

Peter Paul Marshall's Tottenham well – copy or prototype?

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IN THE GARDEN OF RED HOUSE, designed by Philip Webb for William Morris, the well is a distinctive feature, with its brick base, sturdy oak timbers and tall conical roof clad in red tiles. Right across London, on what was a village green when Tottenham, like Bexley, was still rural, stands a remarkably similar well, built of brick and oak, with a tall tiled roof. Now rather marooned on the pavement of a busy junction opposite a bus garage, it is regarded as a quaint survival from earlier times. But it lies on my route to the William Morris Gallery in Walthamstow, and recently I decided to investigate what, if anything, connects the two wells.

The well at Red House was designed in 1859, in conjunction with the house itself and the ancillary structures. (Figure 1) The plan and specification to be followed by the contractor are drawn and annotated by Webb, over the date 'July 1859'. A note on the sheet states 'This is one of the plans referred to in the Agreement signed by me this 19 day of Oct 1859 / William Morris / Witness: Philip Webb'.¹

There is a list of 'Scantlings ... etc' specifying the required timbers and metalwork, and detailed instructions to the contractor: 'the Roof to be covered with red tiles hung with oak pins to oak laths and carefully cut where required at the top' and 'The whole of the work to be put together in strict accordance with the drawing'. The mechanism consists of a simple windlass with handle, for raising single bucketfuls of water, and the well-head (to correctly name the built structure) was to some extent over-elaborate for its function. But as Sheila Kirk notes, in relation to the



Figure 1: Red House Garden Well. Courtesy of the National Trust

Red House ensemble it makes 'a most attractive feature and important compositional element out of a practical necessity'.²

The well itself must have been sunk before building work began on the house, and the superstructure was probably completed around the time

that Jane and William Morris moved in, in late summer 1860. Laid on concrete foundations is a circular brick wall of five courses, surmounted by oak beams forming a seat and base for the four massive timber supports for the roof. Within these, brickwork of smaller diameter encloses the well shaft, a gated opening on one side providing access to the bucket. Above the timber supports, twenty rafters sustain the roof, topped with a lead cap and tall finial.

Like most of Webb's work, the quality of materials and craftsmanship proved as robust and long-lasting as the design is aesthetically pleasing. More than the house, its references are rustic and archaic, with suggestions of vernacular workmanship that contrast or combine with the (functionally excessive) height of the roof. And in some ways, the well now stands as a metonymic icon for Red House, distinct and recognisable.

Nearly twenty miles north across the river, Tottenham Well presents a similar appearance, albeit of a rather less generous character. (Figure 2) The tall tiled roof is narrower, the timber beams and brickwork are more weathered, and the whole is enclosed by iron railings, because it stands in a public space. The site is at a junction on the road north towards Edmonton, close to the late medieval High Cross, an ancient inn called the Swan, and a new (1830) church, rectory and Sunday school (1847).

The nearby local archive at Bruce Castle holds the plans and specification, headed 'Drinking Fountain and New Pump High Cross / Working Drawing'.³ An elevation, a section and two plans (for shaft and roof) are drawn in watercolour and annotated, in much the same manner as Webb's plan for the Red House well. The title however indicates a crucial difference in function – the Tottenham structure is truly a pump, not a well. It replaced a cast iron pump of traditional character, installed on the village green in 1791, and its mechanism provided a flow of water from which buckets and jugs could be filled. The new structure therefore incorporated piping to feed a small cistern in the roof and a pipe outlet with a basin below, made of bath stone. Otherwise, with its conical roof hung with flat squared tiles, supported on twenty rafters, it is Red House's twin.

The instructions are comparable, too. 'The Oak to be the very best old oak, to the approval of the Engineer. Bricks to be the best bright red bricks and of approved colour and to be sett in cement and pointed with dust [or dusk?] black mortar. Rafters of white wood boarded over to receive the

Tiles. The tiles to be securely fastened on and cut to the various heights and afterwards pointed if required.' The clue to similarity is contained in the final line: 'Generally everything to be done to the entire satisfaction of P.P. Marshall, Esq., Engineer' and in the same signature at the foot of the specification: 'P.P. Marshall Engineer / Tottenham May 10 1859'.

