an architecture designated fit for consistent delivery of the tenets of the Anglican church.<sup>254</sup> The practical and utilitarian result was a carefully prescribed set of “ecclesiological dimensions” that could be set in play across England and its empire. Made real by the likes of William Butterfield and Henry Underwood these architectural templates were essentially validated by the discourses supporting their publication.<sup>255</sup> These discourses were

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<sup>249</sup> Ibid., 106.

<sup>250</sup> Ibid., 114.

<sup>251</sup> Christopher Webster, “Architects and clergy in early Victorian England: a useful alliance or a threat to the profession?” (London: Ecclesiological Society, 2006), 83.

<sup>252</sup> Mark Crinson, *Architecture-art or profession?: three hundred years of architectural education in Britain*, 40.

<sup>253</sup> Bremner, *Imperial Gothic: religious architecture and high Anglican culture in the British Empire, ca. 1840-70*, 19.

<sup>254</sup> Crinson, *Architecture-art or profession?: three hundred years of architectural education in Britain*, 40.

<sup>255</sup> Ibid., 40. There is agreement that the drawings of these two architects were the basis of much of Sophia Gray’s own architectural work; see Bremner and Martin.

intellectual in nature, aimed squarely at those “architectural theologians” tasked with an ecclesiastical exigency across their parishes, local and abroad.<sup>256</sup>

The format and stream of the supply of materials concerned with ensuring the fulfilment of the need for Gothic Revival architectural excellence were not dissimilar from those of drawing manuals aimed at the amateur watercolourist and artist. While the economic driver for the artist can cynically be argued as very different from that for the ecclesiastical architect, each author sought, by providing portable reference materials, to promote their didactic approaches in a manner both familiar and accessible to an educated, peripatetic 19<sup>th</sup> century readership. Challenging the amateur practitioner to greater achievement and understanding, these approaches were ultimately employed to facilitate the production of results that were based upon advocated and carefully defined visual, philosophical, and theoretical parameters.<sup>257</sup>

Sophia Gray therefore was personally very well-placed in this climate of architectural self-education with its “combination of historical association, utilitarian flexibility and a pragmatic use of engineering techniques”.<sup>258</sup> Gray’s application of her autodidactic abilities, as examined in Chapters One and Two, can be argued to be particularly feminine in nature, honed as they were through popular methods used in female education.<sup>259</sup> This ease with the prevalent approach to architectural education, coupled with her circumstantial exposure, through marriage and her own explorations, to the ongoing public and private dialogues prevalent within the vestries of the Anglican church served as a functionally efficient approach to her role as architect to the diocese.

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<sup>256</sup> Oxford Architectural Society, *Views and details of Gothic churches*, (Oxford, 1841); J.M Neale and J.F. Russell, *A Few Hints on the Practical Study of Ecclesiastical Architecture and Antiquity*, (London: Rivingtons, 1843); Ecclesiological Society, *A hand-book of English Ecclesiology*, (London: Joseph Masters, 1847).

<sup>257</sup> Greg Smith, *The emergence of the professional watercolourist: contentions and alliances in the artistic domain, 1760-1824*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), 122; Andrew Saint, *The image of the architect*, 63.

<sup>258</sup> Crinson, *Architecture--art or profession?: three hundred years of architectural education in Britain*, 40.

<sup>259</sup> Larsen, “Dynastic Domesticity: The Role of Elite Women in the Yorkshire Country House, 1685-1858”, 38.

Sophia Gray willingly spread “the gospel of the Gothic” so favoured by the Anglican church of empire; for her this was simply another thread to be woven into the cloth of her personal identity, a thread that was fundamentally concerned with Englishness and home.<sup>260</sup> The exhortation of the CCS so readily applies to “deaconess” Sophia Gray, but for her gender when it stated “The whole superintendence should be vested in the clergymen of the parish, the only man who, in most country villages, understands anything about these matters; and whose tastes, and feelings, and views are far more likely to be correct than those of any other person”.<sup>261</sup>

### **The artist-architect**

The sketchbook is a time-served, practical tool for artist and architect alike, serving as the basis for a later work, be it oil painting, watercolour or building. This is no less true now than it was for Sophia Gray, who has left an incomplete but considerable sketchbook archive. Smith illustrates how the illustrative methodologies and influences for nineteenth century architects and artists, amateur and professional, were so closely interwoven as to be indiscernible.<sup>262</sup> The capacity to handle perspective was crucial for each; for the architect to communicate his intentions to the patron, and for the artist to present a harmonious scene capable of evoking a morally stimulating response. An aid to developing observational and drawing skills, the sketchbook offers the means of establishing a personal connection with place or object, the means of capturing personal memory. Edwards asserts that freehand

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<sup>260</sup> Saint, *The image of the architect*, 63; Twynning, *Forms of English history in literature, landscape, and architecture*, 1.

<sup>261</sup> J.M. Neale, *A Few words to Church builders*, (Cambridge: Cambridge Camden Society, Cambridge University Press; Oxford: Parker; London: Rivingtons, 1841), 3-4.

<sup>262</sup> Smith, *The emergence of the professional watercolourist: contentions and alliances in the artistic domain, 1760-1824*, 80.

drawing allows for the “exploration of the existing world, its buildings, details and landscapes”, and “helps to cultivate a sensitivity towards the existing context”.<sup>263</sup>

Freehand drawing is a skill long practised by architects, whether as pupil or professional. However, capturing that building as it is immediately and visually experienced, making a record of architectural features in situ and in relation to their physical setting and location, expressing the landscape and topography as it affects a building, are as much sketchbook endeavours of the artist as of the architect.<sup>264</sup>

[Fig. 3.2 a) and b)].

Gray’s architectural sketchbook is referenced in all works concerning the architectural achievements of herself and her husband.<sup>265</sup> This sketchbook was found amongst materials at St George’s Cathedral in Cape Town, part of a batch of papers set to be destroyed in the cathedral furnace. The handwriting and drawing styles are unquestionably Sophia Gray’s and it was verified by church historian and Gray expert, R.R. Langham-Carter.<sup>266</sup> Its fortuitous discovery does beg the question: how many other documents pertaining to and created by Sophia Gray, including architectural drawings, did not escape destruction?

Gray was never punctilious in dating any of her work, and the logical timeframe for her production of the sketchbook architectural sketches is generally offered as between 1836, the year of her marriage, and 1847, the year of the Grays’ departure to their Cape diocese. The sketchbook has been cited as an early indication of Gray’s commitment to improving her architectural ability, but there are several factors that make this unlikely. In the first instance, the content and nature of most

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<sup>263</sup> Brian Edwards, *Understanding Architecture Through Drawing*, (Taylor & Francis e-library, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, 2008), 9.

<sup>264</sup> Bermingham, *Learning to Draw: Studies in the Cultural History of a Polite and Useful Art*, 81-86. In examining the development of approaches to landscape art Bermingham posits three types, sense, sensibility and sensation, each according to Bermingham requiring a greater or lesser degree of artist interpretation and self-reference.

<sup>265</sup> Sophia Gray’s architectural sketchbook AB2070, ACSA Archive, William Cullen Library, University of Witwatersrand.

<sup>266</sup> Letter referring to the discovery of the Gray’s architectural sketchbook AB2070, ACSA Archive, William Cullen Library, University of Witwatersrand.

of the drawings is decorative, depicting architectural features rather than recording any fundamentals that might enable the use of similar in her own architectural pursuits. Further, the absence of any dimensions or measurements would suggest that a desire to develop architectural skill was not at the heart of this nonetheless impressive endeavour on Sophia Gray's part. The sketchbook does indeed serve as a testimony to her skill with pencil and ink, but less so as evidence for any architectural predilection on her part.

The sketchbook comprises 111 pencil and ink drawings, where the drawings follow the progress of Gothic styles, Early English, then Decorated and finally Perpendicular, as laid out by Thomas Rickman in his book, *An attempt to discriminate the styles of architecture in England from the Conquest to the Reformation: with a sketch of the Grecian and Roman order; notices of numerous British edifices; and some remarks on the architecture of a part of France*.<sup>267</sup> A clear indication of adherence to Rickman is in Gray's roughly-written and now barely-legible pencil written list of English architectural styles with their associated dates. [Fig. 3.3 a)] This corresponds exactly with Rickman's table of "the duration of the styles of English architecture" from his groundbreaking work.<sup>268</sup> [Fig. 3.3 b)]. In March 1842 Robert Gray, still rector of Whitworth in County Durham, records receipt of a copy of Rickman's book, and so we can infer Sophia Gray had direct access from this date onwards.<sup>269</sup>

The format of the drawings bears close resemblance to Rickman's [Fig. 3.4 a)], where the grouping of like objects, such as fonts, from churches built in the same Gothic style appear together [Fig. 3.4 b)]. This method of grouping objects enables

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<sup>267</sup> Martin, "The churches of Bishop Robert Gray & Mrs Sophia Gray: an historical and architectural review", 43-44.

<sup>268</sup> Thomas Rickman, *An attempt to discriminate the styles of architecture in England from the Conquest to the Reformation: with a sketch of the Grecian and Roman order; notices of numerous British edifices; and some remarks on the architecture of a part of France*, (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Green and Longman, 1835), 297.

<sup>269</sup> Robert Gray's journals, AB1161/A7, ACSA Archive, William Cullen Library, University of Witwatersrand.

a ready observation of both the diversity and similarity of features within a defined architectural era. The methodical and rigid approach employed by Gray negates any suggestion that she made her drawings in situ in the churches named in the labelling, either while travelling in the north of England or further afield when accompanying her husband or visiting family.<sup>270</sup> That the majority, if not all the drawings, are copied from published sources is evident. Any suggestion that this series of drawings demonstrates a desire on Gray's part to create her own architectural reference manual is questionable.<sup>271</sup>

Robert Gray's personal journals and records of books received into his collection have been proposed as evidence of the Grays' early architectural interest by biographers and academics alike.<sup>272</sup> The addition of Sophia Gray's architectural sketchbook to this proposal fails to strengthen the case without framing the production of this sketchbook in the wider context of her life at the time. Between 1840 and 1843 Robert Gray lists works by Bloxham, Pugin and Rickman, but fails to make any comment to suggest that these were consulted or read.<sup>273</sup> This unrecorded lack of response is unusual where these journals offer an illuminating view onto Robert Gray's preferences and thought processes in relation to everything from travel writing through fiction to *Tracts for the Times*. The inference of an enhanced interest in Gothic architecture, beyond that of most Oxford-educated churchmen of the period, appears to be more a case of biographical cognitive dissonance than an evidenced reality when conveniently extended to include Sophia Gray.

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<sup>270</sup> Bremner, *Imperial Gothic: religious architecture and high Anglican culture in the British Empire, ca. 1840-70*, 62. This was a notion presented originally by R.R. Langham-Carter but which does not take into account the geographical locations concerned, and to date there is no evidence that she visited many of the churches mentioned.

<sup>271</sup> Martin, "The churches of Bishop Robert Gray & Mrs Sophia Gray: an historical and architectural review", 44.

<sup>272</sup> Robert Gray's journals, AB1161/A7, ACSA Archive, William Cullen Library, University of Witwatersrand.

<sup>273</sup> Robert Gray's journals, AB1161/A7, ACSA Archive, William Cullen Library, University of Witwatersrand.

The addition of Sophia Gray's architectural sketchbook as a demonstrative feature of the couple's interest in architecture does not strengthen the case. Instead Gray's accomplishments and enthusiasms are swept once again into the orbit of her husband's interests; assumed rather than proven interests.

### **A sketchbook with a purpose**

... whenever they spanned out Mrs Gray would at once be off with her drawing material to sketch any pretty nook or grand mountain.

- *Rev. J. Eedes describing preparations for Bishop Gray's visitation trips.*<sup>274</sup>

There is limited evidence of Sophia Gray's artistic interests and skill prior to her departure to South Africa in December 1847. References to Gray's sketching practices, particularly when travelling on horseback alongside her husband, are however numerous. An indication that Gray's enduring sketching habit was not unique to her life in South Africa is confined to a footnote to a description of the couple's honeymoon: "In Mrs Gray's pocket-book there is an entry, "Oct. 4<sup>th</sup> Rode to Castle Howard and Helmsley. 5<sup>th</sup> Rode to Byland, called at Duncombe Park, rode to Rievaulx and sketched. 6<sup>th</sup> Rode to Rievaulx, and over the moor by Kirkby Moorside to Grinkle."<sup>275</sup>

The "pocket-book" referred to was certainly in the possession of the author of Robert Gray's biography at the time of it being written, but has since, like so much relating to Sophia Gray, become lost.<sup>276</sup> The author of *The Life of Robert Gray*, was the Grays' only son Charles Norris Gray, vicar of Helmsley in North Yorkshire from 1870-1913, whose acclaimed association with architect Temple Lushingham Moore indicates that he continued the family fascination with Gothic Revival architecture.

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<sup>274</sup> A.E.M. Anderson-Morshead, *A Pioneer and Founder: reminiscences of some who knew Robert Gray DD, first Bishop of Cape Town and Metropolitan of South Africa*, 184. The Reverend John Eedes (1833-1904) was educated from age 16 at the diocesan college founded by the Grays in Cape Town, served as deacon at their parish church, St. Saviour's, and was ordained by Robert Gray at St. George's in 1859. <http://www.genealogy.com/ftm/k/i/m/Paul-J-Kimber/WEBSITE-0001/UHP-0168.html>

<sup>275</sup> Gray, *The Life of Robert Gray*, 54.

<sup>276</sup> *Ibid.*, 54.



Ascribing a specific purpose to Gray's architectural sketchbook has led to yet another narrowing of the pathways that might aid a better understanding of the woman's life and achievements. The question that begs to be asked is: why would Sophia Gray, wife to a rector in the north of England, seek to develop her expertise in Gothic architecture? Quite simply, she wouldn't. The issue is timeframe dependent, with the years 1842 and 1847 serving as parentheses to a five-year period within which we cannot determine Gray's active interest in practical architecture. March 1842 saw the receipt of Rickman's influential work into the Grays' collection, and March 1847 saw Robert Gray accept the Cape bishopric, with a period of only nine-months in which to prepare for this mission for church and empire. Chapter Two has considered when she began to put her administrative skills to the service of her husband's parish, and this does not seem to have been the case until their arrival in Stockton-on-Tees in September 1845; the Grays left this parish in June 1847. While Robert Gray was rector at Whitworth he instigated the building of new churches, supported by local wealthy landowner, Mr Shafto, but once again there is little evidence to suggest either his or his wife's extensive involvement in the design and building process.<sup>277</sup>

Langham-Carter has suggested that the Grays' close family friend, and avid antiquarian, John Norris of Hughenden in Buckinghamshire, encouraged Sophia to create this purported architectural endeavour.<sup>278</sup> That this encouragement was to any degree related to architecture is less plausible than an assertion that Norris encouraged Sophia Gray to practise the refined accomplishment of drawing, by copying the content of the antiquarian tomes that her husband subscribed to.<sup>279</sup> The

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<sup>277</sup> Martin, "The churches of Bishop Robert Gray & Mrs Sophia Gray: an historical and architectural review, 36.

<sup>278</sup> Langham-Carter, "South Africa's First Woman Architect", 16; John Norris: [https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=WvkDAAAAQAAJ&pg=PA128&lpg=PA128&dq=john+norris+church+hughenden&source=bl&ots=tAQq3AsTJ4&sig=-crCIU0PZPq8sK0qWaZ-OFfmJ34&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKewjD54XrranUAhXD5xoKHW\\_7ByoQ6AEINjAD#v=onepage&q=john%20norris%20church%20hughenden&f=false](https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=WvkDAAAAQAAJ&pg=PA128&lpg=PA128&dq=john+norris+church+hughenden&source=bl&ots=tAQq3AsTJ4&sig=-crCIU0PZPq8sK0qWaZ-OFfmJ34&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKewjD54XrranUAhXD5xoKHW_7ByoQ6AEINjAD#v=onepage&q=john%20norris%20church%20hughenden&f=false).

<sup>279</sup> Sloan, *A Noble Art: Amateur Artists and Drawing Masters, C. 1600-1800*, 103; R.W. Billings, *Illustrations of the architectural antiquities of the county of Durham: ecclesiastical, castellated and domesticated*, (Durham: George Andrews & R.W. Billings; London: T & W Books, 1846), iii – vi.

content of these antiquarian works was offered for reproduction purposes, serving a demand for antiquarian subjects with which the burgeoning membership of antiquarian societies could practically engage; a membership comprising architects, amateur watercolourists and clergymen.<sup>280</sup>

The sketchbook, as an object created by Sophia Gray, holds narrative value in relation to Gray's later positioning as an architect. While the Cape colony had need of churches it had no need, or available expertise or resource, for the often elaborate Gothic detail that Gray depicts so meticulously, and delightfully, in this one sketchbook.<sup>281</sup> By capturing ecclesiological features by way of her own artistic skill Gray sought to consolidate her own Gothic and personal memory, indeed this was arguably the prime purpose for much of her artistic and later architectural endeavours.<sup>282</sup>

If the sketchbook contents are considered in conjunction with the examples of medieval and Gothic Revival church architecture which Gray encountered during the couple's frenetic journeying, criss-crossing England, during 1847 a picture emerges of a heretofore unrecognised significant contributory factor in her architectural education. Between June 1847 and their departure for South Africa in December 1847 the Grays travelled extensively across England, ostensibly to spread the word of the Bishop's intended mission to the Cape but more essentially to gather subscription funding to make real these intentions.<sup>283</sup> Robert Gray records visiting at least 50 parishes, preaching and holding meetings in conjunction with SPG supporters, staying and socialising with key supporters including Angela Burdett Coutts, Lord and Lady Ellesmere and their daughters. and the Yonges.<sup>284</sup>

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<sup>280</sup> Smith, *The emergence of the professional watercolourist: contentions and alliances in the artistic domain, 1760-1824*, 78-79.

<sup>281</sup> Bremner, *Imperial Gothic: religious architecture and high Anglican culture in the British Empire, ca. 1840-70*, 62.

<sup>282</sup> Bermingham, *Learning to Draw: Studies in the Cultural History of a Polite and Useful Art*, 126.

<sup>283</sup> Gray, *Life of Robert Gray*, 127-139.

<sup>284</sup> *Ibid.*, 127, 130, 138.

Sophia Gray was certainly with him for most of this essential tour of duty, or in London preparing for their departure.

Gray's role in accompanying her husband is not specified; although it is certainly likely that she will have extended her parish administrative duties by creating and keeping records of pledged sums and material support.<sup>285</sup> Perhaps more importantly Gray was placed in the enviable position, one unlikely to have been available to many pupil-architects of the period, of acquiring invaluable sensory experience of medieval churches and cathedrals, as well as newly built Gothic Revival churches, in Early English, Decorated and Perpendicular styles.<sup>286</sup> This immersive experience would have helped to hone her artistically-trained eye, enabling her to move beyond the drawing room setting for her architectural copying exercises. Given the primary and corroborative evidence we have of her assiduous sketching it is highly likely that Gray will have kept a visual record of her architectural observations during this intense period, a period of profound impact on the lives of her husband, her family and herself.

### **Envisioning home at the heart of the imperial parish**

One month before Robert Gray finally accepted the offer of the bishopric of the Cape of Good Hope the Illustrated London News reported the laying of the foundation stone of the first Protestant Church in Mauritius. The Rev Langrishe Banks was reported as “express(ing) his conviction that it was by the extension of the Church of England in the Colonies that the strongest bond would be formed between the Father-land and the sons of Britain now settled in every part of the world”.<sup>287</sup> By this point in the imperial ecclesiastical project those “sons (and daughters) of Britain” were increasingly likely to encounter ecclesiastical

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<sup>285</sup> Ibid., 130.

<sup>286</sup> One example of the latest in Gothic Revival design which Sophia Gray will have seen is St Mark's Church, Worsley. Commissioned by Lord Ellesmere and designed by G.G. Scott; the church was consecrated in 1846. <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1227895>

<sup>287</sup> “Mauritius”, *The London Illustrated News*, Feb. 6, 1847, 84.

architecture that would resonate with a familiar and certain version of 'home', albeit several thousand miles from home itself.