Peter Paul Marshall was of course a founding partner in what later became Morris & Co., was originally registered as 'Morris, Marshall, Faulkner & Co' (MMF & Co.), and was commonly known as 'the Firm'. In this enterprise, Marshall and Webb were friends and colleagues. In the only published account of his career, Marshall is aptly described as 'the forgotten member of the Morris firm'.⁴ Born in Edinburgh in 1830, he was the son of an artist and trained in a railway engineering firm. From 1847 he worked on water engineering projects in Liverpool, including the ambitious Rivington Pike scheme, and here he met John Miller, prominent art collector and Pre-Raphaelite patron, whose daughter Augusta he married in 1857. By this date Marshall had moved to London and was living in Bloomsbury Square, not far from Morris and Burne-Jones in Red Lion Square. It has always been assumed that he was introduced to the circle by Ford Madox Brown, a good friend of Miller's, but the exact date of this introduction is not known.⁵

In September 1857, Marshall was appointed surveyor to the Local Board of Health at Tottenham in north-east Middlesex, where his responsibilities included roadways, water supplies and sewage services. Health Boards had been established under the Public Health Act of 1848, that in Tottenham dating from 1850. The previous surveyor, James Pilbrow, had resigned on 7 August, after 'ungentlemanly attacks' led to heated words, apparently over problems regarding the new engine lifting water from the River Lea. The Board advertised in *The Times*, *The Builder* and *The Engineer* for a surveyor to take entire charge of all works within the district, including the engine house and also the highways.⁶ Five applications were received, including that from Marshall, giving his address as 126 Stanley St, Belgravia.⁷ All were interviewed and with satisfactory references from 'Mr Duncan and Mr Newlands of Liverpool', Marshall was appointed, promising to 'devote the whole of his time to the duties of the office'. His annual salary was £180 – a respectable but not large amount when compared, for example, with the £819 William Morris received that



Figure 2: Tottenham well (photo: Jan Marsh)

year from his family's mining investments.⁸ With their baby son William, the Marshalls moved to Tottenham, which still remained a village community containing several gentleman's villas. Local residents included art collector Benjamin Godfrey Windus, and retired army officer William James Gillum, both acquaintances of the Pre-Raphaelite circle. Gillum, whom Marshall may have met through the Volunteer movement in 1860, would become his brother-in-law, and an early patron of both Webb and the Morris firm.

The Marshalls lived first at 10 Tottenham Terrace, where a second son, James, was born. Income was boosted by the arrival of a pupil or apprentice engineer who lived with the family, which expanded over the next decade to include three more sons (one named Lancelot) and a daughter called Pauline. They became active members of the local community through musical events, lectures and especially the Volunteer regiment. Despite his undertaking, Peter Paul's duties did not occupy his entire time. On a freelance basis, he also submitted plans for an extension to the National School in Tottenham in 1859, and for a new pulpit for the parish church in 1868. Moreover, although he was 'an engineer by profession' as William Rossetti wrote, he was 'an amateur painter by liking',⁹ who exhibited occasionally in London and Liverpool, and became a member of the Hogarth Club, established by artists outside the Royal Academy in 1858.¹⁰ Marshall was elected to the Hogarth in November 1858, Webb in January 1859. Although firmer evidence is as yet lacking, Marshall was clearly well acquainted with the artists by the late 1850s, though his name has not hitherto been conclusively linked to the Morris circle before the founding of the firm in January 1861. The following month he and his wife attended the Bexley christening of Jenny Morris, staying overnight at Red House, while in April 1862 the Burne-Joneses paid a weekend visit to the Marshalls in Tottenham, as Georgie recalled:

A cheery, reckless household it was, with big Peter Paul ('Poll' was the sound his little wife gave to the name she called him) at the head of it: I remember a small cup of gunpowder being given to the boys to keep them quiet in the morning. Marshall sang scotch songs for which we always asked, and besides 'Clerk Saunders' we got from him the beautiful tunes of 'Sir Patrick Spens' and 'Busk ye, busk ye, my bonny, bonny bride!'.¹¹

Although it is possible that the wells at Tottenham and Red House were designed independently without reference to each other, the similarities and evidence of the two draughtsmen's plans surely links Marshall with Webb by at least 1859. Given what is known of Webb's architectural work – original, innovative, yet anchored to traditional materials and solid workmanship – the Red House well-head would appear to be the pioneer, that at Tottenham a copy or adaptation. But the dates on the plans do not support this inference: Marshall's specification is signed and dated 10 May 1859, while Webb's is dated July 1859. If the Tottenham well was designed two months before Red House's, it would be the prototype, copied and adapted by Webb.