Robert Gray had staked his colours to the mast by declaring his mission to build churches and schools, seeking to "reconfigure the religious landscape in southern Africa".<sup>288</sup> This reconfiguration went beyond the religious landscape, where the provision of churches established those essential places for spiritual enrichment and community adhesion. The actual and physical landscape was also of necessity reconfigured by way of this imperial exercise in economic and ecclesiastical expansion. By employing a defined set of aesthetics, in this case English and of the parish, the church as agent of empire sought to establish and embed itself as the legitimate arbiter of spiritual and communal life outside of England.<sup>289</sup>

Sophia Gray might be described as parish architect, in preference to diocesan architect. Certainly, most of churches for which she was primarily responsible were those smaller, community-based churches located in the dorps that had sprung up to serve the outlying farming families across the country.<sup>290</sup> [Figs.1.2 a), b), d)] Each of these churches was visually comparable to, at a distance almost indiscernible from, the medieval parish church of the English village; even more the case in Gray's watercolours where the landscape is redolent of the oft-portrayed picturesque landscapes of England.<sup>291</sup> [Fig. 1.2 d)]

Visually referencing the familiar and idealised, these churches initially offered a comforting and familiar signifier, serving to re-situate settlers within an alien and often hostile landscape. Gray's architectural approach aligned the Anglican church's desire to spiritually tether these same settlers to England, to a version of home.

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<sup>288</sup> MS424-425, copies of SPG Robert Gray's statement on his intended mission to the Cape of Good Hope, National Library of South Africa, Cape Town. Bremner, *Imperial Gothic: religious architecture and high Anglican culture in the British Empire, ca. 1840-70*, 206-207.

<sup>289</sup> Twyning, *Forms of English history in literature, landscape, and architecture*, 62.

<sup>290</sup> Martin, "The churches of Bishop Robert Gray and Mrs Sophia Gray: an historical and architectural review", 283.

<sup>291</sup> Bremner, *Imperial Gothic: religious architecture and high Anglican culture in the British Empire, ca. 1840-70*, 217.

Subsequent generations, even those not born in South Africa, could assert the physical evidence of an imperial architecture, firmly rooted in an aesthetically glorious and English past as proof of an inherent superiority over other populations.<sup>292</sup>

### **A template for church and duty**

I have made the west end and Bell Turret a little more imposing, which appeared necessary on account of the very large open space and more lofty buildings around it. The wall need not be more than two feet in thickness and I have taken away some ornamental work from the roof.

- *Sophia Gray to the parish of St James in Worcester, in a letter dated 26 February 1852.*

Gray's architectural skill lay in ably modifying and adapting drawings by the likes of Butterfield and Underwood, understanding and working within the limitations of available resources, topographical constraints and the ecclesiastical needs of the parish concerned.<sup>293</sup> [Fig. 2.3 a) and b)] While a friendship with William Butterfield is claimed it has not been verified, and instances of direct contact may be no more than examples of professional courtesy and Butterfield's natural respect for the Bishop's office.<sup>294</sup> The Grays' close involvement with the Oxford Movement, and friendships within this group, suggests it is not impossible that the Grays had some personal contact with him during visits to England in the 1850s and 1860s.<sup>295</sup>

There is no available evidence as to how Sophia Gray developed the necessary skills in adapting and modifying the drawings of the preferred ecclesiastical architects of the day; that she did so with vigour and aptitude is undeniable. Less than a dozen examples of Gray's drawings are known to exist, including an

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<sup>292</sup> Twynning, *Forms of English history in literature, landscape, and architecture*, 62.

<sup>293</sup> Bremner, *Imperial Gothic: religious architecture and high Anglican culture in the British Empire, ca. 1840-70*, 79; Sophia Gray's correspondence re: St James's church, Worcester, AB1569, ACSA Archive, William Cullen Library, University of Witwatersrand.

<sup>294</sup> R.R. Langham- Carter archive, BC644, File 379, University of Cape Town Special Collections.

<sup>295</sup> R.R. Langham- Carter archive, BC644, File 379, University of Cape Town Special Collections; P.R. Thompson, *William Butterfield*, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1971), 16; Charlotte Yonge letters, 82 & 83, <http://discovery.ucl.ac.uk/13734/3/Yongesecondbatchto1859.pdf>, 112-113.

elevation for St James in Worcester.<sup>296</sup> [Fig. 3.5] These drawings, in conjunction with her correspondence to the parish, indicate her pragmatic approach to her assumed architectural responsibilities.

Gray's close adherence to the architectural work of others does not, as has been charged, indicate a lack of architectural innovation or ability on her part.<sup>297</sup> The Grays' marriage was a strong one, where their respect and love for each other is the subject of comment by all who knew them, and rings out in their personal writings and observations.<sup>298</sup> Robert Gray demonstrated all the qualities essential to a man deemed fitted to hold the office of Bishop, and Sophia Gray's part in supporting her husband on the path to office should not be underestimated.<sup>299</sup> The Grays' shared understanding of the ecclesiastical imperatives underpinning these designs, designs that would form the very basis of an imperial Church of England, was developed from the earliest days of their courtship.<sup>300</sup>

Sophia Gray will have had no reason to consider doing anything other than to use and adapt the ecclesiastically approved architectural drawings available to her; after all she was working with the architectural drawings of those espoused by the church, as would have been many others in a less critical situation than Gray. More importantly though and from Gray's perspective, her duty as a wife and homemaker, wife to a colonial bishop and thereby homemaker for an extended family of colonists, required a practical adherence to an approved model of Anglican church architecture.

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<sup>296</sup> Martin, "The churches of Bishop Robert Gray and Mrs Sophia Gray: an historical and architectural review", 308.

<sup>297</sup> Bremner, *Imperial Gothic: religious architecture and high Anglican culture in the British Empire, ca. 1840-70*, 79.

<sup>298</sup> Robert Gray's journal and commonplace book, AB1161; Sophia Gray's commonplace book, AB2070, ACSA Archive, William Cullen Library, University of Witwatersrand.

<sup>299</sup> Gray, *Life of Robert Gray*, 100-110.

<sup>300</sup> "A colonial bishop must be a church-builder" was the assertion of *The Ecclesiologist*, No LV (New series no XIX), January 1847, 21.

## Conclusion

She being dead yet teacheth.

- *Robert Gray's handwritten note on the frontispiece of Sophia Gray's commonplace book. Dated 25th June 1871.*

In the 1970 biography, *The Bishop's Lady*, Thelma Gutsche includes an 1863 photograph of St Saviour's church in Claremont [Fig. I.3 b)]. The caption for this photograph states that the photographer "testified to Sophy Gray having herself laid the tiles around the altar and completed other detailed work".<sup>301</sup> R.R. Langham Carter declares "we know... of at least one tiled pavement which she laid with her own hands" and continues in this vein in other descriptions of Gray's architectural work.<sup>302</sup> This declaration is difficult to verify, and the tale may be apocryphal; but given all the available evidence illustrating her extensive involvement and attention to minutiae in so many churches across the colony, her hands-on approach at her own, and her family's parish church, is certainly credible.

The tiles can still be seen in the since-modified chancel of St Saviour's, and members of today's congregation enthusiastically tell visitors that Sophia Gray laid the original pavement, using these very tiles, when the church was built in the 1850s. [Fig. C.1] St Saviour's is a busy, vibrant parish church at the heart of Claremont and Sophia Gray is spoken about with pride and affection by parishioners and clergy alike. On first encounter most apologise for the state of her and her husband's grave site, but quickly explain that a fund has nearly raised sufficient funds to restore this to the standard it deserves. [Fig. C.3). She is understood as a driving force behind both the construction and ethos of this parish: Simple, true, devout, endowed with understanding of many things. [Fig. C.2]

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<sup>301</sup> Gutsche, *The Bishop's Lady*, image caption 145.

<sup>302</sup> RR. Langham-Carter archive, St Saviour's Church, Claremont article, BC644, A11, 146, University of Cape Town; R.R. Langham-Carter, "South Africa's First Woman Architect", 14.

Jessica Gerard's research leads her to conclude that, with regard to women in the nineteenth century, "(T)he stereotype of idle, useless ladies is clearly inaccurate and invalid".<sup>303</sup> By examining those contextual strands impacting Gray in her formative years, prior to her departure to the Cape colony in 1847, this dissertation refutes and disproves mid-20<sup>th</sup> century biographical descriptions which sustain and promulgate this notion.

The primary objective for the types of education that Gray received was to endow her with those accomplishments deemed essential for English womanhood, and all that this required of a wife, a mother and a homemaker. Sophia Gray is an exemplary product of this educative process, combining her unquestionable accomplishments in a practised manner, and in the service of her husband, their church and England.

Gray played an essential part in creating and employing a particularly English visuality in the colony of South Africa, co-opting "the exotic and alien spaces of England's unfolding empire" and re-framing these in terms more palatable to English taste.<sup>304</sup> Her artistic ability enabled her to produce illustrations and watercolours that would inform an English audience of the Anglican church's achievements, while offering a visual reassurance that an English 'home' was being established. All the Gothic style churches constructed under Sophia Gray's supervision (using her own or others' designs) fulfilled not only the church's liturgical preferences but provided what Baucom describes as "cultural artefact(s)".<sup>305</sup> Congregational and clerical experience of these "cultural artefact(s)" would elicit memories of home, helping to build new memories while still tethering settler communities to England and home.

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<sup>303</sup> Gerard, *Country House Life: Family and Servants, 1815-1914*, 140.

<sup>304</sup> Baucom, *Out of Place: Englishness, empire and the locations of identity*, 61.

<sup>305</sup> *Ibid.*, 81.



Sophia Gray's achievements in the colony owe much to a convergence of a set of interests and abilities that were, in nineteenth-century terms, feminine in nature. Gray's work across and beyond the vast Cape diocese was a challenging extension of the role and duties of wife and homemaker, as she would have understood them. That she rose enthusiastically and capably to this challenge is without doubt.

The Grays' marriage served as a foundation to both wife and husband. Sophia Gray was an asset for a colonial bishop, possessing all the requisite feminine qualities of a good clerical wife. That these same qualities facilitated an unforeseen practical dimension to the work of a bishopric, one faced with the associated pressures of establishing and consolidating the Anglican church across a vast colony, can be viewed as an unanticipated boon.

Robert Gray's loving support and encouragement, his recognition and vocal acknowledgement of his wife Sophia's capabilities, were essential to her fulfilling her latent potential in artistic, administrative, and architectural terms. The church-directed move to South Africa afforded Sophia Gray opportunities to fulfil her feminine duty in spheres far beyond those of her female peers in England. That the fruits of her labours resulted in a legacy for the Anglican church that endures beyond the end of empire, through political and social upheaval in Southern Africa and into the 21<sup>st</sup> century, is a testament to Sophia Gray's indomitable character, and those formative aspects of her life in the north of England.