There are differences between the two structures. The Tottenham well has a thin copper finial or vane; the oak timbers are limed rather than dark stained, and stand on the rim of the well shaft rather than an outer ring; the mechanism includes a pump and flywheel instead of a windlass; and the brickwork is surmounted and ringed by two courses of black firebricks, evidently against water damage. Moreover, thanks to a fillet inserted at the base of each rafter, the roof profile of the Red House well flares slightly whereas the Tottenham roof is a simple, straight-sided sharp-angled cone. Above all, the brick bases differ in shape, that at Red House being circular, that at Tottenham being elliptical (which is not obvious from the plan) beneath a circular roof. All these features apart from the mechanism point to Webb's design being a later refinement, not least thanks to the more generous funding provided.

The history of the Tottenham well began in the early weeks of 1859 when users requested that the existing pump be repaired. Funds from a local charity were offered but nothing was done until the pipe fractured and residents formally petitioned the Board of Health. Marshall reported, with his design for the new structure, at an estimated cost of £70. The Board informed residents that this was 'too large a sum to expend for the benefit of a particular locality' but it would contribute if a reasonable sum was first raised by private subscription. On 6 May Marshall was authorised to obtain tenders 'for erecting a Drinking Fountain and making the proposed alterations and repairs at the High Cross Pump in accordance with the design laid before the Board'. A week later, the Board resolved that 'the etching of the proposed Drinking Fountain and New Pump at

the High Cross be pasted on a sheet of Demy Paper and the heading now laid before the Board be written at the foot thereof preparatory to subscriptions being solicited towards defraying the necessary expenses'.¹²

Progress halted, however, when some Board members urged that work be postponed. On 20 May ratepayers attended the meeting to protest, and then held a public meeting to discuss how the costs should be met.¹³ Finally, on 27 May, a tender from a local plumbing firm Messrs Stocks and Peasgood was accepted at the price of £68.¹⁴ Construction then proceeded, and would have been nearly or wholly completed by the time Webb dated his specification for the Red House well-head in July.

The plans for Red House itself antedate both wells. Webb began work in autumn 1858, and finished the house plans in April 1859, shortly before Morris married, with the contract being signed on 16 May. Did Webb then visit Marshall, see the drawings for the Tottenham pump, and realise that something similar would enhance Red House, where building was under way? A comparable but ampler design would follow, creating a conical roof with a tall finial that pulls the whole south-eastern elevation together, lifting the eye to the weather vane above the staircase tower.

The original inference cannot be discounted, however, because Webb was an architect with his own very clear vision for each and every design, whether in building, furniture, metalwork, glass. Though his actual plans for the wellhead plainly invoke a 'second-phase' contract eventually signed in October 1859, it is possible that the well was in fact conceived much earlier, along with the rest of Red House. It would not have been built until the house itself was finished, but Marshall could have seen Webb's designs some time before drawing up his own, or perhaps heard him describe its principles, say, at the Hogarth Club? A few details – a brick-built well-head, surmounted by a conical tiled roof supported on heavy oak timbers – could have been sufficient inspiration.

Further imaginative speculation allows for a degree of collaboration. If Marshall announced his desire to replace the old pump at Tottenham with a more distinguished structure, his architecturally-minded friends may have chimed in with suggestions and ideas. A roof was required to contain the rising main and cistern? How about a tall conical tower, hung with tiles, like the one Webb planned for Red House – see this sketch? Marshall borrowed the idea, and back in Tottenham designed his own

version, which was still too costly for his Board.