## Illustrations



Sophia Gray, aka Sophy Gray.



Fig. I.1 Wall map at memorial burial site of Sophia and Robert Gray, St Saviour's Church, Claremont, Cape Town.

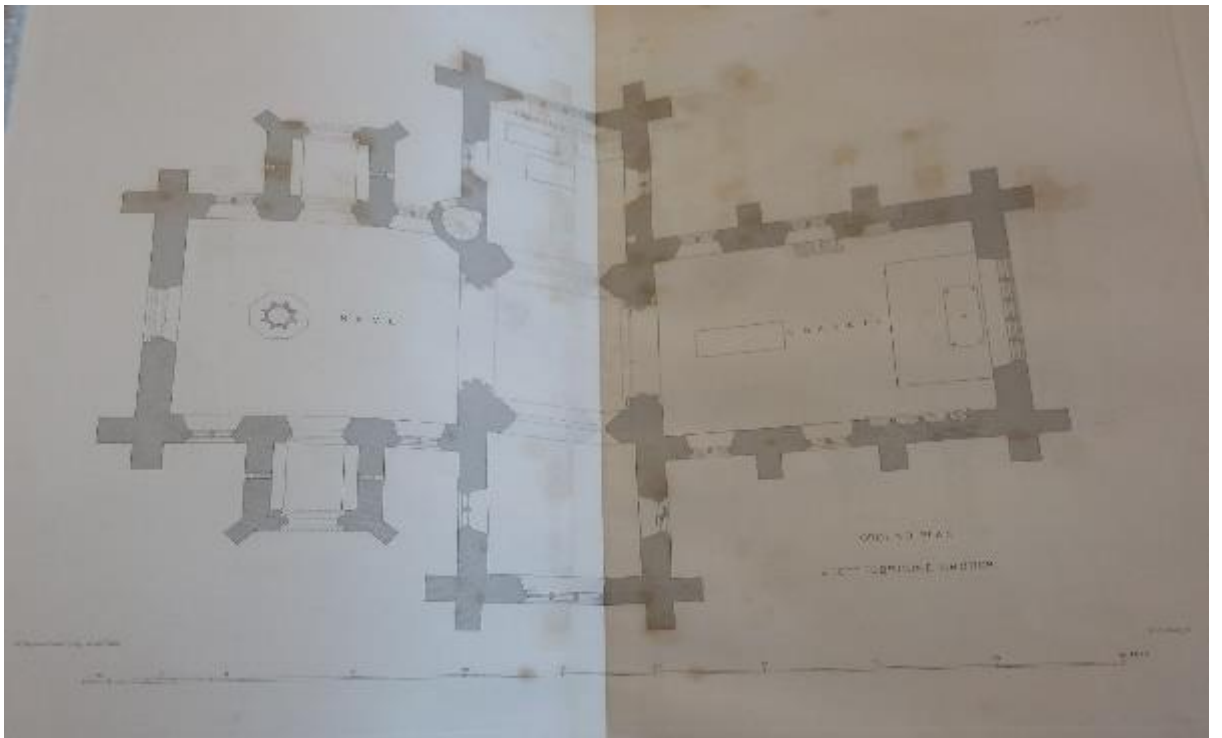


Fig. I.2 Ground Plan of St John the Baptist, Shottesbrook by William Butterfield.



Fig. 1.3 a) Sophia Gray's sketch of St Saviour's Church, Claremont, Cape Town. ca 1857.



Fig. 1.3 b) unknown photographer, St Saviour's Church, Claremont, Cape Town, 1863.

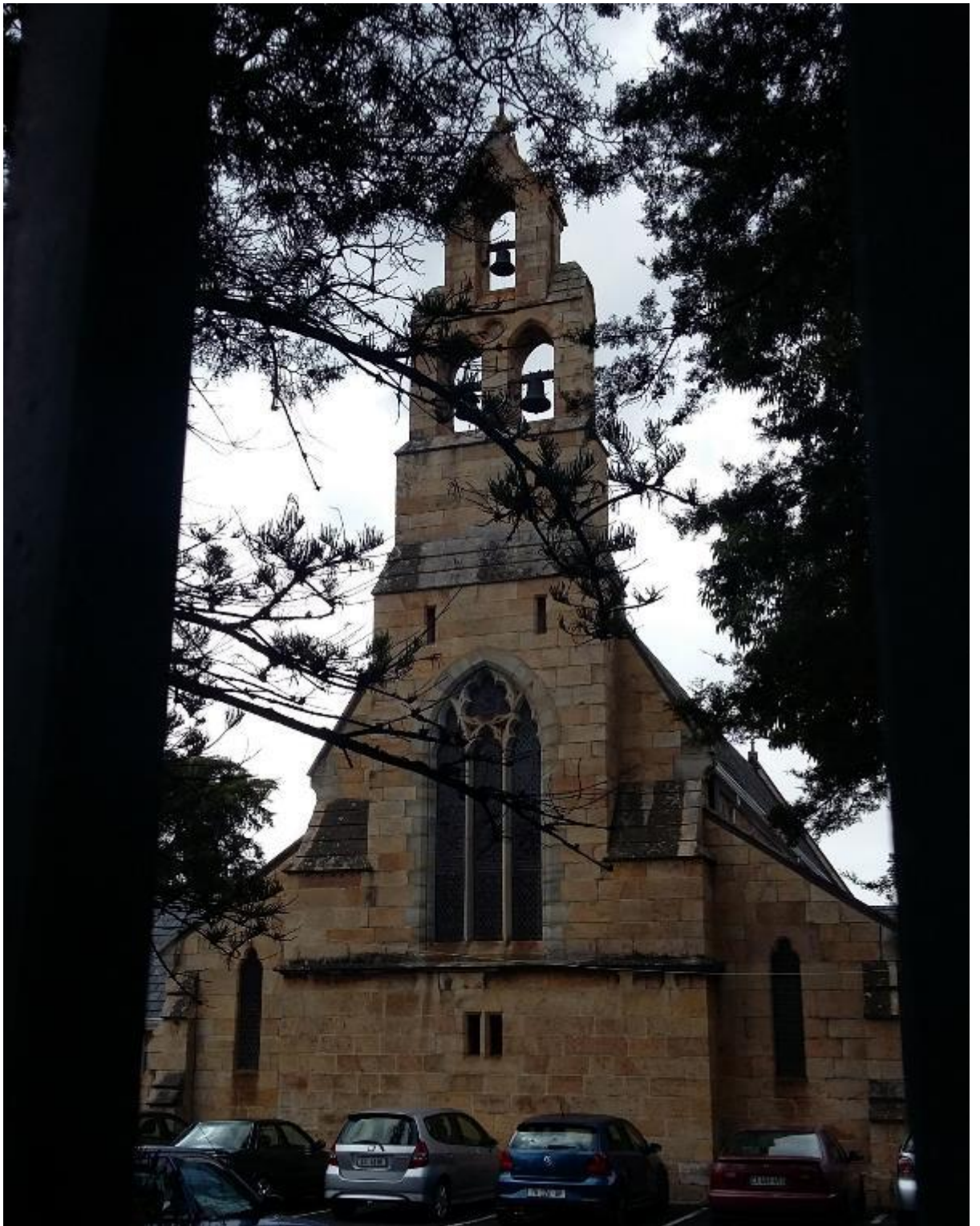


Fig. I.3 c) West end of St Saviour's Church, Claremont, Cape Town with bellcote tower designed by William Butterfield, and completed as part of the memorial to Sophia Gray in the late 1870s.

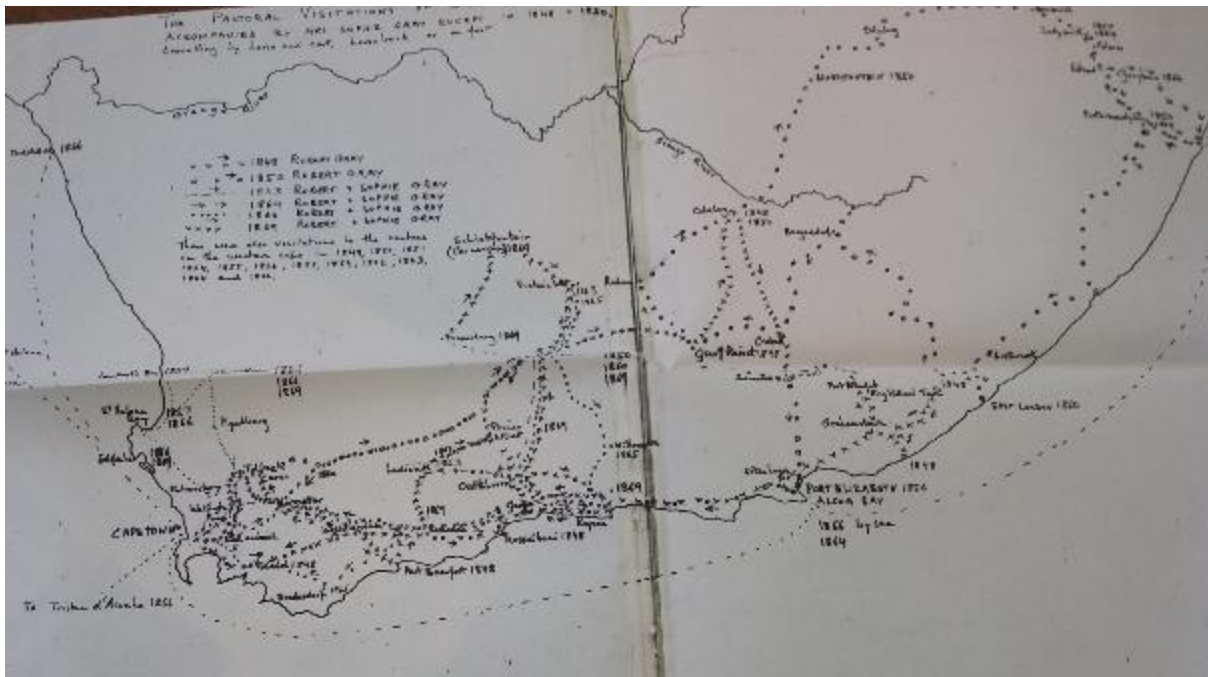


Fig. I.4 Author unknown. Hand-drawn chart and map illustrating the extent of Bishop Robert Gray and Sophia Gray visitation travels