Something like this makes sense if Marshall was a closer member of the social circle than has previously been known, a fact which also helps explain his participation in the Firm. Curiously, this closeness was largely forgotten by the time Morris's biography was compiled by the Burne-Jones's son-in-law, J.W. Mackail, who wrote that Marshall contributed a few designs for stained glass, furniture and church decoration 'but otherwise took little part in the work of the firm. His inclusion was, even at the moment, rather unaccountable. There had been talk of asking others to join,¹⁵ and the matter seems to have been hurried through at the end owing to Morris's excitement and eagerness to get to work.'¹⁶

Marshall, whom Mackail had spoken to during his research into Morris's life,¹⁷ may have been surprised to learn that his involvement had been inexplicable even in 1861. A more likely explanation is that given by William Michael Rossetti, and W.R. Lethaby, who both state that Marshall first came up with the idea for the Firm, and that for this reason his name was included in the title of the company.¹⁸ Rossetti's brother indeed believed that Marshall was 'the first originator of the idea' who spoke to Rossetti, who 'eagerly caught at it and imparted it to others'.¹⁹ This is plausible, though not uncontested.²⁰ However, it is significant that, for a business set up as an art and design partnership, the names chosen to present to clients – Morris, Marshall and Faulkner – were those of three members who were not professional artists. The artists – Brown, Rossetti and Burne-Jones – had initial qualms about public association with commerce, lest it lower their reputations, while Webb was already established in his architectural practice. Marshall was also perceived to have more business aptitude than his companions, who had little experience of balance sheets, suppliers, order books or managing employees.

The terms of his Tottenham contract, where his salary remained £180 p.a., plainly did not prevent his participation in a commercial venture unconnected with his employment. Moreover, it is evident that Marshall intended to be an active partner in the Firm, supplying designs and finding customers. His contact with Major Gillum in Tottenham led not only to commissions, but also to the employment of apprentices from the Boys Home in the Euston Road, one of Gillum's charities. Marshall's design contributions are listed by Mackail as including several glass car-

toons and a few designs for furniture and church decoration, but only the stained glass figures are now identifiable. They comprise twelve single or double figures in the first couple of years of MMF & Co:

1862

St Michael and the Devil for Brighton St Michael: Gideon for Cranborne

Joshua and St Michael for Scarborough St Martin

1863

Moses, King Solomon, St Anna and

St Peter for Bradford Cathedral

Christ and Woman with an Issue of Blood,

Christ rescuing St Peter from Waves, Christ showing wounds to St Thomas, for Coity, South Wales

Henry V and his Queen crowned, Richard I in prison, for the house of Charles Hastings near Keighley in Yorkshire.²¹

It has been commonplace to dismiss Marshall's artistic abilities, but the figures show 'a high degree of natural talent'²² and some skill in designing for the medium. Although rather complex for its tracery light, the vigorous St Michael combating the Dragon displays 'tremendous dramatic energy'²³ while the robust, bearded figure of St Peter holding his keys is expressively anxious, as if recalling his denial.

There is a hint that Marshall also hoped to market his paintings through the Firm – an idea that initially appealed to the other partners but was seldom put into practice – since when he sent works to the Liverpool Academy exhibition in 1862, he gave his return address as that of MMF & Co: 8 Red Lion Square.²⁴ This, however, could merely have been a matter of convenience, as he was attending the Firm's weekly meetings there. Marshall's painting career is hard to reconstruct, but various sources provide the following exhibition chronology:

One work, Liverpool Academy, 1852²⁵

One work, Liverpool Academy, 1854²⁶

Letter from Home, Liverpool Academy, 1858, # 560²⁷

On the Grass, Royal Academy (RA), 1859, no.186 [address given: 86 Fleet

- St²⁸], and Liverpool Academy, 1860, no.292
- A Wheat Field, Liverpool Academy, 1860, no.146
- George Stephenson modelling engines in clay by the light of the Boiler fire—James Henderson, now 'George's Wife and his favourite rabbits', Liverpool Academy, 1860, no.329²⁹
- Effie Deans, Liverpool Academy, 1862, no.181, with note: 'George Robinson, in the disguise of Madge Wilfire, endeavours to persuade Effie Deans to escape from the Tolbooth—vide "Heart of Midlothian" '.
- Scenes from Clerical Life, Liverpool Academy 1862, no. 237—two works, as a diptych, with two scenes, entitled 'Writing the Petition' and 'The Bishop Receives the Petition' and two quotations: 'The Labourer is worthy of his hire' Luke 10:7 and 'God cannot love'—says Blunt, with tearless eyes / 'The wretch he starves'; and piously denies; / While the good bishop, with a meeker air, / Admits, and leaves him, Providence's care.'—from Alexander Pope, Epistle to Bathurst.
- Pomona, Liverpool Academy. 1862, no.306
- The Marriage of St George, Liverpool Academy, 1862, no. 826
- Scenes from Clerical Life—the labourer is worthy of his hire, Royal Scottish Academy (RSA), Edinburgh 1863, no.43
- First Thoughts of the Locomotive—George Stephenson modelling engines in clay by the light of the boiler fire—his wife and favourite rabbits, RSA, Edinburgh, 1863, no.129
- One work, Liverpool Academy, 1874³⁰
- One work, Liverpool Academy, 1875³¹
- An Old Barn, Royal Hibernian Academy (RHA), Dublin, 1875, no.168
- Shoebury on the Nore, mouth of the Thames, RHA, Dublin, 1876, no. 322
- 'The Songster's nest within the bush / We winna take away', RHA, Dublin, 1876, no.187
- Miss Bessie Currie, RA, London, 1877, no. 126 Sir Donald Currie, 1877³²
- Pictures at Norwich Art Circle, 1885
- Over one hundred works in studio sale, Norwich 1893

In this list, landscapes and figure subjects predominate. That of most biographical interest is the picture of 'George Stephenson' combining engineering and art, as in his different way Marshall also achieved. The

most ambitious works known are the pair of 'Scenes from Clerical Life', which appear to allude to George Eliot's stories of (nearly) the same title, *Scenes of Clerical Life*, published in January 1858. They show a poor clergyman with wife and child, drafting a petition to his bishop, presumably for a better living; and a bishop with his well-dressed daughter, with the petition in the waste-basket. The theme looks as if it might refer to Eliot's Rev. Amos Barton, but no such incident is related in that narrative. Interestingly, the bishop's study is furnished with a folding screen, decorated with religious images, one being a version of Holman Hunt's renowned 'The Light of the World' (RA, 1854, engraved 1858) as if to underline the prelate's refusal to heed the 'knock at the door' presented by the petition.

Other details from Marshall's paintings provide further links with the Morris circle. First, there is the information given in the Liverpool Academy catalogue, that 'George Stephenson' belonged to T.E. Plint Esq., Leeds. Plint was an over-enthusiastic Pre-Raphaelite patron and member of the Hogarth Club, who bought and commissioned works from Rossetti, Burne-Jones and Morris among others in 1859–60, advancing money that he could not afford, perhaps because he was already fatally ill. Second, the subject of Marshall's fourth exhibit at Liverpool in 1862 – the 'Marriage of St George' – which sounds like a spinoff, even a design, for a window in the St George sequence produced by MMF & Co; in the extant glass, all the scenes were designed by Rossetti, but Marshall may have drafted a 'Marriage', which he then turned into an easel work.³³

In William Michael Rossetti's view, Marshall was 'a capable painter who might, under differing circumstances, have passed out of the amateur into the professional stage of work'.³⁴ However, he would never have made a living from painting, and in fact remained a civil engineer. By 1871 he and his family were still living on Tottenham High Road, in a larger house at 6 Northumberland Row, but soon afterwards he ran into local opposition and was forced to resign. The circumstances arose from legislation to prevent sewage from flowing into the River Lea, when to the dismay of some local people Marshall proposed it be used to fertilise a dedicated farm. Like his predecessor, he then quarrelled with and lost the support of the Health Board, and left his position in summer 1873. There followed a difficult period when he attempted to paint and exhibit

more professionally, and moved house frequently; his exhibition record gives his address as 9 Fenchurch Street in 1875, as 14 Charles St, Middlesex Hospital in 1876, and Fairlawn, Stone near Dartford in 1877.

He also quarrelled with his partners in MMF & Co, which now operated from the former Morris home in Queen Square Bloomsbury, by proposing to run a branch showroom in Fenchurch Street, presumably aimed at City businessmen. In October 1874 his partners minuted their disapproval of this scheme.