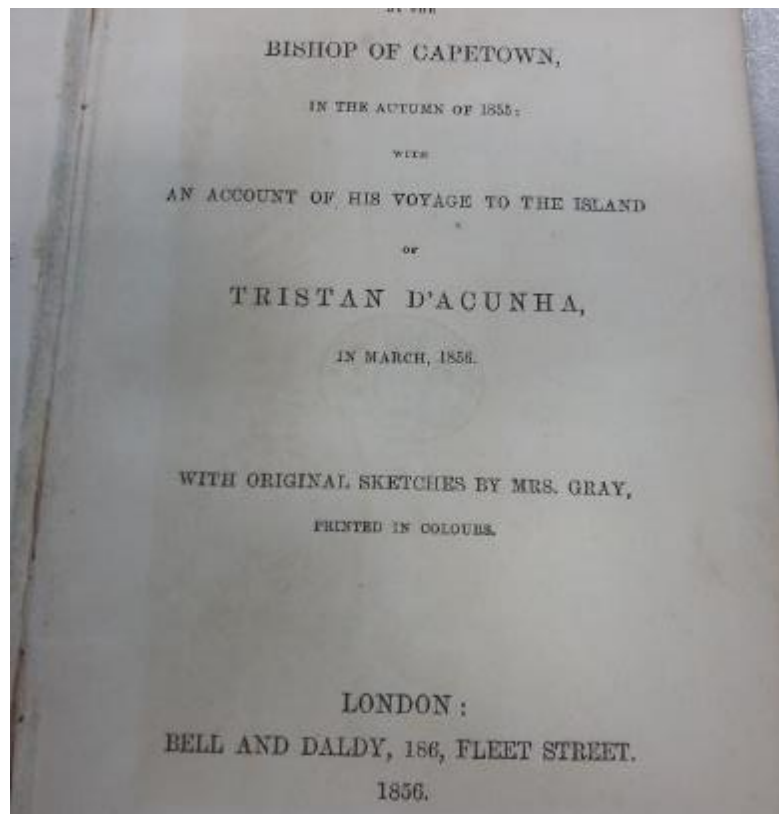


Fig 1.1 Title page acknowledging Sophia Gray as the illustrator.



Fig. 1.2 a) Sophia Gray, illustration Christ Church, Swellendam.



Fig. 1.2 b) Sophia Gray, illustration St John-in-the-Wilderness, Schoonberg.

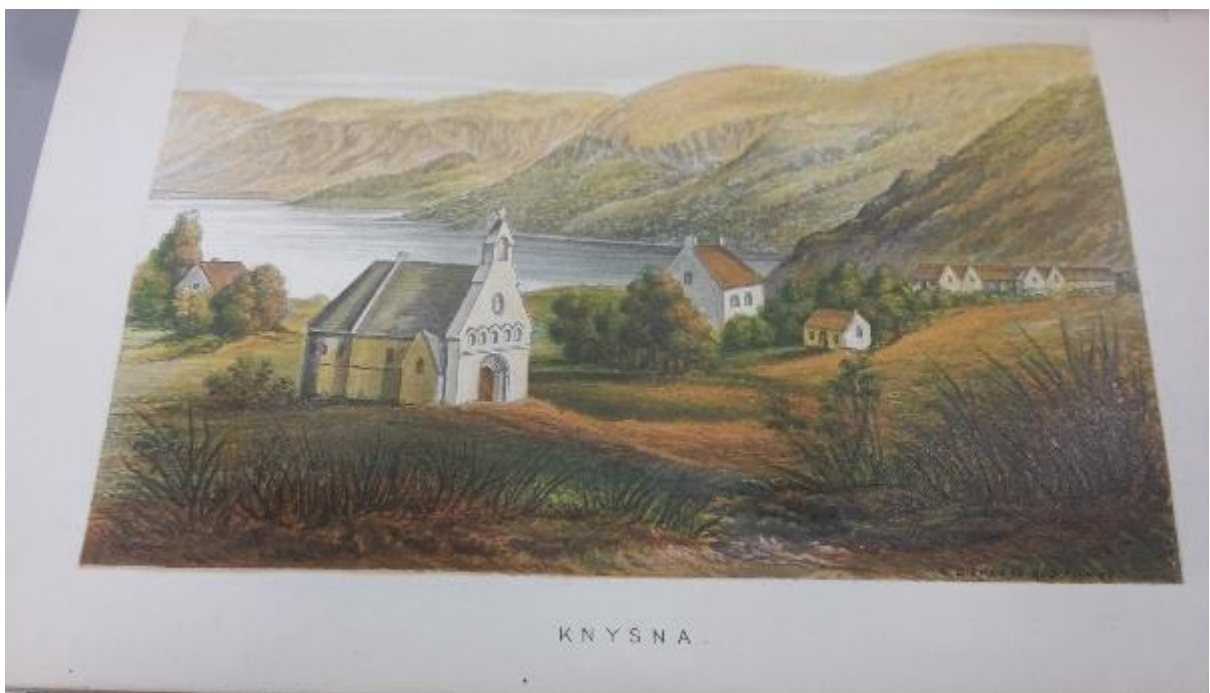


Figure 1.2 c) Sophia Gray illustration, Holy Trinity Church, Belvidere, Knysna.



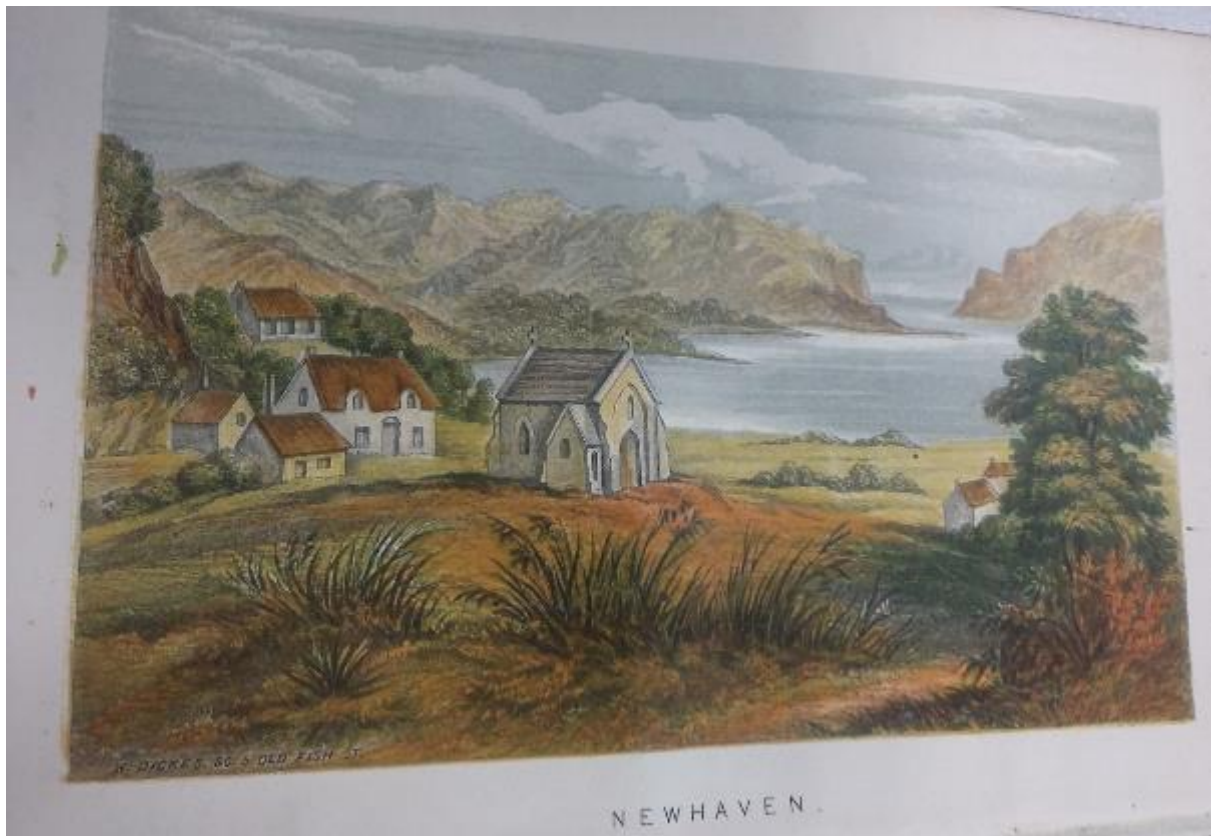


Figure 1.2 d) Sophia Gray illustration, St George's church, Newhaven, Knysna.



Figure 1.2 e) Sophia Gray illustration, Plettenburg Bay.

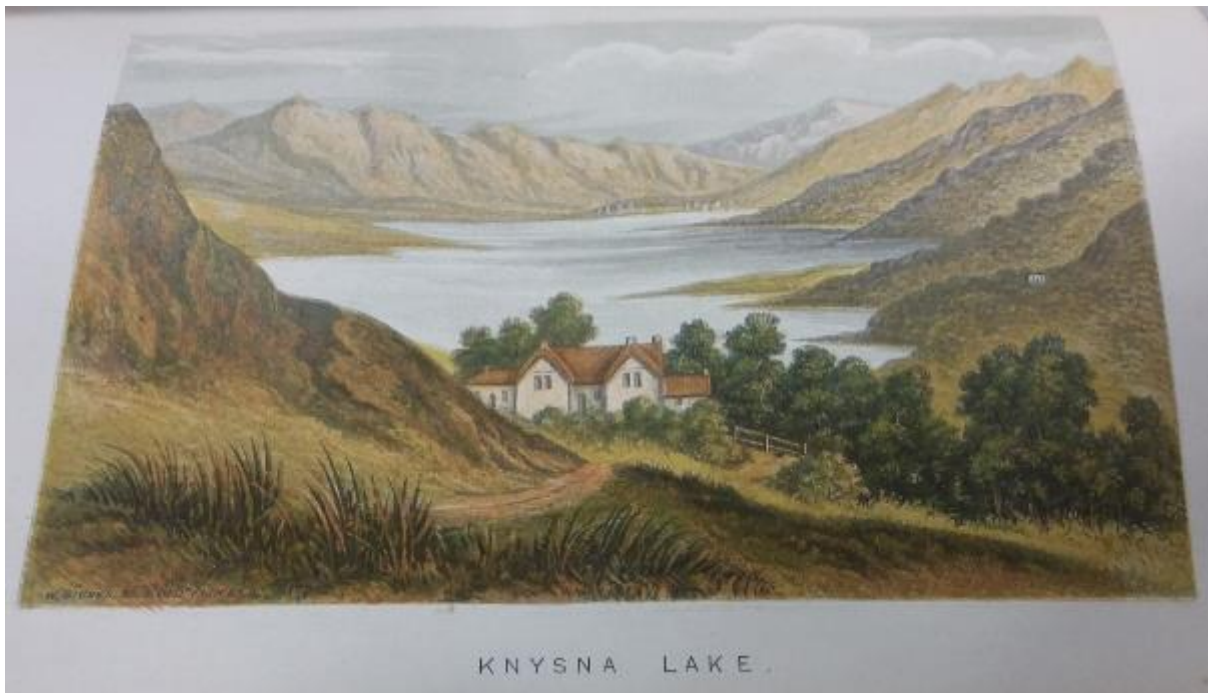


Figure 1.2 f) Sophia Gray illustration, a dwelling on the banks of Knysna Lake.



Figure 1.2 g) Sophia Gray illustration, settlement at George.



Figure 1.3 Sophia Gray watercolour, Grinkle Park in the North Riding, possibly produced prior to 1834.

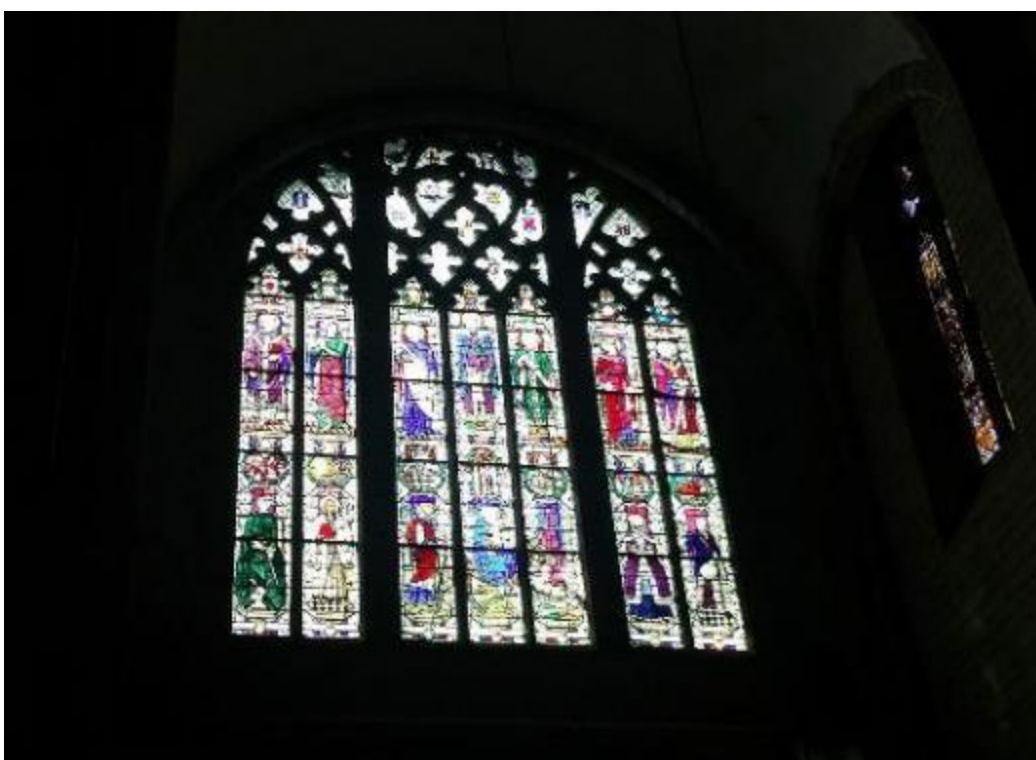


Figure 1.4 Panels A1 and A2 (bottom left corner) depict Sophia Gray in a green riding habit; stained glass window, north transept St George's Cathedral, Cape Town, dedicated in 1951.



Figure 1.5 a) Sophia Gray, Bishopscourt (formerly Protea), watercolour.



Figure 1.5 b) Sophia Gray, Somerset West, 1855, watercolour.

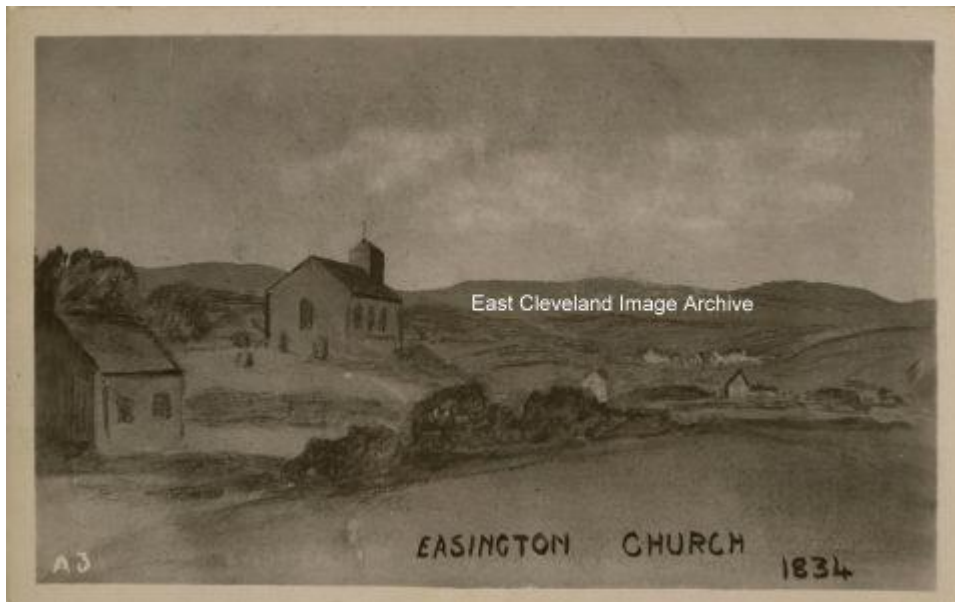


Fig. 1.6 Postcard of a pencil sketch of All Saint's Church, Easington.

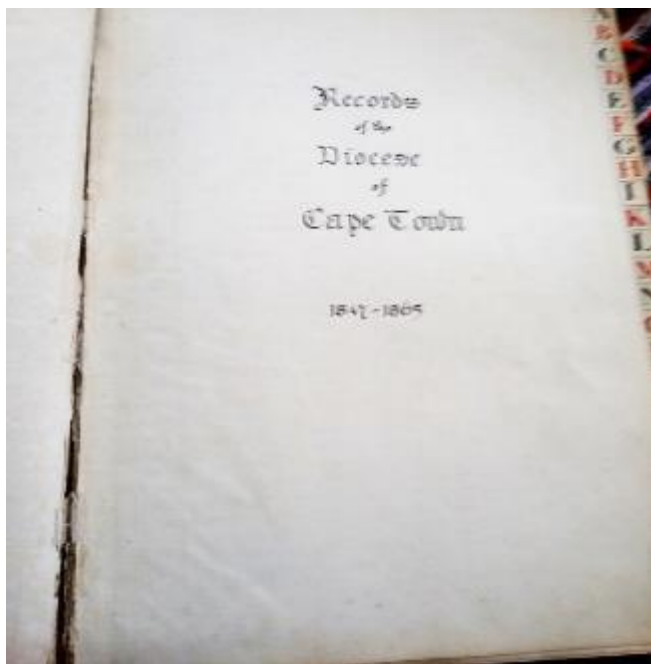


Fig 2.1 a) Title page of Chronicle of the Diocese of Cape Town, handwritten by Sophia Gray.

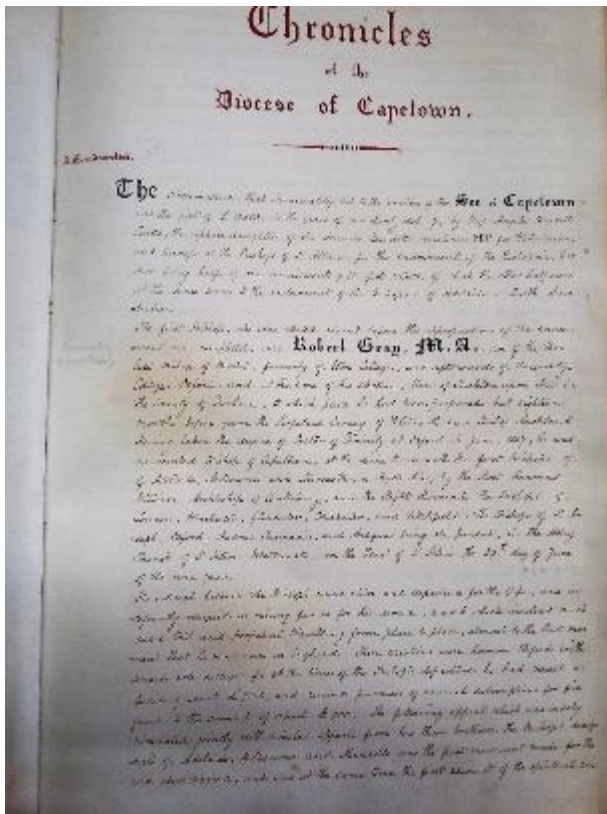


Fig. 2.1 b) Chronicles of the Diocese of Cape Town, first page of the history of Robert Gray's bishopric, handwritten by Sophia Gray.

The second page of the manuscript is an index for the letter 'C'. It lists various churches and their consecration dates. A vertical column of letters from C to Z is visible on the right side of the page. The text is handwritten and organized into several sections.