At the same meeting, however, Morris began his own scheme to reconstitute the Firm under his sole ownership. Brown, who objected, more to the terms of the dissolution than the principle, was supported by Rossetti (now both invalid and related to Brown by both friendship and marriage) and by Marshall, who may have been reluctant to relinquish a connection that might one day yield a partnership income, if Morris's expansion plans succeeded. However, he was the only one of the three dissenters to attend the meeting on 23 October, agreeing to the unanimous resolution that the Firm be dissolved and the value of each share be assessed for buy-out purposes. Morris glossed his attitude in the following terms, with a metaphor curiously apt to the engineer of a village pump: 'Marshall bore his execution with much indifference and good temper: I suspect that he smelt the advent of a golden shower and was preparing to hold his hat under the spout'.³⁵ This was somewhat unfair, as at the next meeting Marshall, while evidently agreeing the ousted partners should receive some share of the assets, disputed Brown's view that the goodwill was worth three years' purchase, observing instead it might be worth just one year's.³⁶ In the event, after six months' negotiations, Marshall, Brown and Rossetti accepted £1000 apiece from Morris. Burne-Jones, Webb and Faulkner waived their rights, which no doubt benefited the other three. For Marshall, the money must have been more than welcome in the absence of other income. Two years later he successfully applied for the post of City Engineer in Norwich, where he spent the rest of his career, initiating and supervising many schemes from bridges to hospitals and sewage systems, as well as participating in local artistic activities. Retiring in 1893 he moved to Teignmouth in Devon, where he died in February 1900. By this date his connections with William Morris, Philip Webb and Tottenham were long forgotten.

His pump at Tottenham Green had also fallen into disuse, being chained up in 1883 when the water was deemed contaminated. The structure however survived – a tribute to its design and materials – forming a picturesque reminder of ‘old Tottenham’ as the area became more and more built up. It was mentioned, without reference to its architect, in Fred Fisk’s history of Tottenham (1913) and celebrated in postcards and watercolours, as a rustic reminder of days gone by.³⁷ It was repaired by the Rotarians in 1952 – Coronation Year – and in 2004–5, by Haringey Council with funds from English Heritage, Transport for London and Heritage Trust for London.

NOTES

- 1 Victoria & Albert Museum No. E 64–1916 – architectural drawing of the covering or well house.
- 2 Sheila Kirk, *Philip Webb, Pioneer of Arts & Crafts Furniture*. Chichester: Wiley-Academy, 2005, p. 27.
- 3 London Borough (LB) of Haringey Archives, Document 410. My thanks to Deborah Hedgecock, curator at Bruce Castle Museum, Jeff Gerhardt, Haringey Archives and their colleagues.
- 4 Keith Gibeling, ‘Peter Paul Marshall: the forgotten member of the Morris firm’, *The Decorative Arts Society Journal* no.20, 1996, pp.11–17. In this article, the author acknowledges a debt to the late David W. Hadley.
- 5 Brown’s diary for 1865 records many visits to and from Marshall – see V. Surtees, ed., *The Diary of Ford Madox Brown*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981, 237 pp. No diaries survive for the period between March 1858 and December 1864.
- 6 This and subsequent information from the *Minute Books of Tottenham Local Board of Health* (TBLH/200/3 and TLBH/200/4) in LB Haringey Archives.
- 7 This address does not now exist, and may be a clerical error for Stanford St, near Victoria station.
- 8 Charles Harvey & Jon Press, *William Morris: Design and enterprise in Victorian Britain*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991,

Table 1, p. 24.