Church Name	Consecration Date
Church of St. John	1819
Church of St. James	1820
Church of St. Peter	1821
Church of St. Paul	1822
Church of St. George	1823
Church of St. Andrew	1824
Church of St. David	1825
Church of St. Elizabeth	1826
Church of St. Anne	1827
Church of St. Agnes	1828
Church of St. Ursula	1829
Church of St. Veronica	1830
Church of St. Eudocia	1831
Church of St. Anastasia	1832
Church of St. Barbara	1833
Church of St. Katerina	1834
Church of St. Sophia	1835
Church of St. Paraskevi	1836
Church of St. Pelagia	1837
Church of St. Nino	1838
Church of St. Xenia	1839
Church of St. Irina	1840
Church of St. Thekla	1841
Church of St. Photina	1842
Church of St. Hippolyta	1843
Church of St. Agathe	1844
Church of St. Margareta	1845
Church of St. Winifred	1846
Church of St. Juliane	1847
Church of St. Ursula	1848
Church of St. Agathe	1849
Church of St. Margareta	1850
Church of St. Winifred	1851
Church of St. Juliane	1852
Church of St. Ursula	1853
Church of St. Agathe	1854
Church of St. Margareta	1855
Church of St. Winifred	1856
Church of St. Juliane	1857
Church of St. Ursula	1858
Church of St. Agathe	1859
Church of St. Margareta	1860
Church of St. Winifred	1861
Church of St. Juliane	1862
Church of St. Ursula	1863
Church of St. Agathe	1864
Church of St. Margareta	1865
Church of St. Winifred	1866
Church of St. Juliane	1867
Church of St. Ursula	1868
Church of St. Agathe	1869
Church of St. Margareta	1870
Church of St. Winifred	1871
Church of St. Juliane	1872
Church of St. Ursula	1873
Church of St. Agathe	1874
Church of St. Margareta	1875
Church of St. Winifred	1876
Church of St. Juliane	1877
Church of St. Ursula	1878
Church of St. Agathe	1879
Church of St. Margareta	1880
Church of St. Winifred	1881
Church of St. Juliane	1882
Church of St. Ursula	1883
Church of St. Agathe	1884
Church of St. Margareta	1885
Church of St. Winifred	1886
Church of St. Juliane	1887
Church of St. Ursula	1888
Church of St. Agathe	1889
Church of St. Margareta	1890
Church of St. Winifred	1891
Church of St. Juliane	1892
Church of St. Ursula	1893
Church of St. Agathe	1894
Church of St. Margareta	1895
Church of St. Winifred	1896
Church of St. Juliane	1897
Church of St. Ursula	1898
Church of St. Agathe	1899
Church of St. Margareta	1900

Fig. 2.1 c) Chronicles of the Diocese of Cape Town, index page for 'C' listing and page referencing the consecration of churches including several churches of Sophia Gray's own.

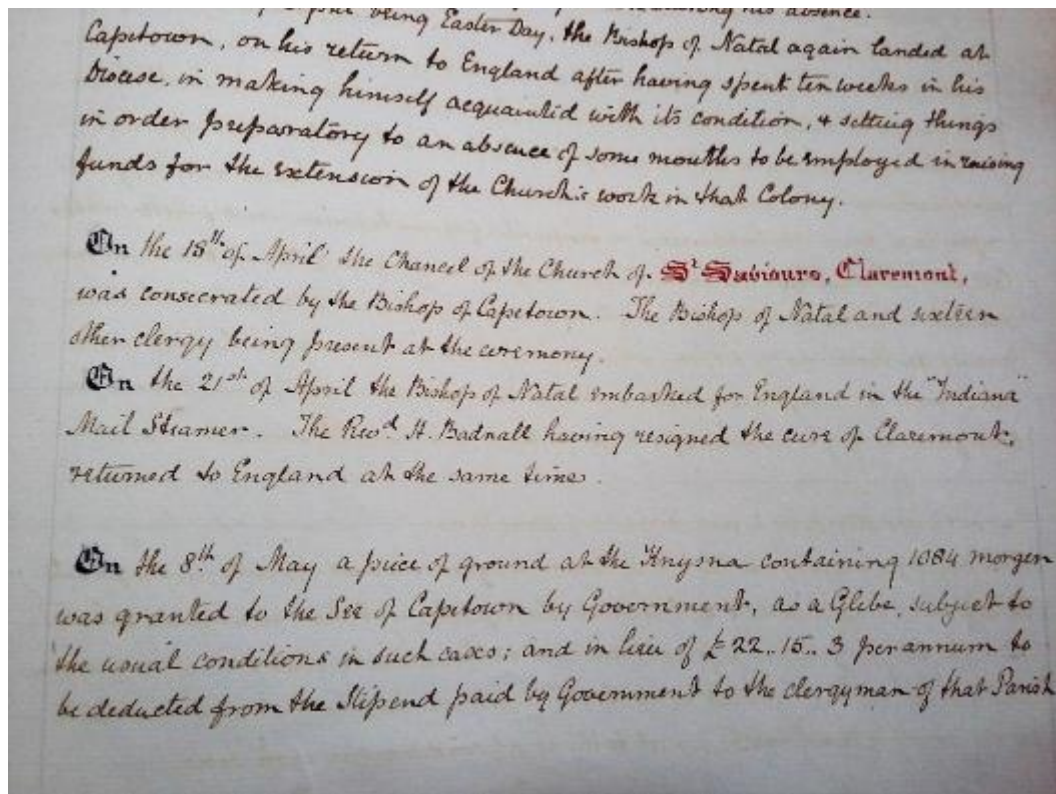


Fig. 2.1 d) Chronicles of the Diocese of Cape Town, page 139.

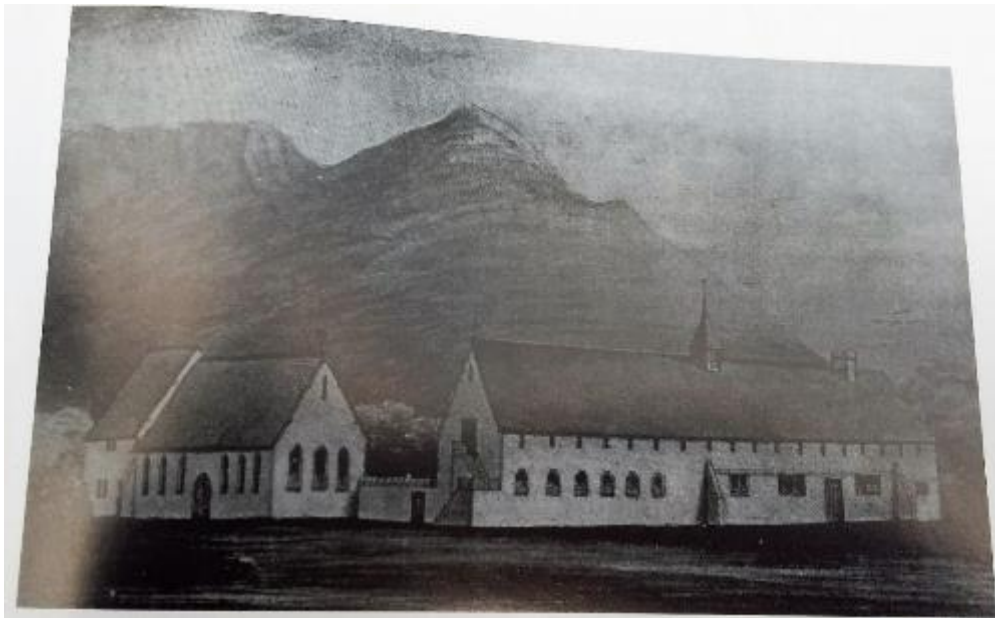


Fig. 2.2 Bishop's College, situated below Table ridge, Cape Town. Artist unknown; may be Sophia Gray c. 1849.

better place  
 will be of  
 serious import  
 I hope to return  
 to Worcester  
 to remain a  
 very truly  
 Yours  
 Sophia Gray

My dear Sir  
 I am sorry that so long  
 a delay should have occurred in replying  
 to your note about the Church & house  
 at Worcester. The plans had unfortunately  
 been packed in some of Mr Forham's  
 baggage which did not arrive for  
 some time and I only saw them  
 a few days ago. I do not exactly  
 understand why the plan I sent  
 should cost so much more than  
 the one sent by the builder, unless  
 he has calculated one for slate &  
 the other for thatch. I understood  
 when we were at Worcester that

Fig 2.3 a) Sophia Gray correspondence regarding St James's Worcester, page 1, letter dated August 1853.

and that a slated cottage was  
 thought possible for the sea view.  
 As it is however the Bishop's intention  
 to proceed with the house thatched,  
 for £475. If Mr Beckett will  
 agree to it with the alterations  
 which I have made & described  
 hereunder. I have kept the  
 same area exactly as on Mr Beckett's  
 plan but have slightly altered  
 the arrangements in a way which  
 I think will make it more convenient  
 to a family fresh from England &  
 I have also slightly altered the  
 elevation windows &c. & propose  
 to have the two dormers covered  
 with thatch continued from  
 the main roof.  
 Before commencing specifications  
 should be drawn up stating the  
 quality of the materials & the

amount of finish to be given.  
 I presume to say complete in every  
 respect & presume that includes  
 papering & painting. It should  
 also be stated that the work is to  
 be of the best description & to the  
 satisfaction of some person or  
 persons named. Perhaps you would  
 kindly undertake this office either  
 alone or conjointly with the Church  
 wardens. The specifications should  
 be signed by Mr Beckett. Terms of  
 payment should also be agreed.  
 Our usual terms are one third  
 when the walls are four feet high -  
 one third when the roof is on & the  
 remainder when it is quite com-  
 pleted. We should like to have  
 a copy also signed by Mr Beckett) sent  
 down here when it draws out.  
 I fear the church must stand  
 over for the present until the

Fig 2.3 b) Sophia Gray correspondence regarding St James's Worcester, pages 2 and 3, letter dated August 1853.