- 9 William Michael Rossetti (WMR), *Some Reminiscences*. London: Brown, Langham & Co., 1906, Vol. 1, p. 222.
- 10 WMR recorded the election in November 1858 of four 'non-artists', including Gillum, and Marshall [Roger Peattie, ed., *Selected Letters of William Michael Rossetti*. Philadelphia: Penn State University Press, 1990, no.65, p. 101]. Although the last named may have been the surgeon John Marshall, who was certainly a 'non-artist', it is equally likely to have been PPM.
- 11 Georgiana Burne-Jones, *Memorials of Sir Edward Burne-Jones*. London: Macmillan & Co, 1904, Vol. 1, p. 238.
- 12 i.e. 'Drinking Fountain and New Pump High Cross / Working Drawing'.
- 13 The TLBH Minutes do not contain expenditure accounts, but it appears that funds came from the trust administering money received from the LNER railway company for 'Lammas Rights' over village land.
- 14 Based in Tottenham High Road, according to Kelly's Post Office Directory for Middlesex, 1862, p. 591.
- 15 Arthur Hughes was one such, who almost simultaneously agreed and withdrew from participation.
- 16 J.W. Mackail, *The Life of William Morris*. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1899, Vol. 1, p. 147.
- 17 See J.W. Mackail notebooks, at William Morris Gallery (WMG).
- 18 See W.M. Rossetti, *Dante Gabriel Rossetti – his Family Letters with a Memoir*. London: Ellis & Elvey, 1895, Vol. 1, p. 217 (hereafter referred to as DGR FLM), and *Some Reminiscences*. 1906, Vol. 1, p. 209; W.R. Lethaby, *Philip Webb and His Work*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1935, p. 32. These citations from Gibelung (note 4, supra). Lethaby, being Webb's friend and disciple, probably had the information from him.
- 19 WMR, DGR FLM, Vol. 1, p. 217.
- 20 Elsewhere the credit for 'inventing' the Firm has been given to Madox Brown [see Fiona MacCarthy, *William Morris: A Life for Our Time*. London: Faber & Faber, 1994, p.172], and plainly Marshall did not make this claim himself when speaking to Mackail.

- 21 Last two possibly unexecuted as Hastings in fact installed a different and longer sequence illustrating the Story of St George. My thanks to Peter Cormack, Keeper WMG.
- 22 A.G. Sewter, *The Stained Glass of William Morris and his Circle*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974, p. 73.
- 23 Sewter, *ibid.*
- 24 According to the artist's name and address label on the back; but Liverpool Academy catalogue gave PPM's address merely as 'Tottenham, London, N'; see Morris & Roberts, note 27, *infra*.
- 25 Gibeling, from notes by Mary Bennett in Walker Art Gallery Liverpool; not listed by Morris & Roberts, unless PPM's name is mistakenly given as J.P. Marshall of 29, Edge Vale, Edge Hill, who in 1853 sent not one but two works to LA, nos. 30 (a landscape near Edinburgh) and 144.
- 26 Gibeling, as above; not listed by Morris & Roberts unless the exhibitor P. Marshall of 29, Edge Vale was in fact PPM; he showed 'A Sketch' at 1854 Liverpool Academy, no.263.
- 27 Illustrated in Gibeling, fig.1, p.16, credited to a private collection; not listed under PPM in Edward Morris & Emma Roberts, *The Liverpool Academy and Other Exhibitions of Contemporary Art in Liverpool 1774-1867: A History and Index*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000, p. 414.
- 28 Artist's name given as 'Peter Paul' in the RA catalogue, which is probably a typographical slip rather than a deliberate pseudonym.
- 29 When re-submitted to RSA the following year, this caption was simplified.
- 30 Gibeling, citing Walker Art Gallery Archive.
- 31 *Ibid.*
- 32 A portrait in chalks thought to have been submitted to the 1877 RA, now in Walker Art Gallery Liverpool – see Mary Bennett, *Artists of the Pre-Raphaelite Circle: the First Generation [catalogue of works in Liverpool Museums]*. London: Lund Humphries for National Museums and Galleries on Merseyside, 1988, no.7396, p.110
- 33 See Stephen Wildman, *Visions of Love and Life: the Pre-Raphaelite Art from the Birmingham Collection*. Alexandria VA: Art Services International, 1995, nos. 60–64.

34 WMR, DGR f1M 1895, Vol. 1, p. 217.

35 WM to DGR, 24 Oct 1874, in N. Kelvin, ed., *The Collected Letters of William Morris*. Princeton NJ, Princeton University Press, 1984, Vol. 1, pp. 235–6.

36 See Harvey & Press, *supra*, pp. 88–90.

37 see Frederic Fisk, *The History of Tottenham, in the County of Middlesex*, Tottenham, Fred Fisk, 1913, and contemporary ephemera in LB Haringey Archives.