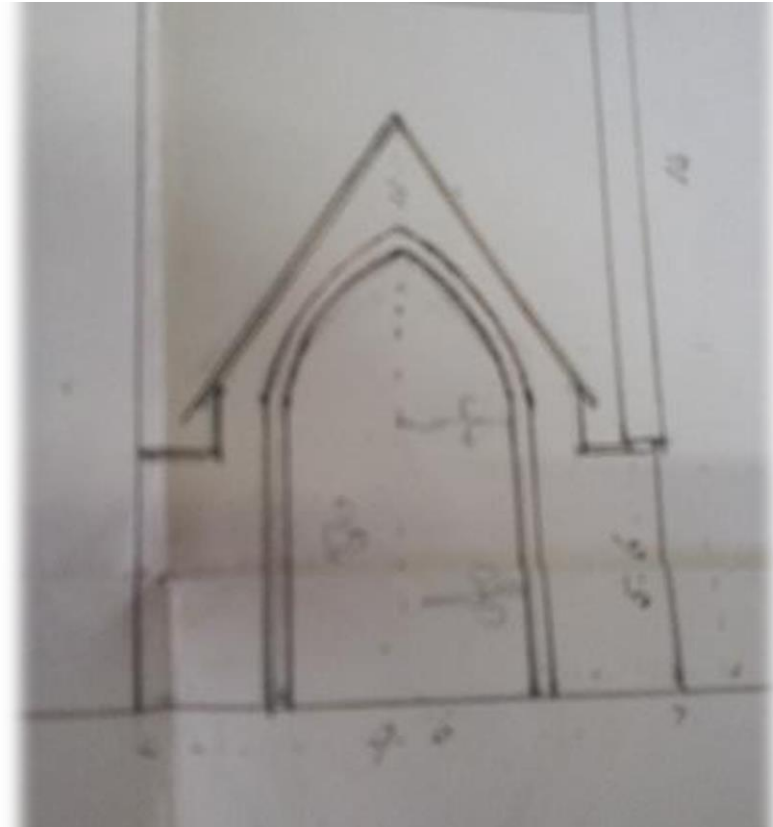


Fig. 2.3 c) Sophia Gray sketch for St James's, Worcester, contained in letter. See Fig. 2.3 a).



Figure 3.1 a) Old Park Durham, black and white photograph of a watercolour by E. Swiney (Sophia Gray's granddaughter).

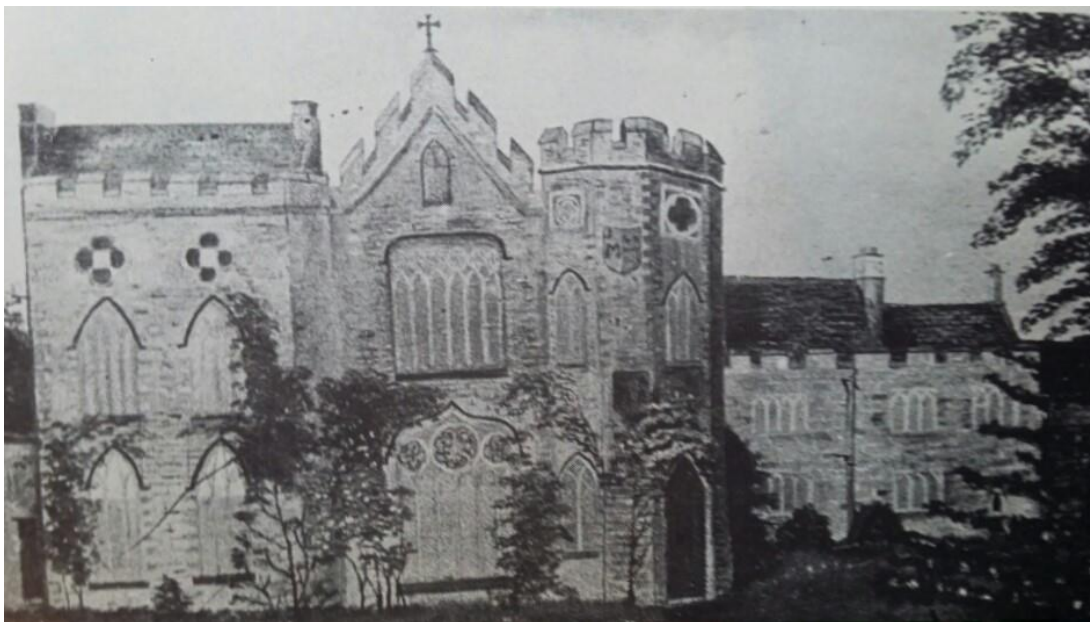


Figure 3.1 b) Old Park Durham, black and white photograph of a sketch. Artist unknown.



Figure 3.2 a) Sophia Gray pencil on paper sketch of a Dutch gabled house set in mountainous terrain.



Figure 3.2 b) detail of a Dutch gabled house, as in Figure 3.2 a)

A handwritten chart listing Gothic architectural styles and their corresponding dates. The entries are as follows:

Saxon	600	1066
Norman	1066	1154
Early Norman	1135	1169
Early English	1159	1272
Decorated	1272	1377
Perpendicular	1377	1539
Tudor	1539	1640

Figure 3.3 a) Sophia Gray's handwritten Gothic styles and dates chart, from her architectural sketchbook

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There are, doubtless, other buildings in Ireland deserving attention, besides those enumerated; and there is no doubt, but both Ireland and Scotland would well repay an examination of ancient buildings, much more minute than has hitherto been attempted.

For the use of the student a Table is subjoined, showing the duration of the styles of English Architecture, and the Kings reigning in each period. To render this list more useful, it is printed in duplicate, that one may be cut out, and serve as a Table for the more readily consulting other works.

Kings.	Dates	Style.	Remarks.
William I.	1065	Norman.	Prevailed little more than 124 years; no remains REALLY KNOWN to be more than a few years older than the Conquest.
William II.	1087		
Henry I.	1100		
Stephen	1135		
Henry II.	1154 to 1189		
Richard I.	1169	Early English.	Prevailed about 116 years.
John.	1199		
Henry III.	1216		
Edward I.	1272 to 1307	Decorated English.	Continued perhaps, 10 or 15 years later. Prevailed little more than 70 years.
Edward II.	1307		
Edward III.	1326 to 1377		
Richard II.	1377		
Henry IV.	1399	Perpendicular English.	Prevailed about 160 years.  Few, if any, whole buildings executed in this style later than Henry VIII.  This style used in additions and rebuilding, but often much debased, as late as 1630 or 1640.
Henry V.	1412		
Henry VI.	1422		
Edward IV.	1460		
Edward V.	1483		
Richard III.	1483		
Henry VII.	1485		
Henry VIII.	1509 to 1546		

Figure 3.3 b) A Table, created by Thomas Rickman, showing the styles of English Architecture, with dates for each.



Figure 3.4 a) Illustrations of fonts by Thomas Rickman



Figure 3.5 b) Pencil sketches of fonts by Sophia Gray

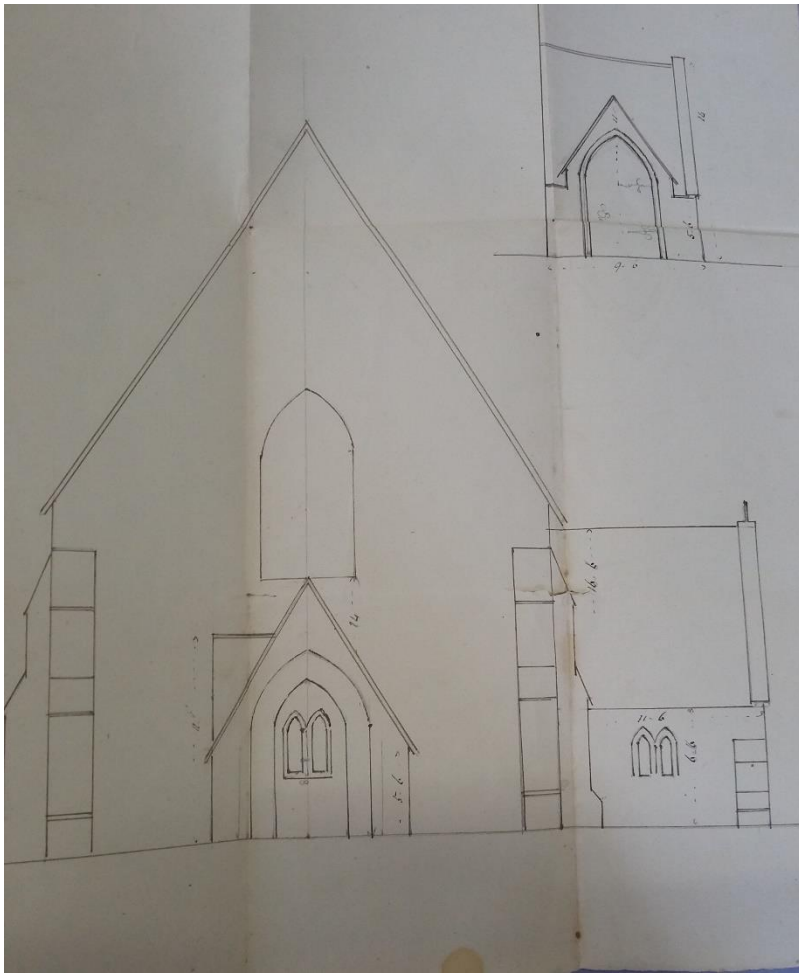


Figure 3.5 Sophia Gray's architectural drawings for St James's church, Worcester



Figure C.1 Chancel tiles in St Saviour's church, Claremont

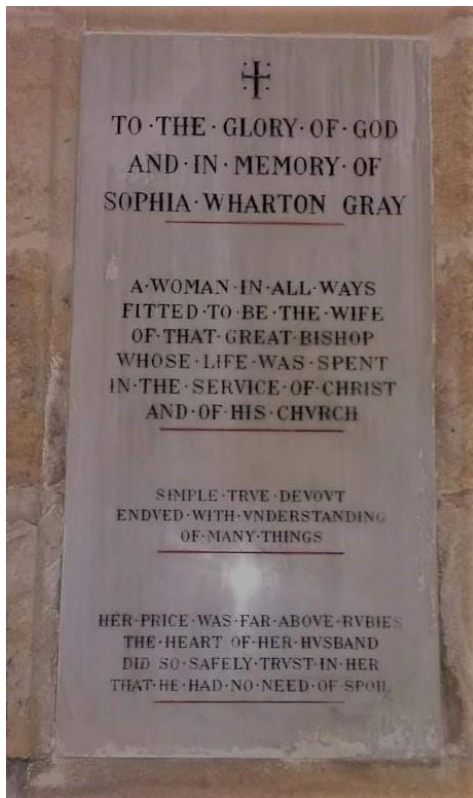


Figure C.2 Sophia Gray memorial at St Saviour's church, Claremont



Figure C.3 Sophia Gray's grave, front, her husband Robert Gray's grave, behind; churchyard of St Saviour's church, Claremont.

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Durham Probate Records pre-1858 DRPI/1/1795/W9

The Wharton Papers. GB-033-WHA: WHA755,756, 757, 760, 762, 764, 766, 779, 782, 783, 786, 788, 794, 796, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827. Special Collections, Prince's Green Library, University of Durham.

